Research paper

COMPARATIVE METHOD

METHOD What exactly is a 'method'; and why is it so important? Method as we know from our experiences is a useful, helpful and instructive way of accomplishing something with relative ease. A piece of collapsible furniture, for example, comes with a manual guiding us through the various steps to set it up.

While studying a phenomenon, method would similarly point to ways and means of doing things. We may not, however, unlike our example of the collapsible furniture, know the final shape or results of our explorations at the outset. We may not also have a precise instruction manual guiding us to the final outcome. We will simply have the parts of the furniture and tools to set it up in other words, 'concepts' and 'techniques'. These concepts (ideas, thoughts, and notions) and techniques (ways of collecting data) will have to be used in specific ways to know more about, understand or explain a particular phenomenon.

Thus, it may be said, that the organisation of ways of application of specific concepts to data is 'method'. Of course, the manner of collection of data itself will have to be worked out. The concepts which are to be applied or studied will have to be thought out. All this will eventually have to be organised so that the nature of the data and the manner in which it is collected and the application of the concept is done in a way that we are able to study with a degree of precision what we want to study. In a scientific inquiry much emphasis is placed on precision and exactness of the method.

Social sciences, however, owing to the nature of their subject matter, have to think of methods which come close to the accuracy of scientific experiments in laboratories or other controlled conditions. A number of scholars, however, do not feel that there should be much preoccupation with the so called 'scientific research'.

Whatever the beliefs of scholars in this regard, there is nonetheless a 'method' in thinking, exploring and research in all studies. Several methods—comparative, historical, experimental, statistical etc.—are used by scholars for their studies. It may be pointed out that all these methods may use comparisons to varying degrees as comparative method is not the monopoly of comparative politics. It is used in all domains of knowledge to study physical, human and social phenomenon.

Sociology, history, anthropology, psychology, literature, etc., use it with similar confidence. These disciplines have used the comparative method to produce studies which are referred variously as 'cross-cultural' (as in Anthropology and Psychology) and 'cross-national' (as in Political Science and Sociology) seeming thereby to emphasise different fields.

THE COMPARATIVE METHOD: WHY COMPARE?

Social-Scientific Research

The comparative method has been seen as studying similarities and differences as the basis for developing a 'grounded theory', testing hypotheses, inferring causality, and producing reliable generalisations. Many social scientists believe that research should be scientifically organised.

The comparative method, they believe, offers them the best means to conduct 'scientific' research i.e., research characterised by precision, validity, reliability and verifiability and some amount of predictability. The American political scientist James Coleman, for example, often reminded his students, "You can't be scientific if you're not comparing". Swanson similarly emphasised that it was 'unthinkable' to think of 'scientific
thought and all scientific research' without comparisons.

Whereas, in physical sciences comparisons can be done in laboratories under carefully controlled conditions, precise experimentation in social sciences under conditions which replicate laboratory conditions is not possible. If, for example, a social scientist wishes to study the relationship between electoral systems and the number of political parties, s/he cannot instruct a government to change its electoral system nor order people to behave in a particular way to test his/her hypothesis. Nor can s/he replicate a social or political phenomenon in a laboratory where tests can be conducted. Thus, while a social scientist may feel compelled to work in a scientific way, societal phenomena may not actually permit what is accepted as 'scientific' inquiry. S/he can, however, study 'cases' i.e., actually existing political systems and compare them i.e., chalk out a way to study their relationship as worked out in the hypothesis, draw conclusions and offer generalisations.

Thus, the comparative method, though scientifically weaker than the experimental method, is considered closest to a scientific method, offering the best possible opportunity to seek explanations of societal phenomena and offer *theoretical propositions* and generalisations.

What makes comparative method, scientific?
Sartori argued that the 'control function' or the system of checks, which is integral to scientific research and a necessary part of laboratory experimentation, can be achieved in social sciences only through comparisons. He goes further to propose that because the control
function can be exercised only through the comparative method, comparisons are indispensable in social sciences. Because of their function of controlling/checking the validity of theoretical propositions, comparisons have the scientific value of making generalised propositions or theoretical statements explaining particular phenomena making predictions, and also what he terms *'learning from others' experiences'*. In this context, it is important to point out that the nature of predictions in comparative method has a *probabilistic causality*.
This means that it can state its results only in terms of likelihoods or probabilities i.e., a given set of' conditions are likely to give an anticipated outcome. This is different from *deterministic causality* in scientific research which emphasises certainty i.e., a given set of conditions will produce the anticipated outcome/result.

Integrative Thinking
While some social scientists use the comparative method to develop a scientific inquiry, for others, however, 'thinking with comparisons' is an integral part of analysing specific social and political phenomenon. Swanson, who has argued that 'thinking without comparisons is unthinkable' is representative of this approach. He points out that "no one should be surprised that comparisons, implicit and explicit, pervade the work of social scientists and have done so from the beginning: comparisons among roles, organizations, communities, institutions, societies, and cultures.

Emile Durkheim, the renowned German Sociologist also affirms that the comparative method enables (sociological) research to 'cease to be purely descriptive' (Durkheim, 1984, p.139). Smelser also argued that descriptions cannot work without comparisons. He substantiates, simple descriptive words like 'densely populated' and 'democratic' presuppose a universe of situations that are more or less populated or more or less democratic and one situation can be stated/described only in relation/comparison to the other . It is this 'presupposition of a universe' in which a descriptive category can be placed, within a set of relationships, helps us to analyse it better, feel quite a number of scholars.

METHODS OF COMPARISON

Experimental Method

Although the experimental method has limited application in social sciences, it provides the model on which many comparatives aspire to base their studies. Simply put, the experimental method aims to establish a causal relationship between two conditions. In other words, the objective of the experiment is to establish that one condition leads to the other or influences the other in a particular way. If, for example, one wishes to study/explain why children differ
in their ability to communicate in English in large-group setting, a number of factors may be seen as influencing this capability viz., social background, adeptness in the language, familiarity of surroundings etc.
The investigator may want to study the influence of all these factors or one of them or even a
combination of factors. S/he then isolates the condition/factors whose influence she wants to study and thereby make precise the role of each condition. The condition whose effect is to be measured and is manipulated by the investigator is the independent variable e.g., social background etc. The condition, upon which the influence is to be studied, is thus the dependent variable. Thus, in an experiment designed to study the effect of social background on ability to communicate, social background will be the independent variable and the ability to communicate, the dependent variable. The investigator works out a hypothesis stated in terms of a relationship between the two conditions which is tested in the experiment viz., children coming from higher socio-economic background display better ability to communicate in English in large group settings.
The results of the experiment would enable the investigator to offer general propositions regarding the applicability of her/his findings and compare them with other previous studies.

Case Study

Case study provides a systematic and scientific way of perceiving or examining events, collect data, analyze information, and prepare a report. As a result the researcher may gain a sharpened understanding of why the instance happened as it did, and what might become important to look at more extensively in future research. Case studies lend themselves to both generating and testing hypotheses.
In other words, case study should be defined as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. Case study research means single and multiple case studies, can include quantitative evidence, relies on multiple sources of evidence and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions. Case studies based on any evidence of quantitative and qualitative research.

Statistical Method
The statistical method uses categories and variables which are quantifiable or can be represented by numbers, e.g., voting patterns, public expenditure, political parties, voter turnout, urbanisation, population growth. It also offers unique opportunities to study the effects or relationships of a number of variables simultaneously. It has the advantage of presenting precise data in a compact and visually effective manner, so that similarities and dissimilarities are visible through numerical representation. The fact that a number of variables can be studied together also gives the unique opportunity to look for complex explanations in terms of a relationship. The use of the statistical method also helps explain and compare long term trends and patterns and offer predictions on future trends. A study, for example, of the relationship of age and political participation can be made through an analysis of statistical tables of voter turnout and age-categories. Comparison of this data over long periods, or with similar data in other countries/political systems, or with data showing voter turnout in
terms of religious groups, social class and age can help us make complex generalisations, e.g., middle class, Hindu, male voters between the age of 25 and 30 are the most prolific voters. Cross national comparisons may lead to findings like, middle class women of the age group 25 to 30 are more likely to vote in western democracies than in developing countries like India. The utility of this method lies in the relative ease with which it can deal with multiple variables. It fails, however, to offer complete answers or give the complete picture. It can, however, be employed along with qualitative analysis to give more comprehensive explanations of relationships and the broad categories which the statistical method uses in order to facilitate their numerical representation.

Focused Comparisons
These studies take up a small number of countries, often just two (paired or binary comparisons), and concentrate frequently on particular aspects of the countries' politics rather than on all aspects. A comparative study of public policies indifferent countries has successfully been undertaken by this method.

Lipset distinguishes two kinds of binary or paired comparison—the implicit and explicit. In the implicit binary comparison, the investigator's own country, as in the case of Tocqueville's study of America, may serve as the reference. Explicit paired comparisons have two clear cases (countries) for comparison. The two countries may be studied with respect to their specific aspects e.g., policy of population control in India and China or in their entirety e.g., with respect to the process of modernisation. The latter may, however, lead to a parallel study of two cases leaving little scope for a study of relationships.

Historical Method
The historical method can be distinguished from other methods that it looks for causal explanations which are historically sensitive. Eric Wolf emphasises that any study which seeks to understand societies and causes of human action could not merely seek technical solutions to problems stated in technical terms. The important thing was to resort to an analytic history which searched out the causes of the present in the past. Such an analytic history could not be developed out of the study of a single culture or nation, a single culture area, or even a single

continent at one period in time, but from a study of contacts, interactions and interconnections among human populations and cultures.

Historical studies have concentrated on one or more cases seeking to find causal explanations of social and political phenomena in a historical perspective. Single case studies seek,to produce general statements which may be applied to other cases. Theda Scokpol points out that comparative historical studies using more than one case fall broadly into two categories, 'comparative history' and 'comparative historical analysis'. Comparative history is commonly used rather loosely to refer to any study in which two or more historical trajectories of nation-states, institutional complexes, or civilisations are juxtaposed. Some studies which fall in this genre, like Charles, Louis and Richard Tilly's *The Rebellious Century 1810-1930*, aim at drawing up a specific historical model which can be applied across different national context. Others, such as Reinhard Benedix's *Nation Building and Citizenship* and Perry Anderson's *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, use comparisons primarily to bring out contrasts among nations or civilisations, conceived as isolated wholes. Skocpol herself subscribes to the second method i.e., comparative historical analysis, which aims primarily to 'develop, test, and refine causal, explanatory hypothesis about events or structures integral to macrounits such as nation-states'. This it does by taking 'selected slices of national historical trajectories as the units of comparison', to develop causal relationship about specific phenomenon (e.g. revolutions) and draw generalisations. There are two ways in which valid associations of potential causes with the phenomenon one is trying to explain can be established. These methods laid out by John Stuart Mill in his *A System of Logic* are (a) the method of Agreement and (b) the method of Difference. The method of agreement involves taking up for study several cases having in common both the phenomenon as well as the set of causal factors proposed in the hypothesis.

The method of difference, which was issued by Skocpol, takes up two sets of cases:
(a) the positive cases, in which the phenomenon as well as the hypothesized causal relationship are present.

