BASOC102

INTRODUCTION OF SOCIOLOGY-II

BA (SOCIOLOGY)

2ND SEMESTER

Rajiv Gandhi University

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INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

BASOC102

Second Semester

Part II

RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY
Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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About the University

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

About IDE

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

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

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

Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

(i) At Par with Regular Mode

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

(ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

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

(iii) Contact and Counselling Programme (CCP)

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

(iv) Field Training and Project

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

(v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

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

(vi) Subject/Counselling Coordinators

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

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE
Introduction to Sociology

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
UNIT 1 **Socialization:** Socialisation - Meaning and Definition; Relation between Individual and Society; and Agencies of Socialization	**Unit 1:** Socialization
UNIT 2 **Social Stratification:** Meaning, Forms and Theories-Fundamental, Marxism and Weberian.	**Unit 2:** Social Stratification
UNIT 3 **Social Change:** Meaning Definition and Characteristics; Progress and Development; Factors of Social Change.	**Unit 3:** Social Change
UNIT 4 **Social Problems:** Crime and Delinquency Corruption and Domestic Violence.	**Unit 4:** Social Problems

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

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

The basic principles of sociology are as follows:

- The behaviour of individuals in social groups is different than that when they are independent.

- Individuals who are part of a social group follow the rules of that social group.

- These rules are created and implemented socially.

- Some people have more authority in the creation of rules than others.

- Those who follow the rules are awarded and those who break them are penalized.

- The rules of social groups have a scientific base.

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

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

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

UNIT 1 SOCIALIZATION

Structure

1.0   INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

1.1   UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

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

● Examine the role of heredity and environment on the life of individuals

● Critically analyse the agencies of socialization

1.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION

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

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

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

Importance of socialization

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

Processes of Socialization

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

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

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

1.3 Theories of Socialization

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

Charles Horton Cooley

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

(i) Our perception of how we look to others

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

(iii) Our feeling about these judgements

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

George Herbert Mead

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sigmund Freud

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

(a) The Id

(b) The ego

(c) The super ego

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

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

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

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

1.4   Types of Socialization

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.5.1 Re-socialization

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

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

Total institution and re-socialization

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

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

1.5.2 Stages of Socialization

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

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

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

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

(i) First stage—the oral stage

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

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

(ii) Second stage—the anal stage

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

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

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

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

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

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

(iii) Third stage—the oedipal stage and latency

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

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

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

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

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

(iv) Fourth stage—adolescence/adult socialization

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

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

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

1.6 RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

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

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

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

Case I

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

Case II

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

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

Case III

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

1.6.1   Individual Dependence on Social Heritage

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

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

1.6.2   Individual and Society

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 Life of Individuals—Heredity and Environment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Heredity and environment

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.8 AGENCIES OF SOCIALIZATION

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

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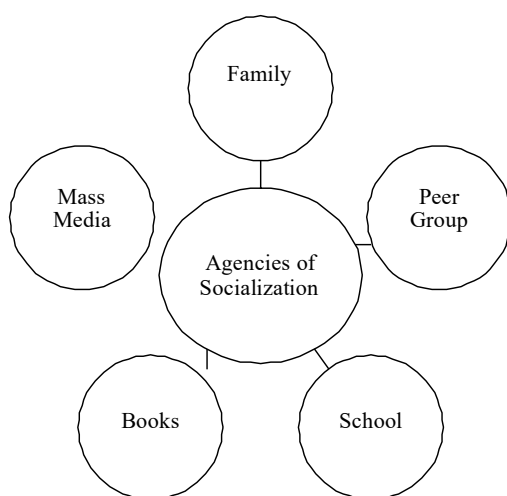
Fig. 4.1 Agencies of Socialization

(i) Family

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

(ii) Peer group

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

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

(iii) School

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

(iv) Books

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

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

(v) Mass media

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

1.9   SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Check Your Progress

8. Where does the process of socialization begin?

9. State the role of authoritarian and equalitarian relationship in the growth of a child.

10. How are books an important agency of socialization?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.10 KEY TERMS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.11 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What according to Kimball Young is socialization?

2. Write a short note on the process of socialization.

3. What is George Herbert's theory of socialization?

4. What are the types of socialization?

5. Write a brief note on adult socialization.

6. What is re-socialization?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the theories and types of socialization.

2. Examine the four stages of socialization.

3. Critically analyse the agencies of socialization.

1.13 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Structure

2.0   INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

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

2.2 MEANING OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

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

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

Society compares and ranks individuals and groups

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

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

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

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

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

Definitions of Stratification

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The universality of social stratification

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

Social differentiation and stratification

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

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

2.2.1   Characteristics of Social Stratification

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

Social

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

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

Ancient

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

Universal

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

Diverse forms

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

Consequential

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

2.2.2 Principles of Social Stratification

Some of the principles of social stratification are as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.3 Social Stratification: Social Difference and Social Inequality

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

Social difference

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

Social inequality

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.4 Major Dimensions of Social Stratification

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.5   Bases of Social Stratification

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

(i) Ascribed or biological bases of stratification

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

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

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

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

(ii) Achieved or socio-cultural bases of stratification

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(iii) Closed and Open Stratification Systems

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

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

Ascribed Status → Closed Stratification System → Low/No Mobility

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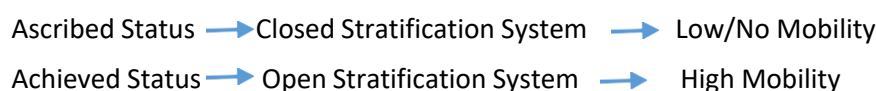
Many sociologists believe that inequality exists in all societies, but the degree of inequality varies from society to society. It implies that inequality is more severe in some societies than in others. David B. Grusky, a leading expert in inequality, notes that social stratification systems vary along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

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

Importance of studying social stratification

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

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

2.3 FORMS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

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

Fig. 5.1 *Forms of Social Stratification*

2.3.1 Slavery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.2 Social Class

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

Class is a relatively open stratification system

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Impact of class system in India

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

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

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

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

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

(i) Bourgeoisie

(ii) Proletariat

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

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

(i) Upper class

(ii) Middle class

(iii) Working class

(iv) Peasantry

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

2.3.3 Caste

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

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

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

   In reality, however, political and economic factors do play a significant role in determining the position of the caste. Sociologists have pointed out that high ritual status does not actually translate into a higher social status. For example, while a Rajput may not have as important a role in ritual matters as the Brahmins, it is unlikely that he will give a higher status to the Brahmin in other matters. According to sociologist, M. N. Srinivasan, a dominant caste is that caste in the community that has a sufficiently high ritual status, numerical strength and material resources like land, wealth and access to power. It is the combination of these factors which keeps a caste high in the hierarchy. The dominant caste often has a major role to play in the village politics and its social life.
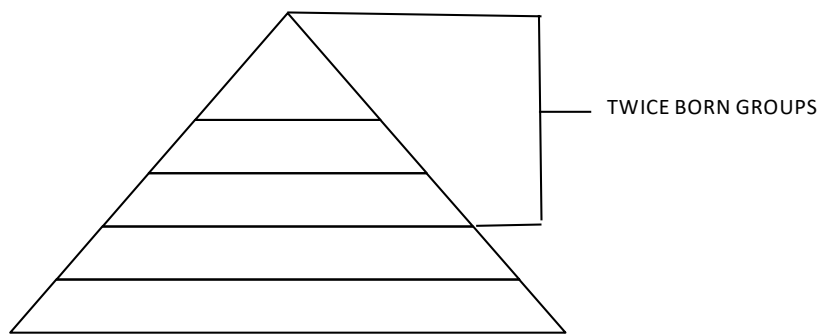
Fig. 5.2 Hierarchy of Indian Caste System

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Caste in other religions

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

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

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

Mythological background of Indian caste system

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

Historical background of Indian caste system and Varna

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

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

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

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

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

Theories of caste system

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Check Your Progress

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

2.4 THEORIES: FUNDAMENTAL, MARXISM ANDWEBERIAN

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

2.4.1 Natural Superiority Theory

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

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

2.4.2 Functionalist Theory of Social Stratification

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.3 Marxian Theory of Social Stratification

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

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

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

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

2.4.4 Weberian Theory of Social Stratification

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

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

   (i) Propertied upper class

  (ii) Property-less white-collar workers

 (iii) Petty bourgeoisie

 (iv) Manual working class

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

2.5 FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

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

Encourages hard work

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

Ensures circulation of elites

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

Serves an economic function

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

Prevents waste of resources

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

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

Stabilizes and reinforces the attitudes and skills

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

Helps to pursue different professions or jobs

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

Social control

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

Controlling effect on the 'shady' world

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

2.6   SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

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

- Social stratification is ubiquitous. In all societies, population is socially differentiated on the basis of age, sex and personal characteristics.

- All societies exhibit some system of hierarchy whereby its members are placed in positions that are higher or lower, superior or inferior, in relation to each other.

- The two concepts — 'social differentiation' and 'social stratification' — are made use of to refer to such classification or gradation and placement of people in society.

- Differentiation may be considered the first stage preceding stratification in society, sorted and classified into groups. It does not, however, mean that all differentiation leads to stratification in society.

- Stratification is social in the sense it does not represent biologically caused inequalities.

- The stratification system is quite old. According to historical and archaeological records, stratification was present even in the small wandering bands. Age and sex were the main criterion of stratification then.

- The stratification system has its own consequences. The most important, most desired, and often, the scarcest things in human life are distributed unequally because of stratification.

- The most radical, legalized, social inequality for individuals or groups is slavery. The most unique feature of this crushing system of stratification is that one human being owns another.

- A social class is a group of individuals who have more or less a similar wealth. The possession of wealth enables the individual to obtain those goods and services that are scarce and are valued by others.

- Any society is said to be relatively open or closed depending on the number of opportunities available to its members for upward social mobility. Equally important, is the attitude of the society towards the mobility of its members.

- Social hierarchy in traditional societies is formed by ascription, while in class based societies, achievement plays an important role.

- The word 'caste' refers to the Spanish word *Casta* which means 'breed' in Spanish. In the Indian context, it represents caste and its related social practice.

- The caste system influences the social life of the Indian in a number of ways, as it assigns ascribed status to its members.

- When a higher caste man marries a low caste women, it is called hypergamy, and when a lower caste man marries a higher caste woman, it is call hypogamy.

- Natural superiority theory, also referred to as social Darwinism, was a popular and widely accepted theory of social stratification in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

- The functionalist theory is a theory that is most concerned with how societies maintain order.

- Generally, the functionalist theorists have tended to stress stability, consensus and integration in society.

- Functionalists assume that the society is similar to that of a human body, comprising several parts which form an integrated whole. Like the human body, the society's

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

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

2.7 KEY TERMS

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

2.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. All societies assign their members to roles in terms of superiority, inferiority and equality. This vertical scale of evaluation and placement of people in strata, or levels, is called stratification. Thus, stratification is simply a process of interaction of differentiation whereby some people come to rank higher than others.

2. The attributes of social stratification are as follows:
   (a) Unequal distribution of power, privileges, prestige, resources and rewards
   (b) Rank-status groups based on the criteria by which power, privileges and prestige are distributed

(c) The notion of high and low positions in the interaction and relations between these groups

(d) Prevalence of step-wise social inequality among different social groups in a given society.

3. The term 'social inequality' means unequal distribution of privileges and resources in the society, whereby some people possess more wealth, power and privileges than the rest of the people in the society.

4. Power is classified into two categories:
    (a) Individualistic power situations
    (b) Organizational power situations

5. Some of the characteristics of slavery, as practised in the United States, are as follows:
    (a) Slavery was hereditary in nature, that is, children of slaves were also considered slaves.
    (b) Slaves were not treated like human beings as they were considered the owners' property.
    (c) They did not have any rights.
    (d) They were treated in a cruel manner.

6. A social class is a group of individuals who have more or less a similar wealth. The possession of wealth enables the individual to obtain those goods and services that are scarce and are valued by others.

7. There are three methods which are used for the determination of social class. These are as follows:
    (a) Objective method: Under this method, sociologists use 'hard facts' for the determination of social class.
    (b) Subjective method: Under this method, sociologists ask various questions from people to know their perception about their own class.
    (c) Reputational method: In this method, various questions are asked from people of different social classes to know their perception about other classes.

8. When a higher caste man marries a low caste women it is called hypergamy and when a lower caste man marries a higher caste woman it is call hypogamy. Hypergamy is allowed whereas hypogamy is strictly forbidden.

9. The main advocate of social Darwinism was Herbert Spencer, an English sociologist, who saw social organization as an environment.

10. The Marxist perspectives generally regard modern society as being divided primarily into two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—on the basis of property ownership or non-ownership of property.

11. Class conflict is divided into two types:
    (a) The involuntary conflict between the workers and the capitalists for shares in the productive output at a time when class consciousness is not developed
    (b) The conscious, deliberate and collective struggle between the two classes when the workers become aware of their historic role

12. Weber distinguishes four class groups in the capitalist society:
    (a) Propertied upper class
    (b) Property-less white-collar workers

(c) Petty bourgeoisie

(d) Manual working class

13. One of the main functions of class stratification is to induce people to work hard to live up to the values. Those who best fulfil the values of a particular society are normally rewarded with greater prestige and social acceptance by others.

14. Social stratification has a kind of economic function in that it helps to ensure the rational use of available talent. It is also functionally necessary to offer differential rewards if the positions at the top are largely ascribed as it is in the case of the caste system.

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

2.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Distinguish between social differentiation and social stratification.

2. What are the principles of social stratification?

3. Write a short note on social inequality.

4. What are the major dimensions of social stratification?

5. State the importance of studying social stratification.

6. Briefly describe the impact of class system in India.

7. Summarize the role of the four Varnas in the *Rig Veda*.

8. Compare the Marxian theory of social stratification and the Weberian theory of social stratification.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the characteristics of social stratification.

2. Critically evaluate the bases of social stratification.

3. Discuss the various forms of social stratification.

4. Describe the characteristics of caste system in India. Also, give a detailed account on the theories of the origin of caste system in India.

5. Examine the importance of the functionalist theory of social stratification.

6. Explain the functions of social stratification.

2.10 FURTHER READING

Ghurye. 1986. *Caste and Race in Modern India*. Mumbai, India: Popular Prakashan.

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UNIT 3 SOCIAL CHANGE

Structure

3.0   INTRODUCTION

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

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

day. These changes have occurred in every aspect of society, every institution and structure, and have affected every individual in some degree or the other.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

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

3.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION

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

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

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

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

3.2.1 Meaning and Definational Analysis of Change

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 Characteristics of Social Change

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

1. **Social change is universal:** As discussed in the above section, social change is inevitable. It is not only inevitable but also universal. It is found in every society. From primitive society to the post-industrial one, change is found everywhere. No society or culture remains static forever. Human beings changed themselves from nomads, food gatherers to agriculturists and later modern, industrial beings.

2. **Social change is continuous:** Right from the time mother earth came into being to the present times, society/life has been in a continuously changing mode. No society or people can be stopped from the influences of change. It is a never-ending process.

3. **Social change may produce chain reactions:** Change in one aspect of a system may lead to changes of varying degrees in other aspects of that system. As to Biesanz and Biesanz (1964, 63), the change from hunting and food gathering to agriculture was a revolution in technology that led eventually to the development of civilization by making large and diversified societies possible. Similarly, the Protestant emphasis on Bible reading as a road to salvation led to a great rise in literacy. Further, the introduction of the system of reservation for backward communities in government institutions and offices in India has brought changes in their socio-economic status, interpersonal relationships, and also in the social and economic structure of the country. Similarly, improvement in literacy in the country leads to economic independence of women which in turn brings changes in the whole notion of family, marriage and husband-wife ties.

4. **Social change may be planned or unplanned:** Change may occur with or without proper planning. People, government or any other agent may initiate change through plans or programmes and may determine the degree and direction of change. The Government of India after Independence devised several socio-economic developmental programmes to bring the country out of poverty and unemployment through the broader provision of Five Year Plans. In the 68 years of Independence, the country has seen phenomenal improvement in literacy, health, infrastructure and industry, and considerably managed to overcome poverty, hunger and unemployment problems. Apart from the planned social change, there can be

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

5. **Social change is temporal and directional:** Change can be directional. It happens in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called as progress. However, change in general may happen in any direction. Similarly, the rate or tempo of change varies from time to time and place to place. Some changes may take months and years, while some may occur rapidly. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.

