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Social Background of Lawyers in an Indian City

Virendra Pal Singh

Caste constitutes the core of social stratification in India. The traditional Indian society was viewed as an ascriptive one where the traditional social stratification system was based on caste system and the mobility between different caste-based occupational strata was very nominal. The growth of modern education and advancement of technology during the British rule and later after independence accelerated the process of social mobility in Indian social stratification system. The traditional caste based occupational structure is passing away and new urban-based occupational groups are emerging on the scene. The study of mobility of the members of the different castes into urban-based professions is an area of sociological interest.

The present study is located on the lawyers of Meerut City. The city of Meerut is the seat of administrative division comprising of the five districts of the region, namely, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Ghaziabad, Saharanpur and Bulandshahr. In that sense, Meerut is a regional city with nearly five lakh population. It is the seat of the University which regulates the examination in sixty college spread over the five districts. It has the only medical college in the region and provides the best of the marketing facilities in the region. It is linked with national capital, Delhi (70 kms) along a national highway which links Delhi to Dehradun. The city arranges at its out skirts one of the famous fairs Nauchandi in Northern India. It has vigorous peasantry spread over the surrounding rural area (Chauhan 1990: 24). Green revolution has entered in the region in a big way with modern equipments of agriculture like tractors, pumping sets, fertilizers and new variety of seeds being widely spread in the whole region (Chauhan 1990: 26). In the ancient and middle ages Meerut had a fort and township grew around it. The most recent history of the Meerut and its surrounding region is centred around the year 1857 when the Indian army revolted against the British. Meerut was the starting point of revolt and the region around it became a scene of battle and reprisals. The rule of the British East India Company was brought to an end as the British crown took over the administration of the country directly. Persons who were loyal to the British were rewarded with land grants and the revolt was run down through armed action to ensure its non-occurance (Chauhan 1990: 28). The period from 1860 to 1890 can be said a dark period in the history of Meerut in the sense that the people of the region were oppressed by the British rulers.

Virendra Pal Singh is Reader in Sociology, Assam University, Silchar-788011 (INDIA)

In the last quarter of nineteenth century, Meerut was visited by Swami Dayanand Sarswati, the founder of Arya Samaj movement in India. It created a great impact not only awakening of the consciousness of the people but also halted the process of convension of Hindus by Christian missionaries and introduced a reformist approach within it. The movement appeared to a section of urban intelligentsia as well as the rural peasantry (Chauhan 1990: 28). One of the salient feature of the caste structure in Meerut and its surrounding region is that the degree of sanctity developed in daily life and situats in classical Hinduism has some how not been fully practised in this part of the country. Mere the Brahman and Kshatriya plough the field and perform all the agricultural activities that their that their counterparts among the peasant castes undertake. The Jat constitute the most hard working sections of the peasantly in the Meerut region and their ways of life appears to have become a model for the rest. The distance between upper castes and the lower castes has not appeared sharply even as one between the workers and owners. Since the owners themselves have been workers of some consequence (Chauhan 1990: 30).The present paper deals with the salient features of the legal profession in Meerut in historical perspective and social background of the lawyers in terms of their age group, place of origin, religion, type of family, caste, father's occupation and type of schooling.

Historical Background

The legal profession in Meerut is about one hundred years old. At the time of mutiny of 1857 there is nothing on record of existence of regular law courts or of lawyers. It was only in 1860 when courts of magistrates and judge were established in Meerut. A perusal of the files of District Judhe's record room shows that district judge, at that time, was called 'Sadar Us Sadar', Deistrict Meerut (Jain, 1983 : 1). At that time executive and 1860 show that about seven lawyers were practicing in the then existing courts. The castes of these lawyers can be identified from their titles. Out of seven, five lawyers were from Brahamin castes and remaining two were Muslims. It indicates that at that time the legal profession was dominated by the upper castes Brahmins. The Muslims who constitute about half of the population of the Meerut city were also had their representation in the profession.

During the period from 1861 to 1875, courts were functioning under Anglo Sexon system and jurisprudence and the lawyers were duly appearing and conducting cases on behalf of their clients. In the year 1881-82, Meerut Bar Association was formed by the lawyers. From the existing record, it appears that some Englishmen were also practicing in Meerut Courts as lawyers. At that time, there were about 17 lawyers practicing in Meerut District Courts. Except two Englishmen, all the lawyers were from upper castes and Muslim community.

In the national struggle for freedom, the lawyers of Meerut played a significant role. In 1880, the atmosphere of Meerut was surcharged with national awakening and urge in the people for socio-religious reforms. In the year 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded and the second All India Conference of Indian National Congress met at Calcutta. This conference was attended by Advocates and Vakils from Meerut as deligates. Out of five deligates four were pleaders from Meerut. In 1888, Congress Session was held at Allahabad and in this session as many as 28 deligates attended the session, out of whom 10 were pleaders, Vakils of Baristers at law. They represent a glaxy of eminent lawyers of that time in Meerut.

In 1929, Meerut was destined to be the venue of an internationally known trial of Meerut Conspiracy case (1929-33). In all 32 persons were arrested from different corners of India, on charge of conspiracy to over-throw the British Government in India and were brought to Meerut and were sent to its Distict jail. From Meerut two persons were arrested. In the defence of the accused most of the eminent lawyers of the country who led the national struggle of freedom appeared in the Meerut Courts (Singh, Devendra, 1983 : 40-44). Their presence in Meerut provided an opportunity to the lawyers of Meerut to come closer with the leaders of national struggle for freedom and till the independence the lawyers of this region regularly attended the congress-meetings, conferences and participated actively in the activities of national movement.

In the last three decades the number of lawyers is increased tremendously. During 1956 to 1965, 405 lawyers were registered by Bar Council of Uttar Pradesh to practice in Meerut District Courts. In the decades of 1966-76, there was a little increase in the number of practicing lawyers i.e., 644 lawyers had joined the legal profession of Meerut. But, in the decade of 1976-85, as many as 1459 lawyers got registration for legal practice in the courts of Meerut. Thus, as per list of Uttar Pradesh Bar Council, Allahabad, 2508 persons were registered practitioner in Meerut on 31-12-1985. But about 500 of them are not practicing lawyers. Thus, at present about 2000 lawyers are actually practicing. As a result of sudden increase in number of lawyers in Meerut the competition among the lawyers has been increased, and the lawyers of younger generation have to struggle for their existence in the profession. In our study 13 percent of the lawyers were not having a single case with them. It is an indication of the level of competition for the younger generation of the lawyers.

Social Background

The social background of a lawyer is closely related to his value orientation, role perception and role performance. It involves an analysis of his place of origin, family type, age-group, caste and class background, educational background, membership of formal and informal groups and associations of the legal professionals. Further, it also warrants an inquiry into the reasons for his preference to chose the legal profession as it may enable us in seeking the answer of two major questions : (1) Why do people enter into legal profession ? and (2) How far the profession serves as an avenue of social mobility ?

In the present paper an attempt is made to analyse the social background of the lawyers under study in terms of their age-group, place of origin, family type, caste and class background, educational background, membership of professional associations, and the reasons for entering into the legal profession.

Age Group

The subjects can be *classified* into three age groups (i) Youth (21-35 years); (ii) middle aged (36 – 50 years) and old aged (above 50 years). The distribution of the subjects according to their age group indicates that there is a high represntation (52 percent)of the youth in the legal profession of Meerut while reflects the growing impact of university education in the Meerut region in post Independence era.

Place of Origin

Place of origin refers to the place of birth of the subject. It may be a village, a small town or a city. In order to find out patterns of migration the lawyers were asked to mention about their place of birth, district and length of their stay in Meerut City. the distribution of the subjects according to their place of birth and district of place of birth reveals that the representation of rural lawyers (those born in a village) was high (56.5 percent) in the legal profession in Meerut. As many as 74 percent of the total subjects were drawn from both the rural and the urban areas of Meerut district. A number of lawyers (15.5 percent) migrated from the villages, towns and cities of neighbouring districts of Meerut region; namely, Ghaziabad, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr, Bijnor and Saharanpur for joining legal profession in Meerut. The lawyers who had migrated from other districts of U.P. and West Pakistan (at the time of partition of the country) were predominantly (13 out of 21) urban based.

The distribution of the subjects in relation to their place of birth and length of residence in Meerut city reveals that nearly one-third (34.5 percent) of the subjects are local, in the sense, that they are living in Meerut city either since birth or in a neighbouring village, town or city from where they can commute. The trend of immigration in last four decades indicates that during the last one decade the migration from rural areas was relatively high (56.5 percent). During the last third and fourth decade the migration from urban areas was relatively high (33.5 percent) in comparison to last two decades. It was perhaps due to the partition of the country when a number of families from West Pakistan settled down in Meerut city.

Religion

Religion-wise the representation of Hindu lawyers was very high (90.5 percent) in the legal profession of Merrut. The Muslim who constitute about half of the total population of the city have a low ratio (7.0 percent) of representation. Other minority religious groups namely, Jains and Sikhs have a negligible presence (2.0 percent and 0.5 percent respectively) in the legal profession of Meerut.The distribution of the subjects in relation to their religion and place of birth (for analytical purpose all the lawyers born in a town or city are put under the category of urban) reveals that among the Hindu lawyers a majority of lawyers (59.7 percent) were drawn from the rural areas in contrast to 71.4 percent of the Muslims who were drawn from the urban areas. It is in accordance to the fact that in comparison to rural areas the muslim population is highly concentrated in urban areas of Meerut region. Among the two other religions groups (Jains and Sikhs) as many as 80 percent are from the urban background.

Family Type

Two types of the family units were identified among the subjects of this study; viz., nuclear-consists of husband, wife and their children and joint family-unit of the members living either with their parental family or with their brother (s) families. Out of 200 subjects as many as 110 were living in joint families. The distribution of subjects in relation to their family type and age group as indicates that among the youth the tendency of joint family was very high with 70.2 percent. In contrast, among the middle aged and old-aged lawyers the tendency of living in nuclear unit was relatively high (59.6 percent and 63.6 percent respectively).

Caste Structure

The thirteen Hindu Castes were put into four categories – upper castes, middle-order castes, lower castes and ex-untouchable castes. The muslim castes were put separately and their position in the table 7 does not represent their status position in the hierarchy. Non-castes groups; namely Jains, Ahluwalia and Bedi are put seperately at the bottom of the table 7. Among the upper castes are included four major castes; namely, Brahmin, Rajput, Vaishya Aggarwal and Kayastha. In middle order castes, Jat, Tyagi, Gurjar, Ahir and Sunar are included. The relative position of these caste groups in the local hierarchy is very inconsistent. For example, the Tyagi claim that they were upper caste Brahmins but their claim is not acceptable to the Brahmins. Similarly, Jats, numerically constitute the dominant land holding caste of the region and claim the status equal to upper caste Rajputs but their claim is not acceptable to the Rajputs of the region. In the same way, the position of Gurjar, Ahir and Sunar castes is not clear in the caste hierarchy of Meerut Region. For analytical purpose all these castes are put in one stratum of middle order castes. Among the lower castes, Kurmi and Dhinwar are put. Their position in the hierarchy is not much disputable. In the fourth category, ex-untouchable castes, namely, Jatav and Balmiki are put. All the Muslim castes are put together separately. The main Muslim castes in the sample are Quazi, Saiyyad, Pathan, Rajput, Ansari, Gaddi and Qureshi. In category of other castes and Non-castes group, Jains. Khatri, Arora, Ahluwalia and Bedi are included. Except Jains who are non-caste group, the members of all other castes in this category immigrated from West Pakistan after partition. These castes do not fit in the regional caste hierarchy and therefore are put separately. The castewise distribution of the subjects indicates that caste is still powerful in legal profession. The upper castes are in a dominant position with 52 percent followed by the middle order castes (28 percent). The Brahmin castes come at first with 19.5 percent. The Jat caste of middle order comes at second place with 18 percent followed by the Vaishya Agarwal and Rajput with 16.5 percent and 15 percent respectively. Muslim castes altogether constitute 6.5 percent of the sample. The castes of lower rank have a little representation (6 percent)in the legal profession. It is clear that the legal profession is dominated by the upper castes lawyers and the dominant castes of the middle order. The age data for lawyers of different caste groups reveals that the representation of lower castes and ex-untouchable castes has been low (1.92 percent, 3.85 percent and 4.55 percent respectively) over the three generations of the lawyers. The entry of middle order castes in the legal profession has gained momentum in recent years as the young generation of middle order castes has a good representation (33.65 percent) among the youth.

The distribution of the subjects in relation to their caste and place of birth indicate that among the upper castes lawyers the representation of urban area was relatively high (54.8 percent). In contrast, among the middle order castes, the representation of rural areas was high with 87.7 percent. The members of lower castes are also mainly drawn from rural area (66.6 percent). The member of ex-untouchable castes are exclusively drawn from the rural area. The Muslim lawyers are predominantly from the urban areas (78.6 percent). It suggests that the legal profession in Meerut is quite open for the members of rural community irrespective to their caste. But it has attracted especially the castes of middle order which represents the dominant peasant castes of the region. The entry of the members of lower castes as well as of ex-untouchable castes is, however, limited to the urban areas.

Type of Schooling

The type of schooling is analysed in terms of the medium of instruction in the school where the subject has received education. At the secondary level, (12 years of schooling) out of 200 subjects as many as 180 (90 percent) has received education in a Hindi-medium school. It is in agreement with the fact that after independence the number of Hindi medium schools at secondary level has been increased in the Meerut region.   The distribution of the subjects in relation to their age group and type of schooling indicates that the percentage of English medium educated lawyers has decreased from 29.5 percent of the old generation to 3.8 percent of the young generation, which is an indication of the growth of Hindi language as medium of instruction at the secondary level of education.The distribution of the subjects in relation to their place of birth and type of schooling indicates that among the English medium educated lawyers the representation of rural and urban areas was equal (50 percent) while among Hindi medium educated lawyers the representation of those from rural areas was high (57.2 percent). It suggests that some of the families of the rural areas of Meerut region were able to send their children for English medium schools located in urban areas. It is also an indicator of high urban exposure of elite families of the rural society of the region. The distribution of the subjects in relation to their caste and type of schooling indicates that majority of the lawyers who had educated in English medium schools were from the upper castes (45 percent) and the middle order castes (40 percent) background. Among the lower castes no one had education in English medium schools while one of the member of ex-untouchable caste had educated in English medium school. It is an indicator of the openness of educational institutions of the region for all sections of the society.The distribution of the subjects in relation to their fathers' occupation and type of schooling reveals that among the English medium educated lawyers as many as 35 percent were from the agricultural families. Another 30 percent were from the families of professionals. It suggests that a number of agricultural families were able to send their children to English medium schools.The distribution of the subjects in relation to their place of birth and place of secondary education reveals that out of 113 subjects who were born in a village only 21 (18.6 percent) had completed their secondary level education in village level school. Remaining subjects in this category received their secondary level education either in a neighbouring town school (38.9 percent) or in a city school (42.5 percent). It suggests that for the purpose of secondary level education as many as 81.4 percent of the rural children depended on towns and cities. This fact prove our assumption that in the process of educational attainment a rural child has to go to a town or a city. The distribution of subjects in relation to their medium of instruction at the level of secondary education and at the level of legal education indicates that rural or urban background has hardly effected their medium of instruction. At the level of secondary education pre-dominantly the children of rural as well as of urban background preferred to have Hindi medium but during attainment of legal education almost in equal proportion (about 40 percent) the subjects had shifted to English medium.

Now the salient features of the legal profession of Meerut and social background of its members may be summarised as follows: i) The profession is dominated by the rural based lawyers ; ii) Most of the members of legal profession are 'young' (below the age of 35 years); iii) Religionwise the Hindus have a very high (90 percent) representation in the legal profession; iv) The degree of

joint family decreased with the age of the lawyers, in the sense, that those who were in group of 21 – 35 years of age, had a tendency of living in joint families in comparison to middle aged and old aged lawyers. The tendency of living in joint family was found high among urban based lawyers rather than their counterpart rural lawyers; v) the caste factor is still powerful in the legal profession of Meerut. The upper castes are still in a dominant position. The middle order castes had second place in the profession, particularly Jats and Tyagis who constitute the major agriculturist castes of the region and in recent years the entry of these castes in the legal profession had been geared up. The representation of the castes of lower order is relatively low as the entry in the legal profession of Meerut required sound socioeconomic background. The representation of Muslim castes is also low in comparison to their counterpart Hindu community. As we have explored from the historical facts about the legal profession in Meerut that at the time of partition of the country the representation of Muslims was comparatively fair to its population strength. The possible explanation of this trend is that at the time of partition of the country the elite section of the Muslims who comprised mainly higher castes Muslims had migrated to West Pakistan and the population of Muslims in Meerut is now predominantly composed of occupational castes groups – Ansari (Weaver), Gaddi (Vegetable Grower) and (Animal Traders). The low socioeconomic conditions of these castes had checked their mobility into the legal profession despite the attainment of a degree in law. In recent past, the economic prosperity of these Muslim castes has been increased tremendously but their members are still confined to trade and commercial activities. ii) At the secondary level of education majority of the lawyers had got educated in Hindu medium schools. When one moves from old generation of lawyer towards young generation one found a significant decrease in the number of English medium educated lawyers which reflects the impact of growing number of Hindi medium schools in the region after independence. But in attainment of legal education the half of the subjects preferred English medium.

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Leisure Activities and Social Life in an Industrial Township

Minoo Mishra

The aim of present paper is to highlight the conditions which are conducive to human living. Bhilai as an industrial estate came into existence with the establishment of Bhilai Steel Plant (BSP) that is product of India-Soviet technoeconomic collaboration and an agreement signed on 2nd February , 1955 between the Government of India and the Government of U.S.S.R. Government of India in its deliberate policy conceived public sector as an article of faith and an instrument of change for raising the living standard of the people in India (BSP 1986: 11-15).

Bhilai is located in Durg district of Madhya Pradesh (India). Bhilai had a rural and tribal setting within the area of Chhatisgarh known for its peculier culture. The zone before the establishment of Bhilai Steel Plant had uniformity maintained through structural continuity of linguistic and cultural homogeneity among the groups. Madhya Pradesh, a state of India, has one of the largest population of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Physically this state divides India into two parts i.e. South and North India, and is surrounded by six states which have cultural influence on periphery districts of the Madhya Pradesh.

Ecomomic Roles of Bhilai Steel Plant

Public enterprises in India before a decade was considered to provide employment opportunities to workforce awaiting their chances. Bhilai Steel plant has generated highest opportunities among SAIL plants. There were more than sixty four thousands employees besides casual labours employed in the plant (1985-86). They constitute a little less than one-third among total employees in SAIL. According to the employment policy of SAIL, jobs reservation to weaker sections of society have been provided, especially to SC/ST, women and orthopaedically disabled persons who are less than one-third of the total employees of the plant. They shared approximmately sixteen per cent amount in the total Rs. 186-17 crores paid in 1985-86, in form of. salaries, wages, and fringe benefits to employees of Bhilai. Economic contribution of Bhilai in terms of earning to SAIL, as well as to local, state and Central Government is noteworthy .In 1985-86, it has contributed approximately Rs. 464 crores to SAIL and Rs.230.58 crores to the coffers of local authority, State and Central Government in forms of income tax, sale tax, professional tax, entry tax, electricities, duties and in other forms of taxes and contributions.

Minoo Mishra is Senior Lecturer in Sociolgy, Govt. M. K. B. College, Jabalpur (INDIA)

Activities and Social Life in Bhilai Town

Employees of Bhilai plant belong to different ethnic / castes, linguistic, and religiousgroups who are from different states of India. They are residing in housing complex provided by BSP or other agencies constitute the Bhliai Town. Data on social solidarity from secondary sources and through observations highlight that there are social activities and Voluntary agencies which are promoting extra - curricular activities, community development programmes in Bhilai Town.

Extra-curricular activities provide chances for interaction among people to involve in activities transcend people's loyalties from their primordial ties to nation-state. Sports and Recreation Council (1966) is responsible for such activities in Bhilai town. Six clubs are affiliated to this council and perform activities like music, fine arts, literature, drama and yoga. Council organizes various cultural activities at the local national and international levels. In such activities role played by sponsored clubs are noteworthy. Council runs e level Ispat clubs fully equipped with facilities for indoor and outdoor games, T.V. and a public address system, Management of Bhilai through council extends assistance to twenty five registered organizations and twenty two sports clubs. Apart from these, Bhilai Club and Steel club, branches of international organizations like Rotary Club, Lions Club and Jaycees are there. These clubs promote welfare activities and international understanding among people. For example, some artists of Bhilai have mastered classical Western and Eastern instruments. They have represented at national and international plateforms. Artists from countryside through these clubs and organizations have visited England, France, Russia and other countries. Mention may be made of 'Panthi' dance and 'Pandavani' which have attracted national and international audiences towards the richness of folk culture of the region. Council also organizes sports activities and its local participants have represented at national and international games especially in common wealth competition, World campianship in Sweden, Asia youth Rally in Japan and other national games like Chess, Hockey, Cricket, Basketball, weight-lifting and Kabaddi. These games and cultural programmes have aroused pride of national consciousness among people of Bhilai Town.

The Department of Community Development of BSP sponsors the community development programmes in thefield of education, health and other welfare activities. These facilities are extended not only to the needy people of town but also to peripheral villages around the town. Facilities like approach roads, drinking water, medical camps, construction of schools and wells, installation of pumps, smokelees choolahs, repair of tanks and others i.e. sports and recreational activities are provided to villages located in radius of 8 to16 Km. from Bhilai. Thousands of BSP workers, along with other people are residing in these villages. Communication with these localities are maintained through the establishment of centres for adult education and vocational trainings. These centres inculcate skills by training the people to generate income through making the hand globes and caning of chairs. Cultural activities are promoted through work oriented literacy and celebration of literacy day and national festivals. Folk dances, arts and music of local communities are given exposure through organization of *Chhatisgarh Lok Kala Mahotsaw*. Cohesiveness among people belonging to different religious, linguistic and castes/ethnic groups are promoted through paticipation in cultural activities which provide chances for intermingling to people of younger and older generations in the area.

Collective consciousness and social solidarity among people are promoted through voluntary organizations, recognized and partially supported by B.S.P. For example, *The Bhilai Wholesale Consumer Cooperative Store Ltd.* formed in 1963 to provide goods for consumers at reasonable price. It operates twenty seven cooperative societies in Bhilai with an annual turnover of more than Rs. 5 Crores per annum. These societies distribute food grains, clothes and coke to BSP employees. *The Chhatisgarh Sah. Shak Samiti* (1976) provides economic help by giving loan on a nominal charge of one percent interest and other goods in kind to the members of the Samiti. *Super Bazar* (1967) provides goods on credit and recover money directly from salary of the employee. It provides T.V., Radio, cycles, refrigerator, electrical appliances on loan, apart from the daily consumer items. The *Steel Employees Welfare Association* (1973) shares the financial burden of the retired members as well as family of deceased person, thus extend financial security to its members.*Bhilai Mahila Samaj* (1957)is taking care of women in Bhilai. It has units like *Udyog Kendra* for tailoring, soap units for preparing soap bars, hand gloves units for knitting handgloves and others as knit and embroidary and Masala units whose products are supplied in concern departments of BSP. Needy women trained in these in jobs through the certre are getting financial suport ranging from Rs. 300 to 400 per month.

Apart from above mentioned agencies, *Indo-Soviet Forum* (1962) and *Jan Kalyan Samiti* (1985) are also working in Bhilai Town. *Jan Kalyan Samiti* has ten centres in Bhilai. These centres are active in upliftment of common people by propogating education and civic sense. It also organizes sports and cultural activities to promote tolerance among different sections of people in town and peripheral villages. *Indo-Soviet Forum* organizes programmes relates to music, dance and cultural activities.It provides chances for interaction between members of both the countries. *Indo-Soviet Cultural Society* promotes cultural interaction between India and Russia through occassional visits of delegates in both the countries. Russian delegates visit India and perform ballet, music and folk dance at *Bhilai Centre*. Impact of such activities witnessed the emergence of *Metallergical Music Makers* at Bhilai. This music group has succeeded in making striking adjustment and harmony in the performance of vocal, national and international plateforms. BSP has encouraged local talents by giving them employment in the plant. 'Pandavani', a folk music and 'Panthi' a folk dance are well popularized, by active support and patronage of BSP. Performers of these music and dances are local people who have visited overseas for representing India on cultural forums (Srinivasan, 1988: 4-24).

National Integration

Bhilai Steel Plant has attracted workforce belonging to different ethnic, linguistic and relgious groups.Migrant employees have come from various regions and states and brought diverse culture with theme. Their immediate settled place known as Chhatisgarh itself is an amalgamation of Aryan, Nishad and Dravidian cultures protected by rulers of Gond Kingdoms. Members belonging to aboriginal groups are classified into Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes categories for administrative and political purposes. BSP theough its trade union (s) at least in plant has divisions known as managers and workers. Prticipative management an emerging concept brings the total employees into one unit that is BSP. BSP got involved and played a part in the reconstruction of society and helped in building of a modern India. One of Bhiai trade union is known as Dominant Group and is affiliated to the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC). It mobilises societal resources in the interest of workers. INTUC

of Bhilai Steel Plant is a officially recognized body by the Madhya Pradesh Industrial Act (1960). Some of BSP union leaders are M.L.A's and M.P's. Such conditions have created conducive work culture and living environment in Bhilai Steel Plant. Officers' Association of Bhilai is affiliated to Steel Executives Federation of India (SAIL Steel Union) which looks after the social and econimic interests and welfare of executives and safeguards officers and their family interests by providing financial aid in the from of loan, retirement benefits and cash in case of accident or death. Thus, interests of both the workers and the managers are equally safeguarded through institutionalized provisions . This has resulted in interaction between these two units as equal partners in the Plant. Skill development of personnels belonging to executive and non-executive division of employees are equally promoted through professional organizations like Institute of Engineers (India) or Indian Institute of Metals, Computer Society of India, National Institutte of Personnel Management or Indian Institute of Material Management and Institute of Cost Accounts. These institutes are in operation in Bhilai town. They provide opportunities to people belonging to different sections of society who are willing to have upward mobility (Sahai and Mishra, 1990:327-331).

Cohesiveness among groups is maintained through paticipative culture observed in the plant by allowing workers' representatives to participate in management and decision-making. Outside the plant, schools provide opportunity of intermingling to younger generation. While occasional social gathering in clubs and societies provide chance for interaction among older generation. For intergroup communicaton Hindi is recognized as an efficient medium. Sometime English is used to bring conformity among people belonging to different ethnic and linguistic groups. Both languages are used for promoting tolerance, mutual understanding and communication among diverse groups. Cultural proximity is brough through music, dance, drama and arts exhibited and performed on a common plateform. North India and South Classical music and dances in form of Bharat Natyam, Kathakali, Kathak, Odissi and Manipuri are enthusiastically enjoyed by people of Bhilai Town as well as of the region. Folk dances and music of aboriginals are appreciated by members of different communities. Exposure of these at international platform have attracted

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Indian Women and Environment : Some Sociological Formulations

Arvind Chauhan

Since the involvement of various agencies like UN, the Women question has acquired the international dimensions. UN has given ample emphasis to highlight the women question. For social scientists there is an opportunity now not only to acquire but also analyse the data collected and gathered in the large data base at UN. It seems necessary not only to understand and assess the current status of women in various countries of the world but also to understand them in relation to various processes of social change. Unfortunately, gender studies entered quite late in sociological analysis. Although the scholars were earlier divided along the Marxist and the Conservative Ideological Camps, but now their convergence on highlighting the issues concerning women can also be noted. According to one such perspective the women, irrespective of their class, religion and nationality are all chained in the man dominated patriachal society. Women's questions are now required to be examined in relation to their immediate social milieu and environment. There is a need to develop an appropriate perspective in which women's question could be properly examined. It seems necessary as neither the introduction of new technology nor work outside home could so far solve their problems. Mass media has presented the vulgarised image of women for furthering its commercial and entertainment interests. In the process of globalisation of economy this vulgarisation is likely to intensify even further. The women in India additionally suffer from some more problems like dowry-system which seems quite surprising to people in the west. Bride burning and bridegroom purchase are some other problems associated with the dowry-system in India. Additionally, child-marriage and high fertility rate have further aggravated the problems of Indian women. Intellectuals can play a vital role in it whereas social sciences can provide a perspective for it. The same has been examined in the following section.

UN and the Question of Women

UN Human Development Report (1995) refers to various issues related to the question of status of women examined for the period of over two decades. It highlights both positive and negative assessments about the women all over the world with the help of a large data base. Accordingly on the positive side, the status of women has improved two to three times faster than that of man, female life expectancy has increased 20 per cent faster than male life expectancy and

Arvind Chauhan is Reader in Sociology, Barkatullah University, Bhopal - 462026 (INDIA)

the fertility rate has fallen 5.4 to 3.6 over the period of 20 years between 1975 to 1990 - 1995. On the negative side the report highlights that women who constitute nearly half of the world's population still have merely 36 per cent of the total available jobs, only one third share in the national income, just one tenth of the total seats in the Parliament or Legislative Assemblies and simply 5.5 per cent share in ministerial or cabinet position worldwide. Still out of 1300 million people living in absolute poverty over 70 per cent of them are women. The Un has been successful in highlighting the status and changing conditions of women but the world has still a long way to go in order to achieve the cherished goals of gender equality. Therefore, the efforts are needed to be stepped up in this direction all over the world.

Women Studies and the Discipline of Sociology

Sociology of Gender deals with issues related to various problems of women and as they are mediated through culture and social structure (Nicholas Abercrombie et al. 1984 : 204). Studies on gender issues have addressed themselves to and argued for establishing gender as an independent dimension of social stratification and that of division of labour in society. Although Kingsley Davis (1949) who had initiated the debate (alongwith Wilbert E. Moore in 1945) on social stratification initially disagreed with the proposition that women (or men) can constitute an independent category of social stratification. He maintained that neither sex nor gender form the sufficient criteria of stratification. It took a long time since then for women studies to get established as an independent, important and valid area of inquiry and research in sociology and other social sciences. For a long time neither in the formulations of functionalists nor in the Marxist formulations on class structure, women's studies could find its rightful place. However, much later some Marxist scholars realised the importance of the women's question and asked whether issues concerning feminism could become compatible with Marxism or not (M. Barrett 1980). From the Marxist point of view the very notion of the domestic division of labour goes against women as she bears a large chunk of burden at home.

The introduction and use of the new technology could also not alter this situation as it often meant transfer of the task from men to women (Nicholas Abercrombie et al 1984; M. Barrett 1980). Nor women's employment outside could change it as they had to work not only outside but as well as at home. Some Marxist scholars have gone upto the extent of saying that in the capitalist society families in fact have become such an institution where present and future needs of the working labour force are being taken care of and that too without any cost (Nicholas Abercrombie 1984; M. Barrett 1980 A. Oakely 1972). However, the oppression, subordination and exploitation of women has been challenged through women's liberation movements and the feminist ideology aiming basically at as well as advocating equal opportunities for men and women. Women's liberation movements originated from as well as propagated basically two types of ideologies namely, the Marxist and the conservative. In some of the Marxist formulations the inter-relationship of women's issues with class questions has been examined. Alternately, in the conservative formulations, particularly, in the U.S.A. and Western Europe the issues of gender discrimination against women highlight as well as expose the chain in which women independent of their class background, status and nationality etc. were caught in. Simon de Beauvoir (1965) particularly represents this view.

Women and their Image in Mass Media

Mass media particularly TV has played a negative role by presenting a vulgarised version of women specially when they are shown alongwith consumer goods in various advertisements. Jurgen Habermas (1979) argued that mass media does not represent the interest of society - and by implication that of women also. Mass media fulfills merely the needs and interests of entertainment and commercial endeavours. According to him the valid knowledge can only emerge from a situation of open, free and uninterrupted dialogue (Jurgen Habermes 1968, Thomas Mc Carthy 1978). In the process of the globalization of capitalist economy the vulgarisation of the images of women is likely to intensify further. However, the leadership concerned with women's question belonging to both ideological camps has developed a critical attitude towards mass media.

Problems of Women in India

In the patriarchal society like India women suffer with a sense of insecurity, feel threatened as well as vulnerable due to various problems concerning crimes against women (Hemlata Swarup and Sarojini Bisaria 1991 and Abha Chauhan 1990). Various problems affect women in India in different ways but dowry related problems among them happen to be most serious one which has no parallel any where in the world except the Indian sub-continent. In the Western society people cannot even think of such a problem and they felt quite surprised when dowry related problems come to their knowledge from various agencies of mass media like newspaper, magazines and television. They are just surprised to know about it and wonder why after all the parents of the bride are supposed to give a huge sum of money to the parents of bridegroom at the timeof marriage. But Indians are well aware of and feel concerned about dowry related cases witnessed throughout the country. Although through legal interventions like Hindu Marriage Act (1955) and Anti-Dowry Act (1988) some efforts has been made on the part of the government to safeguard the interests of women but very little could be achieved by it. On the one hand the consciousness among women is rising but on the other hand crime against women are also increasing. Dowry-related problems have already crossed the boundaries of caste, class, religion and province. Women are discriminated world over but in India their subordination is a unique one due to dowry related problems. The striking feature about dowry related problems is that these problems continue throughout her life after the marriage and there is no easy solution of this. Several women succumb to the pressure of this mental torture and thereafter either commit suicide or leave husband's home to take shelter in the parent's house. On the other hand, several case of bride burning are also reported in various newspapers and police stations. Additionally, women in India have been in vulnerable position also which include lack of education, child marriage, high fertility rate, death during the pregnancy and child birth, problems of widow remarriage, general poverty and above all of them the patriarchal nature of society. Government, various agencies of law and non-governmental organizations (NGOS) have so far not been able to solve these problems confronting Indian Women.

Indian Women and Environment

Indian women are generally deprived of the social environment which is conducive for their development. In the male dominated patriarchal society they are suffering from various problems like discrimination against

problems, death during pregnancy and childbirth, problems of being a widow, or problems of the women whose husbands have left them are very common and well known to people in Indian society. Yet not much has been done to create an environment around them which is conducive for their development. Indian women are generally clubbed together with weaker sections of society and a certain percentage of seats is being reserved for them in rural panchayats and urban municipal bodies. Empowerment of women can solve many of the problems which they are facing now. Although the UN, the government of India, various state governments and NGOS are working but even then an environment for the development of women could not be created around them. On the other hand, women in general do not seem convinced that something is really being done for them. At this moment the role of intellectuals in general and that of social scientists in particualr becomes very important. A few suggestions could be made here on behalf of the social scientists for creating the conditions of environmentally responsible behaviour towards Indian women. First, there is a need to generate a strong political will cutting across various political parties for solving these problems of women. Second, several cases concerning women's issues pending in the court of law may be settled as early as possible. Third, there is a need to build up an environment which is favourable for their development, here the role of ideology becomes very important. It could be concluded that it is ultimately the role of intellectuals to solve various problems of women and help in creating an environment which is conducive for their development

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Inter-ethnic Formations of Bhils in Indian Tradition

G. Ram

Introduction

The Bhil is the largest, massive and oldest tribe of aboriginals of India divided into several endogamous groups (Singh 1981), the bulk of which is concentrated in the rugged region of the forest-clad mountain trinity of the Vindhyas, the Sahayadris and the Satpudas (Naik 1958:1) exactly in the contiguous areas of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Except a small number in Andhra Pradesh, the Bhil constituting 10.34 per cent of India's population (Census of India1991) are scattered over a wide area stretching from the Aravalli range in the southern highlands of Rajasthan in the North to the Dangs of eastern Gujarat in the South and in the East passing through the districts of Jhabua and Dhar upto the forests of Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh- the whole region lying between the latitudes 20°-25' N and the longitudes 73°-75' E (Doshi 1974: 1). A question that arises here is : What inter-ethnic formations of Bhils are perceived in the course of evolution of a civilizational society in India ? From the hoary past they have waded through a welter of inter-ethnic relations ranging from their independent groups and chieftaincies to intense cooperation or conflicts to the subjugated people as evident in proto-historical, historical and empirical sources of data in India .Indian tradition consisted of the four value-themes; viz., hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence (Singh1977: 191) displays a series of influences and social formations in their protracted inter-ethnic relations.

