

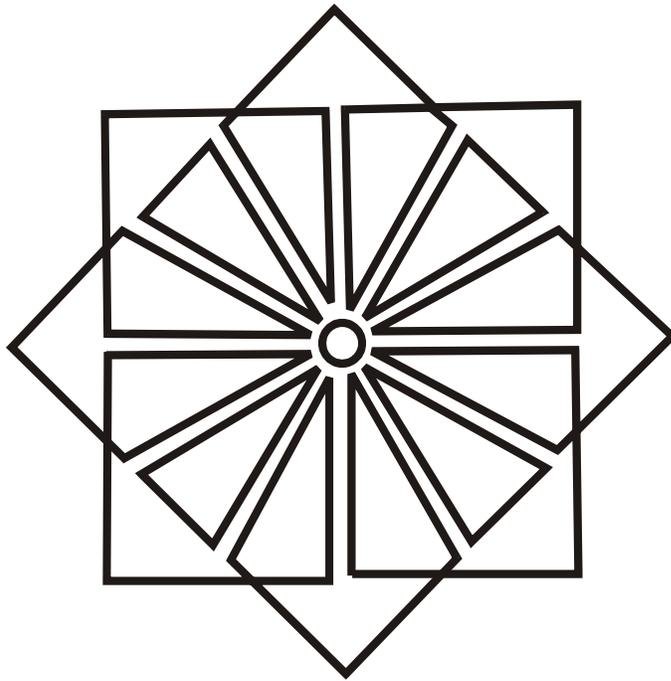
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Mass Media Communication, Modernity and Social Structure

Virendra Pal Singh

Mass media communication is considered as an important vehicle of modernity as it is an integral part of the modern communication system (Pye 1963: 24). It is generally assumed by a number of social scientists that mass media play an important part in the process of transformation from traditional society to modern industrial society (Parsons 1951, 1964, Moore 1963, Smelser 1959, 1963, Hoselitz 1960, 1964, Eisenstadt 1966, 1970, Lerner 1958). This is the reason that growth of mass media has been an essential component of development planning in India. However, this view has been questioned by a number of scholars (Frank 1967, Amin 1974, Wallerstein 1984) who have not only been sceptical but also critical to this kind of assumption of modernization theorists. It proposes to examine the relationship between mass media communication and level of modernity in an empirical situation. The present paper is aimed to analyse the relationship between mass media communication and level of modernity among the middle class youth. The paper is based on an empirical study conducted during January-March 1999 in Silchar town of Assam by administering an interview schedule on a sample of 44 male and 38 female youth drawn from the voter list of a middle class locality of Silchar town in Assam.

The Locale of the Study

The state of Assam is located in the North-Eastern region of India between the latitude, 28°18' and 24° N, and the longitudes 89° 46' and 97° 4' E. The whole Assam can be classified into two natural regions – the Brahmaputra Valley and the Barak Valley on the basis of two big rivers – the Brahmaputra and the Barak. The Barak Valley is comprised of three districts, namely, Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi. The Cachar district is a heterogeneous land composed of high hills, low lands and level plains. The general appearance of this district is extremely picturesque. On the north, east and south it is surrounded by ranges of purple hills. The Silchar sub-division includes the southern section of the Assam range and a belt of hilly country with an average width of six to seven miles, containing peaks between three to four thousand feet in height. The Bhuban range on the eastern frontier covers a considerable area, and rises in places to over 3000 feet above the

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level of the sea. Almost the whole of the area, north and south of the river Barak, is dotted with low-ranged isolated hills called "tilahs" rising from the level of alluvial soil. Most parts of the Barak's banks are lined with villages concealed in groves of slender areca palms, broad-leaved plantains and feathery bamboos in all seasons of the year. The country looks fresh and green. The hills in the southern part of this district are covered with dense evergreen forest and bamboo jungle. Barak is the main river, which passes through the district. The Cachar district has a population of about 1.2 million (1991 census) with an area of 3786 sq. km. The density of population is 321 persons per sq. km. Sex ratio is 939 females per 1000 males. The decennial growth rate of population between 1981-1991 was 47.65%. It has a low degree of urbanization as about 90.2% population live in rural areas. The SCs and STs contribute about 14.7% and about 1.7% of the population respectively. The literacy rate of the district is 59.19 percent (male 68.79 and female 48.76 percent). The district is at present comprised of only one sub-division i.e. Silchar and five circles viz. Katigora, Silchar, Udarbong, Lakhipur and Sonai.