(b) The negative cases, in which the phenomenon as well as the causes are absent but are otherwise similar to the first set.
In her comparative analysis of the French, Russian and Chinese Revolutions, in *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*, Skocpol (1979) takes up the three as the positive cases of successful social revolution and argues that the three revolutions reveal similar causal patterns despite many other dissimilarities. She takes up a set of negative cases viz., the failed Russian Revolution of 1905, and selected aspects of English, Japanese and German histories to validate the arguments regarding causal relationship in the first case.
Critics of the historical method feel that because the latter does not study a large number of cases, it does not offer the opportunity to study a specific phenomenon in a truly scientific manner. Harry Eckstein for instance argues that generalisations based on small number of cases 'may certainly be a generalization in the dictionary sense'. However, 'a generalisation in the methodological sense' ought to 'cover a number of cases large enough for certain rigorous testing procedures like statistical analysis to be used.

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Concept of City

Like many other sociological categories, the city is an abstraction, but the elements of which it consists-residents, structures, means of transportation, installations, and so on - are concrete entities of varying nature. What makes a city is the functional integration of its elements into a whole (Bergel, 955). Yet a city has not merely a single function but
rather an assortment of many functions and not all of them are present in every city. These may vary from city to city and time to time.
There are different ways to define city such as legal, statistical, density, occupation, sociological and economical. Let us discuss all of them in detail one by one

Definition on Legal Basis

The city in many countries has been defined in legal terms. A place is legally made a city by a declaration, called a charter, which is granted by a higher authority. In India the State Government has the responsibility of granting municipal/civic status to a settlement or notifying it as a town. Such towns are known as statutory towns. The procedure is very clear but . the bases of identification are not uniform across the states and extremely unsatisfactory. It is an explanation ex *post facto.* A place i s not a city because it has received a charter; the grant of the charter is recognition that it has become a city. The definition disregards the fact that many eastern cities have never had a charter and that in the West the legal distinction between cities and rural places evolved at a rather late date.

Statistical Basis
Another equally simple approach i s provided through statistical indicators. The **U.S.** Bureau of Census considers as cities all "incorporated places" of 2,500 or more inhabitants. This method meets the needs of statisticians but offers little sociological insight. The arbitrariness of this kind of definition is revealed by the fact that the United States census has had to alter its criterion from 8,000 inhabitants to 4,000 and finally to the present figure. To meet other difficulties, the census has had to include additional

urban developments, such as "unincorporated towns or townships or political subdivisions."There are also substantial international variations.

Most European countries follow the example set by France in 1846, requiring a minimum population of 2,000. This figure was approved by the International Bureau of Statistics in 1887. It has not been universally accepted, however, since Korea, for example, still sets the minimum limits as high as 44,000.

In India the cut off point for non-statutory towns is 5000

According to the statistical definition noted above, a place having certain number of persons will be known as a city. It is obvious that a place does not become a city by merely reaching that figure. It is equally obvious that a place with that minimum number of persons and another one with over one million persons must have something in common, besides having a certain number of inhabitants if we have to justify our calling them both cities, as distinct from rural settlements.

Basis of Density of Population
Another quantitative criterion for defining the city on is the basis of population density. Like the definition based on the number of persons, the definitions based on the density of population have also been questioned for similar reasons. It is impossible to state at what density a settlement changes from the rural to the urban type. Some villages are rather thickly settled while some urban sections represent a residential vacuum. In Mumbat more than 55 per cent of slum population occupies only 6 per cent of residential areas.
These are the areas which are densely populated in Mumbai, where as many sections of the may have a density of less , than 50 persons per acre. Same is the case in New Delhi. 'The "City" of London has practically no inhabitants and the borough of Richmond, which is a part of New York City, has a much Lower density than the Neolithic European pile dwellings which possibly housed as many as 1,300 persons on less than 30,000 square yards. The density of cities varies from 10 (Australia and New Zealand) to 33 (Paris) per square hectare.

Basis of Occupation

Not satisfied by the density criterion, Willcox added the criterion of occupational structure in defining an urban centre. According to his own definition, he regarded a district as rural only if "presumably agriculture is the only occupation," while cities are places "in which there is practically no agriculture." He remarked, the fundamental difference between country and city is the difference between agriculture and the group of other occupations.

Town/City According to Indian Census

The census of India has defined urban /town by combining legal, population, occupation and density, which is clear from the definition given below:

a) All places with municipality, corporation, cantonment board, or notified

town area committee, etc

b) All other places which satisfied the following criteria
i) A minimum population of 5,000.

ii) At least 75 per of male working population in non-agricultural pursuits; and (this criteria has been used in many other ways as well. The confusion arises as in some census updates the criterion is stated as (1) 75% of all working population (2) 75% of adult male population. (3) Also some use "non primary" rather than "non agriculture".

iii) a density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km.

The above definition underwent a slight change during **1981** and **1991.** 'The urban criteria of the **1981** and **1991** Censuses varied somewhat from that of **1961** and **1971.** The workers in occupations of forestry, fishing, livestock, hunting, logging, plantations and orchards, etc. (falling under Industrial Category Ill) were treated under non-agricultural activities in **1961** and **1971** Censuses, whereas in **1981** and **1991** Censuses these activities were treated as agricultural activities for the purpose of determining the
male working population in non-agricultural pursuits. Besides, the discretion
of Directors Census in consultation with the State Government to treat some places having distinct urban characteristics as urban even if such places did not strictly satisfy all the criteria mentioned under category (b) above was discontinued at the **1991** Census and it has been followed in the 2001 Census also.
Any urban area with a population of 100,000 or more is treated as a city in Indian census

Cities and Their Types

On the basis of some broad criteria Noel P Gist and L.A.Helbert have classified cities. According to them cities are of the following types:

 1. Production centres.
 2. Centre of trade and commerce.
 3. Capitals and administrative centres.
 4. Health and recreation centres.
 5. Religious and cultural centres.
 6. Diversified cities.

Production Centres
The most of the cities emerged as a result of the development of industries and industrial production. In modern times also one of the important reasons for the growth of cities is the process of industrialization. This is evident from the fact that the industrial revolution in the modern era is associated not only with the industries only but with the urban revolution as well. In lndia most of the large cities are also industrial and the production centres. Production centres can be further classified into ' two broad types:
(a) Primary production centres, and
(b) Secondary production centres

The primary production centres are those where primary products for industries are being obtained. They are mainly the suppliers of raw materials. The persons living in these centres are directly or indirectly involved in the production of the raw materials. Some examples of these cities are Nellore, Kolar, and Bareilly.

In secondary production centres most of the final products come into existence. Most of the centres of production are included in this category. In these types of cities the population is very large and it keeps growing day by day, for example Mumbai, Chennai, Aligarh, Gwalior, Moradabad etc.

ii) Centres of Trade and Commerce

In some cities and towns the trade and commerce is the dominant activity. In these cities the production is a secondary activity. A typical example is Mumbai where though production is an important activity, trade and commerce is the most important activity. By and large, the cities which are connected with sea routes are important centres of trade and commerce. The important ports of lndia are Calicut, Cochin, Visakhapatnam, Calcutta, Kakinad, Muslipatnum, Tuticorin, Chennai etc. While it is true that the ports are usually the centres of trade and commerce, it is by no means always the case.

iii) Capitals and Administrative Centres

The capital of a state is normally a big city which has seen much growh. These cities are important due to the power centre that exist in them. Indeed once a place is made the capital, business and industry are but the sequel of the main fact of its being the capital. Before the process of industrialisation and globalisation, the capital cities were the most important cities of the world.

iv) Health and Recreation Centres

Many towns and cities are famous for their beautiful and healthy climate. In general, the towns situated near the sea-coast and the hill stations are health recreation centres. Hill towns are cool in the summer and so tourists rush towards them during this period. In order to attract more tourists to such places, municipal and state authorities do lots of beautification work. In almost every state of India, there are one or more important hill resorts. The livelihood of the people of these places greatly depends upon tourism.

v) Religious and Cultural Centres

In lndia where religious sentiments dominate, many towns have become famous and developed into big cities due to their prominence as a religious centre. For example, Allahabad or Prayag, Kashi or Benaras, etc. All the towns situated near the holy rivers have the religious importance. Apart from that, we know that lndia is a multi-religious country, and every religion has at least one or two important religious centres. For example, Amritsar is regarded as the holy city of the Sikhs. Ajmer is a place of pilgrimage for Muslims. Similarly, among Hindus, Varanasi or Benaras, Kashi, Haridwar, Ayodhya, Tirupati, Rameswaram, Pun etc are holy places. Similarly, Bodh Gaya is holy for Buddhists. Apart from the religious significance there are many cities which are important for the historical sites and monuments like the Taj Mahal in Agra, the Qutab Minar in Delhi. Bijapur is famous for its Go1 Gumbad or the circular towers, and Chittorgarh for

its victory towers. Nalanda and Taxila are famous for their ancient universities which are now in ruins.Pondicherry is famous for its Aurobindo Ashram.

vi) Diversified Cities

Besides the cities which fit into one or the other of the above categories, there are some towns which fit into none of these categories. For example, they may be holy but the fundamental reason for their eminence is not holiness. They may also be the capital cities but their fundamental reason for growth may be other factors. Thus, it will not be correct to put them into some specific category. Such towns and cities are accordingly referred to as the diversified towns.

Some Other Classifications

Camillle Rosier has classified the cities according to their creation and establishment. According to him-cities are of two broad types. They are:

i)   Natural cities.

ii) Created cities

Natural cities are those which have evolved in the due process of time due to their strategic and natural location. They are primarily the ancient cities which we have already explained in our above analysis. On the other hand, created cities are established by us for some special requirement. They are normally new cities. As civilisation progresses the process of industrialisation too has taken place in than. The created cities are the result of this process of industrialisation. The examples of created cities are Jamshedpur, Rourkela, Bangalore, Bokaro, Coimbatore etc.
Apart from the above classifications we can also classify cities according to the time periods in India. They are as follows:

Ancient City

Ancient cities have their own characteristics. The nature of the city was largely dependent on the causes of its development. According to Anderson, ancient cities have the following characteristic features. First of all most of the cities were ruling centres. Thus these cities were army oriented. If there was any trade practised, it was to serve the large standing armies of the ruler or the state. The authorities were mainly concerned about the needs of the army and the state. The main responsibility of the social authority was the construction of the walls and buildings and the organisation of the army. Favourable climatic conditions were the important reason for the growth of these cities. That is why in lndia most of the cities are situated on the banks of the major rivers and on the seashore. In ancient times, favourable agricultural conditions were mainly responsible for the development, growth and establishment of cities. The ancient cities were mainly political capitals and rulers and their ruled mainly lived in them. They were the main education centres and the places of learning. In lndia there are approximately 45 towns and cities which have been classified as ancient cities and they have a historical past. One

thing remarkable about these historical cities is that they have a religious and cultural background.

Medieval City

Medieval cities were basically trade centres and mainly served the interest of the trading communities like merchants and rich businessmen. Its population was well defined and, consisted of trading people and their dependents and ancillarries. A large number of these towns developed on the sea shores. The medieval towns and cities were largely dependent on the rural areas for their different needs and purposes. The political structures of these cities and towns were autocratic in nature. Social life in these cities was largely conventional. During this period the local ruler, who himself was a major landowner, tended to invite merchants, artisans, administrators, and professionals to settle in his fortress headquarter towns. These tradesmen and professionals were landless and dependend on the ruler for protection. Not being tied to the land, they had great mobility which they cou1.d use as leverage against the ruler in case of oppression or excessive taxation. The towns and cities during this period constituted hinges [.inking vertically the lower levels of the settlement hierarchy with the higher ones. Their main role was to act as military headquarters in the basic antagonistic relations with neighbouring towns, most of which were at the same hierarchical level.