Though known very little by the seventh century, Bhils have been ancient enough to be regarded a separate ethnic group in Sanskrit literature of **Diverse Rootedness**

There are diverse roots of the origin of Bhils; namely,Dravidian derivations, sanskritic literature and historical factorization.These are discussed here.

Dravidian Derivations

The word **Bhil** is derived from the generic term *bil* of the Dravidian language meaning **bow** -the characteristic weapon of the tribe. The original inhabitants of Tululand of South Kanara district in Karnataka known as Billavas, from the same generic term, who do not use the name Bhil among themselves but, instead, call one another by their personal relationships of father, grand father, uncle, etc. or by their official titles such as **Naik / Nayak** (leader),**Tarwi** (headman), etc. are

G. Ram is Reader in Sociology, Assam University, Silchar-788011 (INDIA)

generally accepted as the earliest inhabitants and refered to as the **bowmen** (Chattopadhyaya 1978:55). Also*, beel* or *billu* are the other Dravidian generic terms of the same meaning as written in different books (Mann 1978:113).The derivation of nomenclature from the Dravidian etymological roots indicates about them of being the earliest aboriginals(bowmen) inhabiting the land along other groups for a long time.

Sanskritic Mythicization

There are the people who derive the word **Bhil** from a Sanskrit term *bhid* meaning **to pierce, shoot** or **kill,** in view of the Bhil people's proficiency in archery (Mann 1978:113). A widely accepted myth declares their origin from Parvati's brothers who on finding Mahadev unable to pay dapa or bride-price for their sister stole away and killed His Nandi -the sacred bull and,therefore, earned Parvati's curse to live a miserable life thereafter. This concocted story of unknown source seems to make them self-contented with a miserable social and economic degeneration and to justify them as the thieves of Mahadev in their predations. Another mythological tale recounts of Mahadev making a clay doll infused with life and calling it a Bhil. The legend of great deluge telling about birth and spread of mankind narrates that while washing clothes in a river a washerman forewarned by a regularly fed and grateful fish of the impending deluge ensconsed himself and his sister alongwith a cock in a box, who were discovered by the God Rama's scouts searching the survivors on hearing the cock's crowing and directed them to go about populating the world. Of the twins that they procreated the first one (a boy) was presented a horse by the God but failing to use it he abandoned it and went away in the forest, whose progenies came to be called Bhils-the forest dwellers. Tracing their birth **differently** from the first Bhil twins, Ninama and Maira, in Satyayuga, Bhils believe that to test them the gods sent Kakai, a fairy, to ask for Ninama's eyes and Maira's head which they handed over to her at once. The pleased gods restoring their limbs wished them to populate the world.

The **Puranas** speak, among several distinguished Bhils, of inimitable expert archer, Eklavya; the noted author of the Ramayana, Valmiki, who starting his life as a Bhil bandit, Valia, became a sage turning his extreme grief over dark past into poetry and Jaratha whose arrow aimed to a deer hit Krishna fatally to bring a curse for the Bhil descendants of their right hand forefinger to become ineffective in handling bows (Chattopadhyaya : 56).

Bhagavat Puran accounted that the issueless sage, Vena, son of Anga - a descendant of Manu Swayambhu- rubbing his thighs produced a charred log-like, flat-faced and extremely short-statured man and ordered him to sit down, i.e., *nishad* which is a name adopted for him and his descendants dwelling the Vindhya mountains and distinguished by their wicked deeds. Rowney's account of another tradition narrates that Mahadev fell in love with a forest girl, and one of his numerous progenies from her who was ugly, vicious and killer of his father's favourite bull was expelled from the habitat of men, from whom descended the Bhil (Mann 1978:12).

Historical Factorization

The descendants of the Rajputs socially declassed on account of a social crime such as marrying to a Bhil girl, eating beef and illegitimate union of a Rajput ruler with a woman of the low caste like Khants in Dungarpur were obliged to join Bhils. Bhils of the areas such as Obri, Depara, .

Bilak, Kagdar and Barapal in Udaipur, Padar and Dhambola in Dungarpur and Sundhalpur and Mandi Kheda in Banswara districts in Rajasthan regard themselves as the descendants of the declassed Rajputs and still maintain the Rajput sub-castes such as Parmar, Chauhan, Sisodia, Rathore and the like (Shyamaldas, Part-I). Conversely, certain Bhil bhomias/chiefs declaring themselves the Rajput, known as Bhila Rajputs for long, also ultimately merged into Rajput fold (Chaturvedi 1968) **Racial and Linguistic Hybridization**

The Bhil have characteristic features of short to medium stature, slim body, round head, low and broad nose, darkish brown complexion and broad face and wavy to curly hairs. Small faces and fair complexion are also common and flat nose or prognathous jaw may also be found here and there. Many of them look emaciated and dwarfed due to malnutrition and chronic starvation. The Bhil women seldom fat or plumpy have retained till date some of the grace and agility with dark complexion. Herbert Risley, and Crooke also, has racially assorted them to the Dravidian type which is reluctantly accepted in modern research. C.V.S. Venkatachari related them to the proto-Mediterranean race. Eisenstadt, Shah and Guha, all, grouped them with Gonds or Veddids of the proto-australoids. Majumdar states : *The more we analyse the data, the more it transpires that the Bhil are racially more distant from the so-called pre-Dravidian groups while they approach nearer to the higher castes.* Ghurye maintains that even if the Bhil were originally of the same racial stock as the Chenchu or the Munda tribes, the indications are that they have been thoroughly hybridized by contacts with alien races. Thus, the racial status of the Bhil on anthropometric grounds is still uncertain (Ibid:14-15). Grierson sees some non-Aryan, Munda Dravidian, element in Bhil language, which is all uncertain. Bhili includes a number of languages spoken by Bhils in a chain of dialects between Rajasthani and Gujarati and between Khandeshi and Marathi (Ibid).

Early Ethnic Encounters

Excavations and archaeological findings pertaining to proto-historical period of the Bhil region have proved the early existence of man along the rivers Mahi and Sabarmati, Gambhiri and its tributaries, Berach and Wagen in southern Rajasthan, at least 1,00,000 years ago (Prakash 1967:1). The nomad man living on fruits, roots and animal flesh stabilized to cultivate in the area of Ahar river some 4,000 years ago (Sankalia 1967:3-4). This man in all probability was the Bhil either real *adiwasi*, i.e., autouchthonous or migrated from outside. In the time that followed, a lot of struggle in the region is evident from the fact that Ahar was rebuilt at least 15 times during the pre-historic period and three or four times in the early history. The original Bhil settlement found was of not later than B. C. 2000. The people were agriculturists who cooked food, used metal -specially copper- for domestic utensils and lived in planned houses (Ibid:12-16). Their passage through a long historical process of checkmated relationship with numerous other ethnic groups is variously evident.

B. C. 500 (Raghav : 404) and there has always been some implication of aboriginal from the word **Bhilla** as wheat and barley have been respectively refered to as *Bhil bhojanam* and *Bhil-anna* (Jain : 6). Adiparva of Mahabharata narrates the story about rejection by Dronacharya of a low family born Nishad Eklavya going all along to Hastinapur to learn archery, his mastery over archery before a clay-idol of the guru and Dronacharya asking him for the right hand thumb in order to render his archery ineffective. The Harivansh Puran mentions about relations of the semi-civilized Bhil aboriginals with Lord Krishna and His kinsmen, and ultimately Krishna's killing by

a Bhil's arrow as well as capturing of the Royal Yadav ladies on the way to Mathura under the escort of Arjuna equipped with his famous Gandiv (bow).

The first historical mention of the word **Bhil** ,not before 600 A. D., in Gunadhya's Kala Sarit Sagar is about a Bhil chief opposing the progress of another king through the Vindhyas. Yashodharman who had his capital at Mandsor in Madhya Pradesh adjoining Chittorgarh district of Rajasthan and earned fame for defeating the great Hun, Mihirkula, in 532 A. D. is regarded by Bhils of Kanthal (Pratapgarh) in Rajasthan as one of their chiefs of those days. Following his death, Harshavardhan annexed the region to his empire which disintegrated into several independent units after his death. The eastern part of Wagar, i.e., mostly the present Banswara district in Rajasthan captured by the Parmars of Malwa was ruled over by their vassals from Arthuna, but over the remaining parts there had been independent sway of the Bhil chieftains for a century (Chaturvedi 1968 : 41).

The status of Bhils as the oldest inhabitants of the country is recognized by Russel and Heeralal from their employment to keep watch and ward over the village boundaries presumably better known to the oldest class of residents. Though pointing to the uncertainty of their autouchthonous status, C.S.V. Venkatachari counted them as a race inhabiting India earlier than the Aryans and the Dravidians. Ghurye considered them as the oldest inhabitants of Rajasthan on the basis of a number of references in religious classics, mythological treatises and the epics-Ramayana and Mahabharata. Tod called them Vanputras or sons of the forest, the uncultivated mushrooms of India, fixed on the rocks and trees on their mountainous walls to the spot which gave them birth. Incidentally, those oldest residents of the region have been living in the hilly and rocky terrain of the Aravallis which the geologists regard as among the oldest rocks in the world (Mann: 11-15). Thus, they are believed to have been the ancient inhabitants of the Aravallis before the Aryans gradually infiltrated the western and the central Indian Plains to dislodge them deeper into the upland forest areas (Tod : 1960; Chauhan 1978).

Thus, the early classical and historical accounts show that Bhils generally unaware of the caste hierarchy were martial people considered as aboriginals by the others. They had their independent political units scattered in the Bhil region. Besides, their settlements such as Bhillmal and Bhillwad (presently Bhinmal and Bhilwada) in Rajasthan evidently tell that the Bhil region was much more extensive over the vast tracts of better lands wherefrom Bhils were driven away by others in the subsequent ages (Chaturvedi 1968 : 41).

Social Differentiation

In view of gradually growing inter ethnic relations the Bhil got socially differentiated into three categories : (i) village Bhils, (ii) cultivating Bhils and (iii) wild or mountain Bhils. The village Bhils were those who had from the ancient times become inhabitants of villages in the plains (usually near the hills), of which they were the watchmen and as such a part of the community. The cultivating Bhils were those who continued in peaceful occupations after their leaders were destroyed or driven away by invaders to become desperate free booters. The wild or mountain Bhils consisted of those who prefered savage freedom and indolence to submission and industry, more or less, by plunder. These were not at all closed groups; the number in each category increased or decreased depending upon the kind of government, weak or strong (Erskine 1908:230).Presently, the categories exist no

more except that of the village/cultivating Bhils. This process points to the gradual socio-economic integration of these people with the larger society.

Bhil-Rajput Convulsions

Drawing from bits and parts of Bhil-Rajput relations in the recorded history, one can identify the high points in the historical development of Bhils (Doshi 1974:2); viz., (i) presence of the Bhil kingdoms particularly in the southern half of Rajputana (now Rajasthan) about 1300 to 1500 years ago, (ii) unseating of Bhils by Rajputs to annexe their kingdoms, (iii) their moving away into deep gorges of Aravalli hills and casual/unpredictable relationship with Rajputs, (iv) their oppression by Rajput kings through high taxation, forced labour, etc., (v) Bhils as plunderers, thieves and law-breakers; the problem of lawlessness caused by inefficient, weak and corrupt administration of Rajput kings and the arrival of the British on the scene and (vi) Bhils as settled agriculturists. The checkmated Bhil-Rajput relations form almost the entire recorded history of Bhils in India.

First Phase of Co-operation

On assassination of the king Shiladitya in Ram's sunline dynasty, the state of Vallabhi in Kathiawar of the western India fell to the barbarian Hun invaders in around 600 A.D. His pregnant wife escaping in forests handed her newly born son to a Brahmin woman before she took recourse to self-immolation in the fire in accordance with the Rajput tradition. The child **Goha** (cave-born) deriving the name by his birth in a *guha* (cave) mostly played with the daring and forest-loving Bhil companions in the state of Idar ruled then by a Bhil chief, Mandalica. In a play, he was once made by his companions their king. Later on, ungratefully, he became the king of Idar with the help of Bhils by killing his own benefactors. His name became patrinymic to his descendants styled as **Gohilote** -classically Grahilote, in time, softened to Gehlote (Tod 1960:181).

Nagaditya of the state of Idar, the fourth king in the Guhilote dynasty who founded Nagda (near Eklingji) with Bhils' cooperation (Ojha: 402) was while on game killed by the people tired of his snobbery and ostentious superiority in about 626 A.D. (Tod 1960: 181). His infant son, Bappa (Shiladitya), taken to the fortress by a Bhil of Yadu descent was later removed for greater safety to the wilds of Parassur (Tod 1960: 181). Bappa Raval is regarded a corrupt form of *Vap-raaj-kul*, i.e., **father of the royal dynasty** -a title. According to a legend, while living near Nagda, Bappa, one day, played his marriage with the Solanki Rajput princess of Nagda. Knowing that the incident had enraged the king Bappa alongwith his two companions, Bale of Oondri village in the valley of Udaipur and Dewa of Oguna-Panarwa, escaped into the western wilds. The two names have come down alongwith Bappa's as the former had the honour to draw a teeka (mark) of sovereignty with his blood on the occasion of taking crown from the Mori (Tod 1960: 183). This custom of coronation continued by the descendants of Bale and Dewa until India attained Independence. There is little in historical accounts about life, social status and relations of Bhils with the other people during the next six centuries.

The capital of Mewar was shifted from Nagda to Ahar in 951 A.D. Later, the region around Chittorgarh was conquered first in 974 A.D. by Parmars of Malwa and, then, by Chalukyas of Gujarat. In 1174 A.D. Raval Samant Singh who revolted against the Chalukya authority from

Gujarat was uprooted altogether (Ojha Vol. I : 455) seeking shelter and co-operation of Bhils to kill Chaurasimal, the oppressor of Bhils. He founded the kingdom of Wagar with its capital at Baroda which was later shifted to Dungarpur (Ibid - vol. III : 49). When Kirtipal of Nadaul (Pali-Marwar) taking advantage of unsettled political conditions spread his sway, Rawal Kumar Singh, younger brother of Samant Singh, with co-operation of local Bhils easily reinstated Guhilote authority in the region. After invasion of Nagda by Shamshuddin Altamash, the slave king of Delhi, the capital of Mewar was shifted to Chittor in about 1224 A.D. Thus, the historical accounts show that Bhils and Rajputs co-existed so closely that the latter established their rule in the region with the cooperation of the former. Bhils were in no way despised as Bhil-Rajput intermarriages were frequently solemnized and the children of a Rajput by his Bhil wife were occasionally recognized as Rajputs (Naik 1958 : 19).

First Phase of Conflicts

Raval Vir Singh Deo of Wagar intended to found more safe and inaccessible capital, i.e., Dungarpur, treacherously killed Dungaria, the Bhil chief of the region, in 1304 A.D. Afraid of the curse of Dhanna and Kali, the two devoted wives of Dungaria, who had immolated themselves on their husband's funeral pyre, he named his capital after Dungaria and constructed the shrines of Dhanna and Kali, one each, on the Hill adjacent to the southern flank of the town which are known as Dhanna Mata Na Magra, i.e., the hill of the mother Dhanna where animal fair is held. This shows how the invader Rajputs diplomatically legitimized their authority over the Bhil region. In the period that followed, a large scale subjugation and ouster of the Bhil from their better lands drived them to desperate courses. Rao Ran Mal of Mandore (Marwar) acting as the regent of Maharana Mokal, from 1420 to 1428 A.D., had openly beheaded the **Gameti** (headman) of Pai paal (village) in Girwa tehsil of Udaipur during his operations for subduing Bhils of Bhomat (Shyamaldas Part-I: 318). In the atmosphere of overwhelming Bhil antagonism, the Bhil assassins -Chacha, Mera and Mehpa Panwar sought after by the Rao's forces- were given shelter and guaranteed safety in a small fortress called Rata Kot (Tod vol. I : 330). All efforts of the state forces to capture them proved abortive and ultimately Ranmal himself went to the slain gameti's widow to apologize, and persuade them to withdraw their support to the assassins (Shyamaldas: 318-19). About the same time Maharaval Gopinath crushed the unruly and rebellious Bhils of Wagar who a few years later in 1460 A.D. when the Mewar forces attacked Dungarpur provided shelter to the same Maharaval and his family (Ojha n.d.: 66). During the period Bhils were not only robbed of their good lands and qualities of truthfulness, simplicity and non-diplomatic ways for ignoble ends but also they were sacrificed for some magical effects to provide strength to forests and forts of the rulers. Thirty two forts and other buildings constructed by Maharana Kumbha (1433-1468 A.D.) and the Gaip Sagar dam by Maharaval Gopinath have the head or whole body of one or more Bhils buried under their foundations. Either they were forced or they volunteered for the bane in the hope that the ruler would be making the life of their descendants more comfortable than they could do. Alike Dungarpur, the two new states -Banswara and Deolia- were founded in 1530 A.D. and 1561 A.D. by killing the Bhil chiefs -Bansia and Deola- respectively and the places named after the slain savage chiefs as a diplomatic compensation or recognition of their mystical rights on the land. The treacherous killings and uprooting of Bhils from better lands impelled them into unfertile, marginal, and uneconomic holdings. The life of despise and economic degeneration continued upto 1568 A.D.

when Chittorgath was finally sacked by the Mughal forces under the Emperor Akbar. Thus, Rajputs attained political, social and economic dominance and superiority, while Bhils became subjugated, despised, oppressed, exploited and degenerate people.

Second Phase of Co-operation

Just before the final sack of Chittorgarh, Maharana Udai Singh had to migrate to Raj Pipla in the shelter of Bhils (Ojha- Part-I: 725). But it was Maharana Pratap, *kika* (son) in their dialect, who associated Bhils with himself in the long drawn battle against the Mughal emperor, Akbar (Sharma 1962:75). Equating them with Rajputs he rewarded their services by granting free-hold lands and jagirs. The association was symbolized in the royal crest of Mewar with a sun flanked by the standing figures of a Bhil and a Rajput. In the battle of Haldi Ghati Rana Punja, Bhil chief of Panarwa, commanding the Bhil infantry valiantly fought against the Mughal army. Resorting to guerilla warfare, Bhils took messages for the Maharana and looted supplies to the Mughal army and regained the most of lost territories before Pratap's death. This cooperation continued during the reign of Amar Singh I. Awakened by the happenings in Mewar, the impoverished Bhils of Khandu in Banswara (Wagar) rose in revolt in 1583 A.D. Maharaval Man Singh who had insulted an arrested gameti was killed by the latter before he could be done to death (Ojha: 82). In 1679 A.D. at the time of invasion by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb the royal family was shifted to Nenwara in Bhomat (Sharma 1962:170). The Bhil chieftains of Panarwa, Merpur, Juda and Jawas alongwith 50,000 footmen joined the forces of Maharana Raj Singh (Ojha : 868). Later, in 1681 A.D., Bhils of Bhomat conducted the Mughal prince Akbar on his way to seek asylum from Sambhaji. Thus, the social and economic status of the Mewar Bhils improved during 125 years but Bhils of Kanthal and Wagar regions, i.e., Dungarpur, Banswara and Deolia remained despised and destitute. This phase of the Bhil-Rajput co-operation was the enforced one upon the rulers of Mewar in view of the danger from Mughal Emperors, while the oppression of Bhils continued in the other states which had accepted suzerainty of Mughal emperors. To some extent this could regenerate their social, political and economic conditions in Mewar.

Second Phase of Conflicts

In the wake of the weakened authority in Delhi after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., Rajputs forgot the services rendered by Bhils and treated them as inferior, monkey-like, more akin to wild beasts and vermins than men . They occasionally subjected them to forced labour, abducted their women for sexual ill-treatment or keeping them as concubines and imparted injustice to the victims by whipping or gouging out eyes or decapitating (Carstairs : 172). Pillage and burning of one or more paals of Bhils was considered the heroic act of a new ruler ascending to a royal throne. As an exemplary punishment for refusal to begaar (forced labour), the bodies of executed Bhil chiefs of several paals were kept hanging for several days by Maharaval Ram Singh of Dungarpur. Maharaval Vairishal of Dungarpur employed Bhils to assassinate Tulsidas Gandhi, the deposed prime minister of Mewar, near Parsad in Udaipur (Ojha: 133). Thus, during this phase the rulers had adopted an antagonistic attitude towards the Bhils.

Bhil-Maratha and Pindari Antagonism

During 1748-1818 A.D., before the treaties of the princely states with the British suzerainty, Marathas and Pindaries freely looted belongings of the rulers, plundered civil population, burned villages and destroyed crops (Tod: 372). Desperate Bhils resisting the freebooters were treated like beasts without pity (Hendley 1875:369), flogged, hanged, thrown over cliffs, beheaded or gunned down. Their women were mutilated or smothered with smoke and their children smashed to death on the stones. Thus, the free-booters further added to their destitution.

Bhil-British Confrontation

In 1823 A.D. when Col. Tod expropriated the *bolai* or money for safe passage of travellers through the forest region of Magra and Bhomat, the Bhils rose up in revolt to be quelled only after the position was restored. In 1836 A.D. the unruly Bhils in different regions of Banswara were brought under control by a large scale operations and in 1839 A.D. the large scale uprising in Bhomat (Mewar) could be quelled only with assistance of the British. In 1840-44 A.D. the Mewar Bhil Corps (MBC) was raised under a British commandant at Kherwara and a deputy commandant at Kotra to wean them away from predatory habits, to give them honorable employment and to assist the Darbar in preserving order (Erskine part-I. 78-9). In 1856 A.D. Bhils of Banswara revolted on the cessation of *rakhwali* -the money paid to Bhils for guarding the villages on Malwa border. In the Indian Revolt of 1857 A.D. the MBC was the only native troops in Rajasthan to stand by the British. In 1864 A.D. Maharaval Udai Singh carried out intense operations against Bhils of Deolia-Pratapgarh. In 1881 A.D., the mistrust, dissatisfaction and rumours among Bhils over the state activities such as census operations, prohibition of liquor manufacturing, establishment of police and custom posts in the Bhil areas and official interference in their customs like banning of witch-killing led to the spread of uprisings in the south-western Mewar. In Kherwara area, Bara Pal police station was raided by killing 16 souls in all and in the Girwa Valley Bhils of Alsigarh and Pai killed Dulji Kamdaar, a revenue clerk, and a couple of policemen. Tired of perpetual harassment they blocked roads by felling large trees and retreated into forest interiors. Thus, while introducing reformative activities, historical particularity of the Bhil society was neglected. Drawing from their past experiences they took every state action as for their oppression and harassment, and generally it raised doubt, mistrust and antagonism in their mind. About the census operations, some of them thought that the British Government wished to levy a *barar* (tax) as contribution towards the Afghan war or to recruit able-bodied men to fight for the British Government at Kabul or to attempt for gradual extinction of the Bhil population or to assign fat women to stout men and lanky to lean (Saxena 1971:166-70; Doshi 1974:5-6).

Bhil-Vilayati Encounters

Vilayatis (foreigners) in the region were the Muslim mercenaries from Arab, Makran and Sindh employed during the Maratha's predatory activities in Mewar, Dungarpur and Banswara. After the treaties of 1818 A.D. they shifted over to the job of revenue collection in the countryside as well as controlling the aboriginals. They floated petty loans among Bhils, charged heavy interests and deprived the debtors even of their ladies and children (Shyamaldas : 2193). Whenever Bhils killed Vilayatis, the deaths of the men of state were retaliated by massacre and destruction of habitations in Bhil paals as perpetrated in Dungarpur, Banswara and Udaipur in 1868, 1870 and

1872 respectively. An enquiry into the incidents established the fault of the Vilayatis who were then driven out of the states (Chaturvedi 1968:51; Saxena 1974:173-77).

Bhil-Mahajan Confrontation

Mahajans or Banias (traders) entered the Bhil areas in the distant past. Bhils pressed hard by begaar, revenue tax and *nazars* (offerings on the festivals like Dashehra, Diwali and Holi, on birth or marriage in the ruling family) had to, out of dire necessities, take loans from the Mahajans who charged fleecing interest rates and cheated them to loose their lands. This developed their antagonism towards the Banias, mostly Mahajans. During the uprising of 1881 A.D. all Bania shops were burnt in Bara Pal (Saxena 1971: 168). In the remote past the traders from Nai (village) and Udaipur (town) came on horsebacks at the outbreak of a day to trade in Alsigarh, Pai and other villages in the Girwa valley and returned home by the fall of dusk. Later, some traders partially began to settle in these villages to pursue their business activities. In Pai, not long ago, the Mahajans from Nai; namely Mohanlal, Vardichand, Ratan Nagori, Ujjanlal and Fatehlal had their shops in the house of Dewa Bhagora, Dita Relat, Ganga Ram Naath, Bhera Paargi and Gangya Paargi respectively all of the Mual Phala (sector) and Vardi Chand Javeria and Bandi, both, from Udaipur, had their shops in the house of Nathu Dungaria of the Vadla Phala and Ambawa Kataara of the Hamli Pipla respectively. Vardichand and Heeralal, two grandsons of Mohanlal, still, visit Pai twice or thrice a week to conduct business at their (only Mahajan) shop there. A Sindhi shopkeeper after a stay of several years in Pai rolled back his business to return Udaipur about 15 years ago. Saiffuddin Bohra has a shop in Vadla phala for the last 6-7 years. Another Bohra has opened a shop at the Pai Bus Stand two years ago. In Alsigarh, Shanti Lal Mahajan from Nai and Vijai Singh Kothari from Sisarma have their shops for the last 40 and seven years respectively. The lucrative business of Mahajans gradually declined after Independence in the wake of increasing awareness among Bhils, writing off their loans by the government and occupational changes taking place amongst them (Ram 1997 :43).

Bhil-Missionaries Contacts

Christian missionaries coming to this region in 1850 A.D. spread their activities gradually to convert many of Bhils. By their efforts, slavery was abolished from the region in 1872 A.D. During the calamities of famine in 1889-90 A.D., epidemic plague in 1904 A.D. and influenza in 1918 A.D., the missionaries worked among the Bhil victims providing medical treatment, spreading education and extending economic assistance. This facilitated the process of conversion in several areas. The converted Bhils are today socially separated from the remaining. Spread of the process was arrested by the movements and organizations spreading the Hindu ideals of life.

Bhil-Hindu Reformers Bonhomie

Though Bhils have since hoary past been in the contact with Hindu culture and society, the conscious spread of Hindu ideology amidst them was made only in the beginning of the twentieth century through Bhagat movement, Vanwasi Sewa Sangh, etc. Between 1903 and 1908 A.D., Govindgiri of Banjara caste operated through Samp Sabha, set up in 1905, launching a movement for the regeneration of Bhils. The Bhagats (followers) had to abstain from the practice of liquor, meat, sexual adultery, burglary, cattle theft, robbery, dapa (bride price), abduction of women, etc.

He demanded for a separate Bhil state in the region as a necessary condition for their regeneration. In 1913 A.D. he was arrested at his *dhuni* (seat) on Mangarh Hills in Banswara after a bloody resistance and was sentenced to life imprisonment (Chaturvedi 1968 :54-55; Shyamlal 1986 : 126-29). Vanwasi Sewa Sangh established for welfare of the tribals also brought social and political awakening, specially for abstention from liquor and opium (Saxena1971: 185-86).

Bhil-Freedom Fighters Convergence

In the years 1921-22 A.D., Bhils of Mewar, Idar, Dungarpur, Sirohi, Danta and other places rising against different systems of taxation in the region were organized by Motilal Tejavat of Praja Mandal for their salvation from bondage and evils. He could organize them to a large extent against the rulers and instil in them the ideas of freedom (Saxena 1971: 179-84: Pande 1974: 49-53).

Conclusion

The oldest inhabitants of India, Bhils, have been in continuous interaction with groups in their vicinity engaged in composing a dynamic and complex tradition in the course of historical evolution. This tradition displays four major inter-ethnic formations of Bhils; viz., proto-historical Bhil autouchthones, Bhil kingdoms of ancient and early medieval periods, marginalisation of Bhils in late medieval and British periods, and integraion and regeneration of Bhils after Independence. They emerged from the status of the aboriginals, unaware of caste hierarchy , interacting occasionally with the others (Hindus and non-Hinus) in the proto-historical period of sanskritic-puranic texts to that of several autonomous kingdoms during 600-1500 A.D.; suffered marginalisation and exploitation by the Rajput rulers, Marathas, Pindaris, British Government, Vilayatis (Muslims) and Mahajans (traders); and finally bestowed with the sympathy of Christian missionaries, Hindu reformers, freedom fighters and welfare action of Indian state for their regeneraion and integration into socio-political mainstream in the later British and post-Independence period. On the whole, their prolonged interactions with the others made them increasingly despised, exploited, desperate, degenerate and marginalized in their own region. On economic plane they have become the donors of labour (Ram 1995 : 40), on cultural plane -the receivers of culture through Christianization, Bhagatization or Hinduization and on political plane-the subjugated masses. They are finally in the vortex of socio-political consciousness through their participation in the elections and politico-administrative bodies of various levels, especially the recently re-invigorated Panchayati Raj institutions which meet, to some extent, their lately raised demand for a separate Bhil state or self rule. But at the regional and national levels they form only a part of the exploited lower class masses (Desai 1977 : 20-21) in the contemporary Indian politico-economic setup.

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Social Networks in Legal Profession :
A Case Study of Indian Lawyers

Virendra Pal Singh

The entrance of a person into profession requires acquisition of competent skills through requisite training. When the profession relates to legal sphere of life in a predominantly rural society, there is an additional demand on the person for maintaining his links with the clientele largely drawn from the rural areas. The culture of first migrant generation of lawyers comes handy in ensuring the maintenance and nourishment of rural-urban connectionsby extending and activising primordial ties. The present paper makes an attempt to analyse the patterns and role of social networks in legal profession at two points : (a) in the professional training of the lawyer; and (b) the professional performance of the lawyer. The study was located in Meerut city, headquarters of a district court in the Uttar Pradesh (India).The data were collected through administering a questionaire on a random sample of 200 lawyers. The information about social networks was collected through intensive conversations with some selected lawyers.The present paper is anchored on the leads drawn from existing studies in three areas viz. law, rural-urban articulations and social networks.

The term 'network' was first introduced by Radcliffe Brown in his definition of social structure as a 'complex' network of relations' (1940: 222). But the idea of using of network as an analytical tool was first introduced by J.A.Barnes (1954) in his analysis of Norwegian Island Parish. He identified three fields of interaction, namely, stationary, fluid and 'third' field. In case of Bremmes Island, the stationary field was denoted by the domestic, agricultural and administrative areas; the fluid field generated by industrial system consisted of 'a large number of interdependent, yet formally autonomous units such as fishing vessels, marketing cooperatives and herring oil factories connected with each other functionally' (Barnes 1954: 236-237). The 'third' field, which links the other two-stationary and fluid field of interaction, was termed as 'social network'. The third field has "no units or boundaries; it has no co-ordinating organization. It is made up of the ties of friendship and acquaintance which every one growing up in Bremnes society partly inherits and largely builds up for himself". The elements of this social field are not fixed for new ties are continually being formed and old links are broken or put into indefinite cold storage" (Barnes 1954: 237). Barnes uses the term social network in its socio-centric sense. By network he has the image of "set of points some of which are joined by lines.The points of the image are people or sometimes, groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other" (Barnes 1954: 237). What

Virendra Pal Singh is Reader in Sociology, Assam University, Silchar-788011 (INDIA)

does he mean by this is "that part of the total network that is left behind when we remove the groupings and chains of interaction which belong strictly to the stationary and fluid fields" (1954: 237).

Since Barnes the network analysis has been extended to various facets of social life. One of the basic contributions to network analysis can be traced in the work of Elizabeth Bott (1971). She used the notion of social network in analysing the performance of conjugal roles in rerms of the extent to which husband and wife carried out their activities and tasks separately and independently of each other. She found that the immediate social environment of an urban family was consisted of a network rather than an organized group and the differences in degree of conjuged roles were associated with difference in network connectedness. These networks varied in degree of connectedness which refers to "the extent to which the people with whom the family maintains relationship carry on relationship with one another" (Bott 1971: 217). These variations in network connectedness were particularly evident in informal relationships between friends, neighbours and relatives. She used the term 'close- knit' to describe a network "in which there are many such relationships among component units" and the term 'loose-knit' to describe a network' in which there are few such relationships among the component units" (Bott 1957: 59). Barnes (1969) suggested the term 'density' in place of the term 'connectedness'. Another pioneer work on the conncept of social network is of Adrian C. Mayer (1966) who used the idea of social network in the field of political interaction by mapping the linkages of municpal election candidate in a district town of central India. He pointed out that the term network can be referred to both 'bounded' as well as 'unbounded' entites. He preferred to use the term, action set' in case of 'a bounded set of relations in a social network'. He identified five characteristics of an electoral action set which are as follows : (1) in an action set a wide variety of bases for linkage are involved but despite of varied 'outward' content is always the same,(2) the links in action set are based on group membership; (3) the action set contains paths of linkages, and is thus combination of relationships linking people directly to ego and of those linking people to intermediaries who are themselves in direct contact with ego (4) the action set is a bounded entity; and (5) action set is not a 'permanent' entity like the group".

Thus, an action set is a distinct type of social network which is a bounded entity and is composed of direct and indirect linkages of the ego. These links are activated by ego in order to achieve specific goal. Thus, the set of persons depends on the nature of goal. With the change in goals same ego can change his set of persons activated. Mayer uses the term in its egocentric sense.

Epstein (1969) distinguished between two parts of ego's social network, namely, 'effective' network and 'extended' network. The effective network is composed of those persons with whom he 'interacts most intensely and most regularly and who are therefore likely to come to know one another' (Epstein 1969: 110-11). The remainder part constitutes the 'extended' network. In a similar fashion, Granovetter (1973;1974) suggested that the ego's network is composed of strong and weak ties. His distinction is based on the strength of the tie which he defines as "a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie" (Granovetter 1973:354). A tie may act as a bridge between corresponding networks of two individuals. A bridge is 'a line in the network which provides the only path between two points' (Granovetter 1973: 357). He further emphasized that it is the weak ties rather the strong tie which form the bridge between two networks because 'the strength of the tie is directly proportional to the proportion of individuals in their network to whom

they will be both tied, that is, connected by a weak or strong tie. This overlapping in their networks disqualifies a strong tie from being a bridge' (Granovetter 1973: 358). He found that the weak ties are more useful in getting information about job in his study of job changers in Boston suburb of United States. The job information was passed through short path rather than long path in most of the cases. Thus, the weak ties are important resources in making possible mobility opportunity (Granovetter 1974). When a person changes his job (intragenerationally as well as intergenationally) he is not only moving from one occupational position to the other but he is also changing his network. He has to extend his network in a new situation. In this process some ties of his network perform the function of a bridge between The concept of social network has been extended to Indian situation by a number of sociologists. Srinivas and Beteille (1964) discussed at a length the usefulness of network in understanding of processes of Indian social structure. They pointed out that "the concept of social network paves the way to an understanding of the linkage existing between different institution spheres and between different systems of groups and categories" (Srinivas and Beteille 1964:165). They also emphasized the networks have been important entities in traditional as well as in contemporary Indian social situation. Sabarwal (1976) finds 'focussed network' usefil in mobility process. Sachchidanand (1976) used the notion of focussed network in his study of Harijan elite and identified nine occasions when these networks were activised. The ties of caste, kinship and friendship play important role in approaching the elite. Sharma (1976) also attempted to use the concept of social network in a rural setting to examine the process of social change.Chauhan (1979) examined the relevance of the notion of social network in the analysis of rural urban articulations in India. He emphasized that social network can be used as an analytical tool in mapping of rural urban interactions along cultural, political - administrative and economic dimensions. He pointed out that "studies on networks can be approached form three vantage points: (a) with the urban centre as focus of attention, (b) with the rural units as focus, adopting the village outward, approach and (c) with both rural and urban centres as areas of inquiry along interconnected themes"(Chauhan 1990:103).