Silchar is district headquarter of Cachar district and second largest township in Assam with a population of 1,15,483 according to 1991 estimated census report. Most of the people in Silchar speak *Sylhetti*, a dialect of Bengali. Silchar Municipality Board has 28 wards. Silchar is connected by road, rail and air communication. It is connected to Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura by road. State transport buses and private buses ply between all these places. The Assam Bengal Railway brought Silchar into the railway map in 1899. The railway entered into Cachar near Badarpur Junction. A branch line from Badarpur through south bank of Barak pushed up to Silchar pass Katakhal, Salchapra and Gagra. The N.F. Railway touches the different towns like Karimganj, Dharmanagar and Jiribam (connecting the state of Manipur with Silchar). It is likely to be transformed into a broad gauge in coming few years. The Indian Airlines connecting Silchar with Calcutta, Guwahati, Agartala and Imphal. The Kumbhirgram aerodrome is located at a distance of about 29 kms from Silchar.

There are no heavy industries in Silchar town. However, there are about 61 registered small and medium scale industries. like, small scale candle, Hume pipe, Match stick and Brick industries.

As far as education is concerned, Silchar has high level of literacy with 83.8 percent. The male literacy rates goes to 88.1 per cent and female literacy to 78.2 per cent. There are a number of primary schools, high schools, higher secondary schools and colleges. Silchar is seat of a Central University, namely, Assam University, Silchar, established in 1994. It is a teaching cum affiliating University conducting examination of all the colleges in five districts of South Assam-Cachar, Karimganj, Hailakandi, North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong including three law colleges, five B.Ed. Colleges, one Medical College and one Engineering College(now renamed as NIT with status of a deemed university).

Silchar has a station of All India Radio, established in early 1970s, now broadcasting more than ten hours of programmes in Bengali and other regional languages (Dimasa and Manipuri). Silchar Doordarshan Kendra, established in 1995, telecasts about two hours of programmes. The town is well integrated with Satellite cable TV network through two major cable operators, providing more than twenty channels and a local channel to the subscribers.

In the field of print media, the two Bengali newspapers - *Dainik Jugashankha* and *Dainik Sonar Cachar* - are published from Silchar. *The Frontier Sun* (daily) and *The Energy Era* (weekly) are the local English newspapers. The other Newspapers published from silchar are the *Shamoyik Prasango* (bi weekly), *Dainik Gati* and *The Silchar Times*. Silchar also has a office of PTI which provides services to the local press and the national media. Silchar has three cinema halls, namely, *Devdoot*, *Oriental* and *Gopinath*. The cinema halls show films in English, Hindi, Bengali and Manipuri. There are a good number of video and compact disk movie parlours and music stores in the town. The Department of Telecom provides Internet service through the VSNL Network from the year 1999. The major institutions and offices are connected with the services of Internet. There are also a good number of cyber cafes providing services to the people.

Level of Mass Media Exposure

The mass media can be broadly classified into three categories, namely, the broadcast media, the print media and the audio-visual media. (Singh, 1995 :8).

The Broadcast Media (Radio)

The broadcast media include mainly radio. Radio is an electronic audio-medium for broadcasting programme to the audience. This medium is cosmopolite in approach and is suitable for communication to million of people widely dispersed and situated in far-flung areas. Availability of low cost receiving sets operated with electricity or battery helped radio to penetrate deep into the rural life. Radio is suitable for creating general awareness amongst the people, build up desirable change in attitude and reinforce learning. The medium is extremely convenient for communication in times of crises and urgent situation. People with no education or very little education and those who are not in a position to attend extension programme personally, can take full advantage of this medium and build up adequate knowledge and skill. It reaches a large number of people at a very low cost. The programmes may be listened while one is engaged in farming or household work. (Kumar 1998).

The exposure of the subjects to radio is analysed in terms of their habit of radio listening. The data indicate that about three-fourth (75.61 percent) of the respondents listen radio. However the male respondents have an edge over the female respondents in this regard (79.5 percent male against 71.1 percent female). In order to analyse the frequency of Radio Listening the respondents were asked to mention about how many days in a week do they listen radio? Their responses were classified into six categories : (1) Very high (Daily / Regularly); (2) High (4 or 5 days in a week); (3) Medium (2 or 3 days in a week) (4) Low (one day); (5) Very low (on holidays); (6) Don't listen. The data indicate that one-fourth (23.18 percent) of the respondents have very high degree of radio listening i.e., they listen radio daily or regularly, while only 6.09 percent of the respondents have high degree of radio listening i.e., they listening radio 4 or 5 days in a week, 7.32 percent of the respondents are at medium degree of radio listening i.e., they listen radio 2 or 3 days in a week, a little less than one-third (31.70 percent) of the respondents have a low degree of radio listening i.e., they listen radio once in a week, and 7.32 percent of the respondents have very

low degree of radio listening as they listen radio only on holidays, while 24.39 percent of the respondents do not listen radio at all. Thus, majority of respondents either have a low degree of radio listening or do not listen radio.