6. **Social change is value-neutral:** The concept of social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It does not advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events. It is an objective term which is neither moral nor immoral. It is ethically neutral.

3.2.3 Forms of Social Change

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

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

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

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

2. **Social change and social progress:** Progress is a change in a desirable direction. It can also refer to change for the better. It involves value-judgement because it implies betterment or improvement. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change. However, there are differences between the two. Every change is not progress, but every progress can be called as a change. Moreover, change is a value-free concept, while progress always denotes change for the better. In that sense, progress is a value-laden concept. It has been discussed before that change can be planned and unplanned. Nonetheless, progress is always planned and ideally fixed. Besides, change is obvious and certain. Small or big, slow or fast, change takes place in every society, but progress is uncertain (Mohanty 1997, 21).

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

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

4. **Demographic change:** Demography deals with the size, distribution, growth, and so on, of population over a period of time. Demographic change is change in the patters of fertility, mortality, age structure, migration, and so on. High fertility or high mortality can have important implications in any society. The same can happen if the rate of such indicators are too slow. High fertility might lead to large-scale instances of poverty and unemployment, and might affect the developmental efforts of a state. Over-population also leads to greater use of natural resources and affects environmental sustainability. High birth and death rates bring about change in the attitude of people towards family and marriage. In India, demographic change in the form of high fertility led to the adoption of family planning programmes and following which there was a decrease in the population growth rate. The small family norm has introduced change in social relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, the status of women, and so on.

5. **Technological change:** Human civilization is moving from the most rudimentary technology of bow and arrow to the modern and highly sophisticated instruments of the present day. The invention of computers, Internet, mobile phones, jet planes, atomic bomb and discoveries of men like Vasco da Gama and Columbus have changed the socio-cultural space of the modern man dramatically. Ancient man walked on bare feet. Then came the bullock cart which made movement comparatively faster. Subsequent technological innovations brought about bicycles, automobiles, jet planes, and so on. These have helped the movement of people faster than ever before. These technological changes have enormous societal implications. The introduction of high-yield seeds in the form of Green Revolution in India that ensured massive increase in foodgrains like rice and wheat managed the hunger situation in the country quite well. Dramatizing the fact that technological change may lead to social change, sociologist William F. Ogburn once attributed the emancipation of women to the invention of the automobile self-starter, which enabled women to drive cars, freed them from their homes and permitted them to invade the world of business (Biesanz and Biesanz 1964, 64). The modern means of entertainment and communication like TV, Radio, Internet, cell phones, and so on. have drastically changed the family life in India and substantially affected the role of women in society. Not only they are empowered and emancipated but also the husband-wife ties are now being seen as that of co-partners rather than that of superiors and inferiors. Although technological changes have not spread equally everywhere in the country, still phenomenal improvement in this respect cannot be ignored.

6. **Economic change:** Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. Noted sociologist and philosopher Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on are the superstructure. As he says, a conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed, haves and the have-nots brings change in the society and the society transforms to a new mode of production. In this manner,

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

3.3   PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT

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

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

3.3.1

Nature of Development

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

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

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

(ii) Development is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves a lot of economic, behavioural and institutional rearrangements. It involves equity, socio-economic and political participation, and so on.

(iii) Development is a systematic process. Change in one aspect brings chain reaction and corresponding changes in other aspects also.

(iv) Development is a lengthy process. The process of development needs substantial level of efforts over a long period of time.

(v) Development is an irreversible process. It always moves forward. Although some aspects of the process might have some occasional downfalls, the whole process of development is irreversible.

(vi) Development is a universal process. Developmental ideas and know-how are diffused from centre of origin to other parts of the world. There are transformations of ideas and techniques between nations world over.

(vii) Development is directional. It is a process that moves in a direction. In that sense, development is also called an evolutionary process. As stated by Spencer, it can be from simple to complex. As stated by Marx, it can be from class-less primitive communism to capitalistic mode of production and finally to socialism. As discussed by Durkheim, it can be from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, and so on.

(viii) Development is a value-loaded concept. Qualitatively, it talks about improvement of something over some other. It talks about improvement in lifestyle, infrastructure, education, health system, and so on. Quantitatively, it always advocates for more (of anything) in number. So it is a process that involves value judgement.

3.3.2 Interrelationship between Change and Development

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

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

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

3.3.3 Indicators of Development

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

(i) **Literacy or education:** Education is the medium through which the members of society are socialized and the modern means of knowledge, skill and technique are imparted to them. Formal education and training expands opportunities for people and increase their capacities. Availability of educated labour force in a country is a prerequisite for development, better governance system and healthy functioning of democracy. In India, to eradicate illiteracy, the successive governments have come out with policies like 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' (SSA), 'Mid-day Meal Scheme', 'Mahila Samakhya Scheme', 'Teacher Education Scheme', and so on. Following the National Literacy Mission (NLM), set up in 1988, the 'Total Literacy Campaign' was initiated to eliminate illiteracy. India's soaring literacy helped the country to become a knowledge economy. From a mere 12 per cent during independence, India's literacy has reached at 65 per cent (2001 census). This is a strong indicator of development.

(ii) **Health:** Health is, as the World Health Organisation (WHO) defines it, 'a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.' Good physical health is the basic requirement for a stable society. Low maternal and infant mortality, good quality of life, and availability of proper health facilities to all sections of a society are necessary conditions for a healthy and developed society. In India, although phenomenal improvements in various health indicators have been witnessed in post-independence period, still several facts need wide attention. Year 2007 data show, in India, the infant mortality rate (IMR)—the probability of a child dying before the first birthday—is still high, i.e., 55 per one thousand live births, although it has shown continuous decline over the years. Again, 43 per cent of children in India under age five are underweight (India 2010, 519–522). According to UN World Food Programme report released in 2009, more than 27 per cent of the world's under-nourished population lives in India. Besides, 40 per cent of women are found with chronic energy deficiency and around 30 per cent of babies in India are born underweight (Bhattacharya 2010). Development of any country with such bad health indicators will be difficult.

(iii) **Income:** Adequate level of employment generation is essential for a country to raise income level of its populace. High incomes per capita and increased GNP makes a country economically healthy. When a country has enough economic resources and its per capita income is high, it can invest in social sectors like health and education. Therefore, income and economic welfare are most important indicators of the development process.

(iv) **Democratic participation:** Participation in the political process of a state is a rational thing every citizen would want to carry out. The political process can

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

(v) **Scientific and technological advancement:** Technological prowess makes a country advanced and that enables for creating better facilities for its citizens. When a country is technologically advanced, its people have larger choices for scientific and technological knowhow. There are very few countries who can afford substantial amount of resources devoted for Research and Development (R&D) since it is very expensive and involves complicated processes. However, a country with adequate and latest technology can manage its various needs well and make facilities available for its masses.

(vi) **Strong and sustained cultural civilization:** A country for its true development needs not only scientific tools and economic growth but also a strong urge to sustain its traditional heritage and cultural civilization. The very notion of HDI devised by UNDP is that progress and development is no longer to be measured just in terms of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) or per capita income but also in terms of human well-being, which includes a number of factors like cultural identity, a sense of security of both one's personal safety as well as safety of one's culture and one's place in this world. In that sense, Bhutan's has very high indicators of human happiness. This is due to Bhutan's flourishing craft activities, linking craft to Bhutan's sense of identity (Chatterjee and Ashoke 2005). So traditional cultural ethos and values are major parts of a country's development. In India, it is the traditional skill (local knowledge) of the handicraft artisans that is a major basis of their identity. However, in post-liberalization India, this identity is either getting vanished or getting diluted and the skill/local knowledge is very much influenced by the market forces (Jena 2008, 22). Sustaining one's own cultural heritage of any form in modern globalized times is one of the greatest challenges for any country. Without this, true development of nation and humanity is impossible.

3.3.4 Change in Structure and Change of Structure

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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

(i) First, the causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.

- **Conflicts:** No society is free from conflict. Any attempt to resolve the conflict would lead to some kind of change in the society. Some undercurrents of conflict always exist between different groups in the society on the issue of who gets more benefits in the existing system.

- **Social problems:** For example, unemployment, juvenile delinquency, poverty and overpopulation lead to a lot of conflict in the society, which may lead to social change in the present apparatus. The measures to solve or tackle social problems may also lead to changes in society. To deal with overpopulation, government may ask people to follow family control method, which may lead to changes in value systems, institution of marriage and family.

Check Your Progress

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

- **Revolutions and disturbances:** The most intense conflict may result in a revolution in the society like the Russian Revolution, the French Revolution and the American Revolution, and bring about wide ranging changes. These revolutions were the result of exploitation of a large majority by a small minority, the suppression of freedoms, tyranny, corruption and bad policies of the state.

- **Cultural change**: Cultural innovations (innovation is a new combination of old elements), which may come from innovator's own society or from the other, can cause changes. The diffusion of culture from one society to another has been a great source of social and cultural change in every society, like colonialism. Cultural change can also occur if a new religion or sect comes into being. The origin of a new religion or sect affects the social system and leads to the spread of a new cult/religion vis-à-vis modifications in the existing social order by the cleansing of old, outdated social mores and traditions. To give an example, in India, the rise of Buddhism and Jainism modified Hindu conservatism of that time.

(ii) Second, the change may be due to some impact from the social environment of the social system of reference. The influence of the social environment is more significant in bringing about social changes. Shifts of political alliance, military invasions, origin of a new religion or sect, and peaceful immigration and trade shifts can present problems of adjustment to the social system. Any of these changes will have an effect on parts of social structure and then on the society as a whole as well.

(iii) Finally, the change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment. Changes in the non-social environment, which may be due to human engineering, such as soil erosion, deforestation and exhaustion of natural mineral resources, can also cause some social changes. Changes in the non-social environment due to nature, for example floods, cyclones and volcanic eruptions, may also cause adoptive social changes. Longevity or average life span also affects composition of population and the social system. When due to natural disasters, wars and diseases, people die at an early age, there are always a majority of youngsters, and/or those who are alive, who are open to new innovations and new ideas for their survival/better living. On the other hand, when due to medical facilities and peaceful life people live long, they do not welcome change or new ideas and innovations and prefer status quo. This affects speed of social change adversely.

The causes of social change can also be classified into:

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

3.4.1   Demographic Factors

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

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

- Birth rate
- Death rate
- Immigration and emigration

    (i) Rise in the birth rate in a society (when it exceeds death-rate) leads to a rise in the population. A rapid rise in population can lead to problems like poverty and unemployment. Birth rates can rise because of illiteracy, early marriage, poverty, lack of family planning programmes or fall in death rate.

    (ii) A low birth rate leads to decrease in the size of the society's population. Low population can mean fewer trained personnel available and non-utilization of available natural resources, which can also affect social relations due to the small size of the family. Low birth rates may arise as a result of scientific advancements, modern education, better healthcare and preventive medicines, increase in agricultural productivity leading availability of food which raises the standard of living, control over nature to avoid tragedies, and so on.

        A change in the sex ratio also leads to changes in the structure and social relations in the society. An almost equal proportion of men and women leads to monogamy in society. Polygamy sets in the society if the number of males and females is disproportionate. If the number of women goes up (more than men), polygyny develops, but if the opposite happens, i.e., there are more men than women, the result often is polyandry. Polygamy sets in the society if the number of women goes up (more than men). Polyandry is often the result, if there are more men than women.

    (iii) Migration has played a significant role in population growth in the history of mankind. Increase in the growth of population hastens the process of migration. Migration refers to the process of movement of population from one place to another. There are primarily two forms of migration:

        o Immigration is migration into a country/state/area

        o Emigration is migration out of a country/state/area

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

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

        o Better transport facilities

        o Disasters of nature calamities like earthquake, flood, famine, and so on

        o Better job opportunities in the area of migration

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

Positive effects

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

Negative effects

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

3.4.2 Economic Factors

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

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

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

3.4.3 Religious Factors

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

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

Weber's theory in simple terms means:

- The protestant religion supported individuals to follow a secular vocation with as much zeal as possible. A person living according to this world view was more likely to accumulate money.

- The new religions (in particular, Calvinism and other more austere Protestant sects) effectively forbade wastefully using hard earned money and identified the purchase of luxuries as a sin. Donations to an individual's church or congregation were limited due to the rejection by certain Protestant sects of icons. Finally, donation of money to the poor or to charity was generally frowned on as it was seen as furthering beggary. This social condition was perceived as laziness, burdening their fellow man and an affront to God; by not working, one failed to glorify God. The investment of this money gave an extreme boost to nascent capitalism, according to Weber.

- Reformation reforms in the 16th century Europe, to rid Christianity of its superstitions, and corruption that had plagued the church and its officials led to the rise of scientific temperament and rationality. It finally led to Industrial Revolution in the later era.

- Most of the churches of southern US supported the civil rights movement for African-Americans and helped in abolishing racism in the US.

- In medieval India, socio-religious movements like the Bhakti and Sufi movements helped in spreading tolerance among both Hindus and Muslims as their leaders came from all castes and classes, and preached an ideology of tolerance.

- In India, social movements for change have always had a religious colour to them. Mahatma Gandhi during the Freedom struggle used religious symbols to make it popular with the masses.

3.4.4 Bio-Technology Factors

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

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

- Agricultural advancements, for example, in India, due to the introduction of high-yielding variety led to the Green Revolution. It made India self-sufficient in food and led to the development of the states like Punjab and Haryana, which also gained a higher per capita income.

- Biological pesticides are injected into various crops so that they grow pesticide-free. These have led to the increase in production.

- Scientific advancements in medicine have led to the cure of various serious diseases and have led to a rise in population worldwide. Health care facilities have led to increase in population as well.

- Cloning in biotechnology refers to processes used to create copies of DNA fragments (molecular cloning), cells (cell cloning) or organisms. Cloning organs in human-beings has led to people suffering from ailments to not wait for a donor to get the diseased organ replaced. However, at present, the technology of cloning is at initial/experimental stage and is not available for the masses.

- Cloning of animals is now being tried on extinct species or on endangered species. Scientists have successfully cloned species like the sheep, cattle, cat and rabbit. This will lead to a rise in livestock for domestication and for nutritional purposes in the future.

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

3.4.5 Info-Technology Factors

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

- Cases of natural calamities like floods, cyclones, earthquakes and droughts are no more viewed as God's punishments against man's sins. Modern technology based on computers can predict natural disasters, as a result of which the degree of gaining control over them has increased. Modern technology using computers can warn people and save their lives by migrating to other safe areas.

- Communication has reduced distances as people can talk and can even video-chat over long distances. As a result, the world has become closer.

- Social inequalities have gone down as technology cannot be prejudiced/biased against a race, caste or religion.

- Social evils like corruption have gone down as a result of technology, especially in India, as everything is computerized and the number of people involved in the

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

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

3.4.6   Media Factors

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

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

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

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

3.5 THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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

Marx's theory of social change

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

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

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

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

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

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

Parsons' theory of social change

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

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

- The system units are classified into patterns that display dependence on each other in order to complete system functions.

- In differentiating systems, new components and principles that facilitate integration are established.

- Within given environments, the adaptive capacity of these systems of differentiations are increased.

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

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

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

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

3.5.1 Linear or Evolutionary Theories of Social Change

There have been various theories and studies conducted to understand the phenomenon of social change in various eras by different thinkers. This section looks at one of the earliest theories of social change collectively known as linear theories of social change.

Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society's progress or evolution in a linear direction. Earlier sociological thinkers believed that human societies were meant for development, and change was always progressive and led to further civilization and ethical enhancement of society. Such theories were influenced by Darwin's general theory of evolution which states that natural species evolve through variation and natural selection, a process which is not essentially progressive.

The conception of evolution involves three essential characteristics:

- Evolution is viewed as an irreversible process of unidirectional growth and development.
- Every society will go through a limited number of fixed stages of development.
- Evolution necessarily involves progress and every succeeding stage is considered to be better and higher than the preceding one.