Empirical sociological studies of legal profession are very few. Kidder (1974) studied the dynamics of lawyer-client relationship in Bangalore (a Metropolitan town of Karnataka State of India) and found that both lawyers and clients depended on each other but their encounters and relations were marked by deep distrust of each other (Kidder 1974:27). Morrison (1972,1974) has focussed on the role of para-professionals in the legal profession and found that one kind of para professionals the *Munshi* (munshi is the clerk of the private lawyer who assists him) - contributes significantly to the daily organization of a district law practice in India. Like the lawyer-client relationship of mutual distrust as noted by Kidder, he also found a pattern of distrust between the lawyers and their munshis. There were conflicts over the fees or commissions to be paid to munshis. Munshis, according to him, "undoubtedly acted as touts, but their success in perform ing this function was a matter of conjecture" (Morrison 1974: 470). In 1980's two important sociological studies on legal profession have been published. Gandhi (1982) studied the lawyers and the forms of touting in a district rooted in Govindgarh district courts. Even munshis of the lawyers work as touts who did not constitute a formal role- category". (Gandhi 1982:152-154). Sharma (1984) emphasised in his study of lawyers of Jaipur bar that "the old or regular clients constituted a sort of network for the lawyer who got their clientele increased through them" (1984:190). The patterns of social network which operate in legal profession require special attention in context of Indian Society as intermediation is an important element of Indian social life.

Duration of Professional Training

The entrance of an individual into legal profession after passing a degree course in law is followed by professional training under a senior lawyer. Although such a training is not required formally as after completion of three years degree course in law one can start independent legal practice in the courts. But for all practical purposes it is considered necessary to receive professional training from a senior practicing lawyer over a period of two to three years.

In general most of the aspirants of legal practice start to receive this training during the last year of their degree course in law so that they can attain practical knowledge of the legal practice. In this section, the role of social network in professional training of the lawyer is examined.In the sample of 200 subjects, as many as 190 lawyers had passed through training under atleast one senior lawyer. However, of these 54 lawyers had gone through further training under another senior lawyer.The duration of professional training under a senior lawyer was up to one year in about the half (48 percent) of the cases. The another 40.5 percent lawyers received training for two to five years and 6.5 percent lawyers received training for a period of more than five years. About 5 percent lawyers did not receive any professional training. Thus, in most of the cases the lawyer received professoinal training but the duration of professional training varies from one to five years of time. Age wise distribution of the subjects in relation to duration of training under a senior lawyer indicates that the duration of professional training increases as one moves from older grneration to younger generation. For older generation of the lawyers duration of training was up to one year in as many as 83.7 percent cases. But 43.8 percent middle aged lawyers had gone for professional training for a period of two to five years. In the younger generation, about two-third of the lawyers received training for a period of two to five years or more. It suggests that period of professional training over the past three generations of the lawyers is increased which may be an indicator of an increase in specialization of professional

Nature of Acquaintance with Senior Lawyer

In the process of professional training, very first step is to contact a senior lawyer. A beginer has to receive practical training from the senior lawyer. It is not only in interest of a junior lawyer to receive training from a senior lawyer as it seems on the face of it. But senior lawyers also have their own interest in having one or two juniors. Firstly, it leaves a good impression on the clients. In the sense, that they think that his lawyer is a senior one in the profession. Secondly, it provides them assistance in performing minor works in the courts such as filing of suits, applications, documents related to the cases etc, and finally the senior lawyers also get a good number of cases through their junior lawyers as they are not competent in handling these cases independently. A part of the remuneration is shared by the junior lawyers in all such cases which varies from 25 to 50 percent of the total remuneration depending upon the nature of case and usefulness of junior lawyer in the eyes of senior lawyer.

In the process of contacting a senior lawyer for professional training two patterns of contact are found. First type of contact is *direct contact* with senior lawyers. In this type of contact junior lawyer has a pre-established relationship with senior lawyer. It includes the ties such as father, father's Brother and other members of extended family, his teacher and neighbours. In second type of contact the junior lawyer is not acquainted with senior lawyer and he contacts him through some one. It may include the ties of kinship, friendship, neighbourhood, workmates and other weak ties of acquaintance. The distribution of the subjects in relation to the nature of acquain

tance with senior lawyer indicates that a little more than one-third of the lawyers had a direct contact with the senior lawyers, while as many as 62.1 per cent of the lawyers had activated the ties of their social network in order to contact a senior lawyer. Thus, the dependency of the lawyers on direct contact was less in comparison to dependency on indirect contacts. The subject's father and kinsmen both were the mediators through whom the senior lawyer was contacted. The ties of friendship were also activised by the subject to contact the senior lawyer. The weak ties of acquaintance were also found significant for making contact in 13.6 per cent cases.

Place of Origin and Contact with Senior Lawyer

The place of origin of a lawyer also varies in relation to the nature of acquaintance with senior lawyer as shown in table 1 indicate that out of 118 lawyers who activated the ties of their social network to contact senior lawyers 64 (54.2 percent) had a rural origin. The urban subjects were relatively more dependent on their father's network to contact a senior lawyer while the rural subjects were depending on the ties of kinship and other weak ties of their network in addition to their father's network. It suggests that a rural lawyer has to depend more on his kinship ties and other weak ties of acquaintance for contacting a senior lawyer while an urban lawyer depends more and more on his father's social network.

In support of the above findings some qualitative data were collected in case of two lawyers. The social networks of two lawyers show how they had contacted their senior lawyers.

Case 1

A is a rural lawyer. After completion of his degree course in law he became interested to adopt career of a civil lawyer. His uncle (C) (Father's brother) who had acquaintance with a civil lawyer (B). B had a kinship relation in the village of A. A had approach to B through C and D. The senior lawyer B had agreed to take as his junior. He worked with him about one year. After that he started his own practice. (Figure 1).

CASE 2

It is a case of an urban lawyer E. He was interested in criminal practice. Just adjacent to his house a civil lawyer who was very senior in the profession was living. He requested him to introduce him with a reputed lawyerof criminal law for training. F who knows G as a collegue lawyer introduced E to G. E took training from G for a period of two years and afterwards started his own practice. (Figure 2).

Social Network of lawyers in Initial years

In initial years of practice, the main problem faced by the subjects was less amount of case work. They tried to solve this problem by extending their public contacts. The social network of a lawyer has to pass through a process of transformation during this period. The social network of a lawyer can be divided into five sectors for analytical purpose, namely kinship, friendship, neighbourhood, workmates and old clients. We have asked the subjects to mention who helped them in initial years of practice and who are those persons who are helping you in current years? By comparing the answers of these two questions we have made an attempt to analyse the change in the social network of the subjects over a period of time.

**Table 1 : Place of Origin and Nature of Acquaintance
with First Senior Lawyer.**

Sl. No.	Nature of Acquaintance with First Senior Lawyer	Place of Origin		Total
		Rural	Urban	
1.	Through father	19 (38.8)	30 (61.2)	49 (100.0) [41.5]
2.	Through Kinsman	15 (68.2)	07 (31.8)	22 (100.0) [18.6]
3.	Through neighbour	06 (66.7)	03 (33.3)	09 (100.0) [7.8]
4.	Through friend	08 (47.1)	09 (52.9)	17 (100.0) [14.4]
5.	Through workmate	03 (60.0)	02 (40.0)	05 (100.0) [4.2]
6.	Through others weak ties of network (not specified)	13 (81.3)	03 (18.7)	16 (100.0) [13.6]
	Total	**64 (54.2)**	**54 (45.8)**	**118 (100.0)**

The distribution of the subjects in relation to their clientele network in initial years of practice as shown in table 2 indicates that out of 200 subjects, 75 did not respond to this question.Those who replied to this question mentioned that they were helped by a number of persons at that time. The nature of tie they had with these persons indicate the sectors of social network of the lawyer. The distribution of the lawyers in table 4 shows that in 20.8 percent cases each, the help was extended by friendship and kinship sectors alone to the lawyers in getting the cases. Kinship and friendship sectors together extended help to about one-fifth of the lawyers. Other weak ties of social network were effective in 12.8 percent cases. Thus, in initial years of the

**Fig. 1 Contact Network of a Rural Lawyer**
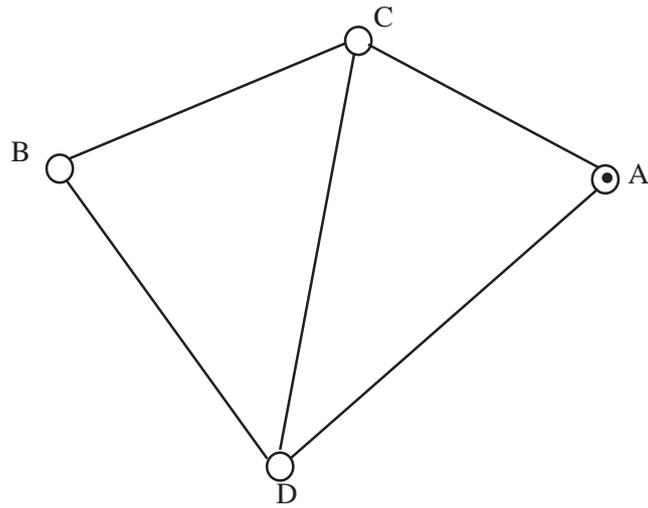
Fig. 2 : Contact Network of an Urban Lawyer
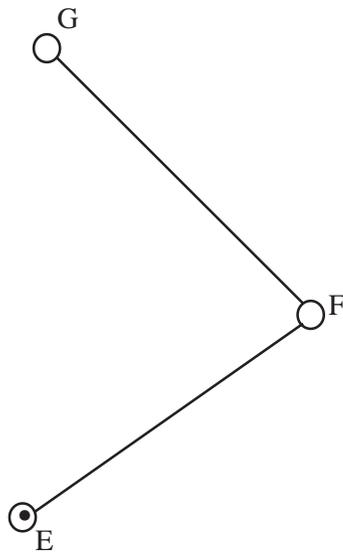
practice, the lawyers mainly seek help from kinship and friendship sector of their network. The weak ties of social network were also found effective in this context.

In later years, the social network of a lawyer had gone under a process of change and a shift in the strength of various sectors was observed after a period of five years of practice. The assessment of his work is done by his clients who come into his contact in connection with their own cases. The professional competence and efficiency of a lawyer is communicated to others by these clients. In later years of practice, these clients form and important sector of a lawyer's social network. As it is evident from the data presented in table 3, which show the distribution of the subjects in relation to their sectoral division of their social network and length of practice.The data indicate that over a period of five years of regular practice the shift in the social network of the lawyer's was observed. The dependency of lawyer for clientele decreased on the ties of kinship and friendship and a new sector composed of old clients emerged on the scheme. It suggests that in initial years of practice the lawyer's has to depend more and more on the ties of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood for getting case work but gradually, his social network develops and his old clients starts to communicate about his efficiency to other clients.

In order to find out nature of lawyer-client network we traced the network of two clients.

Client 1

R.A. is an electrician in Meerut city. He works on salary basis. Two years ago he alongwith his brother was charged with a criminal case. He was arrested by police and sent to jail. His mother (A) approached his employer (B) who engaged a lawyer (C) who was his neighbour. The lawyer moved an application in the court concerned for the grant of bail.

 The bail was granted and R.A. was released on bail. But this lawyer charged a huge amount from R.A. family for moving the bail application.. When hearing of the case started, he (R.A.) contacted one of his friend (D) who was working as helper in a court of magistrate. He (D) was in the contact of a number of lawyers who used to come at his office for their work. He was impressed by lawyer (X) and his munshi (Y) was very friendly to him. He introduced R.A. to the munshi (Y) and the lawyer (X). The lawyer agreed to plead his case. Later on R.A. referred to this lawyer his friends at a number of occasions.

It is clear from the above example that for engaging a lawyer the client consult knowledge-able persons. But in a situation when there is no knowledgeable person available immediately he can engage even an average lawyer on a high fee, though this type of clientele is temporary in nature. That is why R.A. has changed his first lawyer (C) and engaged lawyer (X) on genuine charges. RA also referred to this lawyer his friends also. It suggest that the behaviour and compe-tency and genuineness of the charges of a lawyer impressed the client and he refers to such a lawyer the members of his social network at the time of need.

This case suggests that a new lawyer who is not acquainted the law procedure may create problems for the clients, and this failure effect the future work due to his bad image in his own social network (Later on this lawyer has left the practice and is now working in a private factory as Security guard).

Table 2 : Clientele Network in Initial Years of Practice

S. No.	Sector (s) of Lawyers Social Network	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Kinship	26	20.0
2.	Friendship	26	20.0
3.	Neighbourhood	02	01.6
4.	Workmate (collegue, munshi, clerks etc)	12	09.6
5.	Kinship and Friendship	24	19.2
6.	Kinship and Neighbourhood	06	04.8
7.	Kinship, friendship and Neighbourhood	09	07.2
8.	Friendship and Neighbourhood	04	03.2
9.	Other Wead Ties of Network	16	12.8
	Total	**125**	**100.0**

Table 3

Sectorwise Division of Social Network and Length of Practice of Lawyers

Sl. No.	Sectorwise Division of Lawyers Social Network	Length of Practice in years				Total
		0-5	6-5	11-20	20 & above	
1.	Kinship	03	07	03	–	13
2.	Friendship	04	12	02	03	21
3.	Workmate	01	04	02	02	09
4.	Old clients	–	08	03	16	27
5.	Kinship and friendship	06	12	04	–	22
6.	Kinship and Old clients	–	02	–	–	02
7.	Friendship and old clients	–	03	03	04	10
8.	Kinship, Friendship and Old clients	–	02	01	01	04
	Total	**14**	**50**	**18**	**26**	**108**

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3.	Workmate	01	04	02	02	09
4.	Old clients	–	08	03	16	27
5.	Kinship and friendship	06	12	04	–	22
6.	Kinship and Old clients	–	02	–	–	02
7.	Friendship and old clients	–	03	03	04	10
8.	Kinship, Friendship and Old clients	–	02	01	01	04
	Total	**14**	**50**	**18**	**26**	**108**

The above illustration suggests that the client engage a lawyer after knowing his efficiency and competence in the legal profession as well as his connections with the officers concerned. For this purpose, he always goes to those persons who have knowledge in this regard.

Client 2

Client 2 (C2) has a pan shop in Meerut city. His son (K) was once arrested in a case of theft with one of his friend (L). C2 was very angry with his son and for 15 days he did not try for his bail. But when his wife insisted, he consulted one of his friend-cum- customer (M) who had a good knowledge of law and lawyers. He advised him to engage a young lawyer (N) who has started his practice three-four years ago and was also C2's customer because it was a bailable offence and an ordinary lawyer could have plead the bail application of the accused. Accordingly C2 engaged lawyer N for his case. The co-accused of this case, however, engaged another lawyer (O) for their bail. Lawyer O was a senior lawyer and lawyer N was advised that he should first allow to argue the lawyer of co-accused. But lawyer N did not followed this advice and he moved bail application immediately and put his arguments before the court. But his arguments could not satisfy the court and the bail was rejected. Then , he (N) moved bail application in Session Court on the same ground and it was also rejected by session court as well. C2 told M about all this and he was very surprised to know all these developments because the case was very simple. By this time two months have already been passed. M was aware of the procedure that if the prosecution is failed to submit the charge sheet within 60

days of the arrest of an accused and accused is in jail, the concerned court may release the accused even on personal bond.M asked the lawyer N to move the bail application on this ground. The lawyer N argued that there was no such procedure and now he had to move bail application in High Court. M asked him to return all the papers related to that case. In the meantime the lawyer of co-accused moved the application on the same ground and the application was granted by the court. M suggested the C2 to contact the lawyer of co-accused. He moved the application of accused K and it was also granted and the accused was released on bail. This case suggests that a new lawyer who is not acquainted with legal procedure may create havoc for the clients, and this failure may also effect the future work prospects of the lawyer due to his bad image in his own social network (Later on, this lawyer left legal practice joined a private factory as Security guard).

The above illustration suggests that the client engages a lawyer after knowing his efficiency and competence in the legal profession. For this purpose, he always goes to those persons who have knowledge in this regard.

The occupational mobility as a process starts with the entry of a person into legal profession after completing degree course in law. At the very first step in the profession he has to go for professional training under a competent senior lawyer from two to five years so that he can have necessary skills of professional practice. At this point, we have analysed the role of the ties of social network in the process of professional training. The second stage in the mobility process is when a beginner after completion of his professional training starts his independent practice.The problems he faces at this stage are the problem of paucity of financial resources due to lack of work on the one hand and of understanding civil and criminal procedures on the other. Sometimes, he has no place to sit in the court compound and at the same time, he has to study regularly and has to subscribe books and periodicals to update his knowledge. He has to activise the ties of his social network from kinship, friendship, neighbourhood and so on. At this stage his dependency for case work is solely on his social network. Gradually, as he gets more work and his links with his clients grow over a period of time, his acquaintance with law procedures increases, his career gears up and he moves in the professional hierarchy. At this stage his clients form main sector of his social network and help him in promotion of his business connections.

Conclusion

Two patterns of contact, namely, direct contact and indirect contact were identified in the process of contacting a senior lawyer for getting professional training of legal practice. The dependency of the lawyers was more on the indirect contact rather than the direct contact. It suggests that the ties of social network play an imporant role in professional training of the lawyer particularly in contacting a senior lawyer. The father and kinsmen of the lawyer extended their help in contacting the senior lawyers.These ties constitute the strongest sector of the social network of the lawyer. However, the weak ties of acquaintance are also played a significant role in this context.

2. In order to contact a senior lawyer for professional training the ties of social network were found more significant in addition to structural relations such as family members, kinsman lawyer and teacher to whom the subject was knowing directly. The weak ties of acquintance were found relevant in this context in addition to kinship, friendship, neighbourhood sectors of lawyer's social network.

3. In initial years of legal practice, the dependency of lawyers on kinship, friendship,

Network of Client 1

EVENT -1

A

RA

B

C

Network of Client 1

EVENT -2

D

X

Y
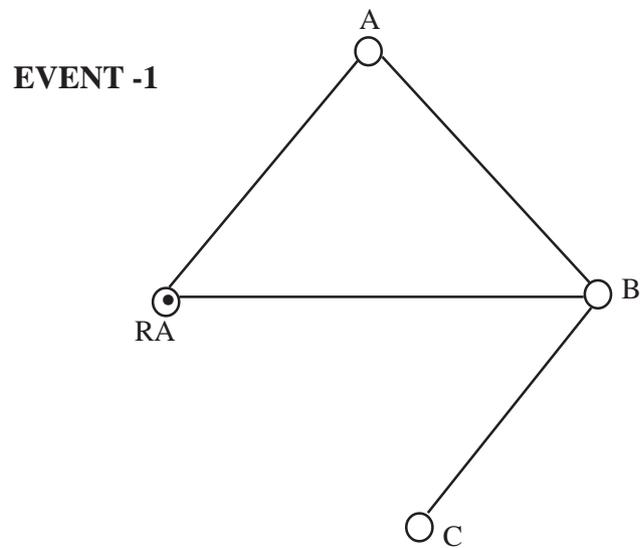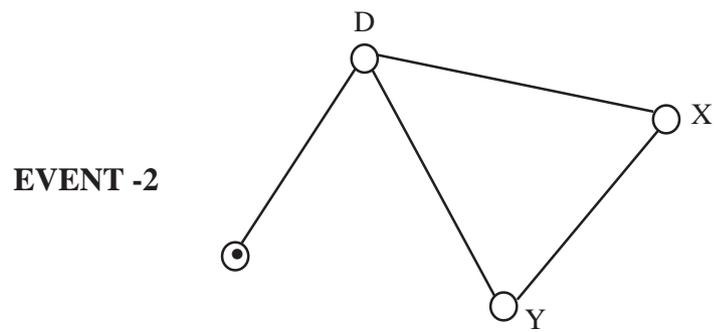
neighbourhood, workmate ties was more. But over a period of five years of regular legal practice, a shift was observed in the social network of the lawyers i.e., the sector of neighbourhood disappeared and a new sector composed of old clients of the lawyer emerged and contributed a significant part in occupational role performance of the lawyer. In the later years of practice the dependency of the lawyer on this sector was increased relatively. The performance of a lawyer was assessed by his clients and they communicated about the competency and efficiency of the lawyer to members of their social network which in many cases promoted the case work of the lawyer.

The main bearings of the study on concept of social network are: firstly, in his study of Bremnes Island, Barnes (1954) identified three fields

Network of Client 2
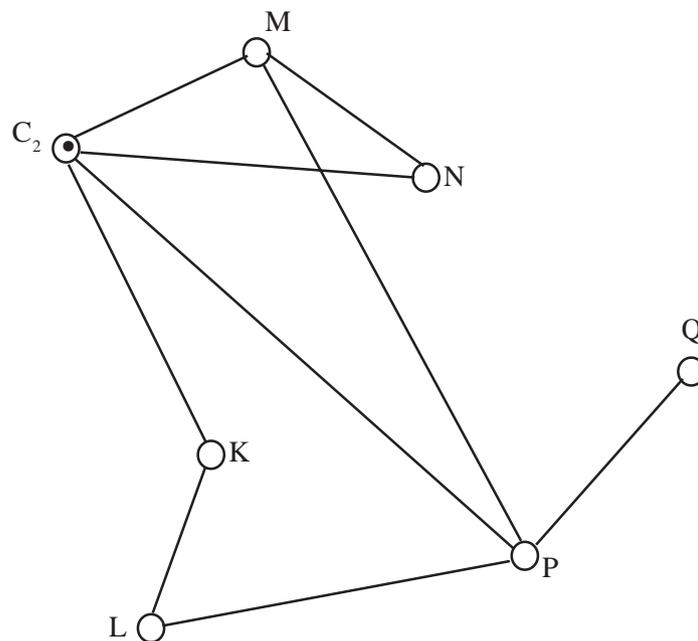
of interaction, namely, *stationary, fluid and 'third field.* The stationary field was denoted by the domestic agriculture and administrative areas; the fluid field by industrial area, consisting of fishing vessels, mareting, co-operatives and herring oil factories. The 'third field' which links the other two; stationary and fluid fields of interaction was termed as social network; it had no units or boundaries; it had no co-ordinating organization" (Barnes 1954 : 237). It was made up of the ties of friendship and acquaintance which every one was growing up in the Bremnes, partly inherits and largely build up for himself. The elements of this social network were not fixd, for new ties were continually being formed and old links were broken or put into into indefinite cold storage (Barnes 1954 : 238). But in context of this study we found that the second field was not so fluid as it was in the Bremnes. The interactions beyond the boundary of the community like Bremnes may be very fluid in nature but in a situation where the members of village unit have a regular visit to the urban centres. The fluidness of second field decreases to certain extent. In such a situation, the social

networks becomes complementary unit of the social structure. In context of present study, the lawyer's social network in initial stage of practice is linked with formation of 'Stars' in form of the old clients starts. Each 'Star client' has his own set of linkages and the information flows through these ties about the efficiency and competence of the lawyer in the society.

The second issue which we raised in the review of literature of social network was that in the study of Granovetter (1973) the weak ties of acquaintance had acted as a bridge in the corresponding networks of two individuals and this bridge plays an important part in the flow of information about job situations. Secondly, the information about job situations follow short path rather than long path i.e., the number of intermediaries was not more than two in most of cases. In that discussion we had assumed that in case of intragenerational mobility, where most of the respondents were employed in a job situation and were seeking further job opportunity the weak ties may be important but in case of intergenerational mobility strong ties of social structure may be more relevant. The present study takes into notice that although the strong ties of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood were found relevant in extending network of a lawyer in context of contacting a senior lawyer for professional training as well as in getting the first case of his career but simultaneously weak ties of acquaintance were also significant to a certain extent. Further more, the number of ties between the lawyer and client follow short path rather than long path.

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State Intervention and Peasantry :
The Case of the British Rule In Indian History

Arvind Chauhan

The British rule replaced the earlier existing state and its operationalization by enforcing the rule of an alien power and developed mechanisms to interact with peasantry. Colonial mission was at the centre of British rule in India, and that is why this period is different from the other periods preceding and following it. Colonialism, if viewed from the perspective of world society, indicates towards hegemonic conditions. A precise understanding of the notion of hegemony shall provide a better understanding of agearian relations in India during this period.

The first part of this paper is on a precise understanding of the notion of colonialism and hegemony. In the second part a historical account of agrarian conditions helps in visualizing the impact of the colonial rule. In the third part an analysis of agrarian relations makes precise the nature and working of mechanisms such as **Zamindari**, which was full of exploitation and characterized by class system of economy. In the fourth part, the nature and working of another institution **Ryotwari** are analysed. In both systems of land tenure agrarian inequalities and class relations emerged in such a way that they did not exhibit peasant's strength. It was perhaps the force of colonialism which superseded the mechanism of **Zamindari** and **Ryotwari**, hence, needed the discussion first.

1. Colonialism and the Agrarian Question

There is a need to put the agrarian question in a proper historical perspective in order to understand the present day agrarian social structure of India. During the British period of its history, India had witnessed the then new colonial capitalist economy which destroyed the basic fabric of the earlier existing structure. In this process the prior existing contradiction – basically the primordial ones, were tapped by the Britishers to the maximum possible extent. Studies in Sociology and other social sciences on agrarian social structure seem to have been caught up as well as exhibit certain basic and fundamental questions that still remain not only vague and unclear but also not seriously attempted. The analysis of the agrarian social structure during the British period of history in India requires an understanding of some basic theoretical standpoints. Theoretically speaking, the it may be visualised that the analysis should concern itself with the already existing contradiction within the agrarian social structure. Logically speaking these two

Arvind Chauhan is Reader in Sociology, Barkatullah University, Bhopal-462024 (INDIA)

standpoints seem contrary rather than contradictory. We recognize the theoretical importance of both of these. Both of these are dealt with first separately and then together in the following discussion.

Before examining the impact of wider forces from outside which penetrated in the Indian economy in general and agrarian economy in particular, it seems a necessary step first to identify those outside forces and then to construct their theoretical and conceptual positions. In this regard the most important concept among others is that of colonialism. Colonialism dominated the world history for quite a long time for more than three centuries. Terry Boswell (1989) tried to examine it, in relation with some other concepts like those of imperialism, stagnation, world economy, hegemony, hierarchy, war among the nations and inertia. The strength of this article lies in the rigorous treatment of colonialism and other concepts related to it, as well as the time series analysis and regression techniques are also applied. If the theoretical and conceptual analysis of colonialism is supplemented as well as examined with quantitative data from different parts of the world, it gets strengthened and becomes precise. While making an analysis of colonialism the foremost important item is time. Like any other sociological concept, the concept of colonialism is also a time bound concept. In its history and structure the concept of colonialism in the world dates roughly between 1640 A.D.– 1960 A.D. Since the colonial rule in India dates between this period, it seems necessary to examine and analyse the relevance of the concept of colonialism as it operated at a much wider area than with which it appears at the moment. A precise construction of the concept of colonialism as well as its theoretical relevance is to be established first in order to understand the mechanism of its operationalization in India during the British colonial rule.

The area of operationalization of the concept of colonialism is much wider than a nation. Another concept related to colonialism has also come into being and i.e. the concept of world society. In a slightly different context concerning the contemporary world the concept of world society is thought of as superior to that of international relations. John W. Burton (1972) who saw the promises of the concept of world society over international relations seems to have gone beyond national or post-national conceptions of society. Although the concept of colonialism is related to that of world society, but it is not post-national, in fact it involves different nations interacting with each other at a given point of time. The concept of world society has, however, been claimed as superior to certain other processes and conceptions like imperialism, modernization, international relations and the Marxist theory of political economy (Boswell 1989 : 182). The concept of colonialism does not include mercantile activities which predates capitalism. Capitalism is that necessary condition on which colonialism develops. Capitalism, according to Terry Boswell (1989 : 182), came into existence in 1640 A.D., the year with which his analysis begins. The period of colonization in the world attained its peak during the years 1920 A.D.– 1940 A.D., however, it declined in the year 1960 A.D. But even during the peak years of colonialism there remained certain areas (like unconquered part of China by Japan) which remained of the concept of colonialism as well as its theoretical relevance is to be established first in order to understand the mechanism of its operationalization in India during the British colonial rule.

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Terry Boswell (1989) argues that colonialism as both phenomenon as well as concept, declined to present reality of the post World War II era. Between the years 1945 A.D.– 1965 A.D. 93 colonies got freedom and only 12 were established. A discussion on agrarian relations in India during the British rule of her history should take into account among other things the role played by external forces like colonialism which changed the very fabric of Indian society. There is a need to reconstruct the nature and type of agrarian social structure in pre–British era to understand various changes introduced during the British rule. Equally important it is look into the various aspects of those concepts that have been seen in relation to agrarian social structure. Not simply their relationship with social structure, these concepts exhibit several debatable areas around them. Some of these conceptions are like : self-sufficiency of villages, villages as little republics, land-alienation on religious as well as other grounds, possession rather than sale of land and comparatively strong position of the artisan. A rigorous examination of these notions seems necessary.

The agrarian conditions during the British rule were related to the origin, development and decline of colonialism, A theoretical construct on colonialism might suggest its working at least at two levels – at the level of centre and at the level of periphery. Terry Boswell (1989) seems to have appreciated the term core over centre. He has however, tried to visualise changes taking place at centre vis-a-vis periphery. Accordingly, at the level of centre (core) the important changes included : (i) the rejection of the ideology as well as praxis of formal colonialism, (ii) the rise in the costs of labour and (iii) the rise in the costs of colonial administration. At the level of periphery following changes occurred : (i) the rise in the number of colonial revolts, (ii) the development of nationalist ideology, (iii) the impacts of socialist ideology and (iv) the economic development of the country.

The power structure in the world took a new shape and started working along different dimension after the World War II. Terry Boswell (1989) identifies the end of the World War II as a significant point in the world history, since accordingly it was the time when the process of what he calls it decolonialization started. These global issues have and special relevance with the Indian history which witnessed its national independence only two years later than the end of the World War II. Although changes at global as well as at national level could be discussed vis-a-vis each other.

The period of the end of the World War II had another significance. Both of the then emerging powers of the World, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. gained from the process of decolonization which followed the World War II. The U.S.A. had to gain much if the earlier imperialists lost their ground by trying to fill the power vacuum and the U.S.S.R. had the chances to work at much wider areas with the notion of anti-imperialist ideology. But Terry Boswell seems to have given more emphasis on the operation of the U.S.S.R. at the level of periphery rather than at core. The impact of anti-imperialist ideology of the Soviet Union had its impact   on the polity of India also. The still controversial role of the Communist Party of India (the CPI) in the first phase calling the World War II as imperialists' war and in the latter phase when the U.S.S.R. was attacked by Germany naming it as peoples' war is a lively example of it. But one thing is certain and that is that for the first time in the world history, socialism began to operate as an ideology of state.

Before examining the agrarian conditions in India and the British colonial rule on them there are certain points that require attention at conceptual and theoretical level. Although Marx speaks of imperialism but does not elaborate much on it. In fact theoretical constructs on imperialism were attempted by Lenin (1917). Lenin identified imperialist forces as the expression of the highest stage that capitalism could acquire. Contradicting it Terry Boswell (1989) maintains that the World War I (on which Lenin based his observations of imperialism), represented highest stage of imperialism. It refers to the strengthening of capitalism even further and the decline of imperialism after the World War I. Socialist countries of the second world never allowed colonialism to flourish. This marked a structural change – creation of such a powerful block against the development of colonialism. The number of the socialist countries increased from 1 in 1917 to 13 in 1954. Prior to the World War II the movements that were led by colonial landlords and bourgeoise were now replaced by the movement that were for the purpose of mass-liberation and were being led by guerrilla armies and left nationalists.

Yet another concept related to colonialism namely, hegemony has been discussed at length by Terry Boswell (1989). The main criticism of Terry Boswell may be that while on the one hand he prefers to dissociate capitalism from colonialism, the former may flourish but not the letter (as it appears from his analysis) but on the other hand he puts colonialism and hegemony in such an organic from that the letter could not be alienated from the former . It simply means that the hegemony also vanished with colonialism. The argument that is being advanced here is that hegemony may be dissociated with colonialism and may further be associated with the capitalism since it continues to exist. But it all depends upon the definition of hegemony that one conceives. Terry Boswell refers to hegemony or hegemonic conditions when there is "a historical period of low international rivalry when one core power manifests simultaneously productive commercial and

financial superiority over all other core powers." (Boswell 1989 : 187). This definition is both narrow as well as vague. It is narrow because it does not go beyond colonialism and it is vague because it does not allow the development of any idea of counter hegemonic forces. Another limitation with this definition is that it happens to be so time bound in such a manner as if there is no room left for any parallel situation to that in the world history. For example, Terry Boswell (1989) identifies four stages of hegemony in a time bound manner like: (a) Hegemonic Ascent, (b) Hegemonic Victory (1815 – 1849) and (1920 – 1944) (c) Hegemonic Maturity (1850 – 1872) and (1945 – 1967) and (d) Hegemonic Decline (1650 – 1692) and (1873 – 1897). There is a need to broaden the concept of hegemony for the analysis of the contemporary world, it has to be liberated and isolated from the concept of colonialism to make it widely applicable and to associate it with certain other concepts like that of capitalism.

2. Agrarian Conditions in India during the British Rule

In order to develop a precise understanding of agrarian relations, the general approach as well as the one concerning the main issue   (agrarian-relations-conditions and class-structure), it appears necessary to move out of a single discipline and take note of at least two other disciplines namely economics and history. However, the sociological approach has never been abandoned at any state – it exists as intact as it should throughout the present research, but on the other hand if there are certain useful informations in the above stated two disciplines then they are required to be taken into consideration at least. For a precise understanding of agrarian class structure of Bengal, it seems essential at this stage of reconnoitre into a vast sea of literature available before us. A brief, but essential scan of various issues concerned has been attempted. Here every possible care has been taken to include the available material. On the basis of the proposed scanning of literature, apart from actual information leading towards an analysis, an effort has been made to catch hold of the methodology involvedn these studies. And in such a situation when sociological studies were not available such a scan could be more meaningful. After the proposed scan, some sociological studies and interpretations would be taken up.

Zamindari abolition seems to have been a central issue around agrarian relations during the British rule. The Indian National Congress relied heavily on this issue particularly to mobilise their support in the countryside. Even before the present question had been brought to the forefront and several efforts to mobilise peasantry earlier by Charan Singh and later on by Devi Lal and Mahendra Singh Tikait reflect its importance in the contemporary period itself. The issue of Zamindari abolition, among others got reflected in the drafts of the AICC (All India Congress Committee) published around when India got freedom (AICC 1948).This small manuscript discuss the then relevant issues (around 1946 – 47) on agrarian conditions. The reflection of these agrarian issues as a major part of their programme was not limited upto the Indian National Congress but these issues on the other hand were raised by some other political parties as well as organizations like : The All India Kisan Sabha, the Communist Party of India, the Congress Socialist Party and the United Indian Patriotic Organization (Daniel Thorner 1980). During the same period another prominent leader Charan Singh (He was in the Congress Party at that time) came out with two writings trying to make his view. Charan Singh (1947 a) has discussed the agrarian conditions for the time period between 1901 – 1941. He expressed his views on land tenure I

peasant proprietorship, regulation of the size of holdings and also discussed how different castes were engaged either as cultivators or as proprietors. Although his observations were limited to a particular area i.e. the Western Uttar Pradesh only, but could serve as point from where, if the data are available, a comparative study of different regions in the colonial period could be made. In his second book, Charan Singh (1947b) apart from other issues has discussed the complex problems – to be adopted as strategies, like maintenance of peasant proprietorship vs. the question of taking away the land from non-agriculturalists. He was in favour of bigger size of land holdings (in during his time the pieces of land on which agriculture was done were very small in size and these were unproductive) but opposed to the notion of collective farming. His own particular readings as wall as experiences did not coincide with the western notion of co-operative farming. He had a difference of opinion on this particular point with Jawaharlal Nehru who wanted collective farming in the Western style. Agrarian conditions in Bengal (between 1765–1872) have been discussed by Abhay Chandra Das (1881). He had tried to examine the Zamindar – Ryot relationship in Bengal and also referred to various issues like the nature of permanent settlement and the conditions of agricultural labours. Various issues related to the permanent settlement have been studied by S. Gopal (1949). An account of the permanent settlement in Bengal has been taken note of B.H. Baden–Powell (1974). "The main issue or argument put forward by the British government has been that when the tax on land has been fixed for a limited time period, say ten years in most of the cases, the Zamindar was expected to raise additional income in his area and it was also thought that he shall invest it for the development of agriculture. But Zamindars did not use whatever additional income they had at their disposal for the development of agriculture, on the other hand the land tax imposed by them on the peasantry had been exorbitant." Some additional informations are available in the form of historical documents and it appears at the moment that a detailed analysis of these has not been done so far. A scan of writings in history speaks of the following issues in particular (along with the general nature of agrarian economy), these issues are : Zamindari – settlement (along with a discussion on permanent settlement), Bengal presidency, Ryotwari-system, Madras presidency, Peasant–proprietorship, and political economy of the permanent settlement.Although B.H. Baden–Powell has written a lot on Indian villages and agrarian conditions in India, there is still a need to make a precise analysis on the basis of the data which are available in his works. It is also important from another point of view, and i.e. that Baden–Powell's writings cover a larger territory of description. Methodologically, it would be relevant to have a few cross–cultural studies – a comparative analysis of agrarian conditions during the British rule. Apart from a wide range of the area taken up for description, Baden–Powell's writings discus some important issues like, the origin of Zamindari system, permanent settlements (Badan-Powell 1895 ; 1896) and a few others. Several other references of the works of Badan–Powell are also relevant and could be referred to in the following discussion.