Modern City

Modern cities in lndia emerged during the colonial period. They have a large population and there is social heterogeneity. 'The modern cities are commercial centres. They have elected governments which have specialised functions and very complicated organisations. The modern cities are cosmopolitan in character. These have a large population who are engaged in the service sectors and other related activities which were not seen in the old cities. They are the fashion hubs. In modern cities there are large numbers of voluntary organisations which serve the needs of the large number of people. Social mobility is one of the most important features of the modern cities. In these cities we find many diverse groups and each group represents a different culture of its own. As already stated, the livelihood of the city people is greatly dependent on the service sector and the industrial sector and thus they are not at all dependent on agriculture and farming. The modern city represents a modern lifestyle and modern ethos. The lifestyle of the people is quite different from the rural counterparts. Modern cities have the best means of communication and . transportation. Apart from this there are modern health facilities existing in these cities.

Concept of Mixed Economy

The term 'mixed economy' is relatively a new term. It hardly appears as a systematically evolved economic system in the classical writings of economists, political scientists and social philosophers. In popular discourse, we can come across this term in many different contexts. The term 'mixed

economy' means prevalence of public, private and joint sectors side by side in a system. In a mixed economy, these sectors play an important role in bringing about development. In some systems one of the sectors may predominate, but the fact that these types of sectors coexist is sufficient to term an economy a 'mixed economy'. Thus generally, this term is used for any economy in which one can see the coexistence of more than one mode of ownership, control and decision-making

With the change in the functions of state, widening of welfare activities, success of private sector, increase in people's demands and cut throat competition in manufacture and sale of goods, mixed economy model has become very essential. In a mixed economy system, state- owned means of production are so used as to promote social welfare. Privately-owned means of production in such a system serve private interests within the norms laid down by the state. The underlying theme of a mixed economy is to attain rapid economic development and ensure that no exploitative and restrictive tendencies emerge in the economy. In such a system, the state participates as an active partner with the private enterprise in the process of economic development.

Thus, we can say that under a mixed economy, the entire economic system in a country is split up into three parts :

1. Sectors in which both production and distribution are entirely managed and controlled by the state to complete exclusion of private enterprise.

2. Sectors in which the state and private enterprise jointly participate in production as well as in distribution, and

3. Sectors which are in exclusive and comp4ete control of private enterprise. These sectors are subject to general control and regulation of the state.

FEATURES OF MIXED ECONOMY

1.Large Public Sector
The presence of a big public sector along with free enterprises makes the character of the economy 'mixed'. In socialist countries, public sector plays a major role in almost all the sectors of the economy. Even in the western capitalist countries, the state has not only intervened in their economies in a big way but has also engaged itself in various productive and distributive functions. The developmental role of the state is more pronounced in countries where industrialization has been somewhat delayed. In a mixed economy also the public sector plays a very crucial role.

2.Private Ownership of Means of Production and Profit-Guided production

In many mixed economies as well as in India, at present a large segment of the industrial sector is in private hands. With the exception of some basic industries, all other industri es, for example, cement, vegetable oil, leather, etc. are with the private sector. Road Transport is mainly in the hands of private sector. Agriculture is also with the private sector. It means most of the goods are produced for the market and majority of economic activities are motivated by profit in a mixed economy.

3.Decisive Role of the Market Mechanism

Market Mechanism has a crucial role to play in Indian economy. India has markets not only for various products but also for productive factors. Prices of most of the commodities and factors of production are determined by interplay of demand and supply forces. Prices of various commodities and price fluctuations influence the decisions of the producers and techniques of production. Though all banks have been nationalized, yet their working as well as business dealings with producers in the private sector is generally determined according to the laws of the market. The amount of investment and its form is also influenced by the interest rates that prevail in the money market still the market mechanism is not totally out of state control. Through licensing, 'distribution of essential goods at fair price shops and government purchase of agricultural products at support prices, government tries to regulate market mechanism in Indian economy.

4.Joint Sector

A joint sector provides a very important avenue for balanced industrial development. It complements growth in the public and private sectors. It is an important feature of a mixed economy, it is basically an extension of the idea of mixed economy. It is a tool for social control over industry, without resorting to complete nationalization. It is needed for an equitable and egalitarian economic growth in the country it can widen the scope of the industrial scenario. In India, the joint sector has yet to make its mark in terms of its contribution to economic growth.

GROWTH OF MIXED ECONOMY IN INDIA

The success of mixed economy depends upon the positive growth pubic private and joint sectors of the economy. The state's role in mixed economy is crucial to its growth. The view that the state has to play a key role in rapid industrialization and economic development of the country had gained wide support even during the freedom struggle. The Indian National Congress had passed a resolution to this effect way back in 193 1, which stated that "the state shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways shipping and other means of transport". Actual course of action since Independence has, however, been guided more by pragmatic than by ideological considerations. The limited economic and administrative capabilities of the state at the time of independence forced the government to seek the cooperation of the private sector in the task of economic development, gradually the public sector was expected to grow not only absolutely but also relatively to the private sector. The private sector was expected to play its part within the framework of the comprehensive planning mechanism.

From the very beginning state policy was based on the view that small scale industries and a large part of finance and commerce were to be left in the domain of the private sector. Even in the domain of big industry, private initiative was not totally ruled out. The relative spheres of activity of the public and the private sectors were spelt out soon after Independence in the Industrial Policy Resolution (IPR) adopted by the Government of India in 1948.

The thrust of IPR of 1948 was on mixed economy i.e. coexistence of both public and private sectors. It emphasised on attainment of social justice through maximisation of production Industries were divided into four broad categories :

a) Industries under the exclusive monopoly of the central government.

b) The industries that could henceforth be undertaken only by the state.

c) The third category was made up of industries of such basic importance that the
central government would feel it necessary to plan and regulate them.

d) Fourth category, comprising the remainder of the industrial field was left open to private enterprise, individuals as well as cooperatives.

The 1948 resolution not only emphasised the right of the state to acquire industrial undertakings in public interest but it also reserved an appropriate sphere for the private sector. The First Five Year Plan (1951-56) emphasised the rapid expansion of the economic and social responsibilities of the state. It gave a call for widening public sector and stressed the fact that private sector must be reoriented to the needs of planned economy.

The 1956 IPR modified the 1948 IPR a little. The resolution laid down three categories of industries, which were more sharply defined and were broader in coverage as to the.role of the state than the-classification of 1948 IPR These categories were:

Schedule A: those which were to be under exclusive responsibility of the state. This list included 17 industries - arms and ammunition, atomic energy, iron and steel, heavy machinery required for mining, heavy electrical industries, coal, mineral oils, mining, iron ore and other important minerals (like copper, lead and zinc, etc.), aircraft, air transport, railways, ship-building, telephone, telegraph and wireless equipment, and generation and distribution of electricity.

Schedule B: There were about a dozen industries in the list, where the State might establish new units or existing units might be progressively nationalised. In these industries, the private sector was guaranteed plenty of opportunity to develop and expand. It included the following industries : Other mining industries, aluminium and other non-ferrous metals not included in Schedule A, machine tools, ferro alloys and steel tools, chemicals, antibiotics and other essential drugs, synthetic rubber, pulp, road and sea transport.

Schedule C: Industries in this Schedule consisting of the rest of the industries, not included in Schedules A and B, would be in the private sector and would be subject to the social and economic policy of the government. The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act of 1951 and other relevant laws would apply to these industries.
These categories were not water-tight compartments. In appropriate cases private units could produce an item in category A for meeting the industry's requirements or as byproducts.

Further, heavy industries in the public sector could obtain some of their requirements of higher components from the private sector while private sector in turn would rely for many of its needs on the public sector. Moreover, the state reserved the right to enter category C, when the needs of planning required. The basic objective of this resolution was to create a mixed economy in India The resolution aimed at providing non-discriminatory treatment for the private sector encouragement to village and small scale enterprises, removing regional disparities and provision of amenities for labour.'

SIGNIFICANCE OF MIXED ECONOMY

Mixed economy is needed as it provides an institutional balance between the socioeconomic forces under whose control and through whose efforts post-Independence India has achieved her growth. It mobilizes popular support for a state-led, state directed process of capitalist, modernizing development of the Indian economy in general and impressive growth of industry and agriculture in particular. Growth and significance of public and private sectors in a system is an essence of mixed economy

1. Infrastructure Development and the Public Sector

That part of the economy which functions on the basis of state owned property forms the public sector of the economy. It is an important element in the socio-economic structure of society in India. The only national basis for modernizing the productive forces in the developing countries like India has always been entrepreneurship. This is the reason behind the emergence and expansion of public sector in our country.

There has been an increasing recognition and acceptance of the state functioning as a catalytic agent for economic activities in all the core and basic sectors through the emerging public sector. For India, government regulation is a direct partner in most economic activities and a silent partner in all economic activities. The primary sectors came under the control and ownership of government much earlier than the others, and covered functions without which the state could not exist and the government. could not function The sectors like central banking, treasury and state refinance, rail, roads and ports, posts and telegraph are today normally identified with the basic functions of the state.

In India, the emergence of the public sector gained momentum with the nationalization of minerals and metals, industries as well as the oil and petroleum sectors. The trend continued with the nationalization of life insurance and a major portion of commercial banking. It was in fact in the form of the public sector that the state proceeded to undertake the responsibility for enlarging industrial growth and providing capital cover and entrepreneurship. The public sector has grown not only under the central government, but also under the ownership of the different state governments.

Public Sector's contribution towards net domestic product has risen its contribution towards capital formation has also gone up. Capacity for labour absorption in public sector has been continuously consistent. Rate of investment and stocks of public sector has shown a steady rise. The growth of public sector has laid the foundation for rapid industrialization of the economy by creating necessary basic industries. Nearly 85% of needed capital goods are being produced at home as against 15% at the beginning of planning era Public Sector activities now cover a bulk of important areas of power

generation, transport, banking and insurance and have been extended to domestic and foreign trade in certain important commodities. The role of the public sector is connected with the building of infrastructural projects and branches of the economy. It makes for private sector's inadequacy in organizing research and development, in mobilizing financial resources and in utilizing new materials and methods in production.

2. Role of Private Sector

In the core and basic sector, control has now been largely handed over to the public sector, and further growth in these areas is also within the public sector. Nevertheless " substantial development in basic industries like cemenf fertilizers and iron factories is still within the private sector, even though, the commanding heights continue to be controlled by the public sectors.

The larger proportion of the growth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been. Contributed by the private sector. In absolute terms, the production of consumer goods has gone up. By manipulating production and supply in direct contrast with the forces of demand and supply, the private sector has in a large measure also manipulated prices and exerted inflationary pressures on national economy. By widespread diversion of resources to the parallel economy it has also led to the concentration of wealth and inequalities in the distribution of output and income thereby inhibiting the national and spontaneous growth of per capita income and GDP.

Still the dominant sector in India that is agriculture is completely managed by the private sector. Trading, both wholes and retail, has always been in the private sector. Small and cottage industries in India are in the private sector and they have an important role to play in industrial development. They are particularly suited for the utilisation of local employment opportunities, as they are labour-intensive. The private sector also helps in the effective mobilisation of human and physical capital. There is thus tremendous scope for expansion of private sector in India and its importance in a mixed economy cannot be denied in any way.