Auguste Comte, considered by many to be one of the pioneers of sociology, through his theory on the 'laws of three stages' talked about social change in terms of evolution of the society (also referred to as the theory of socio-cultural evolution). According to Comte, societies can be seen developing through three different stages of evolution/development. They are as follows:

   (i) The theological stage
  (ii) The metaphysical stage
 (iii) The positive stage

The **theological stage** refers to the belief in embodied deities. This stage was sub-divided into three sub-stages:

- *Fetishism* is a major stage of the theological stage. Also known as animism, in this stage, people believe that inanimate objects have living spirits in them. For example, people worshipping non-living objects like trees, stones, water, volcanic eruptions, and so on.
- *Polytheism* is the belief in many gods. In this stage, people believe that different gods control all natural forces; for example, the god of rain, god of fire, god of air, god of water, god of earth, and so on.
- *Monotheism* refers to the belief in one supreme God; everything is attributed to a single entity.

The **metaphysical stage** can be seen as an extension of the theological stage. In this stage, people believe that God is an abstract entity/being. The basic belief is that an

unseen force or abstract power guides and determines events in the world. Faith in a concrete God is rejected. For example, metaphysical notions can be seen at work in Hindu mythology's conception of the soul and of rebirth.

The **positive stage**, or the scientific stage, refers to the rational scientific belief which is based on the methods of observation, experiment and comparison. This belief, by establishing cause and effect relationships, relies upon the scientific method. It indicates an intellectual way of understanding the world as it stresses objectivity through classification of data and facts.

Comte was followed by Herbert Spencer, another major thinker of sociology in the 19th century. Spencer defined sociology as the study of the evolution of society and held that the final goal of societal evolution is complete harmony and happiness, as homogeneous systems or societies would grow to become heterogeneous.

Spencer's theories may be summarized as follows:

- Spencer applied the theory of biological evolution to sociology.
- According to Spencer, evolution had a direction and a goal or an end-point, which was the attainment of a final state of equilibrium.
- He stated that the human mind had evolved in a similar manner; according to him, the human mind evolved from formulating animal like animated responses to the process of reasoning and logic symptomatic of the thinking man.
- He believed that just as in the theory of biological evolution, society was the product of change from lower to higher forms; the lowest forms of life always evolved into higher forms.
- In the development of society, Spencer argued that evolutionary progression from simple, undifferentiated homogeneity to complex, differentiated heterogeneity was exemplified.
- He developed a theory of two types of society, which corresponded to this evolutionary progression:
  - o The militant
  - o The industrial

For Spencer, militant society is structured around the relationships of hierarchy and obedience, mostly simple and undifferentiated. On the other hand, industrial society is complex and differentiated, as it is based on voluntary, contractually assumed social obligations. Spencer conceptualized society as a social organism. This society, according to the universal law of evolution, evolved from a simpler state to the more complex state.

American anthropologist and social theorist Lewis H. Morgan in *Ancient Societies,* published in 1877, differentiated between three eras based on the relationship between technological and social progress:

- **Savage era:** Characterized by fire, bow, pottery
- **Barbaric era:** Characterized by agriculture, metalworking and the domestication of animals
- **Civilization era:** Exemplified by the alphabet and writing

Morgan rejected the three-age system of pre-history, namely, the Stone-Age, the Bronze-Age and the Iron-Age, as being an insufficient characterization of progress. He further sub-divided the savage, barbaric and civilization era into sub stages. This subdivision is seen in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6.1 *Sub-division of the Savage, Barbaric and Civilization Era*

Savagery: Natural Subsistence, at least 60,000 years.	Lower	First distinction of man from the other animals. *Fruits and Roots*, tropical or subtropical habitats, at least partial *tree-dwelling, gesture language, intelligence, Consanguine Family.*
	Middle	*Fish Subsistence, Use of Fire*, spread of man worldwide along shorelines, *monosyllabic language, Punaluan Family.*
	Upper	Weapons: bow and arrow, club, spear; addition of game to diet, cannibalism, *syllabical language, Syndyasmian Family, organization into gentes, phratries and tribes, worship of the elements.*
Barbarism: Cultivation, Domestication, 35,000 years.	Lower	*Horticulture*: maize, bean, squash, tobacco; *art of pottery*, tribal confederacy, *finger weaving, blow-gun, village stockade, tribal games, element worship, Great Spirit,* formation of *Aryan and Semitic families.*
	Middle	*Domestication of animals* among the *Semitic and Aryan families*: goat, sheep, pig, horse, ass, cow, dog; milk, *making bronze*, irrigation, *great joint tenement houses in the nature of fortresses.*
	Upper	*Cultivation of cereals and plants* by the Aryans, *smelting iron ore*, poetry, mythology, walled cities, wheeled vehicles, metallic armor and weapons (bronze and iron), the forge, potter's wheel, grain mill, loom weaving, forging, *monogamian family, individual property, municipal life, popular assembly.*
Civilization: Field Agriculture, 5000 years.	Ancient	*Plow with an iron point*, iron implements, animal power, *unlimited subsistence, phonetic alphabet, writing, Arabic numerals,* the military art, the city, commerce, coinage, *the state, founded upon territory and upon property,* the bridge, arch, crane, water-wheel, sewer.
	Mediaeval	Gothic architecture, feudal aristocracy with hereditary titles of rank, hierarchy under the headship of a pope
	Modern	Telegraph, coal gas, spinning-jenny, power loom, steam engine, telescope, printing, canal lock, compass, gunpowder, photography, modern science, religious freedom, public schools, representative democracy, classes, different types of law.

Morgan's theory influenced Marxist theorists like Engels, as he believed that any change in the form of technology can lead to social change—in social institutions, organizations or even in ideologies.

Emile Durkheim, in his book *Division of Labour in Society* (1893), talked about the concept of social solidarity. Here, he discussed evolution in terms of society progressing from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. The most important factor in this social growth was the division of labour.

Mechanical solidarity can be seen in a society where division of labour is simple, where people are self-sufficient, where there is little integration, and to keep the society together, sometimes force can be used. Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialization and cooperation is extensive.

Progress from mechanical to organic solidarity is based on:

- The division of labour (from simple to complex)
- Population growth and increase in population density
- On the development of more complex social interactions
- On the increase in specialization in the workplace

These theorists saw the society moving in only one direction, i.e., towards progress and development in a manner of unilineal evolution, i.e., evolution in one direction.

The German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies discussed social evolution theory in terms of development. According to him, the society moved from an informal society, where there are few laws and obligations, and people have many liberties to a formal rational, modern society, dominated by traditions and laws which restrict people from acting as they wish.

Tonnies also pointed at the tendency of modern society to absorb all smaller societies into a single, large unit through standardization and unification (presently referred to as the process of globalization). Tonnies' work became an inspiration for the rise of theories on neo-evolutionism. He:

- Rejected the linear ideas of evolution
- Claimed that the social development or progress is not perfect
- Asserted that the right direction for the evolution of society cannot be pointed out and that societies do not necessarily follow the same paths
- Believed that instead of social progress, the evolution of society could even be called a regress as newer, more evolved societies develop only after paying high costs, resulting in decreasing satisfaction of individuals making up that society

The theories of Tonnies are also seen as the foundation of the social theory of neo-evolutionism. Briefly, neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin's theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism. Neo-evolutionism is concerned with long-term, directional, evolutionary social change and with the regular patterns of development that may be seen in unrelated, widely separated cultures. Tonnies was one of the first sociologists to assert that the evolution of society was not necessarily going in the right direction and that social progress is not perfect; it can even be regressive since newer, more evolved societies are established only after paying a high costs, resulting in decreasing satisfaction of individuals making up that society.

3.5.2 Cyclical Theories of Social Change

The theory of social evolution views the evolution of society and human history as progressing in a distinctive linear course, whereas the cyclical theory of social change claims that events and stages of society and history are generally repeating themselves in cycles. According to the cyclical theory, growth and decay are both phases which affect every society from time to time.

The first cyclical theory in sociology under the title *The Mind and Society* (1935) was developed by the Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto; in it, Pareto discussed the notion of the circulation of elites (the few who rule the many in society). Although in 1896, Italian political scientist Gaetano Mosca had commented on the many ruled by the few, it was Pareto who came up with the term 'elites'. In his theory, Pareto propagated the superiority of elites (psychologically and intellectually) and emphasized that elites were the highest accomplishers in any field.

Pareto divides the elites into two types:

- Governing elites
- Non-governing elites

Pareto labelled the two groups as lions (those who rule by force, like in a military dictatorships) and foxes (those who rule by cunning and guile, example, politicians in democracies). According to his theory, every society is founded in aggression and, therefore, 'lions', but as it settles down the need for their courage and strength declines. In due course, this necessity is replaced by even more persuasive need, the need for the subtler skills of the foxes, who then become the rulers. The rule of the foxes remains in place until the society's identity and sense of direction become so unclear that a requirement for the qualities of 'lions' rises once again. This is how society is ruled by elites in circulation.

Another cyclical theory of social change was developed by Russian American sociologist Pitirim A. Sorokin (1889–1968) in his *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (1937, 1943). Sorokin classified societies according to their cultural mentality or cultural status, which could be ideational (religious way of thinking, or reality as spiritual), sensate (emphasizing the role of the senses in understanding realty, or reality as material), or idealistic (a synthesis of the two). He interpreted the contemporary West as a sensate civilization dedicated to technological progress and prophesied its fall into decadence and the emergence of a new ideational or idealistic era.

It is important to note that the concept of society moving in cycles was not new. Similar ideas were conceptualized in ancient China, Egypt and in Babylon as well, as among the classical philosophers and historians. Cyclical theories have also contributed to the development of the comparative historical method in the social sciences.

German historian and philosopher Oswald Spengler gave another cyclical theory of social change. His book *The Decline of the West*, published in 1922, covered all of world history. According to Spengler's theory, the lifespan of civilizations was limited and ultimately all civilizations perished. In *The Decline of the West,* Spengler rejected the division of history into the 'ancient-medieval-modern' rubric, which he saw as linear and Euro-centric. According to Spengler, the meaningful units for history are whole cultures which evolve as organisms. He recognized eight high cultures:

- Babylonian
- Egyptian
- Chinese
- Indian
- Mexican (Mayan/Aztec)
- Classical (Greek/Roman)
- Arabian
- Western or European-American

For Spengler, the lifespan of a culture, where each culture becomes a 'civilization' in its final stage, can be stated to be around a thousand years. He asserted that the Western world was ending and that we are witnessing the last season or the 'winter time' of the Western civilization. Spengler represents the Western Man as a proud but tragic figure since what he strives for and creates, he secretly knows that the objectives may never be achieved.

British historian Arnold J. Toynbee's ten-volume *A Study of History* came out in three separate instalments published between 1934 and 1954. It can be stated that Toynbee's ideas and approach to history falls into the discipline of comparative history. In response to Spengler's theory:

- Toynbee affirmed that a civilization may or may not continue to prosper, depending on the challenges it might face and in the way it responses to them.

- He followed Oswald Spengler's book *The Decline of the West* in taking a comparative topical approach to independent civilizations.

- Toynbee rejected Spengler's deterministic view that civilizations rise and fall according to a natural and inevitable cycle in which they live for 1,000 years.

- He identified historical civilizations according to cultural or religious rather than national criteria.

- Thus, 'Western Civilization', was treated as a whole, and distinguished from both the 'Orthodox' civilization of Russia and the Balkans, and from the Greco-Roman civilization that preceded it. Western civilization comprised all the nations that have existed in Western Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire.

- Toynbee identified 21 civilizations, of which by 1940, sixteen were dead and four of the remaining five were under severe pressure from Western Christendom or the West.

- According to Toynbee, the ideas and methods for meeting challenges in a society come from a creative minority. The ideas and methods developed by the creative minority are copied by the majority. Thus, meeting challenges in society entails generation of ideas by a minority and imitation by the majority. If either of those two processes ceases to function, then the civilization breaks down.

- In the breakdown of a civilization, the society splits into three parts: the dominant minority, the internal proletariat (the working masses which are part of the civilization) and the external proletariat (the masses which are influenced by the civilization but are not controlled by it).

- The disintegration of a civilization involves a 'time of troubles', for example, a war between nations that are a part of the civilization. This time of troubles is followed by the establishment of a universal state, an empire. For Toynbee, the existence of a universal state, such as the Roman Empire, is an evidence that the civilization has broken down.

- Ultimately, the universal state collapses and there follows an interregnum in which the internal proletariat creates a universal religion and the external proletariat becomes involved in a migration of peoples.

Linear theories of social change are very simplistic and cyclical theories neglect the interrelations between civilizations, and have been criticized for conceiving of civilizations as natural entities with sharp boundaries.

Curvilinear Social Change Theory

When the variables under consideration are observed at certain periods, it implies curvilinearity. Although history does not repeat itself, it shows some particular trends, which help in generalizing some trends that can lead to a curve. Curvilinearity depends on the time period and observational units of generalizable trend, which can show a curvilinear impression (as opposed to a cyclical trend). Models of one-directional change assume that change in a certain direction induces further change in the same direction; on the other hand, models of curvilinear or cyclical change assume that change in a

certain direction creates the conditions for change in another (perhaps even the opposite) direction. More specifically, it is often assumed that growth has its limits, and that in approaching these limits, the change curve will inevitably be bent. Ecological conditions such as the availability of natural resources, for instance, can limit population, economic and organizational growth.

Shorter-term cyclic changes are explained by comparable mechanisms. Some theories of the business cycle, for example, assume that the economy is saturated periodically with capital goods; investments become less necessary and less profitable, the rate of investments diminishes, and this downward trend results in a recession. After a period of time, however, essential capital goods will have to be replaced; investments are pushed up again, and a phase of economic expansion begins.

All theories of social change generally assume that the path of social change is not random or arbitrary, but is, to a certain degree, regular or patterned. The three traditional ideas of social change have unquestionably influenced modern theories. Although, these theories are not scientifically based, they do not make an explicit distinction between decline and progress. In fact, from empirical observations, the qualities of decline and progress cannot be derived scientifically alone but are instead identified by normative evaluations and value judgments. If the study of social change is to be conducted on scientific and non-normative terms, then only two basic patterns of social change can be considered: the cyclic and the one-directional/linear. Often, the time span of the change determines which pattern is observed, as linear shows the trend over a small period as compared to cyclical which compare trends over a long period of time.

It would be pertinent here to emphasize that since social change is an abstract and complex phenomenon that occurs due to the interplay of various factors and forces. There cannot be one or two universal laws of pattern of change, whether cyclic or linear. To give an example, one part of culture may change progressively (like technology), but at the same time, another part may show cyclical change (like fashion). Further, as neo-evolutionists claim, the change takes a parabolic curve where a certain institution regains its importance but with different ideology (e.g., promiscuity > monogamy > loose sex morality).

3.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Change and continuity are the inevitable facts of life. Not only do people undergo the process of change but so does the habitat they live in.
- Sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe, following the industrialization and democratization processes.
- 'Change' refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time.
- 'Social change', on the other hand, indicates the changes that take place in human interactions or interrelationships. Society is regarded as a 'web of social relationships', and in that sense, social change refers to change in the system of social relationships.

- The concept of social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It does not advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events.

- Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. The noted sociologist and philosopher Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on are the superstructure.

- Karl Marx, from a conflict perspective, provided a dialectical historical approach for the study of social change. Marx's interpretation of social change has something in common with evolutionary theories.

- Marx believed that social change is brought about not by a slow process, but by a revolutionary transformation. Slow changes in the balance of social power alternates with violent, revolutionary transformation. This has been referred to as dialectical interpretation of change.

- Talcott Parsons became increasingly concerned with social change. He orgued that the energetic information exchanges among action systems provide the potential for change within or between the action systems.

- Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society's progress or evolution in a linear direction.

- The metaphysical stage can be seen as an extension of the theological stage. In this stage, people believe that God is an abstract entity/being.

- Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialisation and cooperation is extensive.

- Neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin's theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism.

- All theories of social change generally assume that the path of social change is not random or arbitrary, but is, to a certain degree, regular or patterned.

- The causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.

- The change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment. Changes in the non-social environment, which may be due to human engineering, such as soil erosion, deforestation and exhaustion of natural mineral resources, can also cause some social changes.

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

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

- Technology has also helped in the spread of democracy by making people more conscious of their rights.

- Mass media can be said to be diversified media technologies that are intended to reach a large audience by mass communication. The technology through which this communication takes place varies.

3.7 KEY TERMS

- **Change:** 'Change' refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time.

- **Cultural lag:** A cultural lag occurs when one of the two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other parts does, thereby, causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously.