The second neglected historian on agrarian relations happens to be Nilmoni Mukherjee. Although lately, he became a co-author in Frykenberg's book (referred to earlier) in one of the articles with the editor, Nilmoni Mukherjee has written on ryotwari–system and social organisation in Madras Presidency. Nilmoni Mukherjee (1972) has also written on Zamindar's views on the economic development of Bengal. Additionally, Mukherjee has written a few more articles on ryotwari–system (Mukherjee 1959; 1961; 1963 a; 1963 b). In the first article he discusses it (ryotwari–system) in relation to Mirasi rights in Madras presidency (Mukherjee 1961), in the

second article it has been examined in relation with caste–structure (Mukherjee 1963a), in the third article it has been discussed in relation to rural society (Mukherjee 1959), and in the fourth article it has been examined in relation to what he calls it agricultural serfdom (Mukherjee 1963b).

Apart from these scholars on agrarian history of India there are a few others that have been hitherto omitted from most of the studies that appeared even recently. A few of the prominent but neglected works on agrarian history of India are: Karuna M. Mukherjee (1977), Radha and Rajat Ray (1975), Ratna Ray (1974), Drijadas Datta (1914), Romesh Dutt (1903), and C.S. Srinivaschari (1949). However, apart from a few historians and their works, there had been a few studies of villages – these studies include the socio – economic profile of the village from anthropological point of view. A few village studies and their reference as well as analysis could make the understanding of agrarian relations better. Some of these village studies were consulted and given due attention and interpreted from a sociological perspective. A few of these relevant village studies, surveys and investigation of records have been conducted by anthropologists and sociologists and economic historians like : Rudra Dutt Singh (1956), P.C. Joshi (1963), D.D. Kosambi (1947) A.M. Shah and others (1963), and Daniel and Alice Thorner (1957).

An attempt had been made to identify and highlight the importance of the research material which could have not been used meaningfully so far by the social scientists. But as the researches on agrarian relations in particular have taken the interdisciplinary sort of a status, it is therefore, neither desired nor useful to keep ourselves away from whatever is going on in economics and in history. Now on the other hand, there are conceptual bearings to make an analysis of **Zamindari** and **Ryotwari** system in two different parts namely Calcutta and Madras Presidency respectively. It has been tried to be examined whether inequalities leading to class relations are found in each case or not. If yes, then the hypothesis developed earlier that class relations were likely to emerge in **Zamindari** as well as **Ryotwari** areas, because they had been the two parts of a similar programme and that was to carrym on the British colonial interests forward. Agrarian class structure of Bengal and Madras have been put to a systematic analysis.

3. Agrarian Relations in Zamindari Areas

An effort has been made here to examine the nature and type of the agrarian social structure of Bengal and elsewhere during the British rule, in a sociological perspective. B.H. Baden-Powell who has written a considerable lot on agrarian conditions and village economy in India, narrated about Bengal also. It seems necessary to understand the agrarian   social structure of Bengal, because every other form of **Zamindari** system   had developed either on the basis of it or got modified or even attempted to be altered altogether. B.H. Baden-Powell (1895;389), accepts, "Bengal system is the parent of all others". There is a need to understand it in a proper perspective so that the other types to be discussed at the various stages of the present work, could not only be distinguished from it but also seen in association with it. This approach could be brought near to Max Weber's ideal type construction. Although not attempted from that angle,

but effort could be made to construct the ideal type of Zamindari system in Bengal and to explain the regional variations from it in different individual cases. It could be a typical sociological approach to study agrarian relations. Or, it could be another way of engaging ourselves in sociology of agrarian relations. B.H. Baden-Powell (1972) in his another writing says that **Zamindari** system, during the days of Muhammadan times was known as "aggregate of rights". It had the support of the traditional system of values according to which **Zamindari** system was known as superior ownership of all the entire domain. And it all rested upon the traditional and customary notion according to which land belonged to state (King) and no single individual had a right to own it (1972 : 208). It could well be considered as a royal or supreme right.

B.H. Baden-Powell (1972 : 300) has referred to a distinction between two types of grants – one known as **birtiya** and the other as **Zamindari.** These rights, apart from its legal aspect, seem to have had some customary presence also. **Birtiya** used to be such sort of a grant which was given as a customary mark for subsistence. **Birtiya** has been referred to as one who receives the birth – a term which has its reference either in Hindi or prakrit language meaning subsistence or maintenance. However, **Birtiya** had been sanctioned by the estate as a part of royal grain-share to provide subsistence and there were some conflicts over this. But apart from this the king or **raja** used to grant **Zamindari.** B.H. Baden-Powell (1972) emphasises on the "collectivity" that was known as **Zamindari**. The share of grain went to the state and **Zamindar** took his share of dues. In other words, the King granted two sorts of land rights one being given to those who had something religious to do. The **birtiya** right might have gone to **Brahmins** in lieu of their religious duties. Its historical relevance is important from the point of view of what is happening in the agrarian situation today. History, it seems could become relevant if that might explain the present day phenomenon. The land granted in the name of temple might have served some purpose in history but several issues of aggression have been noted as they got built-up around them. The other right in land, namely **Zamindari** also had its significance, it later became almost a hereditary right. The village had been converted into what Baden-Powell (1972) calls it a "joint-or" "landlord-village'.

B.H. Baden-Powell has (1972) has tried to clarify various categories included in the Zamindari system. Although it originated in Bengal, it was continuously improvised by the British Government and the local situations also compelled the system to work somewhat differently. That is why perhaps in Oudh and in the N.W.P we found a somewhat different conception of **Zamindari** system from the one that we had in Bengal.

However, Baden-Powel has referred to the following four categories of landholdings related to **zamindari** system.

(i) The term zamindari in itself could lead to some misconceptions till it does not indicate the sole or joint sort or rights. According to Baden-Powell it seems necessary to distinguish between what he calls it **khalis** (sole) and **mushtarka** (joint) which refer to a "sole landlord" & "undivided body" respectively.

(ii) Seemingly inferior to zamindari right there was another one known as **pattidari**, which was based upon ancestral or sometimes legal shares.

(iii) Another one known as imperfect **pattidari** in which in a majority of cases two portions (of land) were shared in different ways. This sort of a situation demands an attempt to examine the data more closely and carefully, due to its possible theoretical implications at later stages. It could well put a man into two or more different situations and his actions might vary accordingly. The facts of history could well indicate towards the difficulties which we might face if we attempt to classify the rural population into various fixed sort of categories. At this moment it could be pointed out that even during the British period it was difficult to put the agrarian population into certain fixed categories and this had its own implications for the analysis of the agrarian social structure of contemporary Indian situations.

(iv) A typical sort of an institution known as **bhaichara** has also been referred which existed in and around Punjab. It meant that land had been held in possession by the villagers on the basis of almost "equal lot". These factual information could lead towards some serious thinking at the theoretical and conceptual level. At least two such implications could be referred here and before drawing any concluding remarks, there should be a proper examination of this institution of **bhaichara** as a phenomenon and also an attempt be made towards its conceptualization. First, if **bhaichara** has any such meaning as it has been referred by Baden-Powell, then that area (Punjab) at least must exhibit some characteristics of a more egalitarian sort of a distribution of land. And if such sort of a hypothesis has any validity, then areas in and around Punjab must have had co-operation among the equal ones and also a greater prosperity than other parts of India. The very notion of equality as is reflected through its culture needs a separate examination. In other words, the culture of equality must have had somethings in common at the level of its agrarian base also. Two, alternatively, then there should a less disparity between the landowning and landless people in comparison to other parts of the country. If the whole of the Punjab had a culture of equality, then its agrarian social-structure must have had its roots. The whole phenomenon of a reform in the form of a religious movement could be a result of agrarian egalitarianism. However, before making any concluding remarks on Punjab, there is a need to collect some more data. But on the basis of the historical material provided by Baben-Powell certain sociological insights could be developed which point out that even today in Punjab **zamindar** does not have any derogatory meaning. In Punjab even today the term zamindar means the person who holds land or the one who is a landowner.

Baden-Powell (1972) has also pointed out towards the existence of two sorts of systems which could exist in the same village or estate. For example, it is possible that "imperfect **Pattidari**" and "imperfect **bhaichara**" could exist in one single village. In the entire north India a joint-ownership sort of a concept was attempted. But Baden-Powell (1972) points it out that land-rights were not very clearly defined in the N.W.P. as they were in Bengal. Similarly, the fixation of any period which could be an equivalent to that of Permanent Settlement of Bengal had made no difference. Eventually, neither joint-ownership nor fixation of a period for tax made any substantial difference (Baden-Powell, 1972 : 426-27).

In fact, in the northern part of India, class-relations had developed as consequence of the British agrarian policy introduced by the way of zamindari system. Relatively small differences in the zamindari areas of Bengal and Oudh and N.W.P. supports our earlier hypothesis that the Britishers created several sorts of systems just in order to fulfil their colonial interests. Entire

north India was converted into the land of landlords and agricultural labourers with a variety of inferior rights in land in between the two. Apart from the sources used by Baden-Powell it could be more relevant to examine the phenomenon of agrarian inequalities in the zamindari areas from certain other scholarly works.

Agrarian relations, particularly the agrarian social structure of Bengal has been analysed by Ramkrishna Mukharjee (1957). Ramkrishna Mukharjee's class analysis of rural Bengal is based upon the secondary sources of data and has the merits of its own, particularly from the point of view of macro-sociology. In fact, Mukherjee's class analysis could have been a source of inspiration for many other studies and researches. But unfortunately, no serious attempts have been made in that direction. Studies in sociology and social anthropology of some village like Rampura (Srinivas 1952) and Shamirpet (Dube, 1955) along with a few others went in other direction. The village studies which appeared in 1952 and 1955 were responsible for not only what they dealt with or the perspective which they adopted, but also for the future course of the development of sociology in India. But the work of Ramkrishna Mukherjee which came out in 1957 did not generate further studies based upon his model of analysis or framework of enquiry. But it could be relevant to point it out here that the time has come now to examine the whole question from the sociology of knowledge perspective.

Even though Ramkrishna Mukharjee's research work on class relations in rural Bengal did not lead towards any similar study elsewhere, but despite several limitations of this work, it could still be considered to be an important landmark for examining the agrarian question. Ramkrishna Mukharjee's study exhibits certain merits of its own. To mention these merits of the study briefly, it could safely be said that Mukharjee's work examines the secondary data, attempts to respond to questions concerned with "macro-sociology" and moreover is an endeavor that examines social change and wields a proper perspective. Mukharjee's class analysis typically begins with the examination of various categories of households of Bengal on the basis of per capita income and this data includes 13,645 families (1957 : 3-6). Any such division of society which begins with the distribution of per capita income involves certain difficulties if associated with the Marxist perspective. But the statistical data related to 13,645 house-holds and their systematic presentation and analysis certainly reflects the need to examine various issues concerned with the rural Bengal. Mukherjee divides these households into five categories on the basis of per capita income. He later developed nine socio-economic categories on the basis of it. These nine socio-economic categories were: (i) Landlord, (ii) Supervisory farmers, (iii) Cultivators, (iv) Sharecroppers, (v) Agricultural Labourers, (vi) Artisans, (vii) Traders, (viii) Service holders and (ix) Others.

The important point of this classification happens to be that these categories have been constructed out of the empirical data. But it still remains to be examined whether these categories were mutually exclusive or there had been mixed sort of a phenomenon. Mukherjee (1957) later constructed what he calls it three "classes" on the basis of this classification. He included the occupational groups of landholders and supervisory farmers in what he calls it Class I, cultivators along with artisans and traders formed Class II, and the rest sharecroppers, agricultural labourers, service holders and others comprise Class III.

One more point needs the appreciation of Mukherjee's work. He not only classified the

population of rural Bengal into what he called it three classes, but also attempted to look into the phenomenon from a history of classes in rural Bengal and the notion of historicity had its own importance. In the area of theoretical orientations the writings that include history has its own place. Scholars like C. Wright Mills (1903) have appreciated the works of Herbert Spencer, E.A. Ross, Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Karl Mannheim, Thorstein Veblem, Karl Max and Max Weber, just because they included and dealt with the problems concerned with the historicity of the phenomenon along with its conceptualization. C. Wright Mills (1959) has argued strongly in favour of the study of history, along with biography and society which if put together in a meaningful way, comprise what he calls it "the sociological imagination."

Ramkrishna Mukharjee argues that during the British rule Class I and class III developed at the expense of class II. Meaning thereby a progress somewhat similar to the polarization of productive forces as described by Karl Marx. According to Mukharjee (1957) Class II comprising mainly of self-cultivating peasants was largely converted into the class of those who merely sold out their agricultural labour.

Mukherjee's analysis of class relations in rural Bengal seems to be consistent with our earlier developed hypothesis that during the British rule several mechanisms were developed by them to fulfil their colonial interests. And the zamindari system was one of them. Before the British rule, the land was held in the possession rather than its ownership. The concept of the ownership of land and its possible alienation were the new phenomenon which were hitherto unknown in the Indian history. F.G. Bailey (1958) has also referred to the same phenomenon and inquired the questions like why land had come to the market and what were its social consequences. Ownership of land was certainly superior sort of right in land rather than its mere possession. This right to own as well as sell land has altered the basic feature of agrarian relations in India. From sociological point of view it could be described as an institutional change. Moreover, the growth of what Mukharjee calls it Class I and Class III at the expanse of Class II clearly points out that the British rulers created structure which somehow got legitimacy, as it went hand in hand with the traditional hierarchy. It could however, be speculated that the nature and extent of the earlier existing hierarchy was suddenly altered by the introduction of variety of new rights created in land. The agrarian social structure of Bengal was full of inequalities during the British rule.

At this stage, one note of caution might be added. When a reference had been made towards the process of polarization, it meant only the gradual dissolution of the self-producing peasantry into the classes of non-producing **zamindar** and bulk of peasantry being reduced to the status of agricultural labour. However, certain precautions are needed when it is compared with polarization of society into two great classes as discussed by Karl Marx. Here, there was no contradiction between Class I and Class III as comparable to the one between bourgeoise and the proletariat. But on the other hand the very growth of Class I and Class III was the was the part and parcel of a big programme, in which the whole of India was colonised. Class II and Class III were exploited by Class I but at the same time, if put together all of them were exploited by the British rulers. While analysing these sort of questions, it seems worthwhile to examine them not only from the point of view of agrarian inequalities in Bengal or elsewhere, but to locate and study the whole question from the point of view of colonialism and imperialism.

Yet another comment on the work of Ramkrishna Mukherjee is required here. He says that before the British rule Class II was the "only producing type" and land was possessed and not owned in the present sense of the term. Land was in plenty and land alienations were relatively unknown. At this stage, it seems necessary to point out that from the Marxist point of view it does not look proper to argue that one class (Class II) was the only producing type. In the Marxist analysis, one class does not mean anything, therefore, while referring to the work of Mukherjee this weakness of the approach could also be pointed out. Not it any attributional sense a class has any meaning till it has been referred in the context of some other class. In fact till now, except Mukherjee's analysis we have not come across any such study in which a single class is supposed to be known as representative of a society at a particular point of lime. Neither the studies like that of W. Lloyd Warner (1960) nor that of any Marxist Scholar[70] (Kolakowski 1978) has referred to such sort of conceptualization. But if we remove the term Class II from the analysis of Mukherjee and accept the other part of it that self working peasantry was the only producing type before the British rule in India, then this sort of a characterization could be brought nearer to the analysis of Marx. Marx has talked about the existence of such societies which were not characterised like the western type of societies and they existed without class-contradictions Marx has referred to such societies of the east as based upon asiatic mode of production. In short, asiatic mode of production refers to the situation where all peasant producers have submitted to the King, which collects the revenue from them (Bottomore 1985). This position of Marx could resemble to the one as narrated by Ramkrishna Mukherjee, but as far as the question of calling it Class II is concerned, the present author does not agree with it. On the other hand, scholars like Romila Thaper (1979) have questioned the very notion of asiatic mode of production as well as that of oriental despotism developed by Karl Wittfogel.[73] She is of the opinion that Marx himself at the later stage of his academic career had expressed doubts over the issues around the non-existence of private property altogether in Asiatic societies. A reference could also be made to the works done by some other scholars like A.R. Desai (1976), who have referred to the emergence of a parasitic sort of a non-producing class of zamindars which grew at the cost of actual cultivators of land.

The point that emerges out of various studies on the agrarian conditions is that zamindari system of land tenure was one such mechanism through which the Britishers fulfilled their colonial interests. The more relevant questions could be such which concern with the exploitation of the entire economy and the studies on argarian relations require to xexamine the issues like imperialism to which the whole political economy of India got subjugated. For the present study it seems that it would suffice here to state that the zamindari system produced and had led towards the development of class relations in the agrarian social structure. But peasants did not accept these conditions uncritically and throughout the British period they had revolted here and there. All this required some serious studies of peasant movements in India during the British rule. One such study of peasant movement has been conducted by D.N. Dhanaagre (1986), it is based on the secondary sources of data. Studies like this could at later stages help in the conceptualization of peasantry under various conditions especially under the colonial rule.

4. Agrarian Relations in Ryotwari Areas

In the present section an attempt has been made to trace out the agrarian social structure where ryotwari system of land tenure was introduced. **Ryotwari** system of land tenure is often compared and contrasted with the **zamindari** system and also suggested as an important improvement over latter. **Ryotwari** system is said to be more egalitarian in nature, because unlike **zamindari** system there was no intermediary between the self-cultivating peasant and the state. Under **ryotwari** sort of a land tenure peasant was directly responsible to the state for the payment of land revenue. **Ryotwari** and **Zamindari** land tenure systems are often juxtaposed against each other to refer that they had represented egalitarian and non-egalitarian value systems respectively. But the hypothesis developed at the earlier stages of this work was that for the Britishers it was important to fulfill their colonial interests. It has been seen in the previous section too that for a proper understanding of the agrarian question there is a need to look beyond the notion of the then existing agrarian social structure. If, our hypothesis stands valid then, even in ryotwari system of land tenure there exists a possibility of class relations. The argument is precisely like this : if the British period of the Indian history had anything to do with colonial interests, then they were expected to invent various mechanisms to fulfill their colonial interests. **Ryotwari** system was also a part and parcel of their colonial mission. It could therefore, be argued logically that class relations, agrarian inequalities and contradictions should exist in **ryotwari** areas too. To test this logical possibility an effort has been made to trace out the agrarian social structure of Madras Presidency and also elsewhere where **ryotwari** system of land tenure was introduced. An effort has been made to bring out empirical facts on the basis of secondary sources for that purpose.

B.H. Baden-Powell (1974) has accepted that ryotwari sort of the land tenure was fundamentally different from zamindari type as there was not any evidence available that could support the notion of the joint-ownership of land. According to him, if the land was in scarcity then some of the brothers sold out their land and settled elsewhere. It points out clearly that there were hardly any case of joint-ownership and it could be taken as a denial of the **zamindari** sort of a land tenure. This in fact supports the point that at least to some extent intermediaries were removed between cultivating peasant and the state.

Although spelled out in such a way the views of Baden-Powell have been contradicted later when some more data came and put to analysis.In the opinion of Robert Eric Frykenberg and Nilmoni Mukherjee (1979),[77] "**mirasi** rights" existed in the **ryotwari** areas. These **mirasi** rights were confined to the elite section of the society, particularly to the Brahmins. A reference has been made by the authors to the debate that went on between two British administrators namely Munro and Reed. Munro was of the opinion that the question concerning "**mirasi** rights" should have been dealt with firmly whereas Reed was of the opinion that even if equality had been arrvied at some traditional or customary practices should not be neglected. The point of debate had been that Munro wanted equality in principle as well as in practice, whereas Reed was of the opinion that if that was done some tradition-led forces could revolt against the Britishers. Later Munro also accepted some points raised by Reed and conceded to them. And in this way "mirasi rights" loaded with customary flavour were introduced and from our point of view it seems important to examine the interaction of the land tenure system with the traditional social structure.

The British East India Company was not worried to give certain concessions as the traditional customary rights to the Hindus, so far their interests were not hampered. Frykenberg and Mukherjee (1979) have pointed out that this policy to give concessions to the Brahamins had its own consequences. It led towards the "idleness" rather than "enterprise and initiative" among them. In this way class-relations began to appear as it led towards the emergence of a class which depended upon the labour of other classes and it had tradition based legitimacy. Additionally, the the concept of **Jamabandi** had also come into being which was almost equivalent to that of **Mahalwari** or joint ownership in the northern India. This cluster of non-working people was most unenterprising, unimaginative and consumption-oriented rather than adopting progressive ways to make some improvements in technology or other allied areas. It has also been pointed out clearly that according to current point of view "village leadership was not eliminated as an intermediary group" (Frykenberg and Mukherjee 1979 : 240).

Another scholarly contribution by Daniel Thorner (1980) needs a mention here. He has also accepted the existence of superior (**mirasi**) rights in land. Since the British rulers had a bad experience of **zamindari** system in Bengal they wanted to do away with it in Madras. But due to the assistance of **mirasi** or superior rights in land, ultimately it was neither landlord nor individual peasant but village community which was made responsible to pay the land revenue. Traditional social structure got itself manifested in another form during the British rule. Dharma Kumar (1984) has referred to the nature and extent of land revenue taken by the state. Dharma Kumar has clarified the significance of dry and wet land and differential amount of land revenue which was paid by the tenant. According to her in the case of dry land it was one half of the total produce and in the case of wet land it was three fifth of the total produce. In South India and particularly in Madras presidency the distinction between dry and wet land has had its roots in history and its significance could not be denied even today. Some sociological studies later used this dichotomy for the analysis of villages in South India.

The notion of **ryotwari** system of land tenure had met with some serious setbacks. It could however, be pointed out that the creation of ryotwari-system could be seen as a response to the critique of **Zamindari**-system. It did not originated from the soil of South India. And if materialistic interpretation could be relied upon then the very existence of inequalities, drawing legitimacy from tradition should have some roots in the infrastructure. Traditional social structure and values and the inequalities which they exhibited might have had its roots in the agrarian social structure.

The most significant contribution from our point of view has perhaps come from the study conducted by Andre Beteille (1979). He has referred to three types of inequalities in modern times. These inequalities are like : (i) between landlord and tenant, (ii) between landowner and wage labourer and (iii) between large-medium and small-proprietors. Referring to traditional system of agrarian conditions, he has pointed out that three sorts of institutions had been working there. These traditional institutions were : **waram, kuttahai** and **pannaiyal** According to waram a fixed share and in the case of kuttahai earlier amount agreed upon is paid to be made to the agricultural labour. Beteille says that **waram** system of land relations has become almost obsolete these days. But its historical existence had its own importance. Apart from Andre Beteille another study seems worth mentioning at this stage. Kathleen Gough has conducted a study in a village

in Tanjore district and has made an analysis of disputes in the village. Her study has its own palace in the history of village studies in India, its contents are widely known and does not need any further reference here. To conclude, it could be said that some more insightful questions needs to be attempted. Agrarian social structure in India during the British rule had the following four categories, (i) Landlords (ii) Peasant Proprietors, (iii) Sharecroppers and (iv) Agricultural Labourer.

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Christianity and Marxism

Robert Varikayil
Parvez A. Abbasi

Introduction

We envisage five basic categories of social philosophy such as the Absolute Humanism of Marx, the Absolute Theism of Advaita, the Theistic Humanism of the Bible, the Evolving Absolute of Hegal and Social Darwinism. This paper argues that the best links to build a bridge between Christianity and Marxism are the last judgement according to Christ and Humanism of the German ideology. We pursue in detail the theistic humanism through the Old Testament, the New Testament, the Medieval Church and Modern Church.

Engles was perhaps the earliest to point out some similarity between Christianity and Marxism. Engles wrote in his discussion on the early Christianity : "Both Christianity and the worker's socialism preach forthcoming salvation from bondage and misery **...** both are persecuted and baited ... etc." (Marx, Engles, 1975 : 275). But Engles was quick to point out the sharp differences between the two also. "Christianity" continues Engles, "places this salvation in a life beyond, after death, in heaven; socialism places it in this world" (Marx, Engles, 1975 : 275). Marx, on the other hand, has no love for Christianity which preaches, according to Marx, cowardice, self-abasement, resignation, submission and is anti-promothean (Bently, 1990 : 90).

We may further note that according to Christ his Kingdom is not of this world. (John, 18 : 36). Marx, on the contrary, declared "The task of history, therefore, once the world beyond the truth has disappeared is to establish the truth of this world" (Marx, Engles, 1984 : 73). ssChrist teaches: "I am the vine; you are the branches" (John, 15: 5). Marx retorts: "for man the root is man himself" (Marx, Engels 1984: 73).

Yet there are reputed scholars, who interlink Christianity with Marxsim. This paper too discovers certain links between Christ and Marx, though the points of contact traced by this paper are rather new. We start with the Old Testament, the present root of Christianity. As we see it, the Old Testament presents a theistic humanism according to which man is just an appendage to God, the Real Being. Here we think, it is the right context to introduce our five terms.

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Robert Varikayil is Reader in Sociology, South Gujarat University, Surat-395007 (INDIA)
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Old Testament presents a theistic humanism according to which man is just an appendage to God, the Real Being. Here we think, it is the right context to introduce our five terms.

Absolute Humanism

The first is what we call Absolute Humanism and we find an ideal typical formulation of this in the writings of Karl Marx. In 1843-44 he declared : "But for man root is man himself " (Marx, Engels, 1984 : 73). but this man not superman as in Weber, but every man. For Marx contends that all relations in which man is debased, enslaved, forsaken, etc., should be *Holy Family* **...** each man must be given social scope for the vital manifestation of his beings.... if man is social by nature he will develop his true nature only in society (Marx, Engels 1984 : 115)

This tenet of Marx makes him an easy target of the criticism that he is an utopean. It is true that there is certain element of utopeanism in the dreams of Marx. But Marx can be defended on two points. Firstly, all ideals are utopean; they give only the direction to which we should turn. Secondly, Marx's utopeanism was very much tempered with realism. We read in the first volume of *Capital,* for example, "....one nation can and should learn from others. And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement– and it is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society– it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs (Marx, Engels, 1984 : 246).

But Marx's humanism is attacked less for its utopeanism than for its atheism and anti-clericalism. Marx shouted as early as in 1844 that the basis of irreligious criticism is : Man makes religion, religion does not make man. Religion is the self-consciousness and self-esteem of man who has either not yet found himself or has already lost himself again. But man is no abstract being encamped outside the world. Man is the world of man, the state, society. This state, this society, produce religion, an inverted world-consciousness, because they are an inverted world. Religion is the general theory of the world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in a popular form, it *spiritualistic point d'honneur*, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, its universal source of consolation and justification. It is the fantastic realisation of the human essence because the human essence has no true reality. The struggle against religion is therefore indirectly a fight against the world of which religion is the spiritual aroma.

Religious distress is at the same time the expression of the real distress and also the protest against the real distress and also the real protest against the real distress. Religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people (Marx, Engles, 1984 : 72)

Marx continues with the same passage and sounds a warcry – to abolish religion as the illusory happiness of people.

The following comments on the above passage, we think are in order 1. Marx hates religion because it consoles the exploited but justifies the exploitation itself. Hence, his above cited words. Marx was not sounding a warcry as it appears. A warcry would go against his premises according to which the demand to give up illusions is the demand to give up the conditions which need illusions. hence, the interest of Marx is not religious perscution but social change. Marx is against

the religion only as it interferes with public life. Actually Marx is willing to tolerate religion (the irrational): Within limits, within the privacy of our mind. Marx is not against religion, but against the supremacy of religion; is against religion only when religion tries to dominate the state. Thus, he writes in on the Jewish Question : "The limits of political emancipation are evident at once from the fact that the state can free itself from a restriction without man being really free from this restriction, that the state can be free state, without man being a free man. Bauer himself tacitly admits this, when he lays down the following condition for political emancipation : *"Every religious privilege, and therefore, of a monopoly of a privileged Church, would have been abolished altogether, and if some or many persons, or even the overwhelming majority, still believed themselves bound to fullfil religious duties, this fulfillment ought to be left to them as a purely private matter"*.

It is possible therefore for the state to be emancipated itself from religion, even if the overwhelming majority is still religious. And the overwhelming majority does not cease to be religious through being religious in private (Marx, Engles, 1984 : 57)

In the same way Marxism is not negative in evaluating the power of religion. Of course, religion is opium but opium gives strength. Thus, Marx is positive on religion when he writes ".... The weapon of criticism can not, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force, but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses. Theory is capable of gripping the masses as soon as it demonstrates *ad hominem*; and it demonstrates   *ad hominem* as soon as it becomes radical. To be radical is to grasp the root of the matter (Marx and Engels, 1984 : 730)

But Marx was critical about the religious revolution as he was about religion in general. He criticises Luther, for example, after praising him. Luther we grant, overcame the bondage of piety by replacing it by the bondage of conviction. He shattered faith in authority because he restored the authority of faith. He turned priests into laymen because he turned laymen into priests. He freed man from outer religiosity because he made religiosity the inner man. He freed the body from chains because he enchained the heart (Marx and Engels, 1984 : 73)

From the above it is clear that Marxian Humanism is realistic, tolerant, absolute, resolute, positive and critical. It is tolerant when religion is confined to conscience of private life. It is realistic because of its submission that it is limited to lessen the pain of life and not to sweep it out. It is absolute in two senses- it embraces the whole humanity and it does not recognise any power beyond humanity. It is resolute because it is willing to fight for its rights. It is positive because it has recognised religion a theoretical sword at least in certain cases. It is critical of religion in general and reforms in particular as for example is seen in his indictment of Luther. One point needs to be stressed here. Marx had no particular love for violence. Marx declared in 1872 in a public meeting at Hague that in countries like America and England the worker may attain his object by peaceful means (Black ed. 1961 : 289). Professor Hacker is surprised at this conversion of Marx. But Marx has made it very clear in *Capital* also that the individuals were dealt with only so far as they are the personification of economic category (Marx and Engels, 1984 : 246). In other words violence and vengence were not in the programme of Marx.

Absolute Theism

Now we turn to the next category, the absolute theism which is in direct opposition to absolute humanism. The only problem is: there is only God and no universe nor men (which is the

only way to understand absolute theism) which can be accommodate under the title absolute theism. Nobody apart from God can tell us anything because no body apart from God exists. The only way out will be the appearance of a super God who knows even God. This is perhaps the position of Hegel who says "that this 'idea' or 'reason' is the true, the eternal, the absolutely powerful essence; that it reveals itself in the world and that in that world nothing else is revealed but this and its honour and glory– is the thesis which, as we have said, has been proved in philosophy, and is here regarded as demonstrated". "The world of intelligence and conscious volition is not abandoned to chance, but must show itself in the light of the self-cognizant idea".

This is "a result which happens to be known to me, because I have traversed the entire field".(More on Hegel below).

Actually there is nobody who directly accepts absolute theism. Among those suspected of absolute theism Sankara from Kerala in the 8th century stands first. He accepts existence of God from the Hindu scriptures like Vedant Sutra. He accepts only God. But he does not deny the reality of the world. Shankara says for example the non-reality of the world can not be maintained because we are conscious of external things. In every act of perception, we are conscious of some external things corresponding to ideas (Shankara, 1890 : 420).

Radhakrishnan explains the concept of Maya in the following words. The problem of relations between Brahman from the intuitive stand point and demand an explanation of its relation to the world which we see from logical stand point. We can never understand how the ultimate reality is related to the world of plurality since the two are heterogenous and every attempt at explanation is bound to fail. This incomprehensibility is brought about by the term *maya* (Radhakrishan, 1952 : 24).

Sankara has, however, pointed out the most complex problem of absolute theism as well as of theistic humanism. We cannot accept anything beyond God because God is infinite. We cannot deny the reality of the world because they impinge on our senses. Shankara found the problem unsolved when he defined the world as *maya*. This *maya* is neither nominal nor phenomenal, nor is it essentially both. It is neither differentiated nor undifferentiated, nor is it essentially both. It is neither particled nor is it imparticled nor is it essentially both; it is the most wonderful and indescridable from (Sankara, 1947).

Thus, the absolute theism is a possible category. If one says there is only man another can say there is only God. But so far we have no clear example of absolute theism. Sankara and even *Bhagawatgeeta* will serve as better examples of theistic humanism.

Theistic Humanism

By theistic humanism we understand the concept according to which there is God and also man, God is Great and of man is humble. God is master and man is slave. Man exists for the greater glory of God. Most of the religious and devout souls accept this point of view. The following are the problems in accepting this way of thinking.

1. There is the mathematical problem of adding something to everything. God is supposed to be infinite and as such contains everything. How does man add something to the glory of God who is already infinite, everything ? One of the usual answers taught in the seminaries is that man can add to the external glory of God, not to the internal glory. Some are persuaded to believe this explanation and some are not. It is difficult to imagine that lakhs of people are killed every year through accident, flood, drought, earth-quake, poverty and qualor. Strange must be the God, according

to some, who is bent on augmenting his glory by roasting crores of people in the immense pan called hell.

2. The usual defence is that God does not cause the above mentioned havocs, but only permits them as the nature of things demand. By nature of things is meant the law of the universe. These laws are supposed to be beyond the control of God. Here comes the problem of voluntary decision as against natural determination. The problem of this explanation is that all the good things in the world are God's responsibilities. All the bad things are the share of anti-God or satan. This explanation too escapes the understanding of millions of human beings.

3. The third problem is that the conflict between the rational and the irrational. There is a story in *Bible* that Abraham got a single child at the old age and he brought him up well. God demands the sacrifice of his son and Abraham concedes. In the same way mankind nourishes a child with too much care. The name of the child is reason or science. These two (reason and religion) are like jealous sister-in-law. Religion burnt thousands of Isaacs and poisoned several including Socrates. Hence, the war-cry of Voltaire: crush the infamy and the demand of Marx to abolish religion. But there were also open fights in which science always won.

Reason taught evolution, religion taught creation : religion stands corrected. Reason taught heliocentrism, religion taught geocentrism; religion stands corrected. Religion (at least the primitive chruch) taught immediate end of the world; reason predicted longevity; religion stands corrected. Reason explained sickness through germs, religion through demons; religion stands corrected. Religion explained social inequality by the will of God; reason saw the malice of man behind social system; religion stands corrected;
religion found the *status quo* as eternal; reason found it temporal.

In short, it is reason which made culture out of nature. Put off reason and mankind will be back in the forest. All the progress mankind has made was with the help of reason including splitting of atom and putting the man on the moon. It is reason which teaches us that fire burns; that ice freezes; poison kills, etc. So, to abandon reason is to abandon life and that is precisely what theistic humanism demands from man. The further problem is that there are several religions which demand our life. Judaism, Christianity, Bhagavatgeeta etc., each of which tells us that it is the true religion. Even to distinguish between one religion and another we need the help of reason. Hence, most people keep away from religion or fight against it.