The programmes of radio are classified into six categories, namely, (1) News, (2) Film songs, (3) Plays, (4) Sports commentary, (5) Sponsored Programmes and (6) Other Programmes. The data shows three-fifth (60.97 percent) of the respondents listen news on the radio, more than half (56.09 percent) of the respondents listen film songs, while one-fifth (20.73 percent) listen the sports commentary. The frequency of those who listen plays or sponsored programmes on radio is relatively low with 13.41 percent and 15.85 percent respectively.

The respondents were asked to tell which radio stations they usually tune on their radio sets. Their responses were classified into three categories. (1) International, (2) National (3) Regional or local. The distribution of the respondents into these categories reveals that most of the respondents (70.73 percent) listen Akashwani Silchar, a little more than one-fourth of the respondents tuned BBC London and Voice of America, and one-fifth (20.73 percent) tuned Vividh Bharati radio station on their sets, while one-tenth (10.97 percent) listen Akashwani Guwahati, and less than one-tenth of the respondents listen Radio Dacca, Radio Pakistan and other stations on their radio sets. Thus, among the respondents local radio station i.e., Akashwani Silchar is most popular. At the national level, All India radio is more preferred and at international level the most popular stations are BBC and Voice of America.

The Print Media

The print media include printed matter such as news papers, magazines, pamphlets, posters etc. But in the context of the present study newspaper and magazine are taken as major forms of print media. Most of the respondents (85.36 percent) read newspapers and only 14.64 percent of the respondents do not read newspaper. As far as type of Newspapers is concerned, 14 newspapers were reported by the subjects of the present study. Half (50.00 percent) of the respondents read *Dainik Jugoshankha* (Daily, local Bengali newspaper), two-fifth (40.24 percent) read *Dainik Sonar Cachar* (Daily, Local Bengali newspaper) and 39.02 percent of the respondents read *The Telegraph* (English Daily). Near about one-fourth (24.33 percent) read *Employment News* (Weekly) which is read by both the female and male youth equally with 14.63 percent each. *The Times of India* (English Daily) is read by one-tenth (10.97 percent) of the respondents read. *The Assam Tribune* (English Daily), *Hindustan Times*, *The Sentinels*, *The Economic Times*, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, *Aajkal*, *Bortaman*, *The Frontier Sun* are read by less than one-tenth of the respondents. The weekly frequency of newspaper reading is analysed by putting the respondents into six categories : (1) Very high (Daily /Regularly), (2) High (4 or 5 days in a week), (3) Medium (2 or 3 days in a week), (4) Low (1-2 days), (5) Very low (rarely) and (6) Not applicable. The data reveal that most of the respondents (70.73 percent) have very high frequency of newspaper reading, that is, they read newspaper daily / regularly in a week. It shows that exposure of middle class youth to newspaper is very high.

Magazine reading is mainly a leisure time activity. The advantage of this medium is that one can read a magazine not only in the house but also outside. It not only provides information about important events but also provides entertainment. Some magazines cover the general topics while the others are devoted to specific subjects like sports, films, science and so on. The data reveal that more than one-third (35.36 percent) of the respondent read *Competition Success Review*, little more than one-fourth (28.04 percent) read *India Today*, and less than one-fourth (23.17 percent) read *Competition Refresher* and (24.33 percent) of the respondents read *Sananda*, near about one-sixth (15.85 percent) of the respondents read *Anandalok*, while less than one-sixth read *Outlook*, *Sports World & Femina*, and one-tenth (10.97 percent) of the respondent read *Desh* less than one-tenth read *Sunday Weekly*, *Monorama*, *Frontline*, *Sports Star*, *Women's Era & Bortaman*.

The Audio Visual Media

Cinema and television are main audio-visual media. The audio-visual media provide pictures with words and sounds effects. These media are cosmopolite in approach and can be used to create instant mass awareness. It can deal with topical problems and provide solution. They contribute information and speeds up the process of adoption. Television is strong in providing the stimulus, exposing the audience to a whole range of ideas and experiences.

In comparison to motion picture, television can create more impact due to its flexibility, less time taken to record and telecast programmes and wider coverage. Compared to radio, television has, however, less impact in rural India, mainly because of low availability of this medium and due to high cost of receiving sets. Coverage of more area by increasing the transmission facility of television does not necessarily indicate the availability of this medium to the rural audience.