- **Demography:** Demography deals with the size, distribution, growth, and so on, of the population over a period of time.

- **Demographic change:** Demographic change is change in the patters of fertility, mortality, age structure, migration, and so on.

- **Linear theory:** Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society's progress or evolution in a linear direction.

- **Fetishism:** Fetishism is a major stage of the theological stage. Also known as animism, in this stage, people believe that inanimate objects have living spirits in them.

- **Polytheism:** Polytheism is the belief in many gods. In this stage, people believe that different gods control all natural forces.

- **Monotheism:** Monotheism refers to the belief in one supreme God; everything is attributed to a single entity.

- **Organic solidarity:** Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialization and cooperation is extensive.

- **Neo-evolutionism:** Neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin's theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism.

- **Information technology:** Information technology (IT) is the application of computers and telecommunications equipment to store, retrieve, transmit and manipulate data.

3.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe following the industrialization and democratization processes.

2. According to Morris Ginsberg, there are two types of changes:
   (a) Changes in the structure of society
   (b) Changes in the value system of society

3. Change can be directional. It happens in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called as progress.

4. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change. However, there are differences between the two. Every change

is not progress, but every progress can be called as a change. Moreover, change is a value-free concept, while progress always denotes change for the better.

5. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.

6. Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on, are the superstructure.

7. Development refers to the improvement in the quality of life and advancement in one's state of condition. It may refer to the improvements in one's well-being, living standards and socio-economic opportunities.

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

9. There can be two types of change related to social structure—the change that is witnessed inside the structure and the change of the societal system or structure as a whole. Among these two types of changes, structural change or change of structure is the most important and relevant.

10. The term 'Sanskritization' was coined by Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas. He defines Sanskritization as the 'process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the custom, rituals, beliefs, ideology and life style of a higher caste and in particular "twice-born" (dwija) caste' (Srinivas, 1966).

11. The three causes of social change as given by Harry Johnson are as follows:
    (a) The causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.
    (b) The change may be due to some impact from the social environment of the social system of reference.
    (c) The change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment.

12. The negative effects of demographic factors or population growth are as follows:
    (a) Decrease in the standard of living of the people
    (b) Leads to problems like poverty, unemployment, child labour, crime, and so on
    (c) Leads to disorder and social conflict, and affects migrants too

13. The media is useful in bringing social change in the following ways:
    (a) The media shapes and influences public opinion for any matter or issue.
    (b) The media can attract attention to problems and can offer informed solutions as well.
    (c) The media can entertain people and can spread useful information.

14. Reformation reforms in the 16th century Europe to rid Christianity of its superstitions and corruption that had plagued the church and its officials led to the rise of scientific temperament and rationality.

15. Marx believed that social change is brought about not by a slow process but by a revolutionary transformation. Slow changes in the balance of social power alternates with violent, revolutionary transformation. This has been referred to as dialectical interpretation of change.

16. Parsons regards changes in adaptation as a major driving force of social evolution. Such change may be brought about by excess energy or information during the process of exchange within action systems.

3.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Define change and social change.

2. Differentiate between social and cultural changes.

3. What is the role played by technological changes in social change?

4. What are the two elements of social life that have a predominant place in Marx's theory of social change?

5. List the elements of processes of evolution as put forward by Parsons.

6. List the sub-categories of the theological stage of evolution.

7. What is neo-evolutionism?

8. Write a short note on curvilinear social change theory.

9. List the important factors that determine the rise or fall of population.

10. What are the ways in which economic factors have acted as drivers of social change?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the meaning and the characteristics of social change. Describe using examples the different forms of social change.

2. Evaluate Marx's and Parsons' theory of social change.

3. Explain the linear and cyclical theories of social change.

4. Examine the various factors of social change.

5. 'Social change is temporal and directional.' Discuss.

6. Discuss the nature of development. Also, explain the importance of the indicators of development.

7. 'Max Weber regarded religion as an important contributor to economic development or stagnation.' Discuss.

3.10   FURTHER READING

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NOTES

UNIT 4 SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Structure

4.0.   INTRODUCTION

Social problems are undesirable situations, conditions or behaviour concerning society, social institutions, social relationships, social structure, social organization, and so on. They affect society to such as extent that it earnestly tries to find a solution for eliminating them. The society is organized in a way that conflicts of interests cannot be avoided. These conflicts result into problems that demand the society's attention. The list of problems as recognized by the policymakers and framers of law is quite different from those problems identified by the society. Consensus or agreement is difficult to reach at as far as the forms of social problems are concerned.

Today, we all witness an array of problems surrounding us. We read about them in newspapers, listen about them while tuned to the television or radio, and witness or experience them in our neighbourhoods or in our own families. Of these, many of the problems are personal problems and relate to an individual and do not affect others around him or her. Yet a few of them register a strong presence and impact the larger society as they take the shape of social problems.

This unit deals with social problems like alcoholism and drug abuse. Alcohol is increasingly produced, distributed and promoted in India. This is why it is an easily available commodity. Drugs, though not so freely available, can still be procured easily if one has 'contacts'. Alcohol acts as a sedative which calms down nerves. It relieves tension and lessens aggressive inhibitions. It is one of the six types of drugs, others being sedatives, stimulants, narcotics, hallucinogens and nicotine.

Drugs are substances that can alter a person's state of mind by influencing the way one thinks and behaves. While there are certain drugs that can be procured legally with a prescription, there are a few that are solely used for getting high and are illegal. The excessive consumption of alcohol and drugs has several adverse effects. The government claims that the revenues generated by alcohol sale are used for the society's development. Various national and local level studies also indicate that at least 20–40 per cent of men falling in the age group of 15 to 60 years in India are regular consumers of alcohol.

This unit begins by making the concept of alcoholism and drug abuse clear to the learners, and then discusses the harmful consequences of consuming alcohol and drugs. The unit also suggests the preventive measures against these two evils lurking in our society.

Indian policymakers have time and again framed policies and laid down plans that concentrate on the youth. But what happens if many of them remain unemployed? The educated youth in our country is bearing the brunt of large-scale unemployment. Population explosion and the absence of proper manpower planning have aggrandized the problem of unemployment in such a way that it has assumed alarming proportions. The problem of unemployment continues to plague and escalate despite governmental efforts in the direction of preventing it. Though unemployment is widespread in rural India, urban India poses the problem of educated unemployment. Also, all capitalist economies face the problem of unemployment to a certain extent, but the case of unemployment is severe in developing and poor countries. Unemployment has adverse effects on the psyche of the youth. It often leads to an increase in crime rates. This unit deals with the problems concerning unemployment in India. It focusses on its forms, causes extent and remedies.

Similarly, there is another problem that pervades the Indian society. This is the problem of corruption. One of the most distinctive features of corruption is that it is immune to all measures that are undertaken to contain it, especially because it prevails at all levels of our administration and society.

This unit deals with the concept of corruption, especially political and bureaucratic corruption. Further, this unit will also inform you about the causes behind corruption and of the government's intervention in the issue.

Traditionally, women have always been considered to be weak and inferior to men. The patriarchal society has constructed a social reality that has relegated women to a more dependant role in the society. The cultural, political and religious discourse reinforces this dependant position of the women. You might be appalled to know that several religious texts justify hitting women. Though we have numerous laws in place that are meant to keep violent practices against women in check, the validity of domestic violence is hard to prove because such cases mostly go unreported. The issue of violence against women is of central concern to many health and human rights activists, social scientists and psychologists. The anticipation of physical, mental and sexual abuse by women takes a toll on their mental health because they are aware of the fact that they are nowhere safe, not even in their homes. This restricts their freedom as they live in the constant fear of being assaulted.

The issue of gender-based violence is quite important because such violence is getting out of hand. This unit concludes with a discussion violence against women. In order to gain an understanding of the concept, we must first define as to what constitutes such violence. Then, we can study the forms in which such violence may be encountered and the ways in which it can be tackled.

4.1.   UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the concept of crime from a sociological perspective
- Analyse the problem of juvenile delinquency
- Examine corruption as a critical social problem and describe the issues related to political and bureaucratic corruption
- Evaluate the constituents of violence against women

4.2. CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

The fear of crime is widespread among people in many Western societies, affecting far more people than the personal experience of crime itself; as such, it constitutes a significant social problem. Criminality has been a problem confronting India and has become an important area of research in social sciences. In his classic discussion on the 'normality of crime', Durkheim (1964) argues that crime is 'closely connected with the conditions of all social life', leading him to arrive at a conclusion that there cannot be a society devoid of crime. Therefore, criminal behaviour exists in every society, and it has become a an important area of research for criminologists, sociologists and psychologists.

So far as the meaning of the word 'crime' is concerned, it has come from Latin word 'Crimen' which means charge or offence. The *Concise Encyclopaedia of Crime and Criminals* defines crime as 'an act or default which prejudices the interests of the community and is forbidden by law under pain of punishment. It is an offence against the state, as contrasted with a tool or a civil wrong, which is violation of a right of an individual and which does not lead to a punishment.'

However, it can be said that:

- Crime is an act or omission which is punishable under law.
- It is an act which is believed to be socially harmful, to which law prescribes certain penalty on the doer.
- Crime is linked with social norms, i.e., society prepares the crime and the criminal commits it.
- Crime is not vice. It is not punished as an offence against God, but it is prejudicial to society.
- It is something done against the dictates of society or law and is due to a failure to adjust oneself to such dictates.

Therefore, crime implies a disturbance in social relationships. The nature of criminal and non-criminal conduct is determined by social values which the larger defining group considers important. Wherever the social equilibrium is upset, there develops crime.

Crime and delinquency are often used synonymously, the only difference between the two being that of age. While crime refers to offences committed at a mature age, delinquency refers to offences committed at a pre-mature age by the juveniles.

4.2.1.   Understanding Juvenile Delinquency

Conflict between reason and instinct is age old in the human psyche. If crime is inherent in the social setup since the beginning of human creation, children negating and deviating are no exception. Hence, deviation from the practiced social norms among children is a part of the ongoing social system. Certainly, the emergence of the problem of 'juvenile delinquency' is acquiring greater dimension amidst the growing insanity of the modern society.

The phenomenal advances of science and technology in the modern age of speedy sputniks and guided missiles have tremendously shaken up the old order of human life. Human society is experiencing terrific convulsions of social change. The multi-sided dynamic developments in different fields of human thought and action are shattering the fundamental basis of social order. A well-knit family life is threatened, and the established standards of social behaviour, social norms and values are undergoing metamorphosis. The continuance of this process has led to increasing deviations and abnormalities in individual behaviour. The criminal in the adult and the delinquent in the juvenile are none but the upshots of this process, the process of social disorganization and maladjustment. The problem of juvenile delinquency is a complex social problem confronting almost every society.

4.2.2.   Conceptualizing Juvenile Delinquency

The concept of juvenile delinquency has in fact undergone a radical change and today the term 'juvenile delinquent' has such a changed connotation that a person so labelled is not subject to the jurisdiction of the normal course of criminal procedure, but to the special laws and courts that have been recently devised for him and that deal with him differently from the adult criminal. Juvenile delinquency exhibits a specific pattern of behaviour. It involves 'wrong doing by a child or by a young person who is under an age specified by the law of the place'. French medievalist and historian of the family and childhood Phillippe Aries (1962) stated that the development of the concept of juvenile delinquency can be traced to the roots of Anglo-Saxon legal tradition. Early English jurisprudence held that children under seven were legally incapable of committing crimes (Aries, 1962). Juvenile delinquency is the manifestation of desires and urges that remain unsatisfied in the normal way. For others, it signifies misconduct but for the delinquent, it is a normal response, to inner desires and outer stimuli.

The legal definition of juvenile delinquency varies from one country to another. Delinquency is after all a legal term which denotes acts of varying degrees of social consequences from mere naughtiness to a major act punishable by law. So a child is said to be a delinquent when he involves himself in stealing, vagrancy, truancy, indulging in sexual offences, assaulting, and so on. A child is said to be regarded technically as a delinquent when his antisocial tendencies appear so grave that he becomes or ought to become the subject of official action (Cohen,1955).

In India, the legal tendency is to consider all young offenders usually ranging from the age of seven to 21 years as juveniles and the Indian Penal Code uses the expression 'Juvenile offence' rather than the term 'delinquency. According to the Juvenile Justice Act, 1986, a juvenile is defined as a male below 16 years and a female below 18 years of age. In the *Encyclopaedia of Crime and Justice* (1983), juvenile delinquency has been defined as 'such conduct by children, which is violative of prohibition of the criminal law or is otherwise regarded as deviant and inappropriate in social context'. Modern

concept of delinquency on the whole suggests that children who are called delinquent are delinquent primarily in terms of social laws and norms of conduct and also in their ability to conform to the social milieu.

However, the psychologists and psychiatrists do not consider delinquency as a unique form of behaviour, nor do they think that a sharp differentiation can be made between delinquents and non-delinquents. The psychological approach emphasizes upon deviant personality aspects, such as emotional instability, aggressiveness and neurotic tendencies. Psychiatrists viewed delinquency as a particular type of disorder on the basis of which a delinquent would be regarded as a disordered person. They consider delinquency to be an unfortunate expression of personality. According to Friedlander (1947), delinquency may mean to the offender an attempt:

    (a) to escape or take flight from a tense, unpleasant situation

    (b) to obtain social recognition

    (c) to provide excitement and thrill

    (d) to take revenge against parents and others

    (e) to deny dependence on others

    (f) to seek off the sense of conscious or unconscious feeling of guilt

So far as the sociological approach is concerned, Warren (1962) says 'a delinquent is essentially a criminal or social offender, viewed as a social type'. English educational psychologist Cyril Burt has defined 'a child is to be regarded as technically delinquent when his anti-social tendencies appear so grave that he becomes, or ought to have become, the subject of official action' (Burt, 1955).

Thus, the act of delinquency has been largely defined as a course of conduct of a child which is socially undesired and unrecognized. Sociologically, juvenile delinquency is regarded as an expression of internalized norms of a deviant sub-culture which places the individual in conflict with the values of society.

4.2.3.   Nature and Incidence

In a developing country like India where the youth comprises a majority of population, it becomes a matter of serious concern to probe into the problem of delinquency. While commenting on the nature and extent of juvenile delinquency in India in a theoretical paraphrase, consideration is given to the peculiarities of the Indian culture and varying conditions in the Indian social institutions, which may account for differential rates of incidence of delinquency and varying societal responses.

The official source of statistics 'Crime in India' published by the National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, can provide an indication of the recent trends and dimension of the problem. It appears that in 1995, a total of 9766 crimes under IPC were registered against juveniles which constituted 0.6 per cent of the total crimes, i.e, 1695696 reported during the year, showing an increase of 13.5 per cent over 1994. There has been as increase in 1996, i.e, 10024, while in the year 2000, it has only slightly decreased to 9267.

Table 7.1 *Rate of Crime in India*

Year/State/ U.T/City	Theft	Riots	Criminal Breach of Trust	Cheating	Counterfeiting	Other IPC crimes	Total Cognizable Crimes.
1991	4638	1270	21	47	2	4139	12588
1995	2835	955	33	54	1	3869	9766
1996	2356	856	18	60	-	4708	10024
1997	1975	513	16	43	1	3553	7909
1998	2143	574	19	32	-	4576	9376
1999	2172	509	13	31	7	4197	8888
2000	2388	532	24	37	3	4355	9276

Source: Statistical Abstract India, 2002

The Regional Monitoring Reports pay close attention to gender inequalities and to point to opportunities to redress historical imbalances. In case of juvenile crimes, the gender gap is being closed because of an expanding role of young female offenders. But so far as the Indian scenario is concerned, of all IPC crimes in 1991, i.e., 15927, crimes committed by boys were 13213 and girls 2714. This trend has decreased in the year 2000, i.e., of 12040 IPC crimes reported, the crimes committed by boys was 9193 and girls 2847. Women, however, are less inclined to break the law due to the sex-role socialization they undergo from birth onwards. Moreover, although girls are also encouraged to begin to grow up, they continue to be subjected to close parental attention.

On the other hand, when we make an analysis of the regional variation in delinquency it can be said that delinquency is largely an urban phenomenon. The most alarming trends in the region are the rise in the number of violent acts committed by young people, the increase in drug-related offences and a marked rise in female juvenile delinquency.