We do not pursue neither the absolute of Hegel nor the social Darwinism, partly because we have reviewed them elsewhere (On the materialism and atheism of Hegel see Robert Varikayil, 1987 and on Weber and Social Darwinism see the unpublished manuscript Marx, Weber and Humanism by Robert Varikayil), partly because it would not be a rewarding task. Hegel contradicts himself very clearly, He says for example, without the world God is no God (Cohen, 1978 : 9). Elsewhere Hegel writes "what has happened, and is happening everyday, is not only not without God, but is essentially the work of God". (Friedrich, 1954 : 158). It is not worth resolving the contradiction because initiative in any case is taken out of the hands of man and thus Hegel's system is made unfit for Marxian Humanism which is atleast partly voluntaristic.

Social Darwinism very clearly contradicts Maxian Humanism. Let us take the example of Weber and Summer to illustrate Social Darwinism. Civil rights for Weber is an extreme rationalist phantasy (Turner and Factor, 1984 : 66). For Summer, "there are no rights. The world owes nobody a living" (Hofstadter, 1955 : 54).

With this short introduction we enter Christianity and the theistic humanism with which we are concerned. We take up as mentioned above humanism in the Old Testament in John, the Baptist, Christ, the Primitive Church, the feudal church and the modern church.

Humanism in the Old Testament

The Old Testament begins by elevating man and humanism to dizzy heights. Man is first mentioned in the book of Genesis in the context of the creation of the world. God creates everything except man with a simple *fiat*. God says, for example, let there be light and there is light: But God does not say : let there be man. Instead, God declares solemnly: "Let us make man in our own images, after our likeness and let them have dominion God created man in his image ....(*Genesis*, I : 26-33). Adam, the first man, was placed in a garden specially made for him. God gave him a partner too. The first garden, as is well known, contained no pain and all pleasures. But here we come to the end of Biblical humanism and to the beginning of theism or theistic humanism. God binds Adam and Eve with a law : "You may freely eat from every tree of the garden; but of the tree of good and evil you shall not eat; for in the day you shall eat of it you shall die."(Genesis, 2 : 15 : 17).

The Bible is perhaps not original in giving a law of conduct as mentioned above. Most of the civilizations have a law which precsribes that what is good and what is evil for a society should be described by the ruling group or class. An average citizen will be executed if he dared to decide what is good for himself. It is a well known fact that the Brahmins of India prescribed death penalty for the non-Brahmins who so much as overheared the *Vedas.*

But the Bible is original, compared to other sacred books, in accepting and revealing certain unpleasant and unorthodox facts. As is well known, Adam and Eve listened to a new prophet, the snake (*Genesis*, 3 : 4-7). The snake is not ridiculed as an idiot, but is accepted by God himself as more subtle than any other wild creature (*Genesis*, 3:1). The Bible even accepts that God was proved wrong and the snake, right. For Adam and Eve did not die on eating the forbidden fruit as predicted by God. (*Genesis*, 2:15-17). On the contrary, the serpent proved correct and God admitted it: "Behold", says God, "the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil. (*Genesis*, 3:22). In other words, one myth exploited and the explosion of another was prevented. "God placed the Cherubim, and flaming sword, which turned every way to guard the way to the tree of life."(*Genesis*, 3 : 24). It perhaps means that the ruling class claimed itself to be immortal and this class feared that close contact between the two classes could explode that myth. Hence, perhaps the law of untouchability. Now, back to our story..

After enjoying the forbidden thing (Whatever it was) Eve felt that they were naked (*Genesis*, 3 : 8). Nakedness means the lack of something that should have been there like just wages, civil rights, etc. The prophet, the snake, made mankind for the first time conscious of the absence of such things. Perhaps, Adam and Eve became conscious that they are stripped of the fruits of their labour.

But the price for self-assertion or authenticity, was very high. God cast Adam out of Paradise (*Genesis*, 3 : 21). Thus began a trend which spread to all civilizations; security and plenty for the submissive; penury and claims of humanism, though the *Genesis* is a defence of theism or theistic humanism. The Genesis makes its message clear through the story of Abraham (Chapters 10–25). Abraham never rebelled; never listened to another prophet. He was ready to sacrifice his only son

when God so demanded (See *Genesis*, Ch. 22). Hence God blessed Abraham abundantly.

The same must be said about the other books, *Exodus* and *Job* which are called rebellious by Block (Bently, 1990 : 90–96) and others. The Exodus according to Block is rebellious because Moses in that book insists that God must remain true to the promise of Canaan or else he is not God (Bently, 1990 : 106). But what is the general tenor of the book? Who should obey Whom? God makes it clear to Moses : "..... if you will obey my convenant, you shall be my own possession among all people, for all the earth is mine" (*Exodus*, 19 : 5). As is well known, Israel did not get the message very straight. The penalty imposed on Israel was a sojourn of forty long years through the Arabian desert.

What is the most important message of Exodus ? We find it in the following verses. " I am the Lord your God ...... You shall have no other Gods before me .... I, the Lord, your God, am a jealous God ...."(*Exodus*, 20 : 1–6). Here again, we find theistic humanism in theory. In practice again, it is all God and no man.

Job is another apparently rebellious book of the Bible. Of course, we agree that Job in his weak moments and amidst his untold sufferings submitted himself to doubt, despair and even revolt. But the cardinal message of Job is that God is free to have his way with the human beings. Hence, the whole story of Job comes to an end with a most abject submission from the part of man : *"Then Job answered the Lord : I know that thou canst do all things and that no purpose of thine be thwarted....Therefore I have uttered what I did not know.......I had heard of thee by hearing of the ear but now my eyes see thee; therefore I desire myself and respond in dust and ashes."* (*Job*, 42 : 2–6). Further, *"And the Lord restored the fortunes of Job ....and the Lord gave Job twice as much he had before"* (Job, 42 : 10). In otherwords, *Job* gives up rebellion and accepts the wages of submission, security and plenty. Hence *Job* is hardly the field in which to hunt for the seeds of revolution.

In short, there is theism against humanism in all important books of the Old Testament. The ideal prophet of the Old Testament is an agent of the status quo. God of Israel proclaims: "Behold my servant whom I have chosen...... he will not wrangle or cry aloud; nor will anyone here his voice inthe streets; he will not break a bruiced read or quench a smouldering wick till he brings justice to victory" (See Mathew, 12 : 18–21). Mathew asserts that this was the ideal followed by Christ (loc.cit). Christ has many faces as mentioned above. One of the them is conservatism.

Christ, the Conservative

A conservative Christ assured the Jewish hierarchy : "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them, but to fulfil them". (Mathew, 5 : 17). He turned to the common man and said : "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat; so practise and observe whatever they tell you" (Mathew, 23 : 2). He poured cold waters on the script of revolution : "Come to me all who labour and are heavy laiden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." (Mathew, 11 : 290). Christ in this mood has no intention of relieving poverty or persecution. On the contrary, they are blessings according to his sermon on the mount.

"Blessed are you poor, for yours is the Kingdom of Gods".
"Blessed are you that hunger now, for you shall be satisfied."
"Blessed are you that weep now, for your shall laugh".

(see Luke, 6, 20–25).

In short, the *Status quo* has an honourable place in Christianity, be it (*Status quo*) slavery, feudalism or capitalism. Peter, the first pope writes :"Servants, be submissive to your masters, with all respect, not only to the good and the gentle, but also to the overbearing (Peter, 2:18). Paul too demands: "Wives, be subject to your husbands, "and" slaves, obey in everything those who are your earthy masters" (Paul to the Colossians, 3: 18-25).

This traditionalism is predicated on a deeper justification theologically called the Predestination. Christ elaborates: "All that the Father gives me will come to me; and him who comes to me I will not cast out." (John, 6:36). Again, "No one will come to me unless the Father who sent me draws him; and I will raise him up on the last day." (John, 6 : 44). Paul presents the idea a bit more clearly: "For those whom he foreknew, he also predestined, to conform to his son...... and those whom he predestined, he also called; and those whom he called he also justified." (Paul to the Romans, 8 : 29–30). Paul defends the doctrine by implying that God is Almighty and can do anything with man". Is there injustice on God's part? By no means. For he says to Moses: "I will have mercy on whom I have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I have compassion. So, it depends not upon man's will or exertion, but upon God's mercy" (Paul to Romans, 9 : 14 – 16). Thus seen, Christ is a continuation of the Old Testament, of theistic humanism which means, as already pointed out that God is everything and man is nothing. Now we pass on to another aspect of Christ, his irrationality.

Christ, His Irrationally

The following incidence will illustrate our point. The disciples of Christ heard that Christ had come back to life. Most of them believed the story. But one of them, Thomas, was a rationalist. He insisted on evidence. Christ did satisfy Thomas by appearing before him. Hence his protest to Thomas: "Have you believed because you have seen me ? "Blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe" (John, 20 : 29).

This insistence on faith as an alternative to reason is repeated several times by Christ and his disciples. Christ, according to the Gospel was about to leave this world when he told his disciples: "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He who believes and is baptised will be saved. But he who does not believe will be condemned." (Mark, 16 : 15 –16). This should be so because Christ is an otherworldly prophet. For he made it clear to the Jews: "You are from below; I am from above; you are from this world; I am not of this world" (John, f : 23). Again Christ testified before Pilate: "My Kingdom is not of this world" (John, 18 : 36). So reason, the logic of this world, has no weight before Christ.

Paul writes in his very first letter to the Romans that his duty is to bring about the obedience of faith in the name of Christ. (Paul to the Romans, I : 5). Peter too writes in his first letter: "As the outcome of your faith you obtain the salvation of your souls" (I Peter, 1 : 9). Thus the neglect of reason and the acceptance of non-reason or faith, is an important mark of Christ and Christianity. Now we turn to the next theme.

Christ, The Visionary

There is a recurring message in the Gospels reinforced by Christ and the Gospel–writers that the world was about to end with the generation of Christ.

Christ specified certain signs proclaiming the end of the world and then predicted: "When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next, for truly I say to you, will not have gone through all the towns of Israel, before the son of man comes" (Mathew, 10 : 23). Christ repeats : "Truly I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all these things take place"(Mathew, 24 : 34). Again : And he said to them : "Truly I say to you there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see that the Kingdom of God has come with power" (Mark, 9 : 1). Peter too means the same thing when he points to a prophecy according to which Peter's generation was the last, or the last days had come, the days when God poured out his spirit upon all flesh (Acts, 2 : 17). Peter repeats elsewhere : "The end of all things is at hand ; therefore keep sane and sober for your prayers" (I Peter, 4 : 7). The last book of the Bible, *The Revelation* to John is about what must soon take place, and blessed are those who read that book about, for the time is near (*Revelation*, 1: 1-3) Christ informs the Church of Philadelphia : "I am coming soon." (*Revelation*, 3 : 12). Christ is coming soon." according to Revelation 22 : 12 and 20. The Revelation repeats that he angel has been sent "to show his servants what must soon take place." And Christ says : "And behold I am coming soon." (*Revelation*, 22: 6).

This vision of Christ is sociologically important because the whole political economy of Christ is based on this vision. The economics of Christ is well-known.
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Christ, the Revolutionary

The first point that strikes us in this context is a convert theme in the preachings of Christ. Let us consider the following texts, for example. "Then the disciples came and said to Jesus: why do you speak to them in parables ? And he answered them: To you it has been given to know the secrets of the Kingdom of heaven. I speak to them in parables, because seeing they do not see and hearing they do not hear ; nor do they understand..." (Mathew, 13: 10-13). "And he said he who has ears ti hear, let him hear" (Mathew, 13: 9), Again, " His disciples said : Ah, now you are speaking plainly, not in any figure" (John, 16 : 29). From these and similar passages one can suspect that Christ had a revolutionary message; the language, however, had to be conservative or muffled.

If we take a closer look at the life and teachings of Christ, however, we see in him a dedication to the cause of social change. He challenged the Jewish hierarchy at the small age of twelve (Luke, 2: 41-52). Then he withdrew himself upto the age of thirty because a Jew came of age at thirty. Christ unleashed a frontal attack on the Jewish system from the age of thirty. Even here he used diplomacy. As seen above (Mathew, 5 : 17), he assured the ruling class that he stood for the system.

But very imperceptibly, he moves from supporting the system to opposing it. He begins with a couple of statements in support of the Jewish ethics. Judaism, for example, forbade murder. Jesus forbids even getting angry (Mathew, 5: 21-22). After a few examples like that he introduces really new values. Let us consider the following passages: "You have heard that it was said: An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you, do not resist one who is evil" (Mathew, 5, 38-39). Again, you have heard that it was said: "You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy.

But I say to you, love your enemies" (Mathew, 5: 43-44). We have seen above that most of the parables were used according to Christ himself, so as to prevent the real message from reaching the Jews. Even then, the message got through and the Jews became violent against Christ. Several times they attempted to take his life (Mathew, 12: 14 and Mark, 3: 21-23 are example). There were a number of occasions on which Christ did not mince words and deliberately provoked the Jews.

Typical is the chapter (Mathew, 23) on the Scribes and the Pharisees in which Christ calls them Hypocrites, blind fools, whited tombs, etc. It appears that Marx in all his fury was milder than Jesus. He not only abused the Jews verbally but even made a call to the arms against them. On the night before his death, he told his disciples: "But let him, who has a purse take it and likewise a bag. And let him who has no sword sell his mantle and buy one". (Luke, 22 : 36). In the same way Christ, who called himself maker and humble, became physically violent and whipped the money–changers in the temple of Jerusalem (Luke, 19 : 45).

Jesus interprets his own action: "Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to set a man against his father and a daughter against her mother" (Mathew, 10 :34). Further : "From the days of John the Baptist until now the Kingdom of heaven has suffered violence and the man of violence takes it by force : (Mathew, 11 : 12).

Christ indicates also that he was speaking about systemic change: not just spiritual revolution. For: "Have you never read in the scripture: the very stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner ?" (Mathew, 21 : 420). It is quite probable that Jesus understood himself as rejected by Judaism and that he wanted to inaugurate a new system with himself as the stone of the corner.

However, we discover the most radical tenet of Christ in his Humanism. This humanism is practically atheistic and absolute. It was very much visible in the preachings of John, the Baptist, who lay a heavier accent on human relations and social justice than on theistic humanism. The following dialogue between John, the Baptist, and his audience bear out our contention. The multitude asked him, "What then shall we do ?" And John answered: "He who has two coats, let him share with him, who has none; and who has food, let him do likewise". Tax collectors also came to be babtized and said to him: "Teacher, What shall we do ? And he said to them, Rob no one by violence, or by false accusation, and be contend with your wages" (Luke, 3 : 10–15). The whole ethics of John is reduced to good human relations and withdrawal from exploitation. Christ continues with the same trend and places a heavier accent on humanism.

Christ's humanism is the most clearly depicted in his sermon on the last judgement. Men and women in the last judgement, according to Christ, will be divided into two sections, one on the right and the other on the left. The former are blessed and invited to heavenly bliss, the latter are cursed and driven into the fires of hell. But what is the norm based on which the division is made ? It is humanism. It is absolute humanism and practical atheism. God does not play any role in the last judgement. It is man alone that is important. Not even an intention to please God is necessary. The love of the neighbour is automatically transformed into love God. But mankind does not have to know all those things. Man has only to love his neighbour. Christ says: "As you did it to one of the least of my brother, you did it to me" (Mathew, 25 : 41). Christ repeats: "As you did it not to one of the least of these, you did it not to me" (Mathew, 41 : 45).

There is no written, or oral, test on the canon law, the moral theology the postoral theology,

etc. There is only one practical test–unqualified humanism and mass–promotion or rejection is granted on this single criterion. This is the highest peak of Christian humanism and this is equivalent to the absolute or secular or atheistic humanism of Marx at least in practice. Now come the churches and Christ. We start with the early church.

The Primitive Church

The early Christians did believe in the quick return of Christ and hence practised the Christian political economy or a sort of primitive communism. For we read: "Now the company of those who believed were of one heart and soul and no one said that any of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had everything in common. There was not a needy among them, for as many were possessors of lands or houses sold them and they brought the proceeds of what was sold and laid at the Apostles' feet and distribution were made to each as any had need" (Acts, 4 : 32–36). But the glorious return of Christ did not take place as expected; and the divine economy began to wither away. Neither the severe punishment of Peter (Acts, 5 : 1–11) nor the sweet letters of Paul (2 Corinthians, Ch. 8, 9 and 10) could keep the divine economy going. What was the consequence? We will discuss about it below.

Christ did try to be empirical–rational and has given an empirical proof to back up his the Church's authority: "And these signs will accompany those who believe: in my name they will cast demons; they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover" (Mark,16 : 11-18). But the Church found the empirical way unworkable and has moved through the road of faith as can be seen below.

But the church knew very well that cannot actually nobody could watch the birds, walk among the flowers and forget about food and clothing. Hence the church set out most seriously collecting funds and properties and increasing them by investments. This trend was inaugurated under Constantine the great in the fourth century A.D. and reached its climax in the pre-Revolutionary France. The following are some of the noteworthy features of that era.

The priests or the First Estate of France, numbered 200,000 in 1763. The higher clergy were mostly members of the nobility. All of them were appointed by the king and approved by the pope. Many bishops and abbots took their posts for economic reasons alone. Of the 740 monastrics 625 had absentee abbots, who collected two-thirds of the revenue, lived in the world and left the governing to the care of assistants. The bishops lived mostly in Paris or Versailles and enjoyed spending 100,000 liveres on a single costume. The Church owned anything from twenty per cent in some regions to six per cent in other regions of the soil of France. The monastery of St. Maur, for example, was worth twenty four millions and the abby of Promontre had estates worth Forty-five millions.

The same trend continues even now in the church. The following are some of the telling examples. Before the Pope was despoiled of his estates, his annual income amounted to 10,000,000 dollars a year (Bello, 1968: 172). The Pope obtained as indemnity for Italy in 1929. This sum alone had developed, through investment to more than 500,000,000 dollars.

Famous is the story of Pope Julius II, commanding a military operation in deep winter to capture the fortress of Mirandola. Helmeted like an army man, the Pope won the battle and also the eulogy of Machiavelli. Erasmus, however, asked in bewilderment: What have the helmet and the mitre in common ? What connection is there between the crosier and the sword ? Between the Holy Gospel

and the buckler ? (*The New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I.P. 812).

The Holy Inquisition

      The following three events bear the distinctive marks of the Feaudal Church. Inquisition started in some form with the papal Bull of 1252 and got its final and terrific shape with another Bull of 1478 from Pope Sixtus IV. The most peculiar feature, apart from torture, was that the judge or the inquisitor got the property of the condemned. The inquisition of the second Bull, which is also called Spanish Inquisition, started with burning alive of six men and women on February 6th, 1481, in Seville in Spain (Roth, 1932 : 45). Later the number of victims ran into thousands.

      Cecil Roth has produced the translation of documents describing the scene of the trial in which women were stripped before monks and tortured inch by inch. Even dead persons were burned post-humously. The oldest victim was a ninety-six year old lady. The only choice to the victims was to die of throttling for a small bribe or go direct to the flames.

      The exact number of those burned will vary according to parties who have investigated. But considering the length of time and the vastness of the area covered, it seems that those burned were in thousands, and those only tortured and robber of their properties were in ten thousands (ibid loc cit). Archbishop of Lisbon is reported to have said: "The inquisitors attained even the infamy of sending to their prison women who persisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them alive" (Rao, 1963 : 43).

Witchhunting

      The inquisition was closely followed by the Witchhunting. The institution of witchhunting is also very old one. In many primitive societies the community finds a scapegoat for its calamities. Sickness, drought etc.... are supposed to be caused by malicious persons who are on contract with the devil. Such unfortunates had to undergo lot of shame misery before death.

      In Europe, however, even great scholars like Jean Bodin defended the practice. Some witches were supposed to have been carnally united with the devil. Plato, Alexander the great and Martin Luther were supposed to have been born from such unions between women and devils. H. E. Barnes describes briefly what happened in Europe.

      In the more than two centuries that separated the papal bull of 1484 from Cotton Mather and the Salem trials in the American colonies, it is estimated by Withington that a quarter of a million persons were put to death for witchraft that is, they died under torture or were executed after confession. The bishop of Wurzburg burned 900 witches in a single year. In addition to the hundreds of thousands brutally executed, many millions lived in continuous mortal fear lest they be accused and hideously tortured (Barnes, 1965 : 592).

War of Religions

      It lasted thirty years. But the shortness of the period was made up by the intensity of its fury: For three decades (from 1618–1648) hostile German and foreign armies tramped back and forth across Germany, killing and raping, and looting the defenceless inhabitants. In the wake of Wattenstein's army of 50,000 for instance, swarmed 150,000 camp followers bent on plunder. (Harrison and Sullivan, 1969 : 353).

      In Augsburg in Germany, for example, the population was reduced from eighty thousand to less than sixteen thousands. In other places from one-third to one-half of inhabitants were killed. "People grew up in ignorance and became cruel and selfish as a result of the privation of war"

(Rogers, Adams, Brown, 1935: 42).

This spirit of intolerance was carried aboard as Europeans crossed their frontiers. Even the cast-bound Hindus were astonished when, in 1560, 13092 Hindus were forcibly converted in Goa by the Portuguese. In 1578, the Paulist group, of missionaries pulled down 350 temples and converted 100,000 people. The fourth Bishop's council of Goa ordered Christian not to go to Hindu barbers for a shave. (Rao, op.cit. 44).

This much on the medieval. Now let us have a glance at the *modern church*. According to Pope Paul VI, the following documents convey the social teachings of the papacy of modern church. "Our predecessors in their grand encyclicals, Leo XIII in *Rerun Novarun*, Pius XI in *Quadragerimo Anno* and John XXIII in Matter et Magistra and *Pacem in Terris* not to mention the massage of Pius XII to the world did not fail in the duty of their office of shedding the light of the Gospel on the social questions of their times (Pope Paul VI : 3).

Let us start with the encyclical of Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo XIII. We find the traditional endorsement of the status quo repeated in this document also. In concrete it protests against the atrocities of Capitalism in a mild way and protects it by forbidding the working class to use violence against Capitalism. Communism, on the otherhand, is equated with the attack on private property and is rejected outright. The following statements of Pope Leo, we hope, bear out our contention. Private property is elevated to such a height that it would appear that one without property cannot go to heaven. Ownership of property is supposed to be distinctive mark of man over brutes. His Holiness states: For every man has by nature the right to, possess property as his own. This is one of the *chief points of distinction* between man and the animal creation. For the brute has no power of self-direction, but is governed by two chief instincts, which keep his powers alert, move him to use his strength and determine him to action without the power of choice (Rerun Novarum, Pope Leo XIII, 1939 : 5).

The Pope continues with this account viz., that man alone among animals possesses reason– it must be within his right to have things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living beings have them (ibid : 6). The Pope teaches further – we have insisted that, since it is the end of Society to make men better, the chief good that Society can be possessed of is virtue. Nevertheless, in all well-constituted State it is a by no means unimportant matter to provide those bodily and external commodities, "the use of which is necessary to virtuous action" (ibid : 21).

Two problems rise in our minds regarding this (1) sanctification of private property: Why did not Christ distribute this most important qualification to the vast majority of the people and why did he curse the wealthy instead ? (2) Should we not do something so that every member of humanity should get a share in this salutary gift ? Now back to Pope Leo XIII.

Another important trait of the encyclical is the insistence on other worldly solutions. The Pope makes clear that humanity must remain poor. It is impossible to reduce human society to level (ibid : 11). The Pope recalls God's warning to Adam: "Cursed be the earth in the work, in the toil thou shalt eat of it all the days of the life" (Ibid : 11). Since misery and poverty are God-given, no violence can be exerted in eradicating it. Thus religion teaches the laboring man and the workman to carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements freely made, never to injure capital, not to outrage the person of an employer, never to employ violence in representing his own cause (Ibid : 12).

The Pope exercises what Marx called opiation in the following words: "God has not created us for the perishable and transistoty things of earth, but for things heavenly and everlasting. He has

given us this world as a place of exile, and not as our true country (ibid : 14). The solutions offered by the Church are utterly utopean. For the Church will strive to influence the mind and heart so that all may willingly yield themselves to be formed and guided by the commandments of God. It is precisely in this fundamental and principal matter, on which everything depends, that the Church has a power peculiar to itself (ibid : 17). The other encyclicals too follow the same line. The encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* for example, recommends the same veneration of property (see pp 137 F). Encyclical preaches anti-communism (see pp. 141 and 144, 155). Then utopeanism too is very clear (see pp. 116). The encyclical *Atheistic communism* demands prosecution of communism very explicitly. The Church demands all diligence should be exercised by states to prevent within their territories the ravages of anti-God campaign which shakes society to its very foundation (*Atheistic Communism* : 204). Communism according to the encyclical is intrinsically wrong and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it. (ibid : 199)

Then, the Church turns to her modest demand "Unrestricted freedom for the Church". "At the same time the state must allow the Church full liberty to fulfill her divine and spiritual mission, and this in itself will be an effectual contribution to the rescue of nations from the dread torment of the present hour. Everywhere today there is an anxious appeal to moral and spiritual forces, an rightly so, for the evil we must combat is at its origin primarily an evil of the communistic system flow with satanic logic. Now, the Chatholic church is undoubtedly preeminent among the moral and religious forces of to-day. Therefore, the every good of humanity demands that her work be allowed to proceed unhindered (ibid : 205).

The above quoted passages recall the spirit of vengeance of inquisition of witchhunting and of wars of religion. No wonder that after reading similar passages Marx wanted the abolition of religion and weber denied objectivity to any religion or ideology.

The preceding pages do not claim, as did Voltaire, that the Chatholic church is an infamy that should be crushed. On the contrary, the Catholic church has played an important role in civilizing mankind. So Pope Paul VI makes a just claim when he says: "True to the teaching and example of her divine Founder, who cited the preaching of the Gosspel to the poor as a sign of His mission, the Church has never failed to foster the human progress of the nations to which she brings faith in Christ. Her missionaries have built not only churches but also hostels and hospitals, schools and universities, teaching the local population the means of deriving best advantages from their natural resources, missionaries have often protected them from the greed of foreigners (See the encyclical On the Development of People, p. 9). We agree with Paul VI but we suggest that in the following instances the Church has been more progressive: (i) The Church sided with the workers and opposed liberalisation (see the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, (pp.127, 128, 131, 156, 157). (ii The Church accepted the use of violence for just cause, though implicitly and indirectly see the encyclical, Progress of People, pp. 19 where Pope Paul VI says that violence is legitimate where there is manifest long-standing tyranny, etc. (iii) The Church has agreed atleast theoretically upon the chance of convergence with communism. WE are of course, writing in a few atmosphere created by the theology of liberation. In this context we add the following remarks:

To us it seems that the Christian concept of humanism is remarkably close to Marxian humanism. Here is for example the interpretation of Gustavo Gutierrez. Christianity according to him is looking for a "new humanism, one in which man is defined first of all by his responsibility toward his brothers and toward history". There is a need for persons who are makers of history,

"Who are truly new and artisans of few humanity", persons moved by the desire to build a really new society. Indeed, the conciliar document asserts that beneath economic and political demands" lies a deeper and more widespread longing. Persons and societies thirst for a full and free life worthy of men-one in which they can subject to their own welfare all that the modern world can offer them so abundantly (1988 : 22 – 23). He is further conscious of the fact that catholic church is allergic to struggle for freedom. For the Church touches up the uneven spots, smoothens the rough edges, avoids the more conflictual aspects, and stays away from the sharper confrontations among social classes and countries (ibid, 23). It is also remarkable that sin gets a sociological rather than theological interpretation. Sin, in the new definition, is to refuse to love one's neighbours and therefore, the Lord himself. Sin, a breach of friendship with God and others, is according to the *Bible* the ultimate cause of poverty, injustice, and the oppression in which persons live (ibid : 24). Christ the saviour liberates from sin, which is the ultimate root of all description of friendship and of all injustice and oppression. Christ makes humankind truly free, that is to say, he enables us to live in communion with him; and this is the basis for all human fellowship (ibid, 25). In short, the humanism which the Church pursues had its dawn already in the writings of Marx.

Conclusion

        Religions and ideologies have sprung up mostly with the stated objective of enhancing the destiny of man. However, many religions have ended up using its faithful as fodder for cannons in inter-religious quarrels like the crusade, the wars of religion, etc. Still there are optimists among us who envisage inter-religious marriages for the reduction of conflicts. Christianity and Marxism are two categories of eminence with a green light from several horoscopes for an ideological alliance. Even then, there is no licence for full scale agreement. They have to practise what is called embracing by installments. Marxism, for example, is rationalist, humanist and hence also atheist through and through. Christianity on the contrary is mostly irrationalist and visionary an only humanist in the last-judgement and that too by interpretation. Hence, this paper tries to give a warning to the optimists. Christianity is perhaps more conservative, quarrelsome and clever than it appears. Look at the cleverness of the Church in claiming both the keys of heaven and of earth, when it comes to authority and only of the spiritual realm, when it comes to responsibility. The modern world demands just the opposite. The Church should have responsibility for the temporal sphere too, but its authority be confined to the spiritual realm. The destiny of millions of men and women depends on the response of the Church to this challenge of modernism.

Note: *The Biblical references of this paper are taken from **The Holy Bible** containing the Old and New Testament Revised Standard Version, published in 1971 by W. M Colins & Co., Ltd., New York.*

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Discourse on Elite

S. N. Chaudhary

Recent years have seen a great amount of empirical research on elites aiming to property the nature of either particular specialised elites or the degree of integration displayed by a national elite. Such research seeks to replace the assertions of elite theorists by some hard data to test, where possible, hypotheses suggested by the grand theories. The methodologies adopted in these investigations can, with few exceptions, be brought under four broad headings i.e. the study of institutional positions, the examination of the social back ground and recruitment patterns of elites, the reputational elite approach and the decision making / event analysis / pluralist approach. However, the present paper restrict itself to the analysis of the latter two approaches. An examination of these two approaches in particular is essential primarily because even in the democratic societies like ours the organizations, both formal and informal, maintants hierarchy. It is the elites who have greater say in the decision making process than the followers. Both the power holders and the dependents may have categorisation on the basis of their dominance but in this article we restrict our analysis to the elites of the dominant sections.

Reputational Approach

Reputational is one of the pre-conditions to get and retain the sources of dominance. It can be required either by holding formal and informal positions of power and authority. Since the source of reputation as well as reputation itself are culture specific phenomena, therefore, over the time there is fluctuation in degree and magnitude of the reputation holders. Perhaps Hunter (1953) was the first man who perceived reputation as precondition for elite formation at the community level. In order to identify community level elites and their functioning he followed different stages. In the first stage Hunter intend preliminary list of leaders in regional city which were constituted by civic organisations, the chamber of commerce, the league of women voters and by newspaper editors and other civic leaders. These lists named 175 leaders. The list were partly derived from formal positions held in politics, business of a fairly large size and civic organizations. They were also partly based on reputation of leadership in the eyes of those who nominated them.

In the next stage a panel of four experts or judges were selected who were apparently representative of religious, business and professional people. The panel balanced young and old, male and female, Negro and white.

S. N. Chaudhary is Reader in Sociology, Barkatullah University, Bhopal -462024 (INDIA)

In the third stage the panel was asked to select the top leaders from each of the lists. The judges reduced the leaders from each of the lists. The judges reduced the leaders from 175 to 40. There was a fair degree of agreement amongst the judges as to the topmost men on each list. By this stage the attribution of power rests on the reputation of the leaders in the eyes of the judges.

In the next stage hunter interviewed 27 of the 40 leaders, who were asked to name the top 10 leaders amongst the 40. Again there was a large measure of agreement. A large supplementary questions elicited answers as to which leaders could push a decision through, and one was the biggest man in town. In order to discover the degree of cohesiveness amongst the leaders, each was asked how well he knows other leaders, whether he was related to them, how frequently he attended committee's meetings with them and so on.

These questions did uncover evidence which might support Mosca's argument that the minority as such is always better organised than the majority. The top leaders indicated that most of them knew one another well and that most had worked together on committees. Also, as inner group of twelve leaders nominated one another as friends, acquaintances and fellow committee members more frequently than the other leaders. There was a sharp drop in the frequency of interaction among the leaders when the group of professional and civil workers immediately below the leadership was considered. This was taken to indicate real gulf between the leadership stratum and the professional administrators. On this basis Hunter concluded that a clearly defined group of decision makers dominated the public life of "Regional City". The leaders were not undivided but nevertheless it was their backing that was decisive to any major project.

At least half of Hunter's leaders were businessmen. Plural and interlocking directorships to mean that there was a cohesive economic institution in Regional city whose members exerted the major influence in the power relationships in the community. These business leaders were discovered to be active in a number of policy decisions which Hunter examined, including the plan of Development, Traffic control and the introduction of Sales Tax. The topmost leaders formulated big policy on such questions, leaving the task of putting the policy through to, in the main, lesser figure who were either professionals, such as lawyers, or minor businessmen. Hunter said that top leaders in the committee are the representatives of the policy making businessmen.

Hunter's conclusion was that Regional city is ruled by what is called three "Cs" i.e., a cohesive, conscious, and conspiratorial elite of businessmen. The elite decides the major policies which the city will subsequently follow even though its members do not necessarily intervene overtly in the city's affairs. The elite has, according to Hunter, contacts in most departments of Regional city's public life. The politicians of the legislature are themselves frequently businessmen who are controlled by or acknowledge the supremacy of the economic elite. In short, the economic institution dominates, and as Hunter represents, it deputes specialists within it to oversee all the sectors of policy making from the relation between the city policy and the sales tax (Hunter, 1953).

A significant number of scholars have followed Hunter's approach in their studies. Commenting on nature and character of this approach Ricci, Abu-Laban, and Wolfinger categorically premised the occurrence of elites on an organizational theory. It was much more based on a generalised notion that the existence of a stable social order is in some manner attributable to the existence of permanent elite. Possibly, this is implicitly derived from the Hobbesian hypothesis that centralised power is the key to the orderdness of the social world. Hence, they take it as given that someone

governs. It is their task to findout who, when and how (Ricci; 1976,Abui-Laban; 1965, and Wolfinger, 1966) govern.

Identifying those who have power is made complex by the fact that, given that there is high circulation of those observed to make important decisions. For example, with the exception of the Mayor in the five years 1953 to 1958 the decision making elite of New Haven changed completely (see Dalh 1961a p.291 for detailed information). It is implicitly the case that the monolithic elite responsible for social order and stability are not the ones who are immediately visible as decision makers. The latter tend to be those who wield a highly limited governmental institutional power (Blackship 1964, p.208). Those who have real power tend to work behind the scenes. They exert power over others through subtle channels of influence based upon anticipated reactions. When decisions are made by those observed to decide things, who do not have real power, they do so based not on criteria of personal or public interests, but upon their assessment of the anticipated reactions of those with great power resources at their disposal (Ehrlich 1961 p.92). Consequently, the true power elites need not have is well exemplified by a transcript of an interview made in Bigtown by Pellegrin and Coats. "Only a man who is naive would accept invitations to participate in important community affairs without the blessing of Mr. 'A', the top executive in our company. For a man to ignore the usual procedures..... he'd... have to be a complete ass". The company executive does not have to initiate decisions because everyone knows what his / her interests are : interests are : interest which are ultimately reducible to class stratification and are known locally (Abu-Laban 1965 p. 36-39).

Thus, the supports of reputational approach follow the following five steps to identity community leaders. These are; (i) A list is made of those who are considered "likely to know", based on position, what is "going on" in the community. (ii) These individuals are then asked to compile a list of those with power in the community. (iii) the latter are then interviewed in order to obtain information on their level of 'cohesiveness' and who among them has most power. (iv) Finally a certain number are selected as key leaders. The rationale for the reputational approach is that members know their own communities more thoroughly and intimately than any outsider could hope to, and hence are the most trustworthy sources of knowledge concerning those communities. A number of community is perfectly capable of recognizing processors of power, and will accordingly build up, over a long period of time, a reasonably accurate maps an even better indicator which, whatever its deficiencies, may be claimed to be as reliable as any available.