3.Public Sector

Prior to Independence, there was practically no such thing as the public sector in India. Railways, posts and telegraphs, ordnance factories and a few assorted factories constituted the public sector. Only after the Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956, the government made concerted efforts to make the public sector the dominant sector in the Indian economy. It was supposed to have control over "the commanding heights" of the economy. Among the important objectives assigned to

the public sector are :

1. To help in the rapid economic growth and industrialization of the economy and   create the necessary infrastructure for economic development
2. To earn return on investment and thus generate resources for development
3. To promote redistribution of income and wealth
4. To create employment opportunities
5. To promote balanced regional development
6. To assist the development of small-scale and ancillary industries; and
7. To promote import substitution, save and earn foreign exchange for the economy

Anthropological Approach: Descent and Alliance

Anthropologists have looked at kinship systems from the point of view of **descent** and alliance.

A) **Descent Approach** Kinship in our society is used for establishing clear-cut corporate social units. Each one of us is a member of such a cooperating and closely bound group of people. One can depend upon the help and support given by such people. Such cooperating local groups are always larger than elementary families of spouses and their children. When these groups are recognised or defined on the basis of shared descent, anthropologists call them descent groups. Formally speaking there are six possible avenues for the transmission of descent group membership, from parents to children. These are :

i) Patrilineal — where descent is traced in the male line from father to son

ii) Matrilineal — where descent is traced in the female line from mother to daughter.

iii) Double (duo lineal or bilineal) — where descent is traced in both the father's line as well as mother's line for different attributes such as movable property in one line and immovable in another.

iv) Cognatic (bilateral) — where attributes are transmitted equally through both parents. Here no unilineal groups can be formed but group structure can be cognatic, that is, the group of kin persons on the father's and mother's side. Membership can be acquired through either the father or the mother.

v) Parallel descent — a very rare form of descent where descent lines are sex specific. Men transmit to their sons while women to their daughters, and finally

vi) Cross or alternative type descent — this is also very rare. Here men transmit to their daughters and women to their sons.

In India, we generally find the patrilineal and matrilineal descent systems. Of the two, patrilineal system is more common. The description and analysis of kin relationships in a descent group have given us a fairly comprehensive sociological understanding of certain types of kinship systems in India.

For example, E.K. Gough (1956) has discussed the unity of the lineage with corporate rights on land. She has focused on roles and inter-personal relationships in the wider kinship. T.N. Madan (1965) has studied the role of kinship as an organising principle in the Kashmiri Brahmin society. He has brought out the strong patrilineal ideology that characterises kinship system of the Kashmiri Pandits.Sociologists like, A.C. Mayer, T.N. Madan, Oscar Lewis while studying kinship organisation in North India, have taken the descent approach. They have described in detail various levels of kin groups and their activities.

In sociological studies the terms 'line', 'lineal', 'lineage' etc. with or without the prefix 'patri' or 'matri' have in the past been used in at least four different ways.

i) They have been used to denote corporate descent groups, i.e., lineage proper.

ii) Often employed to denote the chosen line of inheritance, succession etc. in a given society.

iii) In the study of relationship terminologies the expression "two line prescription" has sometimes been used to refer to terminological structures which are consistent with "bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

iv) Regardless of which lines (matriline or patriline or both) are chosen for the above three purposes, lineal relatives refer to one's ascendants or descendants. Lineal relatives are those who belong to the same ancestral stock in a direct line of descent. Opposed to lineal relatives are collaterals who belong to the same ancestral stock but not in a direct line of descent.

All of these usages, except the fourth, are context specific. i.e., they refer to particular situations. Here, social relations and groups are emphasised and sociologists study them in terms of interaction, norms and values of a particular society. For example, some scholars, following the theory of lineages or descent groups, have discussed the relation between mother's brother and sister's son in patrilineal societies.

They use the idea of *'complementary filiation',* i.e., the relationship ego has with the relatives on the mother's side in a patrilineal society. In a matrilineal society it refers to the relationship ego has with the relatives on his father's side. In a patrilineal society a person's maternal group is the affinal group of that person's father. This is the group, from which the person's father has taken a wife. For this reason some sociologists like to consider the question of affinity in its own right, rather than as a complementary set of relationships. We may say that in descent approach, the

emphasis is laid on social organisation of descent groups. As a result, there is little focus on the 'affinity' aspect of relationship.

B) **Alliance Approach**

Another concept that figured prominently in the study of kinship systems in India is that of alliance. Kinship includes the consideration of the patterns and rules of marriage. When a sociologist pays special attention to these aspects of kinship, we say that he/she is following the alliance approach to understand the patterns of kinship. Many studies of kinship in India have focused on marriage as an alliance between two groups and on kinship terminology, as a reflection of the nature of alliance.

Because of their concentration on relationships arising out of marriage, we say that these studies follow the alliance approach. The main exponent of this approach is Louis Dumont. He has emphasised the role played by marriage in the field of kinship in South India. By showing the opposition between consanguines and affines as reflected in the Dravidian kinship terminology, Dumont has made an important contribution to our understanding of kinship system in India in general and of South India in particular. He has applied to South India a structural theory of kinship. It brings out the repetition of intermarriage through the course of generations. This pattern highlights the classification of kinsmen into two categories of parallel and cross relatives. The alliance approach to the study of kinship has helped sociologists to discuss and explain the distinction between bride-givers and bride-takers. In addition, it has also included the discussion on the notion of **hypergamy** (i.e., the bride takers are always superior to bride-givers), practice of dowry in relation to hypergamy and ideas of exchange in marriage.

CONCEPTS, MEANINGAND DEFINITIONS

Marriage by most anthropologists has been described as a universal phenomena yet the debate continues as to how marriage came into existence. In the early year's social thinkers and anthropologists basically the followers of the theory of evolutionism were of the opinion that human beings lived in a state of promiscuity where individual marriage did not exist. In such a society all the men had access to all the women and the children thus, born were the responisbility of the society at large. This slowly gave rise to group marriages to bring regulation and general order in the society where either many men were married to several women or sereval men were married to a single woman and vice- versa.

George Peter Murdock (1949) has defined marriage as a universal institution that involves residential co-habitation, economic co-operation and the formation of the nuclear family. While Westermarck had emphasised on marriage as a recognised union between a man and a woman, that the spouse live together and that the couple have clearly recognised mutual sexual rights. These definitions could not be considered as universal definition of marriage as it failed to encompass types of marriages such as polygynous and polyandrous marriages.

Kathleen Gough (1959) in her study of the Nayars has defined marriage as a 'relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum'.

Types of Marriages
Depending on the type of society, the marriage pattern and style also vary. Before going into the depth of the topic let's outline the types of marriages universally found which are (a) Monogamy and (b) Polygamy. *Monogamy* is a form of marriage in which the practice is to have only one spouse at one time. In the western world the divorce rate is increasingly higher and serial monogamy is witnessed. *Serial monogamy* pertains to a state where a man has a series of wives one after the other, but only one wife at any given point of time. Thus, in the United States where divorce rate is high but only monogamy is legal, serial monogamy is widely noticed. In societies like the Hindu society of India monogamy pertains to *non-serial monogamy* where a man has a single wife throughout his life. In such societies the divorce rate is rare and as such it is the preferred norm.

Polygamy is a term derived from the Greek word *polys gamos* meaning often married. It is a form of marriage in which an individual has more than one spouse at any given time, or married to more than one individual. In polygamy when a marriage involves one man with many women it is known as *polygyny*. The wives of a man if sisters or related then such a marriage is known as *sororal polygyny*. In many of the Islamic countries this practice is prevalent. In some Australian Aboriginal societies, the elder brother often marries the two eldest sisters.
While the younger sisters of the wives' would also marry their sisters' husband's younger
brother or brothers. This is said to create a clear advantage in power and self sufficiency in these societies. The Swazi society of Africa practice sororal polygyny.
In societies practicising sororal polygyny it is believed that two sisters have better chances of getting along with one another rather than two unrelated women who have not grown up together. It is a resilient approach because sisters are assumed to have less of a competitive approach towards their husband's affection because as sisters they would be more inclined towards maintaining harmony and live in mutual understanding.

The rules of residence in sororal polygyny differ from society to society. In some societies the wives co-habits like among the Zulus of South Africa, while in the Swazi society each wife sets up separate residence. Upon death of a husband, the marriage does not come to an end. A blood relative of the husband assumes full responsibility of providing domestic, economic, and material support for the women. If the wives of a man are not rleated such a marriage is known as *nonsororal polygyny*. In the Coromo islands non-sororal polygyny is practiced.

Polyandry derives its name from the Greek word *poly* 'many' and *andros* 'man'. Thus, in this type of marriage a woman is married to more than one man. Societies where polyandry has been found are Tibet, Canadian Arctic, northern parts of Nepal, Nigeria, Bhutan, parts of India and Sri Lanka. It is also encountered in some regions of Mongolia, among the Mosuo people in China, and in some societies of Sub-Saharan African such as the Maasai people in Kenya and northern

Tanzania and American indigenous communities. Polyandry has been practised in several cultures — in the Jaunsar-Bawar region in Uttarakhand, among the Nairs,
Theeyas and Todas of South India, and the Nishi of Arunachal Pradesh.

Fraternal polyandry refers to a marriage in which a woman is married to two or more brothers also known as *adelphic* polyandry. The term fraternal has its origin in the Latin term frater- 'brother'. Account of Fraternal polyandry in Indian Hindu society is seen in the great epic Mahabharata where the five Pandava brothers were married to princess Draupadi. Polyandry is found in certain regions of Tibet and Nepal as a socially accepted practice.

The type of marriage where a woman is either married to a number of non-related men or related kinsmen (clan brothers) such a marriage is known as *non-fraternal* polyandry. In the recent past the Todas' of southern India practiced both fraternal and non-fraternal polyandry where the husbands were either brothers or related kinsmen but with the changing age monogamy has made inroads into this society and is fast becoming a part. Though among the Nayars of Malabar Coast of Southern India the husbands were not related they had to belong to a social strata equivalent to that of the woman as prescribed by the society. In societies where polyandry is practiced, when a woman becomes pregnant the paternity is not ascribed to the biological father (genitor) but is accepted through a ceremony wherein any one of the brothers as sociological father (pater) can assume social responsibility of the child by paying the midwife, as in the case of the Nayars of Southern India. While in some cases the eldest brother assumes the responsibility of the child in case of fraternal polyandry. When the husbands of a woman are father and son such a marriage is known as *familial polyandry*. It is a very rare form of polyandry and has been found prevalent among the Tibetians. There are many speculations for such a marriage and one of them relates to the small population size of the tibetians and the high altitude in which they live. A wife if taken from other communities who live in the low lands, it becomes difficult for her to adjust to the harsh climatic conditions and as such sharing a wife by father and son is taken up as an option.

Polygynandry another variety of polygamy pertians to a marriage where several men are married to several women or a man has many wives and a woman has many husbands at any given time. Such marriages were prevalent among the Marquesans of Polynesia and also among the Todas of the Nilgiri hills and the Khasas of Jaunsar Bawar of India.