4.2.4. Theoretical Conception of Crime and Delinquency

Over the past few decades, sociological research on crime and juvenile delinquency has led to the development of some theoretical perspectives on the understanding of the phenomenon of deviance. Many theories have been propounded by psychologists, psychiatrists, lawyers, philosophers and sociologists to comprehend criminal behaviour. Generally, all the aforesaid theories may be put under three broad categories: Biogenic, Psychogenic and Sociogenic.

(i) **Biogenic Theories:** Biogenic or physiological theory emphasize on heredity or biogenic aspects of criminal behaviour. According to this theory, some individuals are more prone to crime than others because of their genetic make-up. The biogenic theory of Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso is considered to be first scientific analysis of crime causation in the field of criminology. The biological type delinquent would be a special category of human being different in physique, physiognomy and mentality from the law-abiding citizen. Lombroso emphasized on the biological causes of crime and suggested overall criminal types, such as criminals by passion and occasional criminals, and also said that criminals were born as such. He talked of the 'born criminal type'. The modern supporters of genetic theories of crime are, however, more cautious than their predecessors. They do not suggest that an individual is a total prisoner of his genes. Instead, they argue that genetically based characteristics predispose an individual to criminal behaviour. Well-known psychologist Hans Eysenck too states that heredity is a very strong predisposing factor as far as committing crime is concerned (Eysenck, 1964).

(ii) Psychogenic Theories: The central hypothesis guiding psychogenic investigation is that the critical causal factors in delinquency centre around personality problems to which juvenile misbehaviour is presumed to be a response. These theories advocate criminality to be the intent of mind, which is a consequence of personality make-up of an individual. Prominent American psychologist Henry Goddard stated in 1919 that feeble-mindedness is the greatest single cause of delinquency. Feeble-mindedness, according to him, is inherited and is little affected by life events. William Healy, a psychiatrist in Chicago, found that juvenile delinquency is caused by defective personality and psychogenic factors, i.e., mental disorder or emotional disturbances. He observed that there was a greater frequency of personality disorders among delinquents than among non delinquents. Healy and eminent psychologist Augusta Bronner (1926) focussed their research on the individual, his conflicts and his early family relationship, and the way such factors influenced criminal behaviour.

Psychological theories argue that in the genesis of juvenile delinquency, something must have gone wrong in the socialization, involving emotional disturbance, which leads to the formation of maladjusted personality traits.

(iii) Sociogenic Theories: The sociogenic theories treat delinquency as inter-related with the social and cultural systems of society. Sociologists argue that delinquent behaviour is learned and is conditioned by the social environment. Some of the major sociological theories of delinquency are as follows:

Sutherland's Theory of Differential Association

American psychologist Edwin Sutherland propounded his theory in 1939 in 'Principles of Criminology'. The concept of differential association appears in his explanation of 'systematic criminality' as a result of interactional process. Sutherland hypothesized that criminal behaviour is learned in a pattern of communications as persons acquired patterns of lawful behaviour. This theory is called the theory of differential association. He felt that criminal behaviour is not inherited and he who is not already trained in crime does not indulge in criminal behaviour. Rather criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons, especially within intimate personal groups.

Merton's Theory of Social Structure and Anomie

American sociologist Robert K. Merton attempted to explain deviant behaviour in terms of social and cultural structures. The cultural system of society enjoins all members to strive for goals by means of normatively regulated or accepted forms of behaviour. However, since the members of society are placed in different positions in the social structure—for example, they differ in terms of class position—they do not have the same opportunity to reach these goals through socially approved means. Thus, means of goal realization are unequally distributed in the society. This situation can generate deviance. Merton outlined five possible way in which member of a society can respond to success goals: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.

Cloward and Ohlin's Theory of Differential Opportunity

American sociologist Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd. E.Ohlin combined Sutherland's and Merton's theories and developed a new theory of delinquent behaviour in 1960. Cloward and Ohlin argue that Merton has only dealt with half of the picture. He has explained deviance in terms of the legitimate opportunity structure but failed to consider the illegitimate opportunity structure.

Cloward and Ohlin have identified three types of delinquent sub-cultures: the criminal sub-culture, the conflict sub-culture and the retreatist sub-culture. Criminal sub-culture tends to emerge in areas where successful and big time criminals reside, and they have a high status in the conventional community and mutually acceptable relation with political machines and law enforcement officials. This sub-culture does not manifest violence. Criminal sub-culture is mainly concerned with 'utilitarian crime' which produces financial rewards.

' Cohen's Theory of Delinquent Sub-culture

American criminologist Albert K. Cohen's work is a modification and development of Merton's theory. In Merton's view, delinquency is an individual response to his position in the class structure but in Cohen's view, delinquency is a collective response of individuals. Cohen holds that Merton has failed to account for 'non-utilitarian' crime such as vandalism and joy riding, which do not produce monetary reward. His theory mainly deals with the problems of status adjustment of working class boys. Cohen believes children learn to become delinquent by becoming members of groups in which delinquent conduct is already the accepted practice. He sees a 'delinquent subculture' persisting most conspicuously in slum areas through transmission of beliefs, values and knowledge down a succession of juvenile groups.

' Howard. S. Becker's Labelling Theory

American sociologist Howard Becker propounded this theory in 1963 which does not deal with the question as to why a person becomes a criminal but agrees that the society labels some people as criminals or deviants. According to him, the criminal or deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is a behaviour that people so label. Becker suggests that in one sense, there is no such thing as a deviant act. An act only becomes deviant when others perceive and define it as such. For instance, some persons who drink heavily are called alcoholics, while others are not. Thus, there is nothing intrinsically normal or deviant. It only becomes deviant when others label it as such, whether or not the label is applied will depend on how the act is interpreted by the audience. This in turn will depend on who commits the act when and where it is committed, who observes the act and the negotiations between the various actors involved in the interaction situation. Initially, the individual is labelled as deviant. This may lead to his rejection by his family and friends, lose his job, and be forced out of the neighbourhood. This may encourage further deviance. The deviant is denied the ordinary means of carrying on the routines of everyday life open to most people. Because of this denial, he develops illegitimate routines. He joins the gang that supports and justifies his activities and identities. The young person is socialized into the criminal sub-culture and becomes a full criminal.

' Walter B. Miller's Lower Class Culture Theory

The theory of cultural transmission has also been developed to explain the occurrences of juvenile delinquency by American anthropologist Walter B. Miller in 1958. The theory suggests that delinquent traditions are believed to be transmitted from one generation of the youth to the next. According to Miller, delinquency is associated with class culture. The delinquent is a product of the influence of specific conditions and circumstances. Miller, in his study of lower-class structure, has attempted to show that delinquent behaviour of the lower class boys may be treated as response to a distinct lower-class sub-culture.

Miller appears to be in total disagreement with Cohen so far as the latter relates delinquent behaviour of the lower-class boys to 'reaction formation' against the middle-class values which they fail to attain. As against this, Miller propounds that delinquent behaviour of the lower-class boys is a product of their socialization into the specific type of lower-class values that are inherent in the lower class. Miller describes six 'focal concerns' of the lower-class culture. They are: trouble (avoidance of complications with official authorities), toughness (physical prowess, masculinity and bravery), smartness (capacity to outwit and dupe others), excitement (to be sought through alcohol, sexual adventure and gambling), fate (belief that life is governed by the forces beyond individual's control) and autonomy (I don't need anybody to take care of me).

Drift Theory of David Matza

Well-known sociologist David Matza, also contributed and introduced new vigour into sociological discussions relating to delinquency and social deviance. In collaboration with American sociologist and criminologist Gresham Skyes, Matza published his work *Techniques of Neutralisation*, 1957, which later on became a part of the standard literature on delinquency. The delinquent, according to their theory, merely stretches a series of such defences far beyond acceptable limits, thereby, providing himself with the justification of delinquent behaviour and at the same time neutralizing both internal and external disapproval in advance. In other words, unequivocally committed to any set of antithetical values, the delinquent himself gives a series of definitions favourable to violation.

The delinquents, in spite of their out of the way behaviour, may have continuing commitment to convention. Many of the 'delinquent' values are merely expressive analogues of subterranean values embodied in the leisure activities of the dominant society. Matza holds the view that deviants of all kinds must be regarded as subjects instead of objects as acting and self reflecting, rather than merely reacting to the contact of external stimuli.

4.2.5.   Causal Factors of Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency has become one of the baffling problems in India. In the trail of rapid changes, especially those of urbanization and industrialization, social and pathological problems like juvenile delinquency have manifested themselves in an alarming manner. The important factors that are mainly responsible for the causation of juvenile delinquency and anti-social propensities include economic, personality and environmental factors.

Poverty may not be the direct cause of delinquency but its unwholesome effects on the child may be disastrous. Feeling of inadequacy, frustration and emotional insecurity play a dominant role in giving rise to anti-social propensities. Truly, no child is a born anti-social and, in fact, delinquency is acquired through a learning process. In other words, techniques relating to commission of crime are learnt through association with criminals alone.

Economic factors often play an important role to indirectly give rise to the problem of delinquency and anti-social tendencies. Owing to the abject poverty, unemployment, and underemployment, social ostracism among different sections of people takes place from rural to urban, thus, swelling the enormous floating population. They settle down in undesirable areas without adequate amenities, and as such, slums grow in course of time with an unfavourable environment. A strange culture prevails without any social norms. In other words, there is total anomie or normlessness.

In developing countries like India, the problems of rural urban drift, poverty and deprivation have adversely affected substantial segments of youth population.

Like a family, which plays a dominant and primary role in socialization of child, the school also has a very important role in moulding the personality of the child. It provides the most important opportunity to a child for the development of his social attitude. The child gets his first exposure at school with the outside world, which was hitherto unknown to him. Some important factors like low-socio-economic status of the family, low intelligence, lack of motivation, poor school performance, personality defects, lack of extracurricular activities, lack of sense of belonging to the school, and so on, adversely affect the attitude of the child towards his school.

Nowadays, films in general depict intolerance and violence which have lasting effects on the impressionable minds of young children. Sometimes, the child may develop a sense of curiosity and seek to put into practice whatever they have witnessed in cinema halls and other televisions at home. Moreover, easy access to pornographic publication and trash obscene writing and paintings pollute the impressionable minds of young persons. Gradually, they may develop a tendency which is inimical to the interest of their studies and other aesthetic pursuits.

4.2.6.   Remedial Measures for Delinquency Prevention

Delinquent behaviour among children has increased in spite of technological and scientific advancements in our society. The concern of the society with the problem of juvenile delinquency has two dimensions: the first focuses attention on the child, whose protection and care is the primary duty of the society, and the other is the protection of the society itself because juvenile delinquency is a symptom of social pathology and social disorganization. Therefore, efforts should be made for early treatment of juvenile delinquents. The age old traditional informal system of social, cultural and emotional society provided by joint family and a well-knit community organization is now on the verge of collapse. It has been, therefore, necessary to provide for legal safeguards to ensure protection of rights of the child and other related issues. However, two types of methods are proposed to treat delinquency: Preventive and Rehabilitative.

1. Preventive measures

These measures include the creation of a team work of private and public agencies devoted to preventive work; for instance, the establishment of schools, churches, group work agencies like scouts and guides, and so on. The careful training of members and staff of all organizations concerned with delinquency control is essential in order to enable them to recognize the potential threats and bring parents and youth in contact with the agency which has facility to help them. Apart from this, the establishment of child guidance clinics are necessary for the treatment of maladjusted children. Schools, churches and other character building agencies should be encouraged to serve the underprivileged children. Other preventive measures can be taken by propaganda, i.e., newspapers, magazines, television and motion pictures should interpret juvenile delinquency in terms of honest reports about causes and protection of youth rather than focusing on sensational issues.

2. Rehabilitative measures

Programmes before Independence

(i) **Apprentices Act of 1850:** This was one of the earliest steps undertaken in this direction which was intended for the benefit of children, especially orphans and poor children, to train them for traders, crafts and employment by which they may gain a livelihood.

(ii) **Reformatory Schools Act of 1897:** This Act empowers the courts to send a young offender sentenced to imprisonment for detention in a reformatory school for a period not less than three years or more than seven years. A person is not detained after he attains the age of 18. This Act was imbued with the spirit of reformation and provided that the reformatory schools might be established and youthful offenders might, at the direction of the sentencing court, be ordered to be detained in such a school for three to seven years instead of undergoing a sentence of imprisonment. However, this Act did not make any provision for dealing with girls, though the original Act 1876 made provisions for both boys and girls.

Programmes after Independence

(i) **Juvenile courts:** Juvenile courts have been established in some states to try and convict specifically juvenile delinquents. The main features of juvenile courts are informality of procedure, de-emphasis on deterrent or retributive justice, protection and rehabilitation of juvenile, and the use of socialized treatment measures.

(ii) **Remand homes or observation homes:** These homes are meant for the children during pendency of trial in the courts, but they are also used for keeping the homeless, destitute and neglected children. These homes are viewed more as observation homes rather than as places of detention. These homes are mostly managed by welfare agencies with government assistance.

(iii) **Certified or reformatory schools:** Juveniles given detention orders by the court are kept in reformatory schools for a period of three years and a maximum period of seven years. These schools are meant for education and vocational training of delinquent children with regard to the type of crime committed.

(iv) **Borstal schools:** Such schools were created in 1920s for the segregation of adolescent offenders from the adults so that correction services are free from the authoritarian atmosphere. Borstal schools were established for youthful offenders in the age group of 16–21 years and term in a borstal school is from 2-3 years.

(v) **Probation homes:** These institutions established under the Probation of Offenders Act are meant to provide residential care and treatment to the offenders released under probation under the supervision of a probation officer. The inmates are given complete freedom to move out and also take up certain jobs of their choice.

4.2.7. Legal Interventions

The Apprentices Act of 1850 was the first effort to introduce juvenile legislation in India. It was for the betterment of children who committed petty offences. The main purpose of this Act was to regulate the relations between employers and employees. It also dealt with the children between the ages of 10 and 18 years who had committed petty offences or were destitute. This Act empowered magistrates to commit such children as apprentices to employers and provided for controlling the relations between them. The Act was intended for the benefit of children, especially orphans and poor children brought up by

a public charity to train them for trades, crafts and employment, by which they may earn livelihood when they attain majority.

The Indian Penal Code, 1860, enacts a conclusive presumption of innocence in children under seven years of age. It has recognized separate status of children. Section 82 provides that no child under seven can be convicted of any offence.

The Code of Criminal Procedure was enacted first in 1861, which was later modified in 1898. Section 29 (B), 399 and 562 referred to children and young persons up to the age of 21 years. Section 29 (B) of the code provided that any person under 15 years of age who had committed an offence not punishable with death or transportation, could be tried by a District magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate or any Magistrate empowered under the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897. Thus, it restricted the jurisdiction of ordinary courts in the trial of juvenile delinquents.

The Criminal Tribes Amendment Act, 1897, provided for the establishment of industrial, agricultural and reformatory schools for the children of criminal tribes between ages of four and 18 years. The government was empowered by this Act to remove the children of this age group from the criminal tribes settlements and place them in a reformatory established under this Act.

The Indian Jail Committee (1919–1920) appointed by the Government of India under British rule brought out a detailed report of its observations and recommendations. It emphasized that the child offender should be given different treatment from that of the adult. It held that imprisonment of child offenders should be prohibited. It recommended the provision of Remand Homes, Children's Courts and Certified School, which approximate to ordinary schools.

After Independence in 1947, the government initiated various activities of nation-building. A new emphasis was laid on child development and a number of schemes were also undertaken to improve the conditions of children in distress and adequate measures were being taken to deal with those who came in conflict with law. The Government of India enacted the Children Act, 1960, for enforcement in the Union Territories.

Juvenile Justice Act, 1986

The Juvenile Justice Act, 1986, replaced the children's acts, formerly in operation in the States and Union Territories. It came into force in 1987 on a uniform basis for the whole country. The Preamble of the Juvenile Justice Act states that the Act is to provide for the care, protection, treatment, development and rehabilitation of neglected and delinquent juveniles, and adjudication of certain matters relating to disposition of delinquent juveniles. Under this Act, juvenile means a boy who has not attained the age of 16 years or a girl who has not attained the age of 18 years.