There are, however, strong arguments against this rationale and its trust in second hand reporting. For all that members ought to know their own community well, even the most rudimentary surveys suggest that knowledge of it is superficial, incomplete and variable. Reputationalists themselves acknowledge that different individuals in the same community commonly provide massively divergent account of the distribution of power within it. So a question mark exists against the reputational approach, even if one refrains from asking how everyday actors can be expected to identify power when professional social scientists appear themselves to have no idea of what it looks like. As a result of this several criticisms are levelled against this approach. The two important criticism are related to scope of the decision. Hunter studied the status of the judges who provide the list of reputed leaders. Dahl and his followers have argued that, unlike their own method, Hunter's method fails to distinguish the areas over which several community leaders wield power. The original questions put to the judges asked them to nominate the persons who were

the top leaders or decision makers of the community. The judges were not asked to say over what spheres of activity each nominee exercised power nor what limits there might be to his influence, nor whether he might be powerful in some areas and not in others. Yet statements attributing power to a person may carry little meaning if the area of his power is not specified. Hunter did go on to study particular processes of decision making and describe the elite's involvement in these. It has been less commonly noted in these cases, however, Hunter investigated those issues which the members of the business elite had themselves cited as ones they had been interested in. Such a procedure is circular since it merely measures the degree of involvement of the elite in matters which it has already asserted it was involved in. These were very clearly issues which affected business interests. On non-economic issues the leaders are shown to be divided and unwilling or unable to offer a lead. It is thus a possibility that outside matters affecting business another set of leaders may be more influential.

The reputational method is heavily dependent on the selection of judges at the outset, and it has been a constant criticism that some alternative sample of judge might have set the inquiry on a totally different the nominations of judges who are active in the community and those who participate very little. The politically active judges are more likely than the inactive to nominate men from ' behind the scene's ' rather than those in leading public positions. Contrary to this Schultz and Blumberg and Belknap and Smuckler found that varying the nominating panel made little difference to the results (R. O. Schultz and L. U. Blumberg 1957, pp. 290-6). This is not to say that either way of designating leaders is necessarily wrong. It does, however, point to the substantive differences which can arise as a result of the adoption of different research procedures.

Hunter's method of continually narrowing down the number of leaders at each stage interviewing may also appear self-confirming. He began with a provisional list of nominees. He then asked fourteen judges to select the most influential from the original list of 175 leaders. Hunter proceeded to a close examination of the top forty in the judges and reduced the list, although there seems, as Polsby (1961) points out, no clear account as to how the figure forty was arrived at. At the interviewing stage only twenty seven of these forty were questioned, and the subsequent estimates made by the leadership group of the comparative influence of each leader is based on these twenty seven interviews. It is again not clear why only twenty seven were interviewed and then named sixty four additional persons as being as influential as the forty nominees, these sixty four were not examined in any greater detail. Wolfinger raised one of the most pertinent criticisms against this approach. To him Hunter constituted a valid analytic device for assessing as to who had a reputation for holding power but not those who actually had it (Wolfinger). According to Dahl and Polsby too Hunter failed to distinguish between actual and potential power (Dahl, op. cit. Polsby, op. cit.). But Haugaard is of the opinion that the accusation leveled by the pluralists against the Reputational elite theorists, that they failed to distinguish between actual and potential power is in many respects exaggerated (Haugaard, 1992). It has a certain validity as a critique of the methodology used by F. Hunter in community Power Structure (1953) but less so with regard to the work of D' Antonio and his followers from the early sixties onwards (for details of the debate surrounding this issue see Polsby, 1960, Wolfinger 1960; and D' Antonio and Ehrlich; 1962).

2. The Decision Making Approach

In order to overcome these Shortcomings of reputational approach the protagonists of decision making continually emphasized the importance of using research methodologies which do not act as self-fulfilling prophesies. The basic assumption of this approach is that those who actually participate in the decision making process are the elites because they have shown their influence in real lie situations. Since this approach identifies the elites or the decision makers through issues and events in which they participated, hence, this is also known as "Event Analysis" approach. Dahl is the main champion of this approach who has subsequently been followed by Polsby and Wolfinger. From the very beginning they are primarily focusing on manifestly observable, and hence verifiable phenomena. Dahl said that :

"I do not see how anyone can suppose that he has established the dominance of a specific group in a community or a nation without basing his analysis on the careful examination of a series of concrete decisions" (1958, P.466).

This means that a social scientist must study those who actually participate in community decision making. Also, participation should be defined interms of success in initiating a policy or vetoing a proposed policy.

According to Dahl (op.cit.) conflict between A and B, as revealed in concrete decision making, is a manifestation of differences of performance between the two actors. A system where there is complete consensus is one in which there is no power conflict or there is no enforced consensus. However, Dahl claims that this level of enforced consensus can be methodologically bracketed when studying power distribution within a democratic system. Polsby said that this does not apply to minor decisions where the inherent cost of engaging in power conflict will make participation not worthwhile. However, he further added that in major issue areas differences in preferences will always manifest themselves in the breaking of consensus through conflict. Hence, any attempt at enforcing consensus, through the exercise of power by A over B, can be studied, as stated by Dahl "by an examination of a series of concrete cases where key decisions are made : decisions on taxation and expenditures, subsidises, Welfare programmes, military policy and so on" (Dhal, 1985, p.469). In other words, as stated by Bachrach and Baratz, the pluralist researcher will tend to identify power with its exercises as manifest through visible conclift in decision making (Bachrach and Baratz 1962, p.943). Like reputational approach, event approach is also based on different stages. These stages are :

(i)   Selection of "Key" in stead of "routine" political decision.
(ii) Identification of people who took who took an active part in the decision making process.
(iii) Obtaining a full account of their actual behavior, and;
(iv) Determination and analysis of the specific outcome of the conflict.

According to Dhal an individual may be powerful in one area but not in another. Therefore, to Wolfinger, general power rankings are misleading. For example, Stemming from his position as University professor, Dahl has power over his students with respect to the issue of what they study. Due to their legal status, the Police Department has power over the parking habits of students at Yale University. Neither Dahl nor the Police Department have power in both areas. Therefore, if an actor wished to have power in both the areas there appears to be no obvious way of achieving this goal. According to Bachrach and Baratz the power resources of University professor and

policeman are inherently non-mutually cumulative (Bachrach and Baratz 1963 p.635). This confirms the statement that the scope of an individual's power an be, and is often, issue specific. Hence, it is meaningless and impossible to assess the power of a given actor without studying the exercise of power in specific different issue areas. In otherwords, the extent of power can be measured only in an specific area. For, the purposes of their study of New Haven, Dahl and his associates had chosen the issue areas of :

(a)   the making of party nominations, which determines who will hold public office;

(b)   the new Haven Redevelopment Programme, which was the largest   p e r capita in U.S.

(c)   public education, which was the most expensive item on the city's budget. After investigating the patterns of influence in these three   issue areas, Dahl concluded that no particular individual exerts   a significant amount of direct influence in more than one of the   three issues areas studied (Dahl 1961a p.181).

Because power is inherently linked to its exercise, the event analysts great emphasis distinguishing potential from actual power . The most important differentiation between actual and potential power is based upon the distinction of power from power resources. There are a number of reasons why power resources are not synonymous with actual power. The first is that, since there is usually a cost associated with converting potential into actual power, there must be a will in order to convert it (Clark 1967a). A good example of this point is given by Land in his examination of middle town. The X family ran middletown through their possession of massive wealth. However, they were not the only wealthy family in the town. There was the Y family who were clannish and absorbed with family affairs, hence demonstrating the ability of great wealth to live in Middletown with a large degree of isolation from the city's central interests. In other words both X and Y family had wealth as a potential power resource but the former, unlike the latter, had the will to use it. In short, as started by Dahl "Individual's with the same amounts of resources in different ways. One wealthy man may collect paintings; another politicians" (Dahl 1961a p. 270). Whether intentions and resources are by themselves sufficient for the realisation of power ? Certainly not. Besides possession of resources one must have requisites level of skill in order to organise and channelise resources appropriately. In this context skill means (a) an ability to perceive which resources are appropriate for power of given scope, (b) political ability and (c) organizational acumen. The importance of skill, the diversity of power resources like money and credit, control over jobs, control over the information of others, knowledge and expertise, popularity, esteem and charisma, legality, constitutionality, officiality and legitimacy, ethnic solidarity, the right to vote, time and personal (human) energy, and the necessity for motivation means that the comparative power of actors is inherently dependent upon a whole variety of contingent factors. Hence, in order to hypothesise that X has more power than Y it is necessary to assess whether or not X and Y have similar resources, level of motivation, organizational ability and an identical interest in the same issue area (Dahl 1961a p.272).

In short, according to the decision making model the elites are those who actually shape the decisions. This approach identifies overt power rather than the power potential and thus it provides a realistic viewpoint of power structure. But this does not mean that this theory is free from criticisms.

According to Bachrach and Baratz (1962 : 948) Dahl and his associates confuse their criteria for the investigation of the distribution of power with the essence of the phenomenon of power itself (Bachrach and Barach, 1962 : 948). While it is without doubt correct from the point of view of empirical investigation-- that the examination of key decision makers and making leads to the collection of highly scientifically verifiable evidence, this does not imply that the exercise of power is thus confined or restricted in form and nature. In particular, decision making approach fails to take account of the fact that : (a) power may be, and often is, exercised by confining the scope of decision makings to relatively safe issues and (b) the model provides no objective criteria for distinguishing between "important" and "unimportant" issues arising in the political arena.

With respect to point (a) power is also exercised when devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to "A". In effect, this implies that A can exercise power over B by (and hence point b) defining what is to count as an important issue about which decisions should be made.

Also, there is no scope for understanding the phenomenon of non-decision making process and its consequences in the decision making model. But, according to Bachrach and Baratz (1970) non-decision is also another face of power. Infact it is the process through which the grievances or demands of B are kept outside the system. Bachrach and Baratz and Crenson list a number of ways in which this is done. The principal ones are as follows : (1) most direct and visible is the terrorization of B into acquiescence. (2) just as overt would be threats based upon potential deprivation, (3) a more indirect form is the invoking of procedural norms and rules to make a demand illegitimate. Thus, the discussion of an issue can be branded immoral, unpatriotic or in violation of an established rule or procedure. (4) Most indirect form of non-decision making involves reshaping or strengthening the mobilization of bias in order to block challenges to the prevailing allocation of values. As an illustration, the college administration may establish additional rules and procedures for processing student's demands for change. Another tactic is to reinforce existing barriers, or construct new ones, against challengers efforts to widen the scope of conflict. For example, the demands of rent-strikers can be blunted or dulled by insisting that tenant -- landlord relations are a purely private matter. (5) The latter can be legitimized by an emphasis on the democratic quality of given institutional procedures. Hence, giving the illusion of a voice to those whose demands are organised out of the decision making procedure.

Integration of Reputational and Decision Making Approach

After the publication of Hunter's and Dahl's work a number of works have appeared which have been deeply influenced by the merits and limitations of these two schools of thought. Few important scholars who have attempted to intergrate he merits of Hunter's and Dahl's work in their studies are Robert Agger and Robert Presthus in their named The Rulers and the Ruled and Men at the Top respectively. While former is a comparative study of two communities in the Western and two in the Southern USA, the latter is a study of two small communities in New York State.

The main objective of these two studies were to examine the images that citizens had of the power structure which were likely to affect the nature and extent of their political participation. Agger discovered potential leaders by asking two independent panels, drawn from leaders of voluntary

organizations and appointed officials in local government, to nominate the men of greatest influence in the community, the second panel was requested to reduce the nominees to around twentyfive. The decisions selected for study were in part chosen by the panels and in part by the authors. The nominees were interviewed to discover the nature of their participation, their attitude to the various decisions reached, and their views of the roles of other participants, in particular whether leadership cliques were formed, Finally, Agger reconstructed the history of each decision to test whether the potential leaders had actually participated, especially at the crucial stage at which the project is accepted or rejected. This decision making approach also established whether the leaders specialised in issue areas, as Dahl had suggested or were "generalists" such as Hunter had discovered in 'Regional City'.

A major point in Aggar's conclusion is that the communities vary considerably in their power structures, some being pluralist and other elitist in tendency. Whether or not the reputational and decision making approaches in isolation led inevitably it would seem that, used in combination, they constituted a neutral methodology capable of a variety of results.

Presthus came to the same conclusion when he applied both the techniques in Men at the Top. Here the two methods were explicitly used as checks upon one another. He admits an original preference for the decisional approach as more "objective" but rapidly discovered that the reputational method led in directions which the case study of decisions could not cover. The decisional approach overemphasized the importance of those in formal position of power, in particular the political leaders. In one of the communities studied a man who participated in four out of five different decisions was, nevertheless, not nominated as an influential either by the sample of citizens interviewed or by the other influentials. The disparity in the conclusions of the two methods pointed to the fact that this person played only a ministerial role in implementing the various decision but was not an initiator of projects. Similarly a leader might appear to be a major participant in a range of decisions simply because his post formally required his imprimatur on policy conclusions already arrived at by others.

Presthus opined that there was a considerable disparity between those identified by the reputational and decisional methods. In part this was due to the recognised failings of the reputational method. It tended to identify as actually powerful those whose resources gave them a high potential for power. Respondents also nominated as influential those they felt should be influential, especially those in their own party and faction and ; minimised the role of opponents. For these reasons Presthus was unable to command the reputational method for use in isolation.

One of the aims of Presthus's study was to construct a elitist -- pluralist continuum on which to place communities and provide a means of ready comparison between them. To achieve this there was not only need to examine the overlapping decision - making amongst the leaders but it also needed research into the degree of individual citizen participation in major decisions, the extent to which citizens joined voluntary organization and how far these organizations were themselves involved in decision making. Presthus found that both his communities were more elitist than New Haven as portrayed by Dahl, but that Edgewood was less elitist than Riverview. In the case of former decision making was shared between the economic elite dominant. In Riverview, two politicians held the diversity of power structures and challenges any implication by either Hunter or Dahl that elitism or pluralism is ubiquitous.

Citizen participation, whether director indirect was low in both the communities. The study confirmed the findings of a good deal of other research that individual rank and file participation

in decision making is minimal. Only 10% of the Riverview population and 26% of those in Edgewood took any part in any decision, these figures moreover being inflated by the numbers who merely voted in referenda. The bulk of the population in both communities did not belong to any voluntary organization and though 52% of Edgewood and 25% of Riverview organizations participated in decisions they were very seldom involved in more than one issue area. The vast majority of citizens are therefore non-participants, and the organizations do not infact perform the linking function which pluralists claim they perform or ought to perform.

In short neither the reputational approach of Hunter nor the issue participation thesis of Dahl and his followers are complete in itself. In isolation it provides incomplete and half-picture. Hence, there is need to identify elites by integrating both these models. Also while identifying the elites there is need to identify those who play the game from behind the curtain. Some of them are neither reputed nor occupy any formal position in the power structure but they also command significant amount of influence. Hence, while identifying the elites there is need to classify the category interms of its role, origin and importance as well as to employ variety of techniques in an integrated fashion.

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Rural Development through NGO and Business Houses – an experience in Thailand

C.S. Singhal

The Thai economy has experienced rapid growth (8 percent annually) in recent years, but this economy success has not been distributed evenly across the country. Approximately ten million people still live below the poverty line. Almost all of the poor people resid in the rural areas where agriculture is the main occupation. Since further expansion of farm land is improbable, migration of labour from rural to urban areas continues to increase. At the beginning of 1994 the urban population reached eighteen millions or 31 percent of the total population which is 58.5 million.

The economic structure of the Thailand has changed from a basically agrarian to more industrial economy. The agricultural sector share of GDP for the industrial sector increased from 12 percent to 25 percent during the same period. The per capita income of Greater Bangkok (Bangkok and the surrounding 5 provinces in 1993 was approximately 7 times more than that of the North-East region which is considered to be the poorest region in Thailand (Fig. 1).

The Thai government made efforts in improvement of the infrastructure in rural area. The Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) involved in rural development in Thailand are few in number and usually small in size. The corporate sector which greatly benefited from recent rapid economic growth, however, plays only a minor role in rural development, mostly as financial donor to various charitable projects. The private sector is a relatively untapped source of the much needed business skills required to raise rural people above the subsistence economy. To sustain rural development in Thailand the active participation of the private sector is necessary, especially from the skilled and creative human resources of successful companies.

The Thai Business Initiative in Rural Development (TBIRD), launched in 1988 by the Population and Community Development Association (PDA), aims to mobilize the corporate sector to bring its business experience to poor villages in rural Thailand. By sharing valuable skills and knowledge, businesses can make a vital contribution to rural development, offering villagers access to information and opportunities that would not be otherwise available.

The concept of TBIRD was thought up in 1986 by Mr. Mechai Veravaidya, PDA chairman

C. S. Singhal is Deputy Director at National Institute of Rural Development, Rajendra Nagar, Hyderabad - 500 030 (INDIA)

while he was deputy minister of industry. The basic idea was to mobilize the relatively untapped private sector to participate actively in rural development, particularly to help in developing basic business skills of villagers by creating new jobs, and by providing market opportunities. Each company adopts one village and assists with its development until it reaches the self-reliance stage.

This idea was proposed to the National Rural Development Committee by Mr. Mechai while he was the government spokesman. The committee agrees in principal that the concept could be developed as a supplementary measures for the government rural development projects. The task was assigned to its sub-committee to coordinate the National and Regional Plan, which appointed Mr. Mechai as the chairman of the working group to coordinate between the government and the private sector in rural development.

Fig.1. PER CAPITA INCOME BY REGION 1993

Thousands (in Baht)

	NATION	BKK	CENTRAL	SOUTH	NORTH	N.E.
□ SERIES A	53.22	144.2	54.47	39.7	31.3	21.45

(Bar values shown: 53.215, 144.17, 54.47, 39.7, 31.3, 21.45)
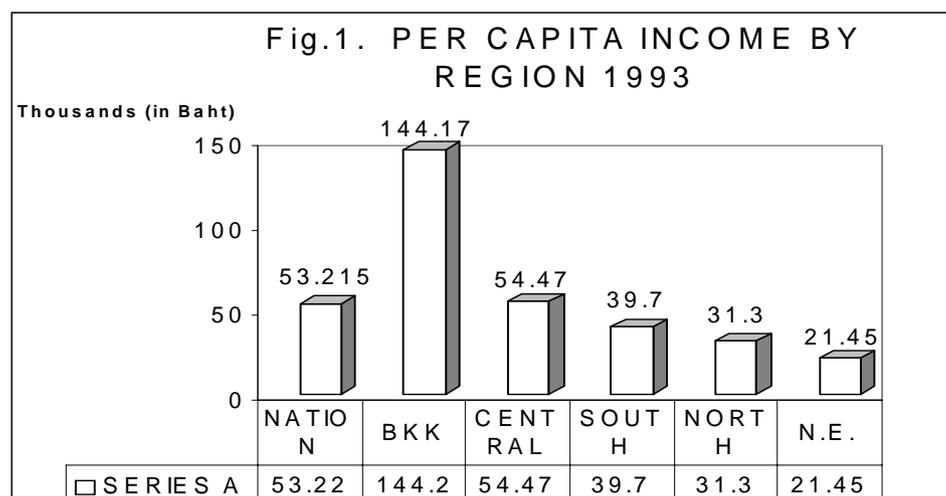
The TBIRD concept was endorsed by the Joint Public-Private Sector Consultative Committee, chaired by Prime Minister in August 1989. The National Coordinating Centre for Rural Development at National Economic & Social Development Board was assigned to request voluntary participation from the corporate sector and coordinate TBIRD activities. In 1992, the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC) also chaired by the Prime Minister, approved the TBIRD program as one of its policies in Rural Development and assigned its Secretariat office at the NESDB and PDA as the coordinating centres.

The objectives of TBIRD project are : (i) To recruit successful private business to actively participate in rural development in collaboration with the government and NGO's (ii) To develop basic business skills of rural people in order to improve their income and living standards and (iii) To provide market and employment opportunities for rural people to reduce migration.

Implementation

PDA setup a TBIRD Bureau to implement the project. Figure 2 shows the TBIRD structure, indicating the relationship between PDA villages and the company involved in the TBIRD project. The TBIRD concepts are being introduced through seminars and business conferences. TBIRD information brochure sent directly to the company or indirectly through various chambers of

Fig. 2 . TBIRD STRUCTURE

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                        ┌─────────────────────────────┐
                        │         Villagers           │
                        │  Village Development Group   │
                        └─────────────────────────────┘
                                     ↕
                        ┌─────────────────────────────┐
                  ┌───→ │        Coordinator          │
                  │     │  (PDA, Company, Village)     │
                  │     └─────────────────────────────┘
                  │
        ┌─────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────────────────┐
        │   CBIRD Centres     │  ←→    │      TBIRD Task Force         │
        │  PDA Branch OFFICE  │        │                              │
        └─────────────────────┘        │  --------------------------  │
                  ↕                     │       TBIRD Company          │
        ┌─────────────────────┐        │                              │
        │       Other         │  ←→    │  --------------------------  │
        │    PDA Bureaus      │        │     Government Agencies      │
        └─────────────────────┘        │                              │
                  ↕                     │                              │
        ┌─────────────────────┐        │       Other Agencies         │
        │        PDA          │  ←→    └──────────────────────────────┘
        │   TBIRD Bureau      │
        └─────────────────────┘
                  ↕
        ┌─────────────────────┐
        │       Donors        │
        │   (FORD, GAA)       │
        └─────────────────────┘
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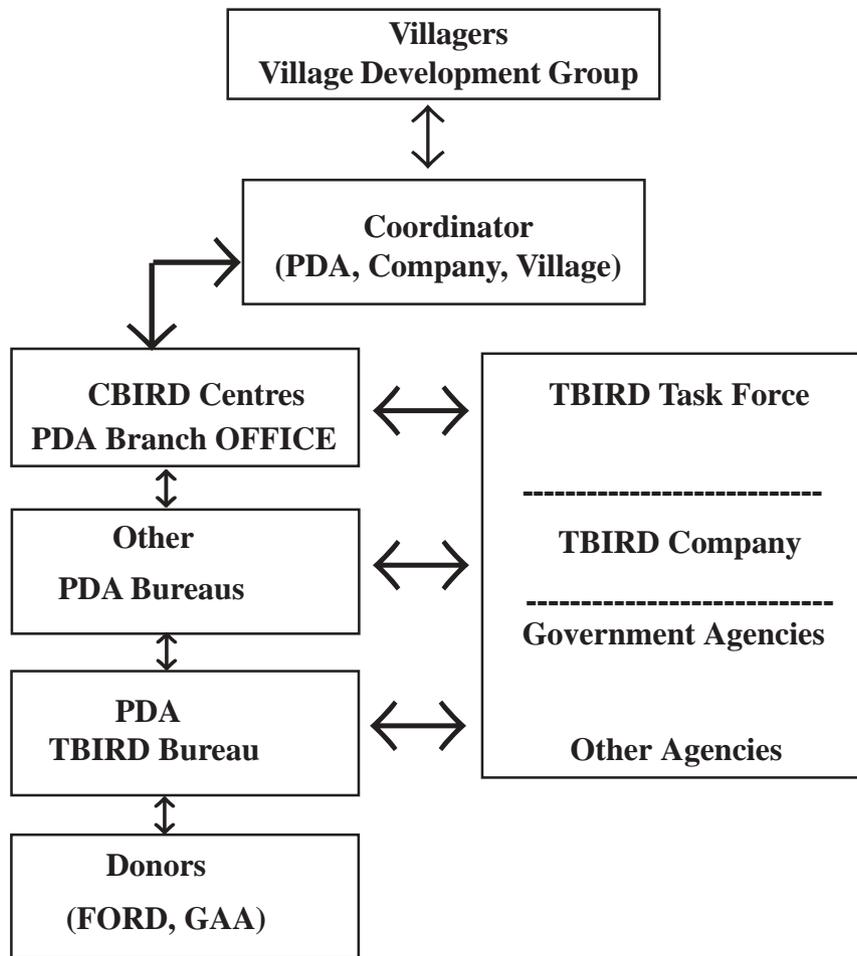
Source : PDA

commerce etc. Activities of TBIRD companies are also reported regularly in various mass media as a part of TBIRD's public relations campaign. After the contact is established and the company shows interest in the project, an appointment is made for a TBIRD presentation, usually with slides or video. To simplify and facilitate the recruitment of the company and adoption of a village, the following five step guidelines are followed :

Step 1: TBIRD Presentation : An introductory meeting with senior management of the company is arranged to provide an opportunity for PDAs chairman and staff to describe the challenges facing Thailand's development and need for corporate involvement. NGOs roles and PDAs efforts rural development are also explained.

Step 2: Task Force Formation : After the company's senior management agrees in principle to join the project, a company task force is appointed to plan and manage the company TBIRD project with close cooperation from PDA's staff. Generally, the members of task force are middle level managers from various departments, such as marketing, finance, production, personnel, public relation etc. This task force selects a target village, search for a company sponsored field coordinator and brain storm, for income generation activities.

Step 3: Village Visit : The initial visit to the target village is the first step towards building a bond between the company and the village. The task force and TBIRD staff meet the village headman and village committee to explain the project goals and discuss the structure of an internal organisation within the village to coordinate the company sponsored activities.

The village visit provides a first hand opportunity for the company task force to assess village needs and potential.

Step 4 : Project Planning :   Soon after the village visit the task force starts the planning of development activities and calculating the budget requirements. Project expanses are tax deductible.

Step 5 : Project Launch : The tentative plan for village activities is generally discussed with the village committee before the submission of the company TBIRD project plan and budget requirement for approval by senior management. Some time ceremony is arranged to formally launch the project in the village in the presence of top management from the company, PDA and local dignitaries.

Initially, the company involvement in the village consists of activities to provide basic need requirements, such as assistance to the local school, improvement of the potable water supply etc. These activities provide immediate benefits and help to build trust between the village and the company. Later on when the company task force understands the needs and potential of the village, the activities may concentrate on income generation. Initial efforts are providing revolving fund for productive enterprises, usually agricultural or handicraft projects. Some enterprises have even developed into a village industry.

TBIRD staff, as well as CBIRD centre staff, provides continuous assistance to the company through all stages of project. All TBIRD companies are kept informed by a newsletter. The TBIRD project and TBIRD companies have received much publicity from numerous articles in newspaper and magazines, radio and television interviews.

The Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Commerce are also involved in TBIRD type activities. The Ministry of Industry is using TBIRD concept in the "Industry for Rural Development" project and has reported 67 projects started in 120 villages in 55 province.

The Ford Foundation provided grant for PDA in 1990 to implement a pilot TBIRD project. At present 41 Companies have joined TBIRD project and launched village activities in more than 55 villages in Thailand.

In 1993 an impact analysis of 10 TBIRD Companies conducted with the assistance of Ford Foundation. Preliminary results of the study indicated that in the early stage of each TBIRD Company's project, the financial returns to villagers may not be very high but the company's liability to leverage resources to in developing the village is usually quite high. Available data shows that TBIRD impact in target village is definitely on the positive side. Villagers begin to learn practical business skills and continue to develop understanding of more difficult skills such as marketing.

In view of new economic policy in India emphasis is given to privatization at the same time there has been several efforts to involve industries in rural development through NGOs like income tax exemption under 36A to industries for contribution to NGOs to take up programme for rural poor.

The TBIRD experience should be studied further to involve large number of industries and NGOs in implementation of programme for rural development in India.

Company News:

Case 1 : Economic forest in Dong Luang just recently, the Bangkok Insurance Public Co., Ltd. task force led by Mr. Supamonkol Sukhakanya visited their project at Ban Nong Kong and Ban Huey Lao, Dong Luang Distract, Mukdhan Province and brought with them many fruit tree stocks to be planted in these villages. Some of the fruit trees were sweet tamarinds, jackfruit, mangoes and coconut. The fruit tree demonstration project was established in anticipation of a new tourist spot situated near the villages. It is hoped that in the future, villagers will be able to earn income from selling fruits and souvenirs to tourists.

In addition to the establishment of a tree demonstration plot the task force had meetings with villagers to find ways to solve the villager's in Nong Kong (Kong) and Huey Lao should have no water shortage problem during the dry season.

Case2 : Mobile Help cut Farmer's Production Costs

After several months of drought for villagers in Bon Donwai inn Nang Rong, Buri Ram rain finally came in July. Farmers were busy again ploughing and preparing seedbed for seedlings the way they have done for generations. On July 20, 1993 Mobile Oil Thailand Co. Ltd., gave support to the fertilizers fund for the second year. This fund greatly reduced the time and cost of acquiring fertilisers for the paddy fields. The villagers with the help of a team from Mobile organised a fertilisers user group and ordered fertilisers in bulk quantities, thus reducing both

the cost of the fertilizers and of transportation as they were able to buy directly from the wholesaler, saving both time and money that could be used for other income generating activities.

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Implementation of IRDP in North Eastern Region of India : An Assessment of Investment Size

Shankar Chatterjee

The half yearly report, of the Fourth Round of Concurrent Evaluation of IRDP carried out during September 1992 – August 1993 by the Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment, Government of India, has been published recently. It is evident from the Report that only 14.81 per cent of the total 'old' beneficiaries could cross the poverty line of Rs.11,000. The word "old" beneficiary has been defined as "A beneficiary family who was assisted/provided assets during January–December 1989 or given subsequent doses of assistance to cross the poverty line constituted old beneficiary family." That is, all old beneficiaries were covered during Seventh Plan period or after that. However, performance of IRDP in many of the States is poor as the figure did not touch even two digits. The only state which has done fairly well by achieving more than 50 per cent figure includes Punjab. It is indeed a laudable achievement for Punjab because even during the turmoil period, the state has done exceptionally well in implementation of IRDP. The statewise achievement about percentage of IRDP beneficiaries crossing the poverty line of Rs.11,000 may be seen from Table-1.

It is evident from the Table that in the states of North East viz., Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura, IRDP could not make much dent in eradication of poverty. For example in Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Nagaland, the percentages are 0.00, 1.74 and 1.67 and 1.67 respectively which are far below than the national average. Moreover, Arunachal Pradesh is the only state in the country with a dismal performance of nil result. The state of North east which could do some progress is Mizoram as the state average with 15.22 per cent is slightly more than the national average. The poor performance of IRDP in general and North East in particular raises he question why its performance is like this. So in this paper an attempt is made to analyse made whether substantial investment was made or not. Because it is known to all that if investment is not enough than it is difficult to earn expected level of income. To get an idea about the size of investment following data have been taken into consideration i) Incremental Capital Output Ratio (ICOR); ii) Initial Income of the Beneficiaries ; iii) Poverty line income which in turn helps to identify income gap given the value of initial income.

Dr. Shankar Chatterjee is Assistant Director Centre for Micro Planning, National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad-500030 (INDIA)

Table– 1 : **Old Beneficiary Families Crossing the Poverty Line**

(Percentage cases)

Sl. No.	State / U. T.	Poverty line of Rs. 11,000 /–
1.	Andhra Pradesh	26.79
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	00.00
3.	Assam	12.14
4.	Bihar	16.53
5.	Goa	17.50
6	Gujarat	02.00
7.	Haryana	06.34
8.	Himachal Pradesh	16.88
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	21.29
10.	Karnataka	10.50
11.	Kerala	05.65
12.	Madhya Pradesh	07.66
13.	Maharastra	21.02
14.	Manipur	01.74
15.	Meghalaya	10.00
16.	Mizoram	15.22
17.	Nagaland	01.69
18.	Orissa	07.19
19.	Punjab	53.46
20.	Rajasthan	10.14
21.	Tamil Nadu	05.88
22.	Tripura	05.97
23.	Uttar Pradesh	24.74
24.	West Bengal	28.02
25.	A. and N. Islands	02.08
26.	Chandigarh	05.53
27.	Daman & Dau	10.00
28.	Lakshadweep	45.00
29.	Pandicherry	33.33
	ALL INDIA	**14.81**

Sources : Concurrent Evaluation of IRDP (September 1992 – February 1993), Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment, Government of India, March 1995.

Objectives and Data Source

In this paper an attempt is made to study the minimum size of investment required to cross the poverty line income once the values of ICOR and income gap are known.

The source of data for data for this study is the published report (Half Yearly) of the Concurrent Evaluation of IRDP, carried out during (September 1992 – February 1993) by the Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment, Government of India published in March, 1995.

Major Findings

During Seventh Plan period, Incremental Capital Output Ratio (ICOR) for IRDP beneficiaries has been assumed as 2.7.[1] So, this ratio may be considered in this paper for the analysis as all the "old" IRDP beneficiaries were given assistance during Seventh Plan period or thereafter.

Regarding base line income of the beneficiaries, the Report has mentioned the income range before getting of IRDP assistance which is presented in Table 2.

Table – 2 : An Income of the Assisted Families Before IRDP

(Percent)

Sl. No.	State	Distribution of Families According to Annual Family Income (Rs.)			
		0–4000	4001–6000	6001–8500	8501–11000
1.	Arunachal Pradesh	88.33	11.67	00.00	00.00
2.	Assam	77.58	21.03	01.25	00.14
3.	Manipur	35.65	63.04	01.30	00.00
4.	Meghalaya	77.16	22.34	00.51	00.00
5.	Mizoram	25.00	49.00	21.00	05.00
6.	Nagaland	80.00	19.58	00.42	00.00
7.	Tripura	46.67	53.33	00.00	00.00
	ALL INDIA	**77.00**	**21.11**	**01.63**	**00.26**

Source : Concurrent Evaluation of IRDP, (September 1992 – February 1993), Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment, Government of India.

It is evident from the Table - 2 that most of the beneficiaries are in the income range of Rs. 0 – 4000 and Rs.4001-6000. Only in Mizoram, 21 per cent beneficiaries are in the income bracket of Rs.6001–8500. Since, most of the beneficiaries are in the range of Rs.0 – 4000 and Rs.4001– 6000 so for the sake of analysis, particularly to find out incomegap, we can calculate mid value of the range and upper value of the range as shown below :

Income Range (Rs.)	Midvalue of the the Range (Rs.)	Upper limit of Range (Rs.)
0 – 4000	2000	4000
4001 – 6000	5000	6000

Now income gap may be calculated by substracting midvalues of the range and upper limits of the ranges from the poverty line of Rs. 11, 000 (Table 3).

Table– 3 : Income Gap of the Beneficiaries (Rs.)

		Income Gap	
Midvalue of theRange	Upper limit of the Range	(Rs.11,000– values of col.1	(Rs.11,000– values of col.2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2000	4000	9000	7000
5000	6000	6000	5000

Table – 4 : Minimum Size of Investment Required to Cross the Poverty Line

Income Gap (Rs.)		ICOR	Minimum Investment required to Cross poverty line (Rs.)	
			(1) X (3)	(2) X (3)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
9000	7000	2.7	24,300	18,900
6000	5000	2.7	16,200	13,500

The Table reveals that to earn additional income of Rs.9000 minimum investment should be Rs.24,300. Similarly, for earning of Rs.7,000, size of investment should be Rs.18,900. The investments should be Rs.16,200 and Rs.13,500 for fetching additional income of Rs.6,000 and Rs.5,000 respectively.It is evident from the Table that more the income gap more should be the size of investment. That is, size of investment is directly proportional to the income gap. Against the backdrop we can have a look about the size of investment for IRDP beneficiaries. Incidentally, the Report evinces the sector-wise investment for IRDP beneficiaries (Table 5).

Table – 5 : Per Family Investment (Subsidy ± Credit) (Rs.)

Sl. No.	State	Primary Sector	Secondary Sector	Tertiary Sector
1.	Arunachal Pradesh	4337	2981	4972
2.	Assam	7809	6140	7404
3.	Manipur	5745	3024	5095
4.	Meghalaya	9213	9613	8605
5.	Mizoram	4225	4011	3143
6.	Nagaland	9161	0000	6500
7.	Tripura	5721	4257	7055
	ALL INDIA	**7268**	**6307**	**7613**

A thorough look into the Table 4 and Table 5 reveals that size of investment was less than that of required level of investment. In Arunachal Pradesh less than Rupees Three Thousand was given to the beneficiaries that too under secondary sector. It is known to everyone that North East is backward from infrastructural point of view. With poor infrastructure as well as low level of investment the beneficiaries cannot be expected to get good return from the schemes. Therefore, it is suggested that in order to determine size of investment, ICOR should be taken into consideration. Although in this paper overall ICOR of 2.7 has been considered but ICOR should be calculated for different type of schemes vis-a-vis state-wise also and accordingly size of investment should be determined.

Secondly, a through study of backward and forward linkages is sine qua non for viability of the schemes. So implementing authority should look into this aspect before grounding of the scheme.