Ways of Acquiring a Mate

Marriage by negotiation is a very frequently practised way of acquiring a mate. It is found in most of the simple societies like the Ituri of Congo region in Africa, Siwai of Soloman Islands, the aboriginals of Australia, Andamanese of Andaman Islands and also in complex societies like the Hindu society of India, China, Japan, Europe and America. In such a system either the girl's family or the boy's family (as per the custom) puts forward a propsal for marriage through a

thrid party or mediator. This third party is generally someone known to both the would be bride and groom's family. In Indian context it is also known as *arranged marriage*. In earlier times the bride and groom meet each other only during the wedding, but this rigidity is being relaxed now a days. In such a system bride price, bride wealth, dowry also has an important role to play and it is usually a long drawn process where consensus of the bride and groom's family is all done by the mediator.

Marriage by exchange also forms a part of the marriage by negotiation system. Herein, such a system the bride price or bride wealth, whichever is applicable to the society, is waived off by marriage through exchange. This happens generally if there are daughters or sisters for exchange for the grooms. This helps in not only forming an alliance but also strengthens the bond between groups. Examples of such excahnge is seen is societies of Australia, Melanesia, Tive of Nigeria and also in the some of the tribes in India- Muria Gonds, Baiga of Bustar and the Koya and the Saora of Andhra Pradesh.

Marriage by service is found among some of the tribes in North East India. Among the Naga's of North East India the bride wealth forms a part of the marriage negotiation and if the groom's party is not able to pay the bride wealth then the compensation is through service. The boy works for the bride's family and only when the brides family is satisfied that the marriage is solemnised.

Marriage by probation invloves the consent of the brides parents alongwith the girls consent wherein the groom stays at the brides place on trial basis. Herein, the groom is allowed to stay with the girl so that they both get to know each others temperament and if the girl likes the boy the marriage takes place, else the boy has to pay compensation in cash to the girl's family. Among the Kukis of Manipur of India such a marriage is a practised norm.

Marriage by capture is found in many societies. The capture can be a physical capture or a ceremonial one. Among the tribes of Yahomamo of Venezuela, Northern Brazil and the Nagas of Nagaland in India during raids the men from one village capture and take home females of the other village and marry them as wives. Such a situation is ascribed as physical capture. In ceremonial capture a boy desiring to marry a girl propositions her in a community fair or festival and makes his intentions towards her known by either holding her hand or marking her with vermillion as in the case of Kharia and the Birhor of Bihar.

Marriage by intrusion is a type of marriage wherein a girl forces her way into the boy's house and forces him to accept her as his spouse. Such marriages are seen in Birhor and Ho of Bihar and also among the Kamars of Madhya Pradesh.

Marriage by trial is a process in which the groom has to prove his strength and valour while claiming his bride. In the two great Indian epics Mahabharata and the Ramayana we have examples of how Draupadi and Sita were claimed by Arjuna and Lord Rama after they proved their skills in the *swayamvar* (a gathering where the eligible males are invited to prove their strength to claim the bride). Such marriages by trail are still found in many societies in India and some of the examples are the Bhils of Rajasthan and the Nagas of Nagaland.

Marriage by Elopement is a customary marriage in some societies whereas looked down in others. In societies where a huge amount of wealth is required for the marriage rituals and which is usually difficult for the families to bear in such societies marriage by elopment has come up as a customary practice. Such marriage is quite in vogue among the Karbis of Karbi Anglong district of Assam. In other cases marriage by elopment takes place when either of the prospective groom or bride's family does not approve of the wedding or when marriage is fixed with a distasteful partner. In such a case, the would be bride elopes with the partner of her choice. Such marriage by eleopment is seen in almost all parts of the world

Marriage Rules Every time a marriage is contracted, new kinship bonds come into being, we can clearly see the relevance of marriage rules for discussing the patterns of kinship organisation. In the context of North India, we find that people know whom not to marry. In sociological terms, the same thing can be expressed by saying that there are negative rules of marriage in North India. We can also say that marriage is allowed only outside a defined limit.

i) **Clan Exogamy** Belonging to one's natal descent line is best expressed in matters of marriage. No man is allowed to marry a daughter of his patriline. In North India lineage ties
upto five or six generations are generally remembered and marriage alliances are not allowed within this range. In such a situation the lineage turns into the clan and we speak of *gotra* (clan) and *gotra bhai* (clan mates). Widely used Sanskrit term *gotra* is an exogamous category within a subcaste. Its main use is to regulate marriages within a subcaste.

ii) **The Four Clan Rule**
In this connection, the four-*gotra* or four-clan rule, In Irawati Karve's (1953: 118) words, according to this rule, a man must not marry a woman from
(i) his father's *gotra*, (ii) his mother's *gotra*, (iii) his father's mother's *gotra*, and (iv) his mother's mother's *gotra*. In other words, this rule prohibits marriage between two persons who share any two of their eight *gotra* links. This means that the rule of exogamy goes beyond one's own lineage.

Another related kind of exogamy, which exists in North India, is village exogamy. A village usually has members of one or two lineages living in it. Members belonging to the same lineage are not permitted to intermarry. This principle extends even to the villages, which have more than two lineages. In other words, a boy and a girl in a village in North India are like a brother and sister and hence cannot intermarry.

It is important here to give you a word of caution. We have spoken about lineage, clan and subcaste in relation to organisation of kinship patterns. But we have not mentioned terms like *kutumb, biradari, khandan, bhai bandh* etc. These denote various colloquial meanings of the general terms (lineage, clan and subcaste) in local languages. The local terms are used in various contexts to signify different levels of kinship arrangements.

iii) **Marriages within the Subcaste** Associated with local terms is the idea of the status of various units within the subcaste. Taking the example of the Sarjupari Brahmin of Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh, studied by Louis Dumont (1966: 107), we find that each of the three subcastes of Sarjupari Brahmins of this area is divided into three houses (kin groups or lineages) which range hierarchically in status. The marriages are always arranged from lower to higher house. This means that women are always given to the family, which is placed in the house above her own. In this context, we can also refer to the popular saying in North India that 'the creeper must not go back'.

The same idea is reflected by another North Indian saying that *'pao pujke, ladki nahin le jainge'* (i.e., once we have washed the feet of the bridegroom during the wedding ceremony, we cannot accept a girl from his family, because this will mean that we allow that side to wash our feet or allow the reversal of relationships). This shows clearly that marriage rules in

North India maintain a hierarchic relationship between the bride-givers and bride-takers. In terms of negative rules of marriage in North India, the above description reflects the rule
that a man cannot marry his father's sister's daughter or his patrilateral crosscousin. This is called the rule of no reversal.

Another principle should also be mentioned here. It is rule of no repetition. This means that if the father's sister has been married in a family *(khandan),* one's own sister cannot be given in marriage to that same family. The term family or *khandan* is used here as a smaller unit of a lineage. This rule of no repetition implies the negative rule of prohibition on the marriage with matrilateral cross-cousins. In other words, a man cannot marry his mother's brother's daughter.

Ceremonial Exchange of Gifts among Kin

The process of gift-giving and taking reflects the principles governing the separation/ assimilation of various categories of kin relationships. This is the reason why we look at this aspect of kinship behaviour. Gifts and counter-gifts in South India from certain persons to other persons or from certain groups to other groups can be distinguished in two categories.

i) Gifts passing from the bride's family to the groom's family or the reverse can be seen as a series of exchanges between affines. This is one category of gift-exchange.

ii) The other category of gift-giving and taking occurs within each of the two groups. We can call it internal exchange of gifts. It is sometimes possible for a person to make/receive gifts from both sides. Because of the positive rules of marriage between relatives, often certain individuals are placed in the positions of receivers and givers at the same time. In other words, there is a process of merging of relationships.

Examples some examples of both categories from ethnographic studies made in South India.

Examples of Category One

Louis Dumont (1986: 256) in his study of the Pramalai Kallar subcaste of Tamil Nadu mentions a gift of money from the bridegroom's father to the bride's father. It is known as *'parisam'*. The bride's father uses this money to get jewels for his daughter. But he is expected to spend twice the amount he receives. Thus, we may say that the bride's jewels are paid for half-in-half by the two families. This particular ceremony marks the beginning of the giving and taking of gifts between affines. If continues for a period of at least three years.

Then, the birth of the first child gives rise to another cycle of gift-exchange. In fact, among the Pramalai Kallar after three years of marriage or after birth of a child, when the newly weds set up an individual household, the bride's parents provide the household articles. This gift is called *'vere pona sir'*, literally meaning 'the gift for going apart'. So from *'parisam'* to 'the gift for going apart', we witness the series in which a gift is made and it is returned after 'doubling' its content. The series begins with a gift from the groom's side and ends with a gift from the bride's side. Thus, though there is a reciprocity of gifts between affines on both sides, it is quite clear that the bride's side ends up paying more. In other words, gifts from the groom's side are mere excuses for getting more gifts from the bride's side. Having seen the nature of gifts passing from the bride's family to the groom's family, now we also discuss the gifts given and taken within each group of affines.

Examples of Category Two

At weddings, both in the bride's house and in the groom's house, respectively, a collection (usually in the form of cash) is taken from the relatives present at the occasion. This is called the *'moy'* among the non-Brahmin castes in South India. The same is practised by the Brahmins under the name of 'writing the *moy'*. A person is given the charge of recording the amount of cash/kind given by a particular person. In this gift-giving also, there is the principle of reciprocity. One gives *'moy'* to those who have already given or will give on similar occasions. Louis Dumont (1986: 256) tells us that among the Pramalai Kallar, the mother's brother is the first person to contribute to the *moy*. After the mother's brother other relatives make their contribution. Usually the money thus collected goes towards the expenses incurred for the marriage feast.

In the cycle of internal gifts, the role of the mother's brother is quite prominent. After a child is born to a family, the mother's brother gives gifts on various occasions in the child's life. Among the Pramalai Kallar (see Dumont 1986: 256) the mother's brother gives to his sister's son at birth a gift of land or money. In a way, we can say that the gifts given by mother's brother are a continuation of the series, which started at the mother's wedding. Then we called it an exchange of gifts between affines. Now, the mother's brother, an affine of ego's father, is merged in

relation to the affines in ego's generation, among the common relatives of one group, either of the bride/or the groom. Secondly, the special place of the gifts made by the mother's brother points to the obligation the female side has to the male side. This is seen in the continuity maintained by the relatives on the mother's side in terms of gift-giving even to the next generation.

Element of Reciprocity in Gift-giving

In conclusion, we may say that in the context of kinship behaviour at ceremonial exchanges of gifts in South India, the element of reciprocity is present, though the bride-givers have to pay more gifts than they receive. In comparative terms, we may say that in North India, the gifts travel from the bride-givers to bride-takers in a unidirectional manner. As a result, the bride-givers, in turn, receive the enhanced prestige and status in their own community. In South India, the positive rule of marriage means that gifts are exchanged among close relatives. There is always the difference in the amount of gifts both sides exchange but their flow has to remain both-sided. It cannot be as unidirectional as it is in North India.