The Act has provided for the classification and separation of delinquents on the basis of their age, the kind of delinquency and the nature of offences committed by them. The Juvenile Justice Act does not directly deal with child sexual abuse but the definition of a neglected juvenile who lives in a brothel or with a prostitute or who is likely to be abused or exploited for immoral or illegal purposes. The Act binds itself only to matters regarding the relationship between the government and the children, and the parents, relatives, school and community; it does not have any role in care and nurture of the child.

Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000 (JJ Act, 2000)

The ratification of Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, by India in 1992 and the social attitudes towards criminality by children reflected in Supreme Court decisions like the cases of Amrutlal Someshwar Joshi, Ramdeo Chauhan and Arnit Das, and the need for a more child friendly juvenile justice system were some of the factors that led to the passing of the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000. In this Act, 'juvenile' or 'child' means a person who has not completed eighteenth year of age (Section 2 K), whereas the juvenile in conflict with law means a person who is alleged to have committed an offence (Section 2(1)). Thus, there are two distinct categories of children under this Act:

- 'Juvenile' for children in conflict with law
- 'Child' for children in need of care and protection

This Act also covers mentally and physically disabled children; sick children or children suffering from terminal diseases or incurable diseases having no one to support or look after them; children who are abused or tortured, and children victimized by armed conflict or natural calamity.

4.3.   CORRUPTION

The prevalence of corruption in civic life is a universal experience, but recently, it has assumed alarming proportions in India. It has spread to each part of the governmental bodies, and a more speedy growth of corruption has been observed among the politicians, the political workers at all stages and even in the uppermost ranks of political leadership, both at the levels of the state and the Centre. There persists a massive public scepticism towards corruption, and there is a general feeling of acceptance of corruption in civic life by people. It is felt that people indicted of political corruption always go guiltless, and, thus, accumulate more power, status and wealth. All this has resulted in a state of affairs, where even the most resolute efforts to fight the evil of corruption have failed dejectedly. It seems that the government is already aware of its existence, and also knows the likely manner in which it can be controlled, but is lacking the will required to implement such measures successfully. American political scientist Joseph Nye states that 'corruption denotes the abuse or misuse of public offices for personal gains'.

The English dictionary defines corruption as 'an inducement to wrong by bribery or other unlawful means: a departure from what is pure and correct'.

The following are some of the characteristics of corruption in India:

- It damages the whole body politic, economic and social—whether individual groups, establishments or business organizations.
- It means exercising more demands and influences by using the power of money.
- It expands and spreads when unethical politicians, government officials and power holders get the power of making decisions and when they become pliant.
- It makes effortless headway in a lane of financial inequalities, societal backwardness and ethical decline.

Check Your Progress

13. Define crime.

14. How is the nature of criminal and non-criminal conduct determined?

15. What is juvenile delinquency?

- It has some major manifestations such as defection, factionalism and political bargaining, red-tapism, nepotism, white-collar crimes, blue-collar crimes and bureaucracy.

- It displaces all political systems but its offshoots mainly annihilate democracies in developing countries.

- It demoralizes the whole fabric of the social order doomed in illiteracy, poverty and backwardness.

- In India, corruption has emerged from the colonial and feudal order, which can be seen even today in the conduct of the Indian political system. Despite a drastic change in political elites and leadership, political corruption has continued until date.

- The act of corruption involves the dereliction of duty, moral and legal lapses.

- Corruption involves the practice of receiving bribes not only for getting wrong things done, but also getting right things done at the right time.

4.3.1.   Political Corruption

Corruption in India has emerged as a social incident. It is extensive, and the cases of corruption are increasing at an unbelievable pace. There is barely any area of activity, which has remained totally free from the influence of corruption. As a matter fact, corruption has now become a commonly accepted practice. In India, taking bribes, under-the-table payments, gifts and commissions by the politicians or bureaucrats are not frowned upon. To legitimize them as a part of normal life activities, subtle ways have been found. In short, such an ethos has been generated in the society that corruption has stopped to be considered as a crime any longer. In simple terms, corruption is defined as the behaviour of public officials who deviate from accepted norms in order to serve private ends. In more sophisticated terms, corruption is a form of behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role.

However, on the aspects of political corruption in the country, people are very much familiar with the following issues:

- The getting hold of (through fake and illegal means) large areas of farmland by the senior bureaucratic officials and political leaders

- The abuse and misuse of official position to enrich themselves directly or indirectly by employing their relations as proxies

- Granting of favours to members of their caste by superseding the due procedure, and overlooking the claim of others by using favoured officials as instruments

- The use of political position to overcome the purpose of judicial process

- Preservation of corrupt by well-entrenched political bosses to avoid the loss of power in case of a political party

- Misuse of governmental machinery for the political party purposes

- Starting businesses with the support of government and then enriching themselves

- Conducting business with the government offices in the name of firms owned by them but supposedly managed by their wives

- Exploitation of public funds managed by statutory bodies to bolster business concerns that act as financiers of public parties

- Embezzlement of public funds or the inability of governments to render accounts for public expenditure

Therefore, political corruption is a kind of wide range, multi-dimensional corruption. Political corruption refers to corrupting the political life of a country at all levels. In its broader sense, it searches for politicizing all walks of life and in its narrower aspect, it legitimizes unworthy political actions for benefiting vested interests whether they are institutional or personalized.

Various forms of political corruption

The whole infrastructure in the contemporary Indian society is built on the structure of corruption. It has come down from the top level to the bottom. Many a times, political corruption in the country happens in conspiracy with the bureaucracy in the form of huge kickbacks in big nationalized and global deals, which go unpunished for understandable reasons. In India, the link between corruption and the worsening of the basic administrative system has not been sufficiently understood and focussed upon. Corruption in post-independent India can be said to have begun with the Jeep scandal in 1948. V. K. Krishna Menon, who was the High Commissioner for India in London at that time, was involved in a deal with a foreign company, and bought jeeps amounting to Rs. 80 lakh for the Indian Army in Kashmir without following normal procedure.

At the level of states also, there are a number of such cases. The significant ones are the Fodder Scandal case in addition to the purchase scam in the Health Department of Bihar. These cases involved several hundred crores of rupees, which resulted in the collapse of Indian politician Laloo Prasad Yadav's government as he was accused in both these cases. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Scam was another scam that institutionalized corruption because the MPs were involved in this scam, and not the bureaucrats. In 1993, the MPs belonging to the Janata Dal and JMM allegedly received bribes to defeat a no-confidence motion moved in the Lok Sabha against the minority government of P.V. Narasimha Rao. Apart from openly taking money or gifts in kind or favours, political corruption in the country has been apparent in various ways. Political corruption in our country has been seen to occur in the following forms:

- **Implementation of extra-constitutional authority:** The most significant spheres for political corruption are legislature, election and bureaucracy. The materialization of extra-constitutional centres of power exercise vast influence and power on behalf of the legally constituted institutions and authorities.

- **Raising of political funds by professional politicians:** In India, politics has come to obtain the character of a big industry in which the fund-raising qualities of a politician draw the largest premium. As elections have become an exclusive proposition, each party has shifted its focus from honesty to a capacity to raise funds regardless of the means used.

- **Kickbacks:** The most famous case of political corruption, which has presumed global impact, has been the supposed kickbacks in the purchase of Bofors 155m FH-778 guns. In 1987, the Swedish Radio claimed that an Indian firm was given a commission of 33 million Swedish Kroners (about Rs. 65 millions) regarding a deal worth billions of rupees for the delivery of the Bofors guns. It was said that the commission was remunerated in foreign exchange to the

persons and friends who were close to the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The Joint Parliamentary Committee that held an enquiry into this deal, did not find anything wrong, and pardoned Rajiv Gandhi. However, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India accused the government for improprieties in the whole negotiations and the deal. It resulted in such a public protest that it became the most important issue in the 1989 general elections and resulted in the defeat of Rajiv Gandhi's government.

- **Bribing MPs to save government from accusation against the prime minister and a few cabinet members:** The Bank Securities Scam of 1992 was a major political fallout. In 1993, the main accused in the scam Harshad Mehta had alleged in a packed press conference hall that he had himself given a suitcase containing ` 6.7 million to the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao at the latter's official house at New Delhi's Race Course Road. Later, the remaining ` 3.3 million were given to the prime minister's men. Although many people did not believe Rao's involvement in the scandal, the opposition made it an issue. It called for a no-confidence motion against the Rao government. The speedy no-confidence motion brought out by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Communist Party (Marxist) (CPM), which were the opposition parties at that time in the Parliament was ignominiously defeated. It was alleged that the managers of the Congress Party had bought out enough votes (a dozen in numbers) to defeat the no-confidence motion. The defeat of the no-confidence motion and survival of the Rao government were the two aims accomplished by the commercial transaction. The Congress Party declared that as the motion was defeated, it proved that the people were not keen to believe that the government was fraudulent.

- **Selling Public offices:** Another way of bribing the members of parliament (MPs) and members of legislative assemblies (MLA) is by the incentive to give the legislators berths in the Council of Ministers or grant them bait of public offices to allow a party in minority or a particular political leader to remain in power. This leads to the establishment of jumbo-sized governments. It has become a common practice of specifically all governments that have coalition governments, both at the centre and states level.

- **Money laundering:** In February 1996, there occurred the $18 million Jain Hawala Case (money laundering scandal). The former Prime Minister Rao, some cabinet ministers and almost sixty politicians of different political parties and bureaucrats were involved in this scandal. These people were guilty of the violation of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), and were receiving money in foreign countries by means of Hawala transactions through some businessmen like N. K. Jain and his brothers.

The process of politicization and criminalization of politics adds to the political corruption in the country. Democracy is threatened due to the politicization of the police. Politicians use most pernicious methods such as the use of the services of the anti-social elements during elections. There is a close nexus between criminal elements and mafia leaders and the politicians. Practices such as booth-capturing, violence, threats and victimization of voters in the electoral process are quite prevalent. These practices ruin the weaker sections of our electorate. Today, it is extremely hard to affect the conviction of culprits, who are guilty of crimes such as murder, grievous hurt, intimidation and rape.

4.3.2. Bureaucratic Corruption

The following are the examples of activities, which are generally considered corrupt practices and unethical behaviour in the part of bureaucracy:

- Bribery, graft, patronage, nepotism and influence peddling
- Conflict of interest (including such activities as financial transactions to gain personal advantage, accepting outside employment during the tenure in government)
- Misuse of inside knowledge—for example, through the acceptance of business employment after retirement or resignation, favouring relatives and friends in awarding contracts or arranging loans and subsidies and accepting improper gifts and entertainment
- Protecting incompetent people
- Regulating trade practices or lowering standards in such a manner so as to give advantage to oneself or to the family members
- Use and abuse of official and confidential information for private purposes

Such activities may produce many such costs for a society as inefficiency, mistrust of government and its employee's distortion of programme achievements, waste of public resources, encouragement of black market operations and eventual national instability. A situation is created, which tolerates white-collar crimes against the nation by those who are its employees. Such costs may or may not be acceptable by a state, but at least a society should be aware that it is incurring them, and public officials should be sensitized towards their existence.

The following factors result in corruption and unethical conduct among public servants:

- Job scarcity
- Insufficient salary
- The ever-increasing powers that they enjoy to regulate the states' economy and social affairs

Various opportunities for making money are offered by this increased regulatory authority; for instance, in the cases of the development planning, granting permits, import-export licenses, contracts for construction; collecting customs and other duties and accounting for foreign exchange. Due to a valueless polity that governs the country, the integrity of civil services has eroded. Political executives achieve their short-term objectives by deploying pliant functionaries, handpicked on lines of their caste, community or political associations to handle key assignments. Due to this, the cadres of several civil services, which include the police and judicial services, are demoralized and their functioning is badly affected.

4.3.3. Causes of Corruption

The following are some of the chief causes of corruption in India:

(i) **Scarcity of resources:** The scarcity of resources–educational, natural and monetary–leads to job scarcities, insufficient salaries, etc. This means more people need these resources. There is an increase in competition for these resources and people resort to paying bribes and other evil practices in order to avail them.

(ii) **Conflict of values in our expanding economy:** In the emerging society, with its emphasis on purposively initiated processes of urbanization and industrialization, there has come about a steady weakening of the old system of values without it being replaced by an effective system of new values. Corruption thrives in such a conflict of values simply because there is no agreement on the definition of corruption.

(iii) **Acute poverty:** The co-existence of acute poverty and confounding prosperity has also eroded the integrity of the people. The Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee (1953–1955), which was presided over by Indian politician Acharya J. B. Kripalani, observed:

> We believe that, so far as the disparity in emoluments of the lowest and the highest paid government employees is conceded, it should be narrowed down. It is argued that as long as the disparity between the lowest and highest paid employees in trade and industry remains high, the Government, if it tried to reduce high emoluments of its executive, will not get the requisite talent for public service…We believe that if the Government takes the initiative in reducing disparity of emoluments of its high paid and low paid employees, it will progressively reduce corruption as we march towards socialism, which has been declared to be the goal of government policy.

(iv) **Lack of strong public opinion against the evil of corruption:** Corruption is a consequence of the way of life of our acquisitive society, where people are judged by what they have rather than by what they are. The possession of material goods seems to have become the *sine qua non* of life. Thus, materialism, importance of status resulting from the possession of money and economic power, group loyalties and parochial affinities, etc. seem to be on the increase. This is because of the general apathy or inability of all sections of the society to appreciate in full, the need of strict observance of a high standard of behaviour. This has resulted in the emergence and growth of white-collared and economic crimes.

(v) **Economic necessity:** Inadequate remuneration or salary scales and the rising cost of living is probably one of the most important causes of corruption. In recent years, the ever-rising cost of living has brought down the real income of various sections of the community, particularly that of the salaried classes. It is, therefore, inevitable that government servants are the worst hit and have had to face an appreciable fall in the standard of living. The economic necessity has encouraged those who had the opportunities to succumb to temptations.

(vi) **The structure or system of government induces corruption to influence peddlers:** Peddlers are ostensibly designated as liaison officers, public relations officers, officers on special duty, and so on, or alternatively work independently as 'contact men', on commission basis. They are generally influential people who are either related, or otherwise closely connected with ministers and senior bureaucrats, or retired high government officers who are in a position to influence or bring pressure upon the concerned officers. These concerned officers are likely to be their erstwhile colleagues or subordinates.

(vii) **Complicated and cumbersome working of government offices:** It is alleged that the working of certain government departments is complicated, cumbersome and dilatory. This has encouraged the growth of dishonest practices like the system of 'speed money'. In these cases, the bribe giver generally does not wish to get anything done unlawfully, but only wants to expedite the process of movement of files and communications, relating to decisions.

(viii) **Collusion of commercial and industrial magnates, and so on, to serve their individual interests:** It is not always a government servant who takes the initiative in the matter of corruption. Corruption can exist only if there is someone willing to corrupt and is capable of corrupting. Both willingness and capacity to corrupt are found in ample measure in the industrial and commercial classes.

(ix) **Non-cooperation of trade associations and Chamber of Commerce:** Unscrupulous and dishonest members of industrial and commercial classes are major impediments in the purification of public life. It is quite important to fight these unscrupulous agents of corruption so as to eliminate corruption in public services. In fact, they go together. The Trade Association, the State Chambers of Commerce and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce could lend powerful support to the fight against corruption. However, it is not easy to achieve their cooperation.

(x) **Protection given to the public services in India:** There is too much security of tenure accorded to the bureaucracy by requiring that no public servant shall be dismissed or removed by an authority, subordinate to that by which he was appointed. And further, no such person shall be dismissed, or removed, or reduced in rank until he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him.

(xi) **Lack of severe punishment for the offenders:** Anti-corruption laws in India are weak and do not empower the people since there is an absolute lack of penalties for corrupt bureaucrats.

(xii) **Get-rich-quick attitude of the masses:** The attitude of get-rich-quick has crept into the Indian society. This has resulted in several frauds, crimes and corrupt practices, especially among the youth.

(xiii) **Cut-throat competition:** Banks, political parties, companies, educational institutes–all social organizations in India are competing to become the pioneers in their respective fields. Corruption is one of the ways in which such competition is tackled.

(xiv) **Presence of black money:** Black money refers to the amount held illegitimately by an individual, organization or party. Illegal practices such as black marketeering, smuggling of drugs and illegal objects, bribery, and terrorism can lead to the accumulation of black money. The practice of not revealing the actual income for tax evasion also amounts to its amassment. Black money is often deposited in tax havens.