Thirdly, in our country it is found that in every plan period, different income levels are taken into considerations for measuring of poverty. For example, during Sixth Plan, the income criterion was Rs.3500 (Annual Family Income) which was enhanced to Rs.6400 during Seventh Plan and further enhancement of Rs.11,000 was made in Eighth Plan. Under the circumstances it is difficult to assess the income gap. Therefore, in

future prospective plan should be prepared for determining of poverty and accordingly size of investment should be decided.

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Dynamics of   Agrarian Relations and Social Structure in Uttar Pradesh

Arvind Chauhan

The British Colonial rule had created class-relations in Indian agriculture. These class relations have been found in both Zamindari as well as ryotwari sort of land tenure. Walter C. Neal (1979: 3-4), a historian has put forward an argument that it is land tenure (system) which is important, not land. An attempt has been made to study or trace this land tenure system in a historical perspective. Neal seems to have taken socio-cultural perspective into consideration when he differentiates Indian land tenure system with European and African ones (1979: 4-5). He again distinguishes precisely between what he calls it an English idea of **estate** and the Indian idea of **mahal, accepting** the latter to be closer to the idea of a village (Neal 1979: 5-6). Mahalwari system of land tenure was an improvement made over the earlier existing Zamindari system of Calcutta Presidency. Mahalwari system existed and was operated on in the area today known as Uttar Pradesh. Mentioning typically about Indian society Walter C. Neal argues his case for what he calls it "land is to rule" which includes " land is to own" (Neal 1979: 6-7).

Uttar Pradesh, as it is known today was known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh during the British rule. It is possible to work out the two different nature an types of agrarian relations in these two areas. The differences are tried to be worked out on the basis of agrarian social structure(s) and units composing it. It is being argued that despite some similarities (like both were the creations of the British rulers to fulfill their colonial interests), there were some structural differences which to some extent are reflected into the differences between the eastern and the western part of Utter Pradesh.

1. Significance of the East-West Divide in the History of Uttar Pradesh

There have been some efforts to examine the agrarian conditions in Oudh and Agra. A few such attempts could be referred here. The endeavours of B.H. Baden-Powell (1974), Thomas R. Matcalf (1969), Asiya Siddiqui (1973), Majid Hayat Siddiqui (1978), Waler C. Neal (1979), Daniel Thorner (1976), Eric Stokes (1980), A.R. Desai (1976), Elizabeth Witcombe (1971) need a special mention. An attempt has been made to examine and then construct the agrarian social structure. These works of some historians would provide us the setting in which the present agrarian

Arvind Chauhan is Reader in Sociology, Barkatullah University, Bhopal- 462024 (INDIA)

conditionsd would be examined. It is being argued here that it would be possible then to relate the agrarian social structure of the British period with the one reflected in the later sociological writings of A.R.Desai (1978), D.N. Majumder (1958), Yogendra Singh (1958), B.S. Cohn (1956), P.C. Joshi (1976), Rajendra Singh (1978) and a few others.

The history of agrarian social structure and of agrarian conditions could be traced in various writings of B.H. Baden-Powell (1972,1974). His writings are basically descriptive in nature, attempt to cover almost every then existing or even rarely existing category of the agrarian social structure. He has written too much from the point of view of land revenue officials and on the basis of their records. For any work on agrarian relations, at best his writings could be utilised to provide data rather than its analysis and interpretations. Baden-Powell (1974) attempts to establish the relationship between what he calls it 'historical science' and 'statistics'. Although it is not possible to agree with his notion of class simply because it means a particular way of classification, but his attempts to include every possible category into the scheme make it almost exhaustive. Any attempt to trace the history of agrarian relations could get benefits from his writings. He has traced the advance of the Aryan race in the northern part of India dominated by the Dravidian culture (1972: 116). The Rajput caste was thus confined to the upper part of India including plains of the Ganges upto Bihar(Baden-Powell 1972: 116). According to B.H. Baden-Powell (1972:104) the population of the Ganges Plains - Ganges Doab upto Oudh and further still upto Bihar and Bengal included what he calls it Aryan and mixed Aryan races. Apart from Aryan immigration, their relationship to land, their notions of property in land have also been dealt with carefully. In general the works by B.H. Baden-Powell (1972: 202) could be used in two ways. One to construct the agrarian social structure of India by using the modern aids like computers. It could be attempted to construct the agrarian social structure of India in a historical perspective. Computers and the modern aids could serve a great deal of carry on researches in the areas of what could be called as 'macro sociology. Two, Baden-Powell's writings could be used to trace out the historicity of the phenomenon in a under examination. Methodologically, Baden-Powell's work could serve as an important source to trace the history of the phenomenon in a particular region or place. For example, the nature and types of village settlements in Oudh for higher as well as lower castes could be traced (Baden-Powell 1972: 71-72) In Oudh, villages were not a collection of several houses constructed together but they were constructed near agricultural fields and each generation had tried to build houses around the main house. The construction of houses at the fields and their extension by the next generations provide certain new insights and help in understanding the phenomenon under examination with little more clarity. Similarly the process of village building in the North Western Provinces could also be referred to (Baden-Powell 1972 : 70-71). Here the main characteristic of village formation had been 'fission of the family groups' as he call it. Apart from the works B.H. Baden-Powell two more scholars from history need to mention here. Asiya Siddiqui (1973) has attempted to construct the agrarian conditions in Oudh for the period between 1819–1833. Her attempt has been based upon the examination of historical materials. Another scholar Majid Hayat Siddiqui (1978) has also tried to construct the agrarian social structure of Oudh for the time period between 1850–1870. While both of these scholars have based their writings on the critical examination of the historical records, the questions raised by Majid Hayat Siddiqui seem to be more closer to the sociological ones in comparison to the work by Asiya Siddiqui.

The transformation of Raja (King) into landlord during the British rule has been examined by Thomas R. Matcalf(1979). The previous rulers of Oudh who were known as taluqudars were successful in retaining the power during the British rule. A careful reading of the writings of B.H. Baden-Powell reveals that at the first instance the Britishers had tried to wither away the taluqdars but then realised their mistake and established them as mere intermediaries between actual cultivators and themselves. The previous rulers of Oudh were merely reduced to the status of landlords. The dynamics of change in agrarian conditions have been examined by Majid Hayat Siddiqui. He has refereed to six-fold classification of the agrarian social structure in Oudh like : (i) Taluqdars, (ii) Zamindars, (iii) Pukhatadars (under proprietors), (iv) Occupancy tenants, (v) Tenants at will and (vi) Agricultural labourers (Siddiqui 1978: 24). It has been argued by Majid Hayat Siddiqui that in 1857 Taluqdars who had fought with the British rulers were reduced to mere landlords and zamindars struggled for the status of under-proprietors. Virtually the much of the resultants of this war of 1857 had been settled around 1880 when each category of the agrarian social structure was able to identify and locate its place in it. Moreover, the most notable change had been the decline in the power of zamindars. However, the entire process of change along with the six-fold classification could be meaningfully reduced to the following three categories. (i) Landlords, (ii) Tenants and (iii) Agricultural labours.[1] From writings it appears that since the distinction between 'Sir' & Khudkasht'concerns with different sorts of landlords it is not of much importance. 'Sir' being the inferior right in land than 'Khudkasht' from landlord's point of view. It could have not been taken back from tenants if they had cultivated it for the last twelve continuous years.

The most significant departure from this trend had been witnessed in the North Western Province or what is today known as the Western part of Uttar Pradesh. The most important phenomenon had been the more egalitarian nature of the agrarian social structure in the N.W.P than in Oudh. Perhaps the most important insights could be drawn from the works of Eric Stokes (1980). Who had seen the process of declirse of the big landlords and Nawabs in the N.W.P.. He has convincingly argued that beyond Aligarh almost every big landlord lost land – it had happened in Bulandshharhar, Muzaffarnagar and Saharahpur. Canal irrigation was introduced much earlier in the N.W.P. and even small piece of land had its value from the point of view of the cultivator. That is why according to Eric Strokes,[2] it was cultivator who did flourish. From sociological point of view there emerged yet another category to be known as owner cultivator, canal irrigation increased the quality of land and production, owner-cultivator even on small piece of land did better. This new category of owner-cultivator seems to be very near or almost equivalent to the Marxist category known as peasant proprietor. According to Eric Strokes, "the most dangerous enemy of the great landlord was the small cultivating landlord who here (in the N.W.P.) was the Jat peasant proprietor" (1980: 218). Jat peasant proprietors were spread in the areas neareby Agra, Aligarh, Bulandshahar, Mathura, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and in some parts of what is today known as Haryana and Punjab. At the level of conceptualization Eric Strokes (1980: 67-68, 237-239) points out that in any classification of peasantry if rich peasant is equated with the Marxist notion of 'Kulak', than it loses its scientific neutrality.[3]

The conceptualization of peasant proprietorship and its place in the agrarian social structure needs a fresh examination. Marxist scholars like A.R. Desai (1976) have refuted the very existence of the peasant-proprietor. A.R. Desai has attempted to interpret the question of the existence of

peasant-proprietorship along with the traditional and orthodox Marxist theory. According to A.R.Desai (1976) this category did loose its very identity ever since it came into existence and later got divided into richer and poorer sections of rural society. But the existence of peasant-proprietorship in the western part of Utter Pradesh suggests the need to enquire this phenomenon in a historical perspective. An attempt has been made to enquire into the nature, type and organic composition of the category known as peasant proprietor. The concept of peasant proprietor vis-a-visa its place in the agrarian social structure has been analysed elsewhere in an empirical setting in the Western Utter Pradesh.

The significance of the East-West divide in Uttar Pradesh has been the matter of historical significance. The subjugation of zamindars to taluqdars in Oudh has been referred by Elizabeth Whitcombe (1971). Whereas the more egalitarian distribution of land, canal irrigation, decline of big landlords, rise of peasant-proprietor as an important category of the agrarian social structure had been the phenomenon of the N.W.P. In the N.W.P. the following four categories emerge as comprising agrarian social structure during the British Rule : (i) Landlords, (ii) Peasant – proprietors, (iii) Tenants and (iv) Agricultural labourers.

With these important distinctions between the East-west divide of Uttar Pradesh during the British rule, an attempt could be made to understand the nature and process of change after national independence. In the following section an effort has been made to understand the changes in the agrarian question, some studies in economics and history have also been included. Village-studies in Uttar Pradesh have been examined from agrarian point of view.

2. Agrarian Social Structure after Independence

Agrarian social structure in Uttar Pradesh has been reflected through or could be constructed on the basis of documents related to the much acknowledged ZAC (Zamindari Abolition Committee) Report, and studies conducted by historians like Daniel Thorner who tried to examine the agrarian question from the point of view of economic history happen to be the main concern. Apart from it the construction of the agrarian social structure in Uttar Pradesh has been enriched with the contributions from the relatively new disciplines like social anthropology and sociology. Various studies conducted in rural areas of Uttar Pradesh need a different interpretation. If village studies conducted in rural areas could be said as reflecting a particular (functional) perspective, then at least the structural part of it may be retained.

Daniel Thorner (1976: 25-27) has attempted to construct the overall and a very general sort of a picture of agrarian social structure in India, Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere. His account, of the construction of agrarian social structure is based upon documents like the ZAC Report and partial field work. This notion of field work by Daniel Thorner is not to be equated with one that has been the requirement of anthropological studies. But even then efforts of Daniel Thorner are to be appreciated on the grounds that unlike earlier historians he tried to clarify what he intended to say. His contribution needs appreciation for another reason. For example , Daniel Thorner's construction of agrarian social structure of India includes the following three categories: (i) Malik, (ii) Kisan and (iii)Mazdur. (1976: 27)

The term Malik refers to the erstwhile landlords like Zamindars of Uttar Pradesh (including taluqdars of Oudh), Jagirdars of Rajasthan and the like. The term Kisan refers to small and middle peasants and the other term Mazdur refers to the agricultural labourers. Apart from it Daniel Thorner has also taken note of the peripheral (although not unimportant in any sense of the term) categories like money landers and their role in Indian agriculture and that of **Patwaris** in Uttar Pradesh. Daniel Thorner was well aware of the role played by **patwaris** in Uttar Pradesh. **Patwaris** were the only available government personnel who kept land records with them. Daniel Thorner has identified a good number of misdeeds of **Patwaris.** The area in which **Patwaris** did most of the wrong doing was the transfer of land in the name of **Khudkasht** by Zamindars. The term **Khudhasht** refers to the land cultivated by zamindars themselves. Before the abolition of Zamindari system in Uttar Pradesh, zamindars virtually ruled over peasantry and artisans of the villages.

The power structure and its transformation after the abolition of the zamindari system has been analysed by Yogendra Singh (1958). According to him with the abolition of the zamindari system in Uttar Pradesh the nucleus of power structure was broken. Yogendra Singh has pointed it out that the old power structure was not replaced by a new power structure but he visualised a vacuum – like situation instead. Under the conditions when the ex-zaminders were no longer in power, the most possible logical outcome could be the emergence of new forces. The rise of the Jat peasantry in the Western U.P. and that of the Yadavas as strong peasant force in the central and the Eastern U.P. could be seen as a process which might influence the formation of a new power structure. The decline of zamindars as well as that of taluqdars have also been the important phenomenon after the national independence. Both of these processes i.e. the decline of the earlier intermediaries like **zaminders** and **taluqdars** and the emergence of new forces like the peasantry drawn from the Jats and the Yadav as could be seen as parallel processes. Moreover, the phenomenon of raise of the middle section of society could not be limited to castes like Jats and Yadavas. In fact the entire process resulting from the vacuum like situation in the rural power structure of Uttar Pradesh could lead towards the rise in the middle peasantry as a category in the overall agrarian social structure. This rise of middle peasantry might result in the rise of middle class in the rural areas of Uttar Pradesh. Some more insights could be developed from the study of the changing power structure of Uttar Pradesh conducted by Yogendra Singh (Singh, Y 1958: 711-13). His study examines the phenomenon in the six villages of Eastern U.P. Nevertheless, social anthropologists and sociologist have hardly gone beyond the study of six villages. For example, the studies of six villages were conducted by Ramkrishna Mukherjee (1958) and K.L. Sharma (1974), they had worked in the villages of Bengal and Rajasthan respectively. Although these studies treat the phenomenon at micro level, but on the other hand there had been a very few attempts to work out these things at the macro level. In a different context, however, scholars like S. C. Dube (1965) felt difficulties in working out the questions like what should constitute the Indian Culture. M.N. Srinivas (1955) provided yet another collection of village studies which could be used for the analysis of agrarian conditions. Daniel Thorner (1976: 48) has referred to certain changes in the agrarian social structure after national independence. Daniel Thorner points it out that in the villages of Uttar Pradesh some five to six families in the villages were able to construct the **pakka** houses. In the villages of Uttar pradesh where Daniel Thorner travelled these new-rich people were known as **pakkahaveliwale.** These people according to Thorner could be easily located in those villages which he had visited. Thorner has also attempted to inquire

into various possible reasons for the emergence of very few affluent people. According to Daniel Thorner the crisis of food grains existed in the nineteen sixties and early seventies. The crisis of food grains was more accute because of the wars Indians had to fight against Pakisthan and China. During the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s the prices of foodgrains shot up and a few who could retain some large quantity of it became the new-rich. The construction of these **pakka** houses in the villages of Uttar Pradesh was a new phenomenon and it needs an empirical examination.

Daniel Thorner (1976: 24-25) has come out with yet another sort of a classification of agrarian social structure which is based upon land tenure system. It follows like this – (i) Khudkasht / Bhumidhars, (ii) Sirdars, (iii) Asamis and (iv) Adhivasis.

Khudkasht was the most superior sort of a land tenure. This right was given to those who paid Rs.250/- p.a. or more to the state and others were given the rights of **sirdar**. If a **sirdar** could afford to pay ten times of the land revenue he could have got the rights of a **Khudkasht**. The rights of asamis were confined for non-occupancy tenants. Daniel Thorner, however, equates **adhivasis** with agricultural labourers. **Bhumidhars** had all the rights like to sell or mortgage their land where as **sirdars** were not allowed to do so, it was in fact much lower right in land in comparison to that of **Bhumidhars**. **Bhumidhars** could also utilise their land for non-agricultural purposes. After the abolition of the **Zamindari** system and by the act of 1951 the heredity tenants were given the status of **sirdars**. But it seems that in the views of Daniel Thorner nothing like revolutionary has happened for the peasantry even after the abolition of **zamindari** system.

Daniel Thorner (1976: 27) states "for the bulk of the peasantry who were classified as **sirdars**, the tenure remains substantially the same, rent remains exactly the same and the most importance new feature is that the rent is collected by government rather than by the **Zamindar**". It seems, however, important at the moment to attempt some construction of the agrarian social structure on the basis of a few village studies conducted in Uttar Pradesh.

3. Significance of Village Studies for the Analysis of Agrarian Social Structure in Uttar Pradesh

In this section an attempt has been made to critically examine a few village studies conducted by sociologists. This seems necessary from another point of view. Scholars like Daniel Thorner who mentioned about villages in India and examined the agrarian question have not mentreterred toeven a single village study conducted by social anthropologists or sociologists. It amounts to a serious gap between the scholars who wish to work on and examine the agrarian question in India. Every possible effort is to be made to understand this phenomenon from the researches conducted in various disciplines like history, economics, anthropology and sociology. Apart from it, identification of the phenomenon includes one empirical exercise as well. The structural component (part) of Marxism has been found helpful in the identification of various categories that comprise agrarian social structure. The agrarian issues centered around caste structure could be found out with the material available in several anthropological and sociological studies.

A very illuminating study on inter-caste relations has come from D.N. Majumdar(1958) who has attempted to study and analyse what he calls it "tensions" in the relationship between different castes. His study has been based upon fieldwork conducted in a village in Uttar Pradesh.

In Uttar Pradesh according to him, three different social categories basically primordial ones did hold the apex of the pyramidal social structure. These three primordial categories were Thakur, rarely a Brahmin or a Muslim ancestral family. The traditional division of labour was full of customary obligations including its stresses and strains. Loyalty and cooperation from all were thrust upon the lower castes. But his study reveals that the lower castes did not accept these conditions which were loaded with a value system typically in favour of ruling or dominant castes, but there were protests from the below(Majumdar 1958: 398). Some instances of tension and conflict, however, small in its nature and scope have attracted the attention of anthropologists. Here the academic stand of an anthropologist is very clear. On the other hand such events of small nature might not attract the attention of historians who would perhaps like to record social movements which are bigger in size and scope and have some macro-implications. But the small events of conflict are also important in the sense as they reflect the souat structure of which they are a part of. Even just after the abolition of zamindari system, the Thakurs were in a position to exercise the role of the dominant caste and they did not have much difficulty in getting the legitimacy based upon traditional grounds (Majumdar !958: 398).

D.N.Majumdar (1958: 398) points it out that the lower castes like Chamars, Pasi etc. were not inward looking and limited upto the village only but their caste association had an inter-village character. Chamars were very much dissatisfied on the conditions and grounds under which they had to do **begar** or forced labour. There are certain instances of what could be roughly referred to as feudalism. D.N.Majumdar(1958: 398-99) has referred to the issues like, to make a person of Chamar caste work for Thakurs which could result into a partial or even in some cases non-payment of wages. D.N.Majumdar (1958 a: 354-63) has seen a change in that system of values and nature of work. He says that now (after independence) Chamars not only resented **begar** but also refused to work even if money was offered to them. Similarly, Chamars started taking water from the wells of the village where Thakur previously prevented them to do so. There were certain other instances of lower castes attempting to raise their social status. D.N.Majumdar mentions that Ahirs tried to stop Thakus passing from their locality during the festival of Holi but could do nothing against the armed Thakurs. Pasis who tried to improve their social status as a consequence of a pamphlet circulated among them were resented by Thakurs. Thakurs who were one time confident of Pasis are not so anymore. Thakurs in one way or another tried to win over the lower castes. Wearing of a sacred thread (Janew) by the Pasis was also resented upon by Thakurs. The instances and exact narration of these by D.N.Majumdar suggests that the traditional power structure was weakening. At this stage it could be referred once again to Yogendra Singh's work where he had pointed out that the traditional power structure was being broken as its nucleus zamindari system had got broken earlier. For our purposes Thakur-Pasi conflict or Thakur-Chamar conflict need be interpreted as agrarian questions. The rural Uttar Pradesh was divided not only along the caste lines but it was such a situation where absentee landlords ruled over the entire peasantry and agricultural labourers. Any such conflict even if it appears in the name of Thakur vs. other lower castes, could be seen and interpreted from the point of view of the agrarian question lying behind it. Primordial categories of social structure come into conflicting situations and it seems to be apparently usual and natural, but the forces lying behind them and its mechanism need some serious academic endeavours.

Another pioneering study of caste relations has come from Bernard S. Cohn (1958 a : 354-363). It is an empirical study of a village Madhopur in the Jaunpur district of the Eastern part of Uttar Pradesh. This study too points it out that the members of the lower castes did not accept their degraded position in the social structure of the village. Bernard S. Cohn (1958 a : 356-360) has traced the political position of the particular caste Camar and attempted to trace it in the then recent history of the village. Thakurs of the village who were the absentee landlords dominated over Camars, Nonias and other lower caste people. Barnard S. Cohn (1958 a : 356) has referred to the weaking of traditional modes of influence among the Thakurs of the village, their caste association lost control over the Rajputs in case they had shifted to the urban areas. But on the other hand the organisation and influence of the caste council of Camars got streng thened.When U.P. Panchayati Raj Act of 1947 was passed the one time tenants Camars put a strong challenge to Thakurs. A purely regional party known as the Tenant (Praja) Party was formed which had its links with the Indian National Congress. They won elections and got the political and administrative powers within the village (1958a : 359).

Although anti-Thakur forces won elections of the village council but their Tenants Party started loosing its organization and even failed to collect its own taxes from the village. Camars could not go the court because of their poor economic conditins. Some cases were filed against the Camar influential in the court of law. As a result Camars succumbed before the power of Thakurs (1958a : 358-360). Tenant Party finally faced a blow when one of its leaders was killed by a Thakur (1958: 359).

This whole process could be seen from the agrarian point of view. In the beginning of this article Bernard S. Cohn (1958a : 355) has admitted that even after the Zamindari abolition in 1952, the Thakurs had almost 70 percent of the total land of the village. The whole processes of protest against the Thakurs by lower castes of the village need to be seen in the from of absentee landlord – tenant relationship. At one stage Bernard S. Cohn(1958a : 359) has himself accepted this position. These lower castes of the village included, Camars, Nonias, Ahirs and Telis. But it would be quite logical to argue that when the Thakurs had owned about 70 percent of the land, it would have been difficult for the Camars as well other lower castes to fight against them. Political defeat could be the most likely outcome of this conflict and the same has happened. Camars who were very weak economically had another problem to face. Economically weak position of Camars led towards their degradation in terms of social status too. Another process almost equivalent to that of Sanskritization began among the Camars who wanted to improve their social status (Cohn 1958 a : 361-363). A comparatively stronger association of Camar caste put several restrictions on their members and those failed to abide by those always had a threat of ex-communication. Apart from it in some cases Camars succumbed to Thakurs and preferred their traditional alignment in order to get benefits from them who had urban connections (1958a : 363).

Here in the study quoted above two processes were clearly visible. One was somewhat revolutionary in nature in which the lower castes attempted to resolve their agrarian problems and a backlash to it was also not unexpected. Chamars in association with Ahirs, Telis, Nonias and others challenged Thakurs and to this extent it was revolutionary in nature. But the second process in which Camars of Madhopur started to put restrictions on their caste members and began a sanskritization like process is not revolutionary in any sense of the term. A radical interpretation

of sanskritization like process is being offered here. Processes like sanskritization are the outcome of what is happening at the level of infrastructure of society. If radical interpretation of sanskritization amounts to the maintenance of the status-quo, then it is far way from being a revolutionary one. Sankritization simply suggests that the lower castes have succumbed to the domination by upper castes which is no way different from the submission of the tenants to the absentee landlords.

Bernard S. Cohn (1958b:372-377) in his study of the same village has noticed some changes like Nonias becoming independent of Thakurs but Camars had to suffer comparatively a greater loss. He has pointed out that after the zamindari abolitions Camars who cultivated approximately 124 acres of land as tenants at will were to become **sirdars**. But only 12 out of 122 Camar households got the land. The most striking feature had been that out of these 12 households of Camars 10 had less than half an acre and only two had more than one acre of land. These facts are striking ones from the agrarian point of view. Facts like these where Camars got so little that they could work upon lead us to interpret it like this that almost nothing substantial has changed. And it could be dangerous from the point of view of research to count the number of families that have been benefited by the abolition of zamindari system. If the facts reported by Bernard S. Cohn are correct, then it clearly indicats that Camars have been defeated here yet once again.

Yet another study of a village Kishan Garhi by McKim Marriot (1955: 171-222) needs a mention here. This study could be important in its own right, since the questions of religious processes have been examined in it. But is a remarkable example of the field work conducted between the period of 1950–52. McKim Marriot refers to two types of religious structures-one known as "Great Tradition" and the other as "Little Tradition". Any process from the latter towards the former is known as "Universalization" and its vice versa is known as "Parochialization". There is no need to further clarify these terms, because in the sociological literature today these terms could be taken as self-explanatory. But from our point of view it is important to recognise that two sorts of cultures exists within the same village. Sanskritized text has been referred to as Great tradition and its local version has been called Little Tradition. This dichotomy of culture within a single village need to be interpreted in terms of its bases. A careful regarding of McKim Marriot's (1955) material suggests that the two sorts of cultures had almost an exclusive identity. Some questions of our interest could be like this . Who were the people to whom the great tradition was confined to ? Who were the people to pull on or exist with the little tradition ? Is it possible in Kishan Garhi to examine the economic bases of people who had practised great or little tradition ? Little tradition could be interpreted as the inability or structural constraints of those who depend upon it. Little and great traditiions could also be interpreted as contrary to each other rather than as complementry to each other. In other words the very existence of little tradition (along with great tradition) in the village means the existence of economic inequalities that got manifested into cultural inequalities.The process of Universalization does not go hand in hand with Sanskritization. McKim Marriot (1955: 197) would also mean that. The process of Uninversalization could be seen as a denial of sanskritzation. And any such denial of sanskritization refers that people who practice little tradition, could have not been co-opted so far in the great tradition. It leads us to interpret that clashes are inevitable, could well result into cultural conflicts. This interpretation of McKim Marriot (1955: 174) has accepted the existence of certain agrarian categories like landlords, tenants, sharecroppers, labourers alongwith certain others like domestic servants

and shopkeepers. Apart from these inequalities, which are bound to produce social tensions and contradictions, McKim Marriot (1955) has also referred to some social implications of the Mahalwari system. It had encouraged the kinsmen to keep the mahal or village together as a property, village is segmented on the basis of residential pattern and cleavages were developed among the kinsmen of the same village. McKim Marriot's study could be seen as relevant from at least on two points. One, it has not to be rejected as an example of a study of a particular pattern of culture and need be interpreted from a fresh perspective which could examine the cultural and economic contradictions. Two, the agrarian social structure as it has been referred to, needs to be highlighted which would mean to bring the agrarian question out of it for its proper study and examination.

Yet another study of two villagers in the Western U.P. needs a mention here. It was conducted by S.C. Dube. Earlier to this work S.C. Dube (1955) wrote a book on a village Shamirpet in Andhra Pradesh. It became not only a pioneering study but was also among the first ones to appear as a single village study in India. After that work S.C. Dube(1958) came out with another research in which he studied two villages in the Western U.P. This study had some sort of similarities with his earlier study like it was also based upon doing team work and also to assessed the impact of change on rural people. S.C.Dube (1958: 56) has referred to two villages – one being as "Rajput Village". He has tried to see the impact of planned change of the then widely known programmes like Community Development Projects (CDPs) on these two villages.It highlights the lack of communication between government officials and the people of these villages (Dube 1958: 102-131). Among the multifaceted Community Development Programmes it was only the agricultural extension that got most of the success (Dube 1958: 82-84). It has been argued, therefore, that the beneficiaries of the CDP were drawn mainly from among the agriculturists. And the section of the villagers who got most of the fruit were very few. S.C. Dube (1958: 82-83) evaluates these as, "A closer analysis of the agricultural extension work reveals that nearly 70 percent of its benefits went to the elite group and to the more affluent and influential agriculturists". The ideas and plans of the government might have received a shock as the benefits of the CDP went to the rural elites and the upper strata in the villages. It could have been a major concern later and that is why perhaps the very idea of the CDP was dropped. The government that wanted to do something for the poor had failed in its objectives as far as the CDP is concerned. From our point of view it is important that the CDP had helped not only in the maintenance of status-quo but on the other hand helped in strengthening it. The point before us is not to assess the success or failure of the government plans but to point it out that the agrarian problems could not be solved. It could be argued here that any such planned change needs considerations at least at two levels. One, as in the from of analysis of the state policy and programmes and two, the problems rooted at the level of the agrarian social structure itself. The failure of the CDP in the two villages of the Western U.P. could serve as an important indicator to point out that the problem could lie at the level of agrarian social structure itself. Then, the agrarian social structure could be expected to exhibit these contradictions. S.C. Dube (1958: 56-59) has said elsewhere in this study that the social structure puts some problems of its own and that factions in the village has often puzzled the development workers.

This sort of an analysis in which an effort has been made to identify the phenomenon from different available sources, at the present moment from several village studies conducted

by anthropologists and sociologists in Uttar Pradesh, could be put later to understand and analyse the cause behind this phenomenon. Throughout this exercise the effort has been made to bring out the phenomenon as clearly as possible and to analyse the contributions by scholars in such a way as the agrarian question could brought out of it. Next, the effort had been to construct the agrarian social structure and if possible to bring out some questions that could be taken up sometime later, if not in this particular study. One such question could be to study and examine the nature of inequalities among the Muslims of the rural areas of Uttar Pradesh. In his study S.C. Dube (1958: 56-59) has referred to castes like groups among the Muslims vis-a-vis castes among the Hindus in the earlier referred "Rajput Village". But the questions of rituals and restrictions on the basis of it are not found among the Muslims as they are traced among the Hindus. S.C. Dube has put it like this : "However the beliefs and observances regarding ritual purity and pollution that largely govern intercaste relations in Hindu society, are not found in the Muslim group. The Muslim Rajputs, like their Hindu counterparts, is an agricultural caste, the rest of the Muslim castes are occupational".

4. Conclusion

Some concluding remarks may be made now. In Uttar Pradesh two principal types of land tenure viz. **taluqdari** and **zamindari** were introduced during the British rule, however, in the Western part of the state peasant proprietorship developed. Uttar Pradesh was also known for another type of land tenure **mahalwari**. **Mahalwari** system was a critique of **zamindari** system and the meaning of **mahal** was roughly equivalent to that of a village. The state of Uttar pradesh was somehow different from the **zamindari** sort of land tenure as it was introduced in Bengal. While making any analysis of agrarian relations in Uttar Pradesh, particularly during the British rule it is important to keep in mind the significant East-West divide. In the eastern part of U.P. **zamindari** and **taluqdari** system of land tenure exhibited heavy concentration of land in the hands of the few, greater inequalities and uninnovative sort of an agriculture were some of its other attributes. This eastern part of U.P. resembled with other areas of exploitation somewhat like Bengal, Bihar, Orissa whereas the western part of U.P. exhibiting more egalitarian nature of agrarian class structure was more nearer to what is known today as Punjab and Haryana. However, the ethics of work was very strong in the western U.P. and the development of irrigation facilities increased the fertility of land in that area. Early consolidation of land in Punjab attributed to the development of the region as a whole. In Uttar Pradesh land consolidation began after national independence in the late fifties. In Bihar it has to take place. After national independence and the abolition of the zamindari system in Uttar Pradesh, there has been a rise of middle caste like Jats in the western and of Yadavas in the eastern part of U.P. as a powerful categories of the agrarian social structure. After national independence there had been a growth of cash crop sugarcane in western U.P. which has seen a development of sugar-mills. This cash crop has its own impact on the living conditions of people. Peasant proprietors of the western U.P. have tremendous amount of self confidence, now they have built up new pakka houses in the village and their children are acquiring comparatively better education. Some innovative people have started business like activities e.g, acquiring a petrol pump, running tempos etc. in the nearby areas. A lot of purchase has been done in the areas of agricultural implements like tractors, threshers etc.

In western Uttar Pradesh, peasant-proprietorship has a powerful base on which it could launch its political activities. The rise of the leaders like Charan Singh and now that of Mahendra Singh Tikait and Ajit Singh exhibits the strong base of peasant-proprietorship in that area. So powerful has been the base of peasant proprietorship alongwith comparatively egalitarian distribution of land that the western U.P. is almost free from trade unionism in agriculture. The temporary immigration of agricultural labourers, particularly at the time when crops are cut, from the areas like Bihar and Bengal indicate towards the better conditions of agricultural labourers in the western U.P. The area is dominated by a strong sense of "peasant culture" which gives them additional confidence. The agrarian class structure of Utter Pradesh after independence has been constructed as the following: (i) Absentee landowners; (ii) Peasant proprietors; (iii) Sharecroppers and (iv) Agricultural labourers.

Notes
1. This reduction of agrarian social structure of Oudh during the British rule is based upon a careful reading of M. H. Siddiqui's material while keepimg an eye on the relationship between ownership of land and the people who actually worked upon it. Siddiqui's facts have been analysed while keeping the Marxist framework in mind.
2.For a detailed account of this argument see Stokes 1980, pp. 205-227.
3**.** for a detailed argument see "The Return of Peasant to South Asian History" in Stokes 1980, pp. 265-289.

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Job Satisfaction in the Higher Civil Services : A Study of the Rajasthan Accounts Service Officers

M. K. Jain

Introduction

Human rather than capital is the key to development and services in a society. Performance and efficiency of institutions depend to a great extent upon the employees engaged to carry out various activities of administration. Late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi once said, "If Government has to do more for the people, its employees must play a more dynamic and more creative role as the instrument for implementing government policies and programmes"(Goel 1984 : 3). Speaking about the personnel's role in development, Farrel Heady (1979 : 270) says that " the importance of administration is almost universally recognized amongst commentators on development, visually an effective bureaucracy is coupled with a vigorous modernizing elite as a prerequisite for progress". Therefore, of the three components required for effective and efficient administration and developmental tasks for welfare in a society; namely, men, money and material machine (M^3), it is more the men (human element) than any other component which determines the quantity and quality of performance and out-put of an organization. After all, the contribution of money and material to achieve goals of the organization depends substantially upon their manipulation by the 'men' (employees). "Good administration is a composite of effective organization, adequate material facilities and qualified personnel… Even poorly devised machinery may be made to work if it is manned with well-trained, intelligent, imaginative and devoted staff. On the other hand, the best-planned organization may produce unsatisfactory results if it is operated by mediocre or disgruntled people" (Sharp 1961:19). Hence, to pay attention to the administration of personnel is an essential need for performance of the Government. In the personnel administration, job satisfaction of the civil servant is one of the most important factors that determines the performance of the Government.

The Problem

The efficiency and effectiveness of a big organization like public administration depends not only upon factors like high salary for employees, promotional opportunities, advancement, status of job, identification with job, formal and informal relations within the organization but also upon efforts of employees (civil servants) to perform their duties which are the net product of their job-satisfaction. "Job satisfaction, in simple words, is an individual's emotional reaction to the job

M. K. Jain is Head, Deptt. of Public Administration, Govt. Dungar College, Bikaner –334 001 (INDIA)

itself. It is a person's attitude towards the job. People spend a sizeable amount of their time in work environment. From any minimally humanitarian point of view, they expect that portion of their lives to be more or less pleasant, agreeable, satisfying and fulfilling" (Dubin 1981 : 236). In an organization like public administration there are several factors related to job satisfaction such as job-security, satisfactory working and service conditions, easy and routine work/ fixed working hours, status, prestige and value of the job, opportunities for personal development, opportunities to learn and improve one's job, dynamics and challenges in the job, adequate administrative and political leadership, incentives and creativeness in the job, delegation of authority for quick disposal of work, equitable salary and remuneration, properly and timely recognition for good and hard work, scientific and objective method for performance evaluation, properly effective training facilities, satisfactory policies and programmes of Government and interpersonal relationship among various administrative groups. Contrarily, job dissatisfaction reflects high rate of resignations, regular absenteeism, disprompt and inefficient working, worst performance, negligence of work, regular on strike, malpractices in functioning, unhealthy interpersonal relationship and lac of clear-cut policies of transfer.