Factors Affecting Social Mobility

There are various factors, which are responsible for the social mobility

a) **The Supply of Vacant Status:** The number of statuses in a given stratum is not always or even usually constant. For example, the expansion in the proportion of professional, official, marginal and white-collar positions and decline in the number of unskilled labour positions require a surge of upward mobility. These positions retain their relative social standing at times. Demographic factors also operate to facilitate mobility, when the higher classes do not reproduce themselves and hence create a demographic vacuum (Sorokin, 1959).

b) **The Interchange of Rank:** Any mobility that occurs in a given social system which is not a consequence of a change in the supply of positions and actors must necessarily result from an interchange. Consequently, if we think of simple model for every move up, there must be corresponding move down. Interchange mobility will be determined in a large part by the extent to which a given society gives the numbers of lower strata which means complete with those who enter social structure in higher level. Thus the lesser the emphasis a culture places on the family background as a criteria for marriage the more will be the class mobility that can occur both up and down through marriage. The occupational success is related to educational achievements which are open to all and hence the greater occupational mobility (Lipset and Zetterberg, 1966)

c) **Modern Education:** The education has particularly created new incentives and motivation to initiate and adopt the ideals, practices, behavior pattern and style of life of the higher castes which M. N. Srinivas (1965) translates and explains under the process of sanskritization and westernization. Sanskritisation is a process through which the lower castes imitate the traditions and cultural practices of the upper castes and sometimes even the nomenclature to push their

case for a higher status in the society. There are many instances of the lower castes that have adopted the practices of higher castes in order to be upwardly mobile which is otherwise not possible in the traditional Hindu society.

The process of westernization in terms of adoption of the western ideals in life, is also a most potential force in social mobility, specially in the urban and industrial centers. The new value orientations, motivation, behaviour patterns, formal relations, individualism, monetised attitude to social status, western technology is popular among the people. This popularity for status upliftment, encourages the migration to places where economic opportunities in terms of urban trade, industrial occupations and jobs in different governments are available.

d) Migration: Migration to urban areas also contributes to the change in the social status of Social Mobility individuals and groups. The traditional occupations slowly disappear and the modern II industrial occupations are sought after. All these factors help in the improvement of the social position of the people. Normally, the higher the income of a particular occupation, the greater is the importance of education. However, though money makes the base of living, education decides the quality and mode of life and living. As a result, lots of changes have come in the living arrangements of the people in the modern societies. The changes also occur in the behaviour and manners of the people which may be the outcome of social mobility.

GANDHI'S IDEAL VILLAGE

Since ancient times India has been a land of relatively autonomous and self-governing village communities which based their life on dharma and righteousness. The British rule disintegrated these village communities by subordinating them to a formal and centralised legal system. In doing so, the traditional foundation was demolished and along with it the inner cohesion which had kept the Indian village going for thousands of years. The study tour that Gandhi undertook for one year on the advice of Gokhale helped him to see the pathetic reality of India the horrible trains with a sea of humanity, shoving and jostling each other, the dirty roads, the heaps of refuse and night soil at the entrance of villages all this shook Gandhi to his core.

As a first step Gandhi appealed to the educated city dwellers to return to the villages with a spirit of service and make a beginning by making the village cleaner by their own labour and removing illiteracy to the best of their ability. This was no easy task as Gandhi was not oblivious to the actual realities of Indian villages. He admitted that, "Instead of having graceful hamlets dotting the land, we have dung heaps. The approach to many villages is not a refreshing experience. Often one would like to shut one's eyes and stuff one's nose; such is the surrounding dirt and offending smell".

But then he shared with them his dream of how he envisioned his beloved India to be. He pictured India not as a poverty-stricken India teeming with ignorant millions but one which was continuously progressing and tapping the genius within her. He appealed to the educated class to join him in making India's villages into a republic which would have no illiterates, in which everyone is usefully occupied, has nourishing food, Khadi (meaning yarn spun by themselves) to clothe themselves, well ventilated homes, with a strict sense of hygiene and sanitation and which will be governed by a Panchayat. On another occasion he defined his ideal Indian village as follows:

"An ideal village will be so constructed as to lend itself to perfect sanitation. It will have cottages with sufficient light and ventilation built of a material obtainable within a radius of five miles of it. The cottages will have courtyards enabling householders to plant vegetables for domestic use and to house their cattle. The village lanes and streets will be free of all avoidable dust. It will have wells according to its needs and accessible to all. It will have houses of worship for all, also a common meeting place, a village common for grazing its cattle, a co-operative dairy, primary and secondary schools in which industrial (i.e. vocational) education will be the central fact, and it will have Panchayats for settling disputes. It will produce its own grains, vegetables and hit, and its own Khadi. This is roughly my idea of a model village." Furthermore, he pointed out that 'all should make it a point of honour to use only village articles whenever and wherever available. Given the demand there is no doubt that most of our wants can be supplied by the villages. When we become village-minded we shall not want imitations from the West or machine-made products.'

Thus for Gandhi, freedom in its sense was the upliftment and Swaraj of the village and its inhabitants. So he set about reconstructing the Indian society based on the village system with the village as the basic unit. He called this Gram Swaraj. Based on the above quotation by Gandhi about his utopian village, we can understand that he wanted the village to produce basic useful goods for consumption purpose rather than trade and the governance was to be bottom-up, not top-down. The basic principles of Gram Swaraj as laid down by Gandhi were:

SWADESHI, SARVODAYA AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Swadeshi, as Gandhi defined it, is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. In the economic context, it refers to the use of products produced completely in our own nation and by our own villagers. Khadi became a symbol of Swadeshi in the Gandhian economics. His first advocacy was not to give in to the temptation of using foreign mill cloth in preference for the hard work of the millions of impoverished masses. Charkha or the spinning-wheel became an eternal symbol of Swadeshi for Gandhi. As he often said, it is our desire to wear the foreign manufactured cloth that displaced charkha from its dignified status. In order to revive that dignity and also to inculcate true economic spirit that is devoid of exploitation and deceit, Gandhi took to the spinning-wheel. As he rightly observed, 'economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are

immoral and sinful. Thus the economics that permit one country to prey upon another are immoral' (Young India, 13-10-1921). The revival of hand-spinning and the extensive use of spinning-wheel to assert our self-sufficiency demonstrated Gandhi's deep interest in developing it into a full-fledged khadi industry.

Sarvodaya means the rise or upliftment of all. In the economic context, it means the economic equality of all devoid of discrimination. It also calls for the equitable distribution and this is possible only when one adopts the self-denial method or voluntarily reduces the wants. Gandhi advocated simple living and high thinking precept, for this alone can bring about the happiness that is more spiritual in nature as against the accumulative materialistic life. Also, in the economic field, 'Sarvodaya pleads for

(a) The repudiation of the proprietary possession of the non producers,

(b) The establishment of proprietary possession of the producers, and

(c) The neutralization or the negation of ownership.

In the village development, the precept of economic sarvodaya is crucial for it is built on the local resources with the collective effort of all the villagers. The production is aimed not at commercial profit but for the consumption within the village community. Moreover, it is the responsibility of the village community to ensure a means of income to everyone. Gandhi envisaged that with decentralisation, the village industries can prosper as they are not only labour-intensive but also non-exploitative.

Constructive Programme is a blueprint of complete independence or Poorna Swaraj as Gandhi envisaged. It consists of his guidelines regarding the reconstruction of the villages and society by truthful and non-violent means. Gandhi includes the development of village industries as one of its primary features. He laid emphasis on the village economy because 'it cannot be complete without the essential village industries such as hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soapmaking, paper-making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing, etc'. He also talked of economic equality calling for 'abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour', and also stressing on adopting the 'trusteeship' doctrine. Gandhi clearly laid the outlines for village development via village and cottage industries and promoting handicrafts.

Home Economy *(Swadeshi)*

Mahatma Gandhi was a champion of sw*adeshi* or home economy. People outside India know of Gandhi's campaigns to end British colonialism, but this was only a small part of his struggle. The greater part of his work was to renew India's vitality and regenerate its culture. For Gandhi, the soul and spirit of India rested in its village communities. He said: "The true India is to be found, not in its few cities, but in its seven hundred thousand villages. If the villages perish, India will perish too."

According to the principle of sw*adeshi,* whatever is made or produced in the village must be used, first and foremost, by the members of the village. Trading among villages, and between villages and towns, should be minimal. Goods and services that cannot be generated from within the community can be bought from elsewhere.

Swadeshi avoids economic dependence on external market forces that could make the village community vulnerable. It also avoids unnecessary, unhealthy, wasteful and environmentally destructive transportation. The village must build a strong economic base to satisfy most of its needs and all members of the village community should give priority to local goods and services.

Mainstream economics believes in centralized, industrialized and mechanized modes of production, whereas Gandhi envisions a decentralized, home-grown, hand-crafted mode of production. Mass production forces people to leave their villages, their land, their crafts and their homesteads and go to work in the factories. Instead of dignified human beings and members of self-respecting village communities, villagers become cogs in the wheel. In swadeshi, the machine would be subordinate to the worker.

In countries practising swadeshi, economics would have a place, but would not dominate society. Both economics and politics should not simply be concerned with material things, but should be the means to the fulfillment of cultural, spiritual and religious ends. In fact, economics should not be separated from the deep spiritual foundations of life. This can be best achieved, according to Gandhi, when every individual is an integral part of the community; when the production of goods is on a small scale; when the economy is local; and when homemade handicrafts are given preference. These conditions are conducive to a holistic, spiritual, ecological and communitarian pattern of society. In Gandhi's view, spiritual values should not be separated from politics, economics, agriculture, education and all the other activities of daily life. In this integral de sign, there is no conflict between the spiritual and the material.

Trusteeship

Gandhi's efforts towards "spiritualizing economics" are reflected in his concept of 'trusteeship'. He based the concept of 'trusteeship' on the first verse (*sloka*) of the Hindu sacred text the *Isopanishad,* according to which one is asked to dedicate everything to God, and then use it only to the required extent. In other words, in the first instance, everything must be surrendered to God, and then out of it, one may use only that which is necessary for the service of God's creation, according to one's strict needs. The spirit of this concept is detachment and service.

According to Gandhi, 'trusteeship' is the only ground on which one can work out an ideal combination of economics and morality. In concrete form, the 'trusteeship' formula reads as follows:

• Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order into an egalitarian one.

• It does not recognize any right of private ownership of property, except so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.

• It does not exclude legislation of the ownership and use of wealth.

• Under State-regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction, in disregard of the interest of the society.

• Just as in the case of a decent minimum living wage, a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society. The difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time, so much so that the tendency should be towards the obliteration of the difference.

• Under such an economic order, the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal greed.

Gandhi enjoins this moral obligation on the part of the trustees, as he is fully aware of the ills of capitalism which widen the gap between the rich and the poor. The Gandhian concept of 'trusteeship' departs significantly from Marxian economic philosophy too. Marxian socialism aims at the destruction of the class called capitalists, whereas the Gandhian approach is not to destroy the institution, but to reform it. Gandhian socialism, being ethical, is different from Marxian socialism. Man, to Gandhi, is an ethical being first and a social being later.

The most significant difference between Marxian socialism and Gandhian socialism lies in the method they recommend to achieve it. Whereas Marxian socialism harps on violence, Gandhian socialism aims at a change of heart on the part of the rich. There is no place for violence, but only trust. The common man trusts his trustee and the latter plays the role of a custodian. Though this kind of socialism is difficult to achieve, Gandhi advocated it as he believed in the basic strength of the goodness of man and the value of morals. All other "isms'' address the problem superficially, whereas 'trusteeship' strikes it at the root. What must not be forgotten is that is that at the centre of the concept lies the need to protect human dignity.

SPINNING-WHEEL (HANDLOOMS AND WEAVING)

The spinning-wheel or Charkha has become an eternal symbol of Swadeshi in the Gandhian economic vision. Gandhi was convinced of its efficacy and prominently backed its revival. 'I claim for the Charkha the honour of being able to solve the problem of economic distress in a most natural, simple, unexpensive and businesslike manner. The Charkha, therefore, is not only not useless, but it is a useful and indispensable article for every home. It is the symbol of nation's prosperity and therefore, freedom. It is a symbol not of commercial war but of commercial peace'.