(xv) **System of democracy:** The system of democracy allows for public funds to be used by bureaucrats and public servants for public welfare schemes. The consortiums involved in various schemes interfere with the allocation of these funds.

(xvi) **High cost of elections:** All political parties strive hard to win voters and embark on election campaigning on a massive scale. There have been reports of the voters being bribed with liquor and money.

(xvii) **Meagre salary being paid to government servants:** The public servants are paid very low salaries, and it is not easy to shun the temptation of more funds to increase one's standard of living. This is one of the reasons that corruption is seen as indispensable by government employees.

4.3.4. Measures against Corruption

It is natural that the Indian government has despondently failed to make success in monitoring—let alone eliminating—the danger of corruption from civil life. Since Independence, the government has employed the following tools to eliminate corruption from time to time.

- Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947 (later modified in 1988)
- Commissions of Inquiries under the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952–55
- Appointment of Santhanam Committee to recommend measures for combatting corruption
- Recommendations of the Administrative Reform Commission
- Shah Commission appointed by the Janata Government after the Emergency
- Establishment of the institution of Lokayuktas in states
- Investigations by the CBI under the Delhi Special Police Establishment Act, 1946
- System of judicial review of political corruption
- Recent phenomenon of Public Interest Litigation (PIL)
- Anti-Defection Law
- Election expenditure ceilings
- Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA)

All these tools and acts have failed to make the slightest deterrent for people resorting to corrupt practices. It is time that some radical measures are adopted to check this ever-growing menace.

The strategies frequently suggested at various forums of academic and political discussions, and in various thought-provoking and scholarly writings, fall into a number of areas for action:

- Reorganization of the political system
- Overall re-orientation of the bureaucracy
- Empowerment of citizens and mobilization of the people against corruption
- Creation of continued public force for a change
- Comprehensiveness of the anti-corruption strategies to attack the causes of corruption
- Political will to implement the strategies
- Redefining the role of the state: removal of the state ownership and state discretionary controls
- Re-crafting of the electoral process to include the regulation of legitimate sources of funding of elections, which is one of the basic sources of corruption
- Better institutional framework to deal with corruption and to bring about an effective investigative machinery to bring the errant to book
- Revitalizing and strengthening the existing anti-corruption laws and agencies (e.g., the existing Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947, Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, Delhi Special Police Establishment Act; strengthening it by a separate and comprehensive CBI Act to vest it with legal powers to investigate

corruption cases of higher-level politicians and officials throughout the country without the requirement of prior consent of the state governments, etc.)

- Strengthening and depoliticizing the existing offices of the Lokayuktas in many states, creating new institutional framework like the Lokpal at the Centre
- Strengthening the autonomy of the Chief Vigilance Commissioner and giving it the power and status of an independent autonomous authority to conduct investigations, and constitution of an Accountability Commission that is free from political control
- Simplifying administrative procedures and enactment of Freedom of Information Act
- Deregulation of monopolies
- Speedy judicial trial in cases of corruption and effective enforcement of punitive judgements
- Establishing an anti-corruption cell in the PMO to be staffed by officials, who have the courage of conviction with a missionary zeal to eradicate corruption, an impeccable integrity and personal honesty, who would have the time bound mandate to get after the most corrupt

4.3.5. Confronting Bureaucratic Corruption

The Indian Government is aware of the problem of corruption in the administrative system. It has adopted various means to check it from time to time. In the pre-Independence era, during the Second World War, the then British colonial government had established a special police force at the central level in 1941. It was called 'The Delhi Special Police Establishment (DPSE)'. Its objective was to monitor the wartime corruption confined to lower or middle-level officials of some departments keenly involved in war supplies and contracts. By enacting the DSPE Act in 1946, this was given a statutory status. As the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) was established in April 1963, the DPSE was merged with this larger anti-corruption police organization. Meanwhile, the government acquired extra-legal powers to punish corrupt public servants with the enactment of 'Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947'. These two instruments, in addition to the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952, were largely considered enough to cope up with the degree and intensity of corruption prevailing at that time. However, with time, the efficiency and efficacy of the CBI has declined, and questions are asked about its impartiality and ability as a probing and a prosecuting agency. The Santhanam Committee Report (1964) and the Administrative Reforms Commission (1967) advocated the creation of the tradition of Lokpal at the Centre and the Lokayuktas in the states in order to probe alleged corruption cases against ministers. While in the last three decades, various state governments have experimented with the Constitution, the abolition and reconstitution of Lokayuktas, the Centre is yet to set up the office of the Lokpal.

An independent Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), created through a government resolution of 11 February 1964, was supposed to tackle high-level corruption in administration. Its tenure changed from a starting six years to three years (1977) and again to five years (1990). This rendered it weaker and vulnerable. The CVC's jurisdiction was extended in 1986 to include the staff and officers of the public sector undertakings. Several ministries and government offices also set up individual vigilance departments and looked into the complaints of corruption in their offices. However, despite many cases of alleged corruption and reports submitted to the legislature, just a few of them have been forwarded for prosecution.

Combatting bureaucratic corruption calls for the following steps:

- Minimizing opportunities and incentives for corrupt behaviour and maximizing the sense of responsibility on the part of civil officials.
- Effectively setting up anti-corruption measures; it would mean that steps should be rationally consistent with regard to the phasing of a time table for speedy probe and conviction; a strong political will to put into practice the strategies and enforcing anti-corruption steps and people's active contribution from below in the implementation of administrative, legal and judicial measures, thus mobilizing the people against corruption in civil life.

A growing number of government officials have realized that corruption is a tool for executing illegal orders and collecting funds for their political masters. Owing to political corruption, the law-enforcing agencies have to protect the very elements whose illegal activities they are expected to monitor. Since the politicians patronize and protect, a frightening triangular nexus has developed between criminals, government officials and politicians. Also, political instability and the progressive reduction in the values of the political system have led to the ruin of the parliamentary system, spoiling of the way the Cabinet functions, ignoring of the Indian Constitution and the rule of law leading to an erosion of values among the civil servants.

It has been lately observed that the society is openly expressing its resentment against corruption by mobilizing itself and participating in rallies, protests, etc. organized by civil society activists. The revolutionary thinking engendered in the society by the likes of Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal has led to the frequent demands for the graft of the anti-corruption bill called the Jan Lokpal Bill. These activists have proposed passing the Jan Lokpal Bill to tackle corruption at all levels of the governmental structure.

4.4. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The Violence Prevention Alliance defines violence as 'the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation'. In everyday life, the kinds of violence that women endure are likely to be different from the kinds that men experience. Men are more likely to experience random violence from strangers out in the streets. Women, on the other hand, are typically violently assaulted by people whom they know. For instance, the United Nations Development Fund for Women or UNIFEM (2007) estimates that worldwide about half of women murder victims are killed by their husbands.

The United Nations defines violence against women as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life' (Economic and Social Council, UN, 1992). This includes physical, sexual and psychological violence such as wife-beating, dowry burning and acid throwing; sexual abuse including rape and incest by family members, female genital mutilation, female foeticide and infanticide; and emotional abuse such as the use of coercion and abusive language. Gender-Based Violence (GBV) is not only a family occurrence generally, but it is often supported or preserved by the state through a number of policies and actions.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

16. Define corruption.
17. List the factors that result in corruption and unethical conduct among public servants.
18. What do you mean by black money?

Violence against women, both as violent crimes (rape, sexual assault) or as domestic violence (spousal abuse, dowry deaths), which affect women's health, mental health, economic productivity, self-esteem and the welfare and nutrition of her children, are often underestimated or ignored. Any form of violence demolishes a women's self-confidence and is often used as a potent tool of subjugation and disempowerment. The 2005–06 National Family Health Survey (NFHSIII) reported that one-third of women aged 15 to 49 years had experienced physical violence, and approximately one in ten women had been a victim of sexual violence. The survey also found that only one in four abused women had ever sought help and that 54 per cent of women believed it was justified for a husband to beat his wife. A WHO report indicates that in women between the age group of 15–44 years, gender-based violence is the cause for higher number of deaths and disabilities than cancer, malaria, traffic accidents, or war put together.

4.4.1. Types and Causes of Gender-Based Violence

Violence against women is broadly divided into the following categories:

(i) Domestic or family violence

Domestic violence is a serious problem of Indian society. Domestic violence refers to violence against women, especially after marriage. Therefore, it is recognized as a significant barrier in women's empowerment. There are many types of domestic violence. These include physical attacks, sexual assault, emotional abuse, threats, economic hardships and threats of violence.

A majority of violence committed against women occurs within the home. A classic sociological study of violence against wives (Dobash and Dobash, 1979) provided some insight into 'domestic violence'. Now what is usually known as 'family violence,' includes more types of violence, and it tends to obscure the fact that women are much more likely to be harmed (Nazroo, 1999). The analysis of demographic and health survey data from several countries clearly shows that women and girls are more likely to experience violence when they are married at a younger age in adolescence (UNICEF, 2005). The precursors of domestic violence are marital conflict, male control over household wealth and decision-making, poverty and unemployment (Heise, 1998).

Domestic violence is mainly of the following types:

- Foeticide and infanticide
- Spouse abuse/Wife battering

Foeticide and infanticide

Girl children are neglected in society even prior to birth. The development of modern techniques such as amniocentesis and sex discrimination tests has facilitated people to know the sex of the foetus. These have contributed to the female foeticides. According to a study, it has been reflected that among 1,000 foeticides, 995 are those of girl foetuses. In the prosperous cities, there are provisions of sex discrimination tests and the people of upper and middle class are using these tests. This has increased the number of female foeticides.

The Census data of India, 2011 revealed that in the age group 0–6 years, the gender ratio is 914 girls to 1,000 boys. This indicates that for every 1,000 boys, there are at least about 60–70 girls under the age of 6 years who were killed before or within 6 years after birth. This is the lowest gender ratio recorded since India achieved

Independence in 1947. Historically, children are regarded as the property of their parents. A girl is considered as a burden by parents. Since customs bound a woman to move to her husband's place on marriage, the parents did not want to waste their resources on her upbringing. Again, the demand for dowry and the huge wedding expenses caused a lot of hardship to parents. So, male children were preferred, because they would be the receivers of large dowry. These considerations led to the practice of killing the girl child once she was born. Female infanticide continues to be common. Statistics also show that there is still a very high preference for a male child in states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chennai and Punjab. Incidentally, the male to female ratio is very high in these states.

The earliest efforts to stop female infanticide were made in Kathiawar and Kutch. In 1795, infanticide was declared to be murder by Bengal Regulation XXI. The evil of female infanticide was ended by propaganda and the forceful action on the part of the British Government. Through the efforts of Keshab Chandra Sen, the Native Marriage Act of 1872 was passed, which abolished early marriages, made polygamy an offence, sanctioned widow remarriages and inter-caste marriages. In 1901, the Government of Baroda passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act. This Act fixed the minimum age for a girl's marriage at 12 years and for a boy's marriage at 16 years. In 1930, the Sarda Act was passed to prevent the solemnization of marriages between boys under the age of 18 years and girls under the age of 14 years. However, even today, the Act remains merely on paper on account of several factors. The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (PCMA) came into effect on 1 November 2007. According to this Act, any male over 18 years of age entering into a marriage with a minor, or anyone who directs or conducts a child marriage ceremony can be punished with up to two years of imprisonment or a fine.

Wife battering and abuse

Spouse abuse involves an exchange of physical and psychological abuse between husbands and wives. According to Ram Ahuja, author of books on social problems in India, wife battering refers to 'wilfully striking wife by her husband with or without injury'.

Dobash and Dobash acknowledge that women are usually the victims of violence within relationships, and argue that this is the case because we live in a patriarchal society that has traditionally allowed men to treat women as their property. The 2005–06 National Family Health Survey (NFHS III) reported that one out of every three women between the age of 15 and 49 years had undergone physical violence, and at least one in ten had experienced sexual violence. The survey also revealed that only one out of four abused women had ever sought help and that 54 per cent of women considered it legitimate for a husband to beat his wife.

In India, domestic violence is widespread across cultures, religions, classes and ethnicities. The abuse is often allowed by social custom, and regarded as a part and routine of married life. Statistics reveal a grim picture of domestic violence in India. The National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India reports a shocking 71.5 per cent increase in instances of torture and dowry deaths during the period from 1991 to 1995. In 1995, the torture of women constituted 29.25 per cent of all reported crimes against women.

Women are generally victims of the vicious circles of economic dependence, insecurities regarding their children's lives in addition to their own, lack of awareness of their legal rights, absence of self-confidence and excessive social pressures. These

factors effectively leave a woman with no option but to lead a life of mistreatment from which she often does not have the means to escape. The sanctity of privacy within the family also makes it difficult for authorities to intervene. Spouses consider women as their belongings. Husbands consider that this supplementary role allows them the authority to abuse their wives in order to restrict their movement and activities.

A number of studies have concluded that men who were more traditional in their attitude towards women were found to be more violent towards their wives. The data on traditionality and wife abuse reveals that there is a progressive decrease in the percentage of victims from a low level of traditionality to a high level of traditionality. There is also a direct relationship between substance abuse and family violence. Domestic violence is so pervasive that three states have adopted alcohol prohibition laws in response to women's lobbying.

Dependency is also treated as a cause of physical violence in a conjugal relationship. Researchers have utilized this explanation in two ways. In case a wife is completely dependent, both physically and socially, her husband exploits her dependency and uses violence at her to reinforce his dominant position in the conjugal relationship. A few scholars are also of the opinion that when a husband is dependent upon his wife, he resorts to physical violence as a last resort against his wife as he is afraid of losing his spouse or a person on whom he can exert his dominant position. Hence, dependency of a husband over his wife is also treated as a cause of wife abuse.

(ii) Violent crimes

There are several ways in which girls are being killed. These are explained as follows:

Homicidal violence

A 2011 report on a study on homicides carried out by the Indian Council of Medical Research, along with the Harvard School of Public Health, established the abnormally high mortality rate of girls below 5 years of age in India due to exposure to brutal physical extremities at home by their families. The study concluded that girls had 21 per cent higher chances than boys of dying before their fifth birthday, due to violence. Baby girls, who were one year old or younger, had 50 per cent more chances of dying because of violence, than boys of the same age.

Rape

Rape is a humiliating and the most shocking crime against human conscience and morality. This crime is dealt with significant penal laws in every society. Sections 375 to 376(D) of the Indian Penal Code deal with the issue of rape. Section 375 defines the statutory offence of rape. It denotes sexual intercourse with a woman:

  (a) Against her will
  (b) Without her consent
  (c) With her consent obtained by putting her in fear of death or hurt
  (d) With her consent when man knows that he is not her husband and consent is given under her misconception of his identity as her husband
  (e) With her consent when at the time of giving such consent she is under the influence of unsoundness of mind or administration of some substances to make her give consent
  (f) With or without consent when she is under 16 years of age

Rape is not dealt with properly under the current legal system, and the number of rapes appears to be on the rise constantly. The act of rape is a violation against the very spirit of humankind, and is the most abhorrent crime against women. Men need to realize that women have every right to live in the manner they seem fit and that rape, eve teasing and sexual assault are forms of perversion which are extremely shameful and repulsive. In contrast to popular belief, rape is almost never perpetrated for sexual gratification, but rather for sexual subjugation of women.

Dowry

Dowry refers to 'the property, money, ornaments or any other form of wealth which a man or his family receives from his wife or her family at the time of marriage'. The wider definitions of dowry include what a woman's natal family spends on the marriage celebration, the feasting and the gift giving associated with it. The real curse of the dowry system appears to lie with what the leading Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas has called the new dowry—property or cash demanded or in various forms expected by the groom's family. This often turns out to be a grave burden on those families who have agreed to be trapped into unequal exchanges along hypergamous lines.

The problem of dowry related violence is clearly a thoroughly modern phenomenon. Thus, there is no need to re-write Hindu scriptures, because one cannot undo the past. The Hindu cultural texts are arguing from within the sphere of the *dharma*, and do not endorse cruelty to women for the sake of material possessions, that is, *arth.* Most writings use dowry in at least three senses. The first is in the form of presents, jewellery, household goods and other properties taken by the bride to her new home or given to her during the marriage rituals. These are items to be used by her, or by the couple, as a sort of foundation for the new nuclear household unit.