In India the problem of employees' job satisfaction has not yet received sufficient attention of the investigators, though it is a felt need of a developing democracy and welfare state. Moreover, in Rajasthan the job satisfaction among the civil servants has remained almost a neglected factor in social research. Here, an attempt has been made to determine the status of job satisfaction among the Rajasthan Accounts Service Officers (R. Ac. S.). The R. Ac. S. who take decisions and advice the Government in financial and accounts matters belong to the middle management level of the administration. They are selected through a competitive examination conducted by the Rajasthan Public Service Commission and hold the positions such as Treasury Officer, Financial Adviser, Senior Accounts Officer, Chief Accounts Officer and Joint Director (Accounts).

Objectives

The study was carried out with the objectives as follows :
1. To examine the socio-economic background of the R.Ac.S. officers which influences their job-behaviour and attitudes.
2. To know about the service conditions of the officers determining their job-behaviour.
3. To find out the officers' perceptions about the job, job-nature, job contents and job-environment and also to know the work attitude which contributes to better performance.
4. To analyse and examine the interpersonal relations among various groups in the departments/sections under the officers with view to the job-satisfaction.
5. To ascertain the factors like initiative, job motivation, recognition of good work, acceptance of job changes, work innovation and creativeness, which contribute to positive attitudes of the officer towards their job.
6. To identify the factors contributing to or hampering the improvement of administrative efficiency and effectiveness.
7. To assess the work identification of the officers.
8. To know how much authority and discretionary powers the officers have for taking inde

pendent decisions.
9. To test the applicability of Harzberg's hygiene maintenance theory and Maslow's need hierarchy theory in the situation.
10. To suggest suitable measures increasing job satisfaction in the civil services, particularly R. Ac. S. officers.

Methodology

The study is based on oral information elicited through structured interviews administrated to the officers posted at all the 31 districts of the State and all the big departments of the Government of Rajasthan. The total cadre strength of R. Ac. S. officers in Rajasthan Government decided by the Government is 500 (475 cadre posts + 25 training reserves, leave reserves, etc.). Of the 475 officers, 77 officers were interviewed through purposive sampling procedure. The questionnaire consisted of 125 questions for collecting information contained three types of questions : 1-open ended, 2-multiple choice and 3-dichotomous answer. The questions covered 10 variables such as socio-economic background service conditions, interpersonal relations in the organization, initiative, job motivation and recognition of work, acceptance of job changes, work innovation job changes, work innovation job creativeness. The study was conducted during August 1996 – August 1999.

Findings

The following are the major findings emerging from the study.
1. The R. Ac. S. officers mainly came from the urban families of civil servants or of some other service background.
2. The average age of the officers is 42.1 years and had less than 15 years service in R. Ac. S. cadre.
3. They joined this cadre due to their own desire as, in their view, the Government job has high prestige, status, salary and prospects.
4. Majority of the officers felt that their jobs are usually interesting and important to the Government as well as to the society.
5. A majority of the officers believed in human relations approach.
6. A majority of the officers felt that the work allocation and responsibilities in Government were based on competence and rational method of selection.
7. The officers in general expressed doubt about the integrity of Government servants in the wake of complaints of malpractices in administration like bribery, economic influence, corruption, delays, negligence, etc. which adversely affected job disatisfaction. Officers felt that their service matters are intervened by politicians and higher authorities. They do not have enough authority and discretionary powers to decide things on their own. Their employees do not perform their duties and responsibilities efficiently.
8. In general, they were satisfied with their service conditions. Factors like no incentives and proper recognition of extra and hard work, thankless job, no exposure etc. were most unsatisfactory aspects of their service. As such they feel, their service is the best prestigious state service, based on rules and regulations. But they are dissatisfied with their Annual Performance Appraisal Report system. Which, in their opinion, should be filled by the higher officers of their own cadre than the I. A. S. officers.

9. Generally, the officers have friendly relations with their superiors, colleagues and subordinates.

10. A majority of the officers informed that they favoured the idea of their sons or daughters for joining the civil services. Instead, they feel that services in a private business organization are more efficient than the civil services.

Suggestions

The following suggestions emerged from the views expressed by the R. Ac. S. officers for improvement in the services.

1. Higher educational facilities should be increased at village level, so that villagers can also compete for the higher civil services.
2. R. Ac. S. officers should be given training strictly related to finance and accounts.
3. Time to time refresher courses should be conducted by the Government for providing training or updating the officers' knowledge regarding their job.
4. The nomenclature of the service should be changed so as to be the Rajasthan Finance and Accounts Service and the service conditions be restructured accordingly.
5. At least after every 6 years an officer should be promoted or given next higher grade and the promotion should be made through a written examination conducted either by the Government department or R. P. S. C.
6. The APAR should be made more objective by having all entries in it related to the nature of work of the employees. The APAR should be filled by the higher officer of their own cadre than an I.A.S.
7. A clear transfers and postings system should be laid down so that an employee can know about the time of his transfer.
8. Defaulters in the service should be penalized.
9. More authority and discretionary powers should be given to them for quick decisions at their level.
10. Officers should be encouraged to express their views and suggestions regarding the improvement in administrative procedure and Government policies. Political interference should be decreased or curbed totally in day-to-day administration and service matters of the personnel.
11. There should be proper and due reward system for doing hard and extra work.
12. There should be proper maintenance of records, proper work distribution, sufficient equipments like desks, chairs and stationery, etc., supervision by superiors, co-operation and co-ordination among peer-groups and subordinates.
13. Tax should not be deducted in case of the Government employees.
14. From time to time administrative process should be reviewed and restructured according to the changing requirements of administrators.
15. Facilities and opportunities should be increased for individual creative work in Government departments.
16. Committees of legal status should be constituted in the Government offices and departments at every level in administrative hierarchy to meet at regular intervals, discuss the problem of their personnel and give suggestions to solve them.

Conclusion

The over all impression the study gives is that the R. Ac. S. officers are moderately satisfied with their jobs and environment because they are in the Government service wherein all aspects of employees such as recruitment, promotion, salary, working conditions, administrative procedure, superior-subordinate relationships, initiative and motivation, authority to take decisions and nature of jobs, are based totally on finance and accounts rules and regulations. Due to the fixed finance and accounts rules and regulations they feel less pressures and tension than the other administrative officers in administrative hierarchy at state level. A +65 mark of their job satisfaction indicates that they are not highly satisfied individuals. As they are operating at middle levels of Maslow's need hierarchy, we can not call them the self-actualised individuals. They appear to be satisfied upto the level of social needs and +50 mark of self-esteem needs.

The findings of the study also bring out that Harzberg's Motivation Hygiene Theory is not fully applicable in the case of the Rajasthan Accounts Service officers who have a +50 level of job satisfaction. Besides the hygiene factors of job security, easy and routine work, fixed working hours, status, prestige and value of the job, working conditions, salary and cordial interpersonal relationships, only one or two motivational factors are confirmed upto the mark of 65% to 70%. The remaining motivational factors such as recognition for accomplishment, challenging work, increased responsibilities and authority, personal growth and development are not confirmed. The study confirms that the job satisfaction of the officers in Government sector is deteriorating day-by-day. In a nutshell, the R. Ac. S. officers are satisfied upto certain level but not upto the optimum level as desired and required in an era of globalization and privatization.

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Multiculturism, Modernity and Violence: Terrorism in North East India

G. Ram

Social organization is always problematic from within and without, engendering various forms of action including violence in the process of constant adjustment of human beings to the internal and external aspects of its dynamic environment. A social action is considered either normal or deviant only in the context of a social organization in a given space and time. An act of violence may, therefore, refer to either of the states of social action depending on the different contexts of its incidence. Originating from endogenous as well as extraneous sources the incidence of violence has prevailed in various degrees, forms, magnitudes and dimensions at different levels of social organization in/among the human societies of all times. The highly organized form of violence or terrorism having existed in the historical times, too, (Sahi1996:60) and emerged recently as a matter of serious concern all over the world is a common, widespread socio-politico-psychological phenomenon prevailing in most of the contemporary societies, particularly in the multicultural societies/ situations, such as Burma, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, South East Asian nations, Cyprus, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, Yemen, UAE, Angola, Egypt, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, South Africa, Uganda, Zaire, Zimbabwe, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Peru, Surinam, Venezuela, Corsica, Italy, North Ireland, Sardinia and Spain. The fact here poses a question: *What patterns of the relationship between multiculturism and violence are emerging in the modernization of societies, particularly in the multicultural India in the making of a nation –state?* The problem is being attempted with reference to the terrorism in North East region of India.

Theoretical Formulations

In sociology as well as in political science, the concept of the term terrorism has, indeed, yet to get a complete, widely acceptable definition. Lacquer has noted109 definitions of the term between1936 to 1986. In the Oxford Dictionary (1996) it is defined as "The use of violence especially for the political aims" while Raina (1996) noted that "Terrorism is the method or theory behind the method whereby an organization, group or party works to achieve its desired aims through systematic use of violence." Anti-Terrorist Act 1985 (Government of India) defines a terrorist as "a person who indulges in wanton killing of persons or in violence or disrupting means of communication essential to the community with a view to putting the public or any section of the public in fear, affecting adversely the harmony between religions or different races, coercing or over-awing the Government established by law or endangering the sovereignty and integrity of India". The terms such as terrorism, extremism, militancy, insurgency and revolution that are often used interchangeably by different scholars have certainly a little difference of meaning.

G. Ram is Reader, Department of Sociology, Assam University, Silchar-788 011 (India) E-mail: gramsoc@hotm.com

From political stance, terrorism being based on a group's goal in order to achieve political aims or get something from a government by force is used more in the international context whereas the militancy is more common in the national context; insurgency being of more locally based and sporadic nature mainly involves ambush, assassination of leaders or community heads, kidnappings, extortion, etc. to get fulfilled some local demands involved with a community in a particular region. Like its definition, the types of terrorism, too, are identified by different scholars variously. Wilkinson in his book Political Terrorism drew a distinction between four types of terrorism; namely, criminal, psychic, war and political terrorism (Singh1996: 84). Similarly, K. B. Raina (1996) and Vidya Bhushan (1996) also identify the diverse kinds of terrorism such as individual terrorism (rapes, robberies, murders, kidnappings, etc.), group terrorism, state terrorism, revolutionary terrorism, political terrorism, criminal terrorism, narco-terrorism, constitutional terrorism and international terrorism. The favourable background conditions of terrorist activities either exist actually or are perceived to exist such as political frustration and economic disparities (Raina1996:122). Parveen Kumar (1996:71) broadly divided and sub-divided the terrorism into ideological (political and religious) terrorism and criminal terrorism like mafias and similar groups. Terrorism emerges in a society where social, economic and political injustices are meted out by the administration (Mehra1996: 215).

In India the terrorism of the radical nationalists for the political goal of *swaraj* (self rule) has been marked during the British rule. Even after Independence there emerged various ramifications of political or ideological terrorism in the form of communist violence in Telengana and West Bengal (1948-50), Naxalite violence in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and some other parts of the country (1967-72), militant activities in Jammu and Kashmir, and political terrorism at its peak in Punjab in the form of Khalistan Movement in early 1980's. As in other developing countries, the principal cause of the rise of terrorism in India is the existence of socio-cultural, politico-economic, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversities and their self-consciousness (Tiwari1990) combined with economic deprivation, political oppression, poor job opportunities (so called strong centre -periphery relationship) and relative deprivation among the ethnic groups (Bhushan1996: 329) and vexed by the acts of oppression and repression such as humiliation of the masses, soft attitude towards criminals, wrong policies of the government, deprivation of the basic human rights and poverty among the people, unemployment, black marketing, public corruption, bribes by responsible officers and so on (Kumar1996: 70-74), foreign support, liberation of fellow terrorists and lure for publicity (Sehgal 1996). To achieve their goals terrorists create a fear psychosis among government officials and their supporters through the activities like (i) killing carnage of people or bus and train passengers, and bomb and grenade attacks on civilians in markets, railway stations, cinema houses and public gatherings; (ii) looting of public funds, banks and organizations; (iii) destructive activities such as hijacking of planes, burning of bridges and buildings, derailment of trains, desecration of holy places and destruction of public and private property; (iv) intimidation, extortion and kidnapping of businessmen, film stars, officials, security personnel or their family members for ransom, blackmail or coercion; (v) assassination of public figures and perceived opponents including informers; (vi) attack on police patrols, outposts and armours and (vii) murdering of security personnel and /or their family members (Raina1996: 119-23; Rastogi1988, 1993: 20-21).

The definitions, types and conditions as mentioned in the literature do map out the concept, magnitude and genesis of terrorism, but only in a discursive, limited political manner wherein the variously based types are so mixed as to provide no logically complete typology. To understand it, one needs a comprehensive, sociological treatment of its definition and typology. Terrorism, then, refers to a social action of an actor oriented to a goal by terrifying the other actors with violent means for his/her optimum gratification from disruption of the given material and normative conditions in a situation. This definition sheds light on various elements of an act of terrorism such as actor/agency, goal, extent/other actors, means, consequences/disruption and conditions. Hence, its typology on the basis of agency (individual and group/state), goals (socio-cultural, political, economic, ideological, constitutional, war, etc.), extent (local, regional, national, international and global), means (rapes, robberies, murders, kidnappings, etc.), consequence (psychic, anomic, criminal, anarchic, etc.) and conditions (actual as well as perceived social, economic, political, religious, ethnic and other conditions of deprivation, inequalities, oppression, suppression and other injustices).

Broadly, the four paradigms (sociological, political, social psychological and anthropological/ culturological) are discerned to emerge out of the discussion of the studies attempted to explain the phenomenon of terrorism; viz., (i) Anomie Paradigm, (ii) Centre-Periphery (Marxist) Model, (iii) Relative Deprivation Approach and (iv) Cultural Pluralist Approach. Merton's (1975) anomie paradigm considers terrorism the rebellion or anomic state of society emerging out of the gap between the cultural goals and the institutional means in which an individual rejects the both and replaces them with his own innovated ones in the process of his adaptation to the norms in a society. Feeling relatively deprived of the institutional means to accomplish the cultural goals and frustrated with the existing social organization the individual rebels against it to establish a system of the accessible cultural goals and the technically efficient means. The centre-periphery (Marxist) model (Frank1975) of terrorism explains that the strong relationship between a centre and its peripheries leads to the relative deprivation, exploitation and impoverishment of the peripheries in the matter of resource utilization, employment and development. The peripheries experience a situation of inner colonialism wherein they are weak and helpless to exert for an equal right of resource utilization against a strong centre (negative reference group) and this frustration gives rise to terrorism in the peripheries. The relative deprivation approach was developed by Merton (1975) and applied largely in various studies of social problems in sociology, political science and social psychology. It refers to the relative deprivation as a gap between expectations and perceived capabilities of a person vis-à-vis his economic situation, political power and social status in relation to others (Gurr1980). The cultural pluralist approach (Phadnis 1990; Smith1986) emphasizing the dominant-subordinate patterns of interaction among various cultural groups in a comparative perspective attempts to determine the relative significance of cultural pluralities for social order and political stability in a society. In a culturally divergent society constituted by the co-existence of various groups with their mutually incompatible social structures, value systems and belief patterns, the structural requisites of a political order leads to the subordination of one group by the other ones

characterized by domination, separation, instability, dissensus, conflict and, extremely, by terrorism. None of the theoretical paradigms is independently adequate to explain the social problem of terrorism. Rather, each paradigm compensates the other ones. Therefore, a combination of these four paradigms is generally applicable to explain such a problem.

Multicultural North East in the Making of the Indian Nation-state

India as a whole has 4635 communities comprising 2000 to 3000 caste groups- about 60000 synonyms of titles and sub-groups and near about 40000 endogenous divisions (Singh1992: 14-15) formed on the basis of religion, sect, language, race, tribe, region, sub-culture, symbols, tradition, shared history, creed, minority status, ritual, dress, diet, boundary, national origin, or some combination of these factors (Hutnik1991; Rastogi1986, 1993). North East India depicts cultural plurality of almost all Indian varieties of life styles, cultures, languages, religions, beliefs and traditions. The four factors; namely, tribe, caste, language and religion form the motifs of the cultural plurality in the region. According to the Census Report (1991), in all 213 tribal groups comprising 25.77% of the total population are distributed variously over the eight states (Sikkim is going to be a member of the North East Council) of the region such as Arunachal Pradesh-101 (63.7%), Assam-23 (12.8%), Manipur-28 (34.4%), Meghalaya-14 (85.5%), Mizorum-05 (94.8%), Nagaland–20 (87.7%), Sikkim-04 (22.4%) and Tripura-18 (30.9%). The non-tribal/caste groups are found only in the plains of the region, particularly those of Assam, Tripura and Manipur and in Sikkim as a whole. India has 1652 mother tongues and 18 scheduled languages in the constitution. The North East has the speakers of each of the scheduled languages, though from the region are included only Assamese and Manipuri. Besides, the tribal groups and sub-groups speak about 400 languages and dialects distributed over Arunachal Pradesh-168, Nagaland-95, Manipur-87, Tripura-100 and Assam, Meghalaya and Mizoram-200 (Gopalakrishan 1995). The Hindus followed by the Muslims are concentrated in the plains of the region. The Christians are 85% in Mizoram, about 60% in Nagaland and around 40% in Meghalaya (Dubey 1978; Rastogi 1986, 1993; Hutnik 1991).

The people's resistance to the making of the Indian nation-state in the region has a sufficient, long historical legacy right from the times of the British regime in India. The various groups have had their territorial autonomy in the past as well as their association with their brothers in China, Myanmar and Bangladesh across the border. The British Government of India either left them to live isolated in the Inner Lines or crushed them with might to serve their interests. After Independence the Indian government has subsequently adopted the policies ranging from the military action to the political persuasion to the developmental deal for the region. During the nation-state making amidst the multicultural diversity the region has undergone the innumerable inter-ethnic conflicts and the immense violence of multiple terrorist groups posing the greatest hurdle in the modernization through social, political, economic and normative formations of the regional extent.

Patterns of Terrorism in the Nation-state Making in North East India

During the process of nation-state making or modernization in the region the gradually increasing violence, and particularly terrorism, has emerged as a major response to it. The various patterns of terrorism in the region have existed simultaneously or subsequently in the contemporary times; viz, (i) anti-state terrorism, (ii) state (security forces') terrorism, (iii) ethnic terrorism,

(iv) nativitistic (sons of the soil) terrorism, (v) criminal (across border) terrorism and (vi) foreign (ISI) sponsored/backed terrorism. The North Eastern violence has always been concerned with a people's mainly locality based demand either for a sovereign state in their particular geographical location or for a state within the Indian constitution (Samanta1994), or, recently, to preserve ethnic identity and to wrench out economic gains in a particular community. The terrorist and insurgency groups in the North Eastern India doing violence on a large scale in the recent times are the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) and the Karbi National Volunteers (KNV) in Assam, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) in Manipur, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) in Nagaland, the Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) and the All Tripura People's Liberation Organization (ATPLO) in Tripura, the Hills National Liberation Council (HNLC) in Meghalaya and many other ones burgeoning continuously on the multi-ethnic base.

In North East the problems of Assam state are very complex and different from those of the insurgency problem in the other North Eastern states. A continuous in-flow of the immigrants from across the international borders, galvanized native identities, ever increasing ethnic consciousness and decreasing life chances are responsible for vexing its problems. On the basis of the range of their demands and nature of violence the ULFA (separatist) can be taken as a terrorist organization and the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) and the Karbi National Volunteers ((KNV)-both seeking internal autonomy- as the insurgency groups in Assam. In November 1990, the ULFA and the NSCN were both banned and brought under the Disturbed Areas Act in the respective states of Assam and Nagaland by imposing the president's rule.

Multiculturalism, Modernity and Violence

Seemingly, the modernization/nation-state formation- of a multicultural society breeds violence/terrorism of various groups instead of establishing a rational order based on their mutual consent. But actually modernity and violence do not have any essential relationship of concurrence or antagonism. The process of modernization of a society brings the people under a generalized normative order and a universalistic value system on the principles of secularism and egalitarianism along with or without liberty and democracy. The task becomes tougher in a multicultural society where it faces the issues of diversity, equality and justice. The cultural diversities clamour for as well as are used as the resources for opportunities amidst the inequalities of material facilities, political power and social prestige and the injustices meted out in the operation of their dominant-subordinate relations. Here, the subordinate groups perceive the modern culture, dominated by a few groups, as being imposed upon their particularistic cultural identities and relatively depriving them of resources. Thus, the dynamics of modernization, and not the modernity, leads to friction, conflict and, finally, terrorism in the societies. The possibility of ethnic violence cannot be negated even in modernized societies. To some extent the people cherish, celebrate and reinvent their identities in these societies also as the scientific instruments of modernism cannot resolve all the issues of ultimate ends of life. Elimination of the violence in the making of a nation-state needs statecraft with a vision. Jawaharlal Nehru did display a statesman's vision in his policy for integration of the tribal people with the Indian (constitutional) mainstream and at the same time for empowering them to preserve their cultural identity from the reckless forces of change. Their participation in the society at large realized through internal autonomy does accomplish the goal of modernization

and protect them from reckless oppressions but not without any danger of secessionism in view of the same ethnic groups occupying the territories and interacting equally with the community brothers across the boundary (international border)-the hot bed of external interventions far away from the centre of the Indian political society. Then, only a cautiously monitored Nehruvian social policy that visualized self-governance, development and integration of ethnicities can work a relatively peaceful modernization/nation-state formation in the multicultural societies like India.

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Book Reviews

Arthur J.Vidich 1995: *The New Middle Classes: Life-Status Claims and Political Orientations*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.   pp. 405+12.

The book under review is designed to provide a theoritical orientation and historical perspective on the rise of the middle classes in modern civilization ,and to portary the social and political roles these classes have played and continue to play in the United States over the past century, with particular reference to the American class structure and political economy. It reveals both the genealogical development of sociological thought about the middle classes and the substantive content of these classes 'life-styles, status claims and political orientations.The work stresses emperical studies and puts forth neither a theoritical interpretation nor a conceptual taxonomy ; rather, it delineates the emergences and the social and political significance of the new middle classes in relation to the classes above and below, that preceded them.

The book is divided into four Parts, the Part-I deals with the 'Emergence of the New Middle Classes: Theoritical Problems and Historical Changes'consists four chapters. in the Part-II focuses upon 'The Status Sphere and The Psychology of Classes. The Part-III concentrates, however, on 'The Middle Classes in the United States'. In the last part 'The New Class System in the United States : Life-Styles and Political Orientation'is discussed (chapter 13,14,15,16 and 17).

In chapter 1- "The Discovery of the New Middle Classes", Val Burris's reviews and evaluates the entire spectrum of classical literature on the middle classes including that of Karl Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein, Carl Dreyfuss, Theodor Geiger and others. Burris also shows the genealogical connections between these earlier discoveries of the new middle classes and such later students of the subjects such as C. Wright Mills, Daniel Bell, Alvin Gouldner and James Burnham. Burris provides not only a summary of the literature on the new middle classes but also an estimation of that literature's most critical historical moment. In chapter 2- "The New Middle Class" Emil Lederer and Jacob Marschak have carefully analyzed the occupational, organizational status, political and personal identity problems of the middle sectors of German society at a time when the rumblings of fascism were already being heard. They perceived in raw detail of the political implications of middle- class occupational insecurities. Hans Speier in Chapter-3, "Middle Class Notion and Lower Class Theory" presents a general emperical framework for the understanding those social, status and economic factors that seperate blue from white-collar workers.Speier pointsout the uneradicated differences between the social and psychological predispositions of the new middle classes.Speier also analyses new-middle class prestige aspirations and their concomitant status defensivences as they manifested themselves in specific industries and occupations, providing what are virtually ethnographic protraits of higher and lower admistration,foremen and workers, techinicians and engineers, typists, seceretaries each at different levels of the respective hierarchies.Speier came close to providing a complete description of the inner differences and

complexities of these classes, an accomplishment that since that time has not been repeated in the studies of the middle classes. In the Chapter 4- "The Growth of the New Middle Class", Anthony Giddens illustrates the process of the development of the new middle in Germany, France, England, Japan and United States and follow unique trajectories that are guided by each country's culture,economic and political uniqueness. With respect to the United States Giddens concludes that even within the so called new middle class proletarianized white- collor workers there is no evidences of political radicalization or acceptance of status equality with blue-collar workers.

Hans.H.Gerth and C.Wright Mills in Chapter 5- "The Status Sphere"explain the relationship between status claims and the grounds upon which such claims can be made.They point out that prestige involves two persons-one to claim it and another to honor the claims, and the reasons others honor these claims, includes property and descent, occupation and education, income and power. In Chapter 6&7: "The Foundations of Social Rank and Respects"and "Bureaucracy and Masked Class Membership" Hans Speier points out that the claims to rank and social respect advanced by the white collor workers can be understood in terms of the plurality of social valuations based on noble birth, wealth, education, religious denomination and 'race' compete with one another by which the order of social ranks is given. The prestigious organization may lend status, such forms of borrowed status, however, may conceal or mask the actual economic status of thouse persons whose social prestige is enhanced by this process of borrowing. Speier explains that such practices lead to multifarious forms of hidden class membership and result in the otherwise unexpected neutralizations of social and class conflicts.In Chapter 8- "Economic Class, Status and Personality" Joseph Bensman and Arthur J.Vidich analyze the changing patterns in status structures as they relate to both changes in forms of capital and fluctuations of economic values, all of which tend to occur in the inflationary and deflationary business cycles. They describe three possible directions: up, down or stable of movement for classes, and individuals and how the social psychology and world views of classes and individuals are affected by economic change.

In chapter9- "The New Middle Class-I" C.Wright Mills illustrate the shift from the dominance of the older middle class to the growth of the new middle classes in the immediate post-second world war era.In chapter 10- "The New Middle Class-II" he discusses the social and political direction likely to be taken by these new classes. In chapter 11- "The Transformation of the Black Middle Class" w Arthur S.Evans Jr. presents a description and analysis of the old and the new black middle classes. In his view, the new black middle classes are the product of recently acquired occupational opportunities in white -collor administrative and bureaucratic organizations. He finds that there is a difference in their orientation as these new ones find themselves socially distanced from the black ghatto communities.In chapter 12- "Changes in the Life-Style of American Classes" Joseph Bensman and Arthur J.Vidich discuss the massive groth of the new middle classes and the emergences of their brand of political liberalism based on economic advancement, occupational success and class ascendancy. They also examine the varieties of life-styles created by the middle classes

In last part of the book the New Class System of United States is discussed. In Chapter13, Joseph Bensman and Arthur J.Vidich explain "The New Class System and its Life-Styles". Here, they exmine not only the case of the middle classes, but also of the upper, upper-middle, lower-middle working and poverty classes because they believe that the politics and political psychology of the middle classes must always be seen in relation to the classes above and below them
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Their life- style depends upon individual preferences, priorities and economic to support them.In Chapter 14- "Liberalism and the New Middle Classes" they describe the political orientation of these newer middle classes in such settings as small rural hamlets, University towns, suburban communities and urban enclaves where the liberalism of these classes had become a dominant force. In Chapter 15- "The New Conservatism: Political Ideology and Class Structure in borrowing. Speier explains that such practices lead to multifarious forms of hidden class membership and result in the otherwise unexpected neutralizations of social and class conflicts.In Chapter 8- "Economic Class, Status and Personality" Joseph Bensman and Arthur J.Vidich analyze the changing patterns in status structures as they relate to both changes in   forms of capital and fluctuations of economic values, all of which tend to occur in the inflationary and deflationary business cycles. They describe three possible directions: up, down or stable of movement for classes, and individuals and how the social psychology and world views of classes and individuals are affected by economic change.

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shrinkage of economic opportunity. His arguements are applicable to the current economic situation in the United States as he explains and portraits the actual and possible reactions of the various classes to declines in America's historic abundance and to the increasing dependence of the American economy on an internationalized and more competitive world economy.

Thus, the book presents a comprehensive picture of the problematics of middle class both at the theoretical and empirical levels. It also enables one to understand the nature of processes taking place currently in the class structure of United States of America in the recent past. Although, it is basically written for the students of Sociology, Psychology and Social work but it is also useful for those who have some general interest in the problematics of middle class.

Bidyut Deb Choudhury

Chaudhary, S. N. 1999: *Power Deependence Relations: Struggle for Hegemony in Rural Bihar,* **New Delhi: Har Anand Publications Pvt. Ltd., pp.293, Price Rs. 495.**

Sociological interest in the problematic of political power is as old as the discipline itself. Weber's famous essay "Class, Status and Party" and his conceptualization of the power and authority provided a strong basis for politcal sociology and sociology of social stratification. Since then the concept of power and its various facets have been examined by a number of social scientists in context of developed and developing societies both at micro and macro levels. A number of issues have been raised by the social scientists during the course of their studies in this fertile area of research. The book under review raises some of the fundamental queries in relation to power structure at theoretical level in Chapter 2, 3 and 4 and then in Chapter 5, 6 and 7 the patterns of power relations in a north Indian state, namely, Bihar are analysed first in historical perspective broadly in colonial and post-colonial era. The book also takes a note of current political processes in rural Bihar and also addresses the questions related to the future of other Backward classes dominance in the state. The present work seems to be an extension of author's earlier work *Community Power structure: Search for an Alternative Paradigm (1993)* both at theoretical and empirical level. The author has confined his analysis to three major resources of power-land, education and politics. He analyses the nature of relationship between land and caste since 1793, the year of permanent settlement in Bihar. He then examines the interface between caste and education from 1835 onwards the time when first educational survey was conducted in two districts of Bihar. The relationship between caste and politics is although examined from 1937 onwards. He finds that during colonial period there was a domination of upper castes on most of the sources of power viz. land and other sources of rural economy, politics, education, bureaucracy, high ritual status etc. He pointed out that although the changes in the patterns of rural power structure started to appear during the colonial rule but in post independence period process of chage got momentum with the abolition of Zamindari system and land emerged as one of the important power resource and the dependency of lower castes on upper castes decreased. The transfer of significant amount of land from the upper castes to upper backward castes reduced the economic dominance of the upper castes. Similarly, protective major for SCs & STs and later on for OBCs in the field of education empowered these section of society to move upward in occupational hierarchy. It was further enhanced by their conscious efforts to grab political power at different level in a democratic set up in different combinations of different castes at different levels. The dominance of some

particular castes in new rural power structure witnessed an important shift in power-dependence relations in rural Bihar. The analysis of historical data and the present scenario in the present work provides the reader a clear-cut understanding of the changes in community power structure of the rural Bihar. The work is very useful not only for academicians but also for general readers interested in the historicity of the current processes of change in the society of Bihar.

Virendra Pal Singh

Abbasi, Parvez A. 1999*: Social Inequalities among Indian Muslims,* **Udaipur: A. C. Brothers, pp.x+ 128, Rs. 180 (HB).**

Social inequlities of status, class and power-rank formed of influence, income and dominance originate from the unequal distribution of prestige, wealth and power (resources) among human beings. Such a distribution is inherent in the differences of moral consciousness, technical efficiencyand regulatory legitimacy of human energies operated in the time-space context. Hence, the social inequalities present a universal phenomenon of vertical, complex and dynamic nature. This trinitorian (Weberian) model of the inequality formation in social, economic and political dimensions offers a vast variety of combinations ranging from a perfect co-relation to a clear-cut seperation among the three types. With egalitarian values forming the core of the Islamic faith and the Indian society grounded in the institutionalized inequality, the Indian Muslims attract special attention of social scientists with strong field orientation. Systematic studies of recent origin on inequalities among Indian Muslims show the existence of caste-like groups; namely, the Ashrafs (pure Muslims descended from the Sayyed, etc.) and the Non-Ashrafs (Converts) attributed with membership by birth, endogamy, traditional occupation, *Biradari* (caste) panchayat and secular orientation substituting for the Hindu rituals. The structural (caste) inequalities persist even on coversion to the Islam and the Christianity as is evident from a number of social movements for the recognition of 'backward caste status' among them.

The study focuses on the Gaddi of Western Uttar Pradesh, originally an offshoot of the Ghosi, associated with the pastoralism-based traditional occupation of vegetable-growing and dairying and, now, caught in the process of social transformation. The occupation determines their status as a lower middle order of clean occupational castes, i.e., near to the Jat and the Ahir in the social hierarchy. The Meerut region, the extreme western part of Uttar Pradesh, in the 'upper doab' between the Ganges and the Jamuna that came increasingly under intensive cultivation in view of various infra-structural developments taking place right from the Mughal period and remained in the centre of political activities, social reforms and revolutions in the vicinity of the national capital is the regional setting of their social organization.Rural hard work ethos of the middle and lower order peasantry are quite dominant in the region .

The internal organization of the Gaddi that reflects a process of their traditional adjustments to the ecological changestransformed from the pastoral life characterized by 'pahalwan' (wrestler) as the status symbol of the Biradari (community) as a whole to vegetable-growing and dairying and, later, to machanized agricultural activities for producing grains for domestic consumption and potatoes for marketing. In the town setting the traditional occupation gets along through the selling of *Khoya* (a milk product) in and aroud the capital city. Consequently, the Gaddi peasants have been transformed into farmers amidst whom the pahelwan has now lost lustre and the Chaudhary

(head of their Biradari panchayat) has become the status symbol. Even occupational diversification occurred in the allied sector of agriculture wherein a cold storage for potatoes was constructed jointly by a Gaddi and a Mahajan. Profits from the venture were at first used by the Gaddi owner to by a car for commuting his children to a convent school at Meerut. By this, other children also got inspired to go to school in the village. Educational and political exposures attempts for reforms in the Biradari by the elites to replace feast for *sharbat* (soft drink) and to scale down dowry but these were opposed by the muscle power. The strains of modern and traditional forces led to the split of the Biradaris into the Sharbati and the Dawati. Unification efforts of a lawyer during the Meerut riots (1982) could not succeed and the two Biradari became endogamous by restricting vertical ties and extending horizontal ties through lineage exogamy in a regional boundary. The Biradari panchayat headed by a Chaudhary (ascriptive position in a lineage) maintains and strengthens the caste-like structure and solidarity but without the practice of any rituals according the sanctity to caste.

Interactions of the Gaddi with their neighbours- both the Muslims and the Hindus- operate on the basis of *jajmani/faslana* or partially in comercial terms. Six caste-like groups (Barber, Carpenter, etc.) provide services of various kinds, who are paid at the crops or partially paid in cash. Of the three Hindu caste in the village,, the chamar provided labour for agriculture and the Bhangi performed the function of cleaning. When the Bhangi withdrew their services of cleaning night soil during the Meerut riots, the Gaddi persuaded some members of a lower Muslim group, the Bhisti, to carry out the task. The other Bhisti members opposed their action and ,later, this led to the split of Bhisti into two Biradaris. Therefore, the Gaddi are the patrons served on the jajmani lines cutting across religious boundaries.Their reference model is the Jat who consider themselves equal to the Rajput and not lower than the Brahmin.
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Evidently,the study provides very clear theoretical and methodological perspectives for under standing a social phenomenon. Sociological enquiry of a single caste needs attention to interactions among castes. An overlooking of such interactional pattern of castes would limit the attention of the enquiry to attributes of a caste and, therteby, miss the existing ground reality. The concept of Biradari taking scholars one across rural-urban dichotomy adds a new dimension to the existing regional studies.The phenomenon of fission or sub-caste formation occurring not only due to occupational differentiation but also due to reforms and power dynamics is clearly revealed here. Besides ,it explains the situation of peculiar cultural ethos of a minority which undergoes the self -generated development without being pressurized by majority.

This study comprising six chapters, a bibliography, an annexure, an acknowledgement, a preface and a foreward by Professor M.S Agwani,former Vice Chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru University and member, Minority Commision,India, is simple,short and thought- provoking .It is to serve fully all those scholars who are interested in probing structural and cultural phenomena in Indian society. Finally, having a fine get-up,an attractive printing and a pretty style of presentation this book is unfortunately missing the numbering of chapters and a rigorous proof reading which can,if incorporated, add more to its utility and lustre.

G. Ram

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