Further, Gandhi gives the following reasons as to his insistence on spinning:

1. It supplies the readiest occupation to those who have leisure and are in want of a few coppers.
2. It is known to the thousands.
3. It is easily learnt.
4. It requires practically no outlay of capital.
5. The wheel can be easily and cheaply made. Most of us do not yet know that spinning can be done even with a piece of tile and splinter.
6. The people have no repugnance to it.
7. It affords immediate relief in times of famine and scarcity.
8. It alone can stop the drain of wealth which goes outside India in the purchase of foreign cloth.
9. It automatically distributes the millions thus saved among the deserving poor
10. Even the smallest success means so much immediate gain to the people.
11. It is the most potent instrument of securing cooperation among the people.

He likened the spinning-wheel to the life-giving Sun for in it he saw the life giving occupation to the millions of unemployed. He wanted the Charkha to symbolise not only the handicrafts but also the spirit of swadeshi. He wanted that the masses should take to spinning and handlooms in order to achieve economic independence. He believed that the spinning-wheel, in this context, is a force in national regeneration. He even advocated spinning to be made a compulsory subject for it is the 'Secret of Swaraj'. He strongly pleaded for the revival of the home-spinning to attain economic independence and to banish pauperism. To put it in his words, 'I hold the spinning wheel to be as much a necessity in every household as the hearth. No other scheme that can be devised will ever solve the problem of the deepening poverty of the people'.

Spinning was also seen as a subsidiary industry by Gandhi. He remarked that 'it is intended to restore spinning to its ancient position as a universal industry auxiliary to agriculture and resorted to by the agriculturists during those months of the year when agricultural operations are suspended as a matter of course and cultivations have otherwise little to do. The spinning wheel is capable of being applied as a complete insurance against famines and droughts' (Young India, 4-8-1921). Gandhi was thoroughly convinced of the invincibility of spinning wheel, without which the poverty of India cannot be solved. He advocated spinning for all the households and making it a universal occupation so that the complications attached with machinery are fully avoided. As millions of weavers and lakhs of carders revert to this occupation, it would ensure the economic growth of India. It is interesting to note his unflinching belief in this occupation wherein he pledges that it 'defies the pranks of monsoons and acts as an insurance against many risks. It gives the country an incentive to industrial effort and renders cooperation on a national scale absolutely necessary for success'.

Most importantly, Gandhi viewed the charkha as an eternal symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity and also all-India unity. Those who believe in the unity would resort to spinning daily and nothing can possibly unify and revivify India as the acceptance by all India of the spinning wheel as a daily sacrament and the Khaddar wear as privilege and duty (Young India, 16-3-1922). Gandhi

saw charkha as a uniting force between communities thus bringing them together to achieve common economic goals. Further, spinning is also advocated as a symbol of identification with the poorest masses of India. It would rid them of the state of blank despair, painful starvation and insane life of beggary. By providing them the spinning-wheel, we would be rendering greatest service to them by restoring to them a dignified life and easy labour. Spinning, as Gandhi often viewed it, is a cooperative effort that makes us realise our formidable strengths.

Khadi/Khaddar Economics

Gandhi wanted people to shake off the inertia and a feeling of helplessness, to learn to rely on themselves. Mill production of cloth could employ only a small fraction of the people and also the employee could not be self-reliant as he was dependent on the employer for wages, raw materials and machinery. It was khadi alone which could teach our village population to depend on their own efforts to improve their lot, and thus to learn their first lesson in real independence. It was meant to put new life in to the individual and to make him resourceful and self-dependent. It contained the seeds of true swaraj or self rule or democracy in the real sense of the term. Gandhi wanted to teach the importance of the dignity of hand-labour and not to shun it or degrade it. Gandhi expected it to lay the foundations of a non-violent economic and social order which would bring peace and happiness to the mankind. This was the far-reaching and permanent objective which underlay his efforts for reviving Khadi'

Writing in Harijan (10-12-1938), Gandhi reiterated that 'Khadi has a big mission. Khadi provides dignified labour to the millions who are otherwise idle for nearly four months in the year. Even apart from the remuneration the work brings, it is its own reward. For, if millions live in compulsory idleness, they must die spiritually, mentally and physically. The spinning wheel automatically raises the status of millions of poor women. Even though, therefore, mill cloth were to be given gratis to the people, their true welfare demands that they should refuse to have it in preference to Khadi, the product of their labours'. By advocating this self sufficient and contented approach, Gandhi sought to uplift the spirit of millions of masses. His firm conviction was that by reviving the khadi and other village industries, we would not be dragged into the imperialism, wherein exploitation of the weaker races and pursuit of materialistic life reign as supreme goals, making the concept of peaceful living almost impossibility. He felt that in order to withstand the onslaught of the Western machinery, India should adopt self supporting techniques and the spinning-wheel represented the best alternative. Gandhi's advocacy of khadi was unequivocal and successfully countered numerous criticisms against it.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Gandhi once remarked that 'Without a cottage industry the Indian peasant is doomed. He cannot maintain himself from the produce of the land. He needs a supplementary industry. Spinning is the easiest, the cheapest and the best. Gandhi emphasised the development of this industry mainly to supplement the agricultural occupation. Cottage industries, while encouraging spinning and weaving, would highly contribute to the national wealth and also the economic and moral regeneration of India. Reminding that spinning was a cottage industry that had a wider reach, Gandhi sought to reintroduce this in order to provide specific means of income to all, as the 'central idea behind hand-spinning is to put money in the pockets of millions by finding an easy uniform cottage industry. His strong belief was that the spinning-wheel would greatly contribute to reviving the national cottage industry, which, in turn, would bring about the natural and equitable distribution of wealth. This would do away with the enforced idleness of the masses and also rid India of its perennial poverty. He was bewildered at the thought of having too many industries rather than one universal industry, that is represented by spinning. At the same time, he was not dismissive of other industries that bring about some remuneration to the village labour. He opined that 'the national resources must be concentrated upon one industry of hand spinning which all can take up.

Small and cottage industries can also avoid the evils of industrialism. The heart of social reform is to make the world acknowledge the central place in it of everyman's work. If we are to follow a decentralised pattern in the economic development, it is necessary to encourage the craftsmanship of the villagers. This pattern of development also makes it possible for the smaller communities to retain the ownership and control of the available resources, which in a way, avoids the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. This profession can be carried on by the humblest of villagers, both men and women, and cater mainly to the local markets.

Time and again, Gandhi stressed on the need to revive the cottage industries by reminding the Congress leaders and the countrymen about the efficacy of these industries. Without their revival, he warned, the village and its habitants are bound to undergo immense suffering. He cautioned that one 'must realise that it is not cities that make India, but the villages and that you cannot reconstruct them unless you revive the village life with their defunct-handicrafts. Industrialisation cannot bring life to moribund villages. The peasant in his cottage home can be revived only when he gets back his craft and depends for his necessaries on the village and not on the cities as he is compelled today'.

Group A

UNIT 1 C: Theories of Population

The Malthusian Theory of Population is based on the exponential rise of population and arithmetic food supply. Thomas Robert Malthus proposed the hypothesis. He argued that preventative and positive inspections may be used to achieve a balance between population increase and food availability. According to the theory, the food supply will not be able to keep up with population expansion, leading to sickness, starvation, conflict, and disaster.

Malthusian Theory

- Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) was a pivotal pioneer in the study of population statistics.
- His population formulation was a watershed moment in the history of population ideas. He generalized the link between demographics and social transformation.
- The rate at which human reproduction outpaced the rate at which sustenance from the land could be increased.
- Malthus went on to say that if population growth is unregulated, it will rise in a geometrical ratio. Only in an arithmetic ratio does subsistence rise.'
- In brief, Malthusian theory maintains that the population must be restricted by means of sustenance.
- Unless there are some extremely significant and evident limits, the population will necessarily grow when means of sustenance improve.
- These restraints, as well as the checks that suppress the population's greater might and maintain its consequences on a par with the means of sustenance, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and suffering.

Malthusian Theory - Major Elements

Population and Food Supply

- According to the **Malthusian idea, population growth** occurs in a geometrical pattern.
- At this rate, the population would double in 25 years. The food supply, on the other hand, grows in an **arithmetic progression.**
- Food supply grows at a slower rate than **population growth**. That is, in a few years, the food supply will be depleted.
- The scarcity of f**ood suggests** that the population is growing.

Checks on Population

- **Disequilibrium develops** when the pace of population growth exceeds the rate of food supply.
- As a result, people will not have enough food to survive. People will perish as a result of a shortage of food.
- Adversities like plagues, wars, hunger, famines, and other natural disasters would occur, which **Malthus** refers to as positive checks. On the contrary, man-made checks known as preventative checks exist.
- The **'positive' and 'preventive'** checks that occur in the human population to prevent excessive growth are related to mortality and fertility practices, respectively.
- **Positive and preventive checks**, according to **Malthus,** are inversely related. In other words, while positive checks are very successful, preventative checks are less effective, and vice versa.
- However, in all communities, some of these checks are always in place, albeit in varying degrees of efficacy.
- **Malthus argued** that, despite these checks, the failure of increased food supply to keep up with population growth always resulted in some kind of **overpopulation.**

Positive Checks

- Nature has its own methods of keeping an eye on the growing population. It reduces the population to the amount of available food supply.
- **Famines, earthquakes, floods, diseases, wars,** and other natural disasters are examples of positive checks.
- When population expansion becomes uncontrollable, nature takes over.

Preventive Checks

- **Preventive measures** such as late marriage, self-control, and modest living aid in balancing population growth and food supply.
- These methods not only limit population increase but also have the potential to mitigate the negative consequences of **positive controls.**

Malthusian Trap

- The **Malthusian Trap** is the theory that better levels of food production caused by more improved **agricultural practices** lead to higher population levels, which ultimately lead to food shortages since the bigger population requires more space to cultivate crops.
- Even though technical improvement would generally lead to increases in per capita wealth, **Malthus's theories t**hat these advantages are not realized since the advancement simultaneously causes population expansion.
- When the population surpasses the capacity of food supply, a **Malthusian catastrophe** with widespread starvation and illness is said to occur.
- As a result, the population is reduced to prior levels.

Malthusian Theory - Criticism

- The population of **Western Europe** was rapidly increasing. At the same time, technical advancements had expanded food supplies.
- **Food productio**n has frequently expanded faster than population growth. In the United States, for example, the agriculture industry employs 2% of the overall population. Nonetheless, the overall **GDP exceeds** 14 trillion dollars.
- According to the Malthusian hypothesis, one of the causes of the limited food supply is a lack of available land.
- However, as a result of greater globalization, the amount of food supply in diverse nations has expanded.
- Malthus did not offer estimates for the geometric and arithmetic increase of the population. It was said that the pace of increase contradicts the **Malthusian hypothesis.**
- Malthus was also heavily chastised for disregarding the impact of evolving technology and the resulting changes in society's **socioeconomic structure.**
- He underestimated the ability of modern **agricultural technology a**nd crop fertilization to maintain a big population.
- **Malthusians ' positive checks** on hunger and sickness no longer exist, with the exception of the horrible disasters produced by **Tsunami, Katrina, Rita, and floods** or rainfall in desert locations like**Banner and Jaisalmer** in August 2006.