A second form of dowry may be constituted by what families, particularly the bride's family, conspicuously spend on the occasion of the marriage celebration. In this respect, Srinivas stated ironically that Indian weddings are occasions for conspicuous spending, and this is related to the maintenance of what is believed to be the status of the family. Such expenditure on the marriage benefits the couple indirectly, probably in terms of status rather than in a financial sense directly.

The third type of dowry is property expected or even demanded by the husband, more often by his family, either as a condition for the marriage itself, or at a later stage. There is much scope for these three forms of dowry to become intertwined and mixed up in the minds of writers as well as in social reality.

Under the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, a demand made for dowry is an offence. Section 498 of the Indian Penal Code specifically deals with a situation when coercion is a wilful conduct of the husband or a woman's in-laws of such a nature as is likely to drive the woman to commit suicide or cause grave physical or mental injury to her. The harassment of a woman by her husband or by any relative of her husband with a view to coercing her or any relatives to meet any unlawful demand of property is also dealt with in this section.

Trafficking of women and children

Trafficking in women and children is the most abominable violation of human rights. In its widest sense, it includes the exploitation of girls by pushing them into prostitution, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery and the trade in human organs. In the case of children who have been trafficked or have become victims of

child marriages, it violates their right to education, employment and self-determination. The trafficking and exploitation of women and children results in their being forced to lead a life of indignity, social stigma, debt bondage, combined with a host of health problems including HIV/AIDS.

4.4.2. Measures Pertaining to Violence against Women

Domestic violence in India takes place due to notions of gender bias and inequality. By and large, women are considered to be the 'weaker sex'. Various social and religious taboos have compounded to the unequal status that is extended to women. These inequalities have curtailed the freedom of women, and have created difficult conditions for them to survive. The concern with violence against women is not a recent preoccupation. It has always been a deep-seated problem with roots in the Indian culture. Many researchers have stressed the importance of awareness in combatting the problem of violence. The following are some of the measures that can help in curbing violence against women:

(i) Enforcement agencies should be instructed in unambiguous terms that enforcement of the rights of the weaker and vulnerable sections including women and children should not be down played for fear of further disturbances or retribution, and adequate preparation should be made to face any such eventuality.

(ii) The administration and police should play a more proactive role in the detection and investigation of crime against women and ensuring that there is no underreporting.

(iii) The overall representation of women in police forces should be increased. The representation of women in police at all levels should be increased through affirmative action so that they constitute about 33 per cent of the police

(iv) Sensitizing the law enforcement machinery towards crime against women by way of well-structured training programmes, meetings and seminars etc., for police personnel at all levels as well as other functionaries of the criminal justice system. Such programmes may be incorporated in the syllabus of various Police Training Academies at all levels.

(v) For improving general awareness on legislations, mechanisms in place for safety and protection of women, the concerned department of the State Government must, inter-alia, take the following steps:

(a) Create awareness through print and electronic media

(b) Develop a community monitoring system to check cases of violence, abuse and exploitation, and take necessary steps to curb the same

(c) Involving the community at large in creating and spreading such awareness

(d) Organize legal literacy and legal awareness camps

(vi) It is important to explore the possibility of associating NGOs working in the area of combatting crime against women. Citizens groups and NGOs should be encouraged to increase awareness about gender issues in the society and help bring to light violence against women and also assist the police in the investigation of crime against women. Close coordination between the police and the NGOs dealing with the interests of women may be ensured.

(vii) There should be no delay whatsoever in the registration of FIR (First Information Report) in all cases of crime against women.

(viii) All efforts should be made to apprehend all the accused named in the FIR immediately so as to generate confidence in the victims and their family members.

- Cases should be thoroughly investigated and charge sheets against the accused persons should be filed within three months from the date of occurrence of a crime against women, without compromising on the quality of investigation. Speedy investigation should be conducted in heinous crimes like rape. The medical examination of rape victims should be conducted without delay.

- Proper supervisions at appropriate level of cases of crime against women from the recording of FIR to the disposal of the case by the competent court should be ensured.

(xi) Helpline numbers of the crime against women cells should be exhibited prominently in hospitals/schools/colleges premises, and in other suitable places.

(xii) The setting up of exclusive 'Crime Against Women and Children' desk in each police station and the Special Women police cells in the police stations and all women police thana is needed.

(xiii) Concerned departments of the state governments could handle rape victims at all stages from filing a complaint in a police station to undergoing forensic examination and in providing all possible assistance including counselling, legal assistance and rehabilitation. Preferably, these victims may be handled by women so as to provide a certain comfort level to the rape victims.

(xiv) The specialized Sexual Assault Treatment Units could be developed in government hospitals having a large maternity section.

(xv) The Health department of the State Government should set up 'Rape Crisis Centres' (RCCs) and specialized 'Sexual Assault Treatment Units' (SATUs), at appropriate places.

(xvi) Rape Crisis Centres (RCCs) set up by the Health Department could assist rape victims and provide appropriate level of coordination between the police and health department facilities for medical examination to establish forensic evidence, SAT Units and medical facilities to treat after the effects of sexual assault. Hence, these RCCs could act as an interface between the victims and other agencies involved.

(xvii) The administration should also focus on the rehabilitation of the victims and provide all required support. Counselling is required for victim as well as her family to overcome the trauma of the crime. The police should consider empanelling professional counsellors and the counselling should not be done by the police. The effectiveness of schemes developed for the welfare and rehabilitation of women who have been victimized should be improved.

(xviii) For improving the safety conditions on road, the concerned departments of the State Government must take suitable steps to:

    (a) Increase the number of beat constables, especially on the sensitive roads

    (b) Increase the number of police help booth/kiosks, especially in remote and lonely stretches

    (c) Increase police patrolling, especially during the night

    (d) Increase the number of women police officers in the mobile police vans

e) Set up telephone booths for easy access to police

f) Install people friendly street lights on all roads, lonely stretches and alleys

(xix) It should be ensured that the street lights are properly and efficiently working on all roads, lonely stretches and alleys.

(xx) The local police should arrange for patrolling in the affected areas and more especially in the locality of the weaker sections of the society. Periodic visits by Superintendent of Police will create a sense of safety and security among these sections of the people.

(xxi) Special steps should be taken for security of women working in night shifts of call centres.

(xxii) Crime prone areas should be identified and a mechanism be put in place to monitor infractions in schools/colleges for ensuring safety and security of female students. Women police officers in adequate number fully equipped with policing infrastructure may be posted in such areas.

(xxiii) Action should be taken at the state level to set up of Fast Track Courts and Family Courts.

(xxiv) Dowry related cases must be adjudicated expeditiously to avoid further harassment of the women.

(xxv) Appointment of Dowry Prohibition Officers is important. The Rules under the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 should be notified.

(xxvi) All police stations may be advised to display the name and other details of Protection Officers of the area appointed under the Domestic Violence Act, 2005.

(xxvii) Police personnel should be trained adequately in special laws dealing with atrocities against women. Enforcement aspect should be emphasized adequately so as to streamline it.

(xxviii) Special steps may also be taken by the police in collaboration with the Health and Family Welfare Department of the State to prevent female foeticide.

(xxix) Special steps should also be taken to curb the 'violation of women's rights by so called honour killings, to prevent forced marriage in some northern states, and other forms of violence'.

(xxx) Ensure follow up of reports of cases of atrocities against women received from various sources, including National Commission for Women and State Commission for Women, with concerned authorities in the state governments.

(xxxi) There are several women helpline numbers such as the following:

- Women's Helpline Number: 181
- Women Police Helpline: (011) 23317004
- Anti Obscene Calls Cell: (011) 27894455

4.5. SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Fear of crime is widespread among people in many Western societies, affecting far more people than the personal experience of crime itself; as such, it constitutes a significant social problem.

- Conflict between reason and instinct is age old in human psyche. If crime is inherent in the social set-up since the beginning of human creation, children negating and deviating are no exception.

- In a developing country like India where the youth comprises a majority of population, it becomes a matter of serious concern to probe into the problem of delinquency.

- Juvenile delinquency has become one of the baffling problems in India. In the trail of rapid changes, especially those of urbanization and industrialization, social and pathological problems like juvenile delinquency have manifested themselves in an alarming manner.

- The prevalence of corruption in civic life is a universal experience, but recently, it has assumed alarming proportions in India.

- The English dictionary defines corruption as 'an inducement to wrong by bribery or other unlawful means: a departure from what is pure and correct'.

- Corruption demoralizes the whole fabric of the social order doomed in illiteracy, poverty and backwardness.

- The following are some of the chief causes of corruption in India: scarcity of resources, conflict of values in our expanding economy, acute poverty, lack of acute public opinion against the evil of corruption, complicated and cumbersome working of government offices, and so on.

- The Santhanam Committee Report (1964) and the Administrative Reforms Commission (1967) advocated the creation of the tradition of Lokpal at the Centre and the Lokayuktas in the states in order to probe alleged corruption cases against ministers.

- The United Nations defines violence against women as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life' (Economic and Social Council, UN, 1992).

- Violence against women, both as violent crimes (rape, sexual assault) or as domestic violence (spousal abuse, dowry deaths), which affect women's health, mental health, economic productivity, self-esteem, and the welfare and nutrition of her children, are often underestimated or ignored.

- Domestic violence refers to violence against women, especially after marriage. Therefore, it is recognized as a significant barrier in women's empowerment.

- Rape is a humiliating and the most shocking crime against human conscience and morality. This crime is dealt with significant penal laws in every society. Sections 375 to 376 (D) of the Indian Penal Code deal with the issue of rape.

- The administration should also focus on the rehabilitation of the victims and provide all required support. Counselling is required for victim as well as her family to overcome the trauma of the crime.

- Crime prone areas should be identified and a mechanism should be put in place to monitor infractions in schools/colleges for ensuring safety and security of female students. Women police officers in adequate number fully equipped with policing infrastructure may be posted in such areas.

4.6. KEY TERMS

- **Alcoholism:** It is a disorder characterized by the excessive consumption of and dependence on alcoholic beverages, leading to physical and psychological harm and impaired social and vocational functioning.

- **Withdrawal symptoms:** It is any physical or psychological disturbance (as sweating or depression) experienced by a drug addict when deprived of the drug.

- **Sensitization:** It is the process of becoming highly sensitive to specific events or situations (especially emotional events or situations).

- **Man-day:** It is an industrial unit of production equal to the work one person can produce in a day.
- **Kickback:** It is a return of a percentage of a sum of money already received, typically as a result of pressure, coercion or a secret agreement.
- **No-confidence motion:** It is a parliamentary motion traditionally put before a parliament by the opposition in the hope of defeating or weakening a government, or, rarely by an erstwhile supporter who has lost confidence in the government.
- **Influence peddling:** It is the practice of using one's influence with persons in authority to obtain favours or preferential treatment for another, usually in return for payment.
- **White-collar crime:** It is a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation.
- **Amniocentesis:** It is a procedure in medicine used to detect genetic abnormalities in the foetus or to determine the sex of the foetus.
- **Honour killing:** It is an ancient tradition still sometimes observed; a male member of the family kills a female relative for tarnishing the family image.

4.7. ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The characteristics of youth unrest are based on four important standards. These are as follows:
   a) Public concern
   b) Collective discontent
   c) Change in the existing norms
   d) Activity based on the feelings of injustice

2. The major objective of revolutionary agitation is to bring unexpected extensive changes in the educational and social system.

3. Prominent American sociologist Samuel Andrew Stouffer introduced the relative deprivation theory.

4. Alcoholism, the more serious of the disorders, is a disease that includes symptoms such as the following:
   a) **Craving:** A strong need or urge to drink.
   b) **Loss of control:** Not being able to stop drinking once drinking has begun.
   c) **Physical dependence:** Withdrawal symptoms, such as nausea, sweating, shakiness and anxiety after stopping drinking.
   d) **Tolerance:** The need to drink greater amounts of alcohol to feel the same effect.

5. The following are the factors that expose a person to a higher risk of relapsing even after treatment:
   a) Frustration and anxiety
   b) Societal pressure
   c) Inner temptation

6. One should keep in mind the following points while helping alcoholics and drug abusers:

a) One should always be supportive. This support will help the person become more confident. One has to be deeply invested in the rehabilitation process to affect a major change.

b) One has to be equipped to deal with high-risk situations.

c) While helping someone in the process of de-alcoholism and de-addiction, one needs to consider that change can be a lengthy process.

7. Stimulants are drugs that speed up the body's nervous system and create a feeling of energy. They are also called 'uppers' because of their ability to make you feel very awake. Stimulants have the opposite effect of depressants. When the effects of a stimulant wear off, the user is typically left with feelings of sickness and a loss of energy. Constant use of such drugs can have very negative effects on the user.

8. Cannabinoids are drugs that result in feelings of euphoria, cause confusion and memory problems, anxiety, a higher heart rate, as well as staggering and poor reaction time. These include:

   a) Hashish

   b) Marijuana

9. The basic objective in creating facilities for treatment, at centres run through voluntary organizations, is to ensure that the support of the family and the community is mobilized to the maximum. These centres adopt a wide variety of approaches, systems and methodologies for the treatment and rehabilitation of the addicts suitable and adaptable to the social customs, traditions and culture.

10. Unemployment is defined as a situation wherein able bodied persons fail to find a job even though they are willing to work at the prevailing wage rate.

11. Unemployment in the agriculture sector is termed as agricultural unemployment. It can be attributed to a number of reasons: the farmers can remain employed only for some parts of the year; the farms can no longer employ the available hands; the villages lack subsidiary industries and the vagaries of monsoons and weather conditions increase the rate of agricultural unemployment; and so on.

12. The Government of India should take the following steps to promote women employment:

    a) Residential accommodation for working women on a large scale

    b) Educational and training facilities for working mothers

    c) Availability of crèches for the children of working mother

13. Crime is an act or omission which is punishable under law. It is an act which is believed to be socially harmful to curb, and for which law prescribes certain penalty on the doer.

14. The nature of criminal and non-criminal conduct is determined by social values which the larger defining group considers important.

15. Juvenile delinquency is such conduct by children which is violative of prohibition of the criminal law or is otherwise regarded as deviant and inappropriate in social context.

16. In simple terms, corruption is defined as the behaviour of public officials who deviate from accepted norms in order to serve private ends. In more sophisticated terms, corruption is a form of behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role.

17. The following factors result in corruption and unethical conduct among public servants:

    a) Job scarcity

    b) Insufficient salary

    c) The ever-increasing powers that they enjoy to regulate the states' economy and social affairs

18. Black money refers to the amount held illegitimately by an individual, organization or party. Illegal practices such as black marketeering, smuggling of drugs and illegal objects, bribery, and terrorism can lead to the accumulation of black money.

19. Domestic violence is mainly of the following types:

    a) Feticide and infanticide

    b) Spouse abuse/Wife battering

20. Dowry refers to 'the property, money, ornaments or any other form of wealth which a man or his family receives from his wife or her family at the time of marriage'. The wider definitions of dowry include what a woman's natal family spends on the marriage celebration, the feasting and the gift giving associated with it.

4.8. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by alcoholism? Why is it considered chronic?

2. Do all alcohol takers face the same level of risk? How will you classify the types of drinkers?

3. Throw light on the harmful effects that alcoholism can have on an individual.

4. Briefly describe the phenomenon of unemployment.

5. What does political corruption involve?

6. Why is bureaucratic corruption prevalent in India?

7. Why is corruption a recurrent social problem in India?

8. Suggest some ways in which bureaucratic corruption can be tackled.

9. How does Indian law deal with gender violence relating to rape and obscenity?

10. Outline the social issues involved in the trafficking of women.

11. Emphasize the perverse social thinking that leads to wife battering.

12. Briefly describe the various forms of dowry.

13. Write a short note on juvenile delinquency.

14. What are the various measures undertaken for the prevention of delinquency?

Long-Answer Questions

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1. Enumerate the various forms of political corruption that takes place in India. Also, discuss the steps taken by the Indian government to keep a check on corruption.

2. What does the term 'violence against women' entail? Why are women targeted as the soft victims of violence?

3. What constitutes domestic violence? What are its implications?

4. Critically analyse the measures that can help ensure women's safety.

5. Explain the difference between delinquency and crime. Also, discuss the various causes of delinquency in India.

6. Elaborate on female feticide and infanticide.

4.9. FURTHER READING

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