- One of Malthus' main flaws was that he ignored the human factor in population rise. He was a pessimist who despised population growth. Cannan claims he forgot that "a newborn comes into the world not only with a mouth and a stomach but also with a pair of hands."
- Malthus also failed to recognize biological constraints, such as the fact that a population cannot increase beyond a certain size.

Malthusian Theory - Applicability

- Although the **Malthusian philosophy** is not relevant to Western Europe and England, its main instruments have been ingrained in the population of these nations.
- If these places do not suffer from overpopulation and unhappiness, it is entirely owing to the dread and pessimism of **Malthusian theory.**
- The fact that individuals adopt preventative measures on a large scale, such as late marriage and different contraception and birth control procedures, demonstrates the importance of **the Malthusian rule.**
- The **Malthusian philosophy** may no longer be appropriate in its original location, yet its effect extends over two-thirds of the universe.
- With the exception of Japan, it covers all of **Asia, Africa, and South America.**
- **India** was one of the first countries to implement state-level family planning in order to manage population growth.
- **Positive checks,** such as floods, wars, droughts, and epidemics, are in place. The birth and death rates are quite high.
- The population is growing at a pace of roughly 2% each year.
- The true goal of population policy, however, is not to avert starvation, but to reduce poverty in order to increase production per head at a faster pace.
- As a result, the Malthusian hypothesis is perfectly relevant to developing nations such as India.
- The **Malthusian idea** applies to all communities, regardless of race or location.
- **The Malthusian theory** has remained unbroken, impenetrable in the face of all the dispute that has erupted around it.

Conclusion

Malthus thought that the population could be controlled by preventative and positive checks in order to balance the food supply with the population level. These checks would result in the Malthusian disaster. Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) was a pivotal pioneer in the study of population statistics. His population formulation was a watershed moment in the history of population ideas. He generalized the link between demographics and social transformation.

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Marxian Idea of Development

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was the most influential socialist thinker on development in the 19th and 20th centuries. Of late, against the backdrop of the collapse of the socialist economy, Marxian thought has been a subject of critical review. Around half of the world population followed his suggested path of restructuring the social and political organisation and economic development. His contribution to the theory of development is simply unparalleled and path-breaking. After his death on 14th March 1883

The development of human society through various stages, development and change in the material condition, existence, development of capitalism, and the corresponding change in the class relationship and transformation in the mode of production were the major concerns of Karl Marx. Let us examine some of these concerns.

Production Relation and Development

Marx had a profound philosophical vision of the development of human society which may be understood in terms of the material condition of existence and the dialectic, i.e., contradiction inbuilt in the material condition of existence. Though he has not denied the significance of non-material forces in the process of development of human society through various stages, he emphasised that material forces and their contradiction provided the very basic and fundamental condition of development and change in human society. Marx's idea of development is best understood in terms of his analysis and interpretation of the capitalist society, its evolution, structure and functioning. As a prolific writer, Karl Marx has touched upon all these issues in several of his writings, especially in the Communist Manifesto (1848), in the Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859, 1976) and The Capital (1887).

According to Karl Marx all the legal relations, politics, forms of the states, etc. are to be understood, not in terms of development of human mind but in terms of the material condition of life. To him, in the process of development of human society human being has emerged to be a producing animal and thereby tied with several production relations. To quote him:

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general (Marx 1859).

He was very categorical to mention that with the change in the economic foundation the inter superstructure, that is the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophical, get transferred. In the process of such transformation individual consciousness is determined not by what he thinks but by the contradiction of material life that is the conflict between the social productive forces and relation of production. Consciousness is a part of development in human society. To him, it

is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence but on the contrary their material condition of existence that determines this consciousness. As pointed out earlier References antagonistic production relation is the key factor for change and development to Marx.

He points out that at a certain stage of development "the material productive forces come in conflict with the existing relation of production,……. with the property relation within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of productive forces this relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of revolution" (Marx 1976: 504).

To him the asiatic, ancient, feudal and capitalist are the progressive epochs in the economic formation of society. The capitalist relation of production to him is the last antagonistic form of the social process of production

Capitalism, Class Relations and Development

Modern industry has established the world market that has given immense scope of development to commerce, navigation and communication by land. These developments again have paved the way for the extension of industries and free trade.

The bourgeoisie class constantly maximises its profit through the expansion of new markets, introduction of new technology, extraction of surplus value and exploitation of the proletariat. However, along with these developments there emerge new forces of contradiction within the capitalist system. Notwithstanding the emergence of new forces of contradiction, the bourgeoisie was very revolutionary in their outlook and action. According to Marx, "The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part….. the bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society."

Through the exploitation of the world market the bourgeoisie has given a cosmopolitan character to the production and consumption process. The old industries got destroyed. The old national industries got dislodged. Industry in the capitalist system no longer worked only on indigenous raw materials but raw materials drawn from the remotest zones, whose products are consumed in every quarter of the globe.

In place of old wants satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. the intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National onesideness and narrow mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature"(Ibid: 112)

The capitalists according to Marx also subjected the nature to the force of man and machinery through the application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, and modern technologies such as steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraph, canalisation of rivers, etc. All these facililated the scope of free commodification of the economy at world scales. There also emerged free competition accompanied by social and political institutions to adopt to it. The modern capitalist however, according to Marx, has inherited and nurtured the seeds of its destruction in its own womb. In proportion to the growth of the bourgeoisie there has emerged the modern working class — the proletariat, "These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market."

For Marx the essence of the captor is to maximise profit through commoditisation of the production process. As long as capitalism is based on private ownership of the means of production, it maximises profits of the private producers. This profit is again maximised by exchange proceeding from money to money by way of commodity. Gradually the proceed from money to money by way of commodity ends up with more money than one had at the outset (Aron 1965: 128). To explain the sources of profit, Marx talked about the theory of value, wage and surplus value. To him, the value of any commodity is roughly proportional to the quality of human labour contained in it. The wage capitalists pay to the workers, as the compensation for the labour power the worker rent to the capitalist, is equal to the amount necessary for the existence of the workers and their family to produce the merchandise for the capitalist. Under the capitalist system, workers receive the wage which is less than the actual duration of the work; that is less than the value of the commodity he or she produces. Here comes the notion of "surplus value" which refers to "the quality of value produced by the workers beyond the necessary labour time". Under the capitalist system the workers do not get the wage for the quality of the value produced beyond the necessary labour time.

In return the wage received by a workman is restricted only to the means of References his subsistence and survival. Marx calculated that the price of a commodity and therefore "also of labour is equal to its cost of production". In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of work increases the wage decreases. With the increase in the proportion of the use of machinery and division of labour the burden of toil of the labour also increases in terms of increase in the working hours, and increase in the quantum of work.

Gradually the number the proletariat also increases to gain more strength and awareness. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, artisans, peasants also join the army of the proletariat in their fight against the bourgeoisie. To Marx "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority." And again Marx writes; in depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to

the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Marx's Plan of Action

After the revolution by the working class, the proletariat would be raised to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy, to centralise all instruments of production in the hand of the state, to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible, to entirely revolutionalise the mode of production. He suggested the following measures:

i) Abolition of private property in land and application of all rents of land to public purpose.

ii) A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

iii) Abolition of all rights of inheritance.

iv) Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.

v) Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.

vi) Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.

vii) Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-land, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.

viii) Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

ix) Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.

x) Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production.

UNIT 6 SAMPLING

POPULATION SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

When we are interested in studying a population, it is often not feasible or possible to study the entire population, particularly if it is large or hard to access. Therefore, we may choose to study a sample of the population.

A sample consists of a smaller, finite number of "units" (e.g., people, cases, events, sites, organizations, counties, etc.) that are extracted from a larger population of interest (e.g., a population or group of program participants, events, cases, agencies, counties, or state residents).

Ultimately, your decisions regarding your sampling techniques should be informed by your: evaluation questions, evaluation design (i.e., experimental, quasi-experimental, or non-experimental/descriptive), and proposed evaluation methods. Your sampling techniques should also be informed by ethical decisions, such as: who you plan to include in your sample; who you plan to exclude from your sample and why; and to what degree the size and representativeness of your sample matters.

TYPES OF SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

1)Probability sampling techniques use random selection (i.e., probabilistic methods) to help you select units from your population for inclusion in your sample.

The goal of probability sampling is to achieve objectivity in the selection of samples in order to potentially make statistical inferences (i.e., generalizations) from the sample that apply to the wider population of interest.

A) Random Sampling

There is an equal chance or probability that any unit within the population could be selected for inclusion in the sample (often using a random number table or generator).

B) Random Sampling

There is an equal chance or probability of selecting each unit from within a particular stratum (group) of the population when creating the sample (e.g., males vs. females).

C) Systematic Random Sampling

There is an equal chance or probability that any unit within the population could be selected for inclusion in the sample; the first unit us generally selected a complete random (e.g., using a random number table or generator) but units are selected in an ordered way (e.g., every 9th unit) based on a sampling fraction (the selected sample size divided by the population size).

2) Non-probability sampling techniques depend on the subjective judgment of the researcher or evaluator to select units from the population for inclusion in the sample. Goals for non-probability sampling vary, but often include a desire to more deeply understand the intricacies of the sample and/or the topic of interest; generalizing to a larger population is often not a primary consideration.

A)Convenience Sampling

Units that are selected for inclusion in the sample are simply the easiest to access within the population

B) Quota Sampling

Goal is to create a sample in which the groups that are being studied are proportional to their representation in the population being studied Example: In a school population of 1000 students, 40% are male and 60% are female. A quota sample of 100 students, would have 40 students that are male and 60 students that are female

C) Purposive Sampling

Describes a group of various sampling techniques that rely on the judgment of the researcher when it comes to selecting the units (e.g., people, cases/organizations, events, etc.) that are to be studied. These include (but are not limited to): heterogeneous sampling (creating a sample with units that reflect a wide range of perspectives regarding the topic you're interested in studying); homogenous sampling (creating a sample with units that share the same or very similar characteristics or traits); typical case sampling (a technique used when you are interested in the normality/typicality of the units), and extreme or deviant case sampling (sampling technique used to focus on cases that are special or unusual, typically with regard to notable outcomes, failures or successes).

D) Self-Selection Sampling

Units – either individuals or organizations – choose to participate in the research project or evaluation of their own accord. The key component is that the individuals or organizations volunteer to take part in the research rather than being approached by the researcher or evaluator directly.

E) Snowball Sampling

A sampling and recruitment method in which existing study subjects or a small group of known contacts helps to recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances. Snowball sampling (also known as chain sampling, chain-referral sampling, and referral sampling) is often used when members of a population are hard to reach or locate.

PROS AND CONS OF PROBABILITY AND NON-PROBABILITY SAMPLING

Pros

Probability Sampling

Can allow researchers and evaluators to make statistical

inferences about a larger population

Cons

Can be very expensive

May not be appropriate for certain evaluation or research designs, or may be impossible or

unnecessary for others (e.g., natural experiments)

Non-Probability Sampling

Pros

Can allow researchers and evaluators to better understand the intricacies of the sample and/or the topic of interest

Often easier, faster, and cheaper compared to probability sampling techniques

Can be used for evaluation or research designs where probability sampling is impossible, unnecessary, unethical, or excessively expensive

Cons

Often cannot be used to make generalizations about a larger population due to issues with bias

and validity.

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2. Bailey, K. (1994). Survey Sampling in Methods of social research. Simon and Schuster, 4th ed. The Free Press, New York NY 10020. Ch-5. Pp. 81- 104