Television came to the Indian media since September 1959 as an experimental project aimed at transmitting educational project aimed at transmitting educational and developmental programmes. Its telecasts were limited to surrounding of Delhi. Regular telecasts started from Delhi in 1965. In due course, Indian television, by then known as "Doordarshan", started expanding its network. The thrust came in 1982 during Asian Games when the colour television production and transmission was introduced. In the context of the present study television and cinema are taken as audio-visual media.

It is important to note that all the respondents (100 percent) watch television. On the basis of the frequency of watching television in a week, the respondents are classified into five categories : (1) Very high (Daily / Regularly), (2) High (4 or 5 days in a week), (3) Medium (2 or 3 days in a week), (4) Low (Rarely), (5) Very low (on holidays). The data reveal that most (89.03 percentage) of the respondents have a very high degree of watching television, i.e., they watch daily or regularly, while less than one-twentieth of the respondents (4.88 percent) have high degree of watching television in a week i.e., they watch for 4 or 5 days in a week. Only 3.66 percent of the respondents have the medium degree of television watching, i.e., they watch 2 or 3 days in a week, no respondents is there who have low degree of watching television and only 2.43 percent have very low degree of watching television. Thus, most of the youth watch television daily or regularly.

In order to analyse the time of watching TV in a day they are classified into four categories : (1) Less than 1 hour, (2) 1 hour to 3 hours, (3) 4 hours to 5 hours, (4) More than 5 hours. Most of the respondents (65.86 percent) watch TV for 1-3 hours a day, a little less than one-fourth (23.17 percent) watch TV for 4-5 hours, while one-tenth (10.97 percent) of the respondents watch TV more than 5 hours a day, where as no respondent watch T.V. less than 1 hour/day.

On the basis of the place of watching television the respondents are classified into four categories (1) At home, (2) In neighbourhood, (3) At friend's house (4) At relative's house. Most of the respondents (97.56 %) watch television at their home, while only 1.22 % watch in neighbourhood and another 1.22 % watch at relative's house.

The programmes are categorised into ten types . i) News ii) Chitrahah iii) Feature Film iv) Mythological serials v) Detective and other serials vi) Plays vii) Sports viii) Childrens' Programme ix) UGC Programmes and x) Dance Programmes. The data reveal that 91.46 of the respondents watch News on their television set, about four- fifth (81.70 %) watch Feature film and 80.48 % watch Detective or other serials, more than three-fourth (78.04 %) watch sports, near about two-fifth of the respondents watch Mythological serials and plays, while 58.53 % watch chitrahaar, and little more then one-fourth (26.82 %) watch UGC Programmes (University Grant Commission) and one- fifth (20.73 %) of the respondents watch Dance programmes on their television sets, and only 12.19 % watch Chhildrens' Programmes. Thus, one can say that most of the respondents watch television for information and entertainment . However, educational programmes are not watch by most of the respondents.

Cable Television

In 1980s Cable T.V made efforts to provide alternative resource of leisure but it could not gain popularity and remain confined to some upper and lower middle class localities of metropolitan cities. The decade of 1990s brought a big challenge for Doordarshan. The CNN covered Gulf war through satellite and telecast it on national channels of most of the Western and Asian countries. In 1992 a Hong Kong based group of Companies launched STAR TELEVISION (Satellite Television Asian Region). The programmes of STAR Television are beamed by Asia set satellite. The advent of Satellite television was a boon for cable operators. They show a numbers of channels through the dish antennas and linking to neighbourhood homes after paying installation charges and monthly rent. Apart from linking Satellite Channels, Cable operators also show their own progrmme on one channel. Among the respondents of the present study as many as 70.73 % have the cable TV Connection.

At the time of present study 25 channels were available on cable television. The rating of these channels in terms of viewer ship percentage among middle class youth in general is shown in table 1.

Table 1 Channels Watched on Cable TV

Sl. No	Channels	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
01	DD1 (National)	57	69.51	1
02	Sony	52	63.41	2
03	Zee Cinema	50	60.97	3
04	Discovery Channel	45	54.87	4
05	DD7 (Bangla)	44	53.65	5
06	DD2 (Metro)	40	48.78	6
07	Zee	40	48.78	6
08	Zee News	39	47.56	7
09	Star Plus	38	46.34	8
10	SITI Channel	37	45.12	9
11	Star Sports	36	43.90	10
12	Star Movie	34	41.46	11
13	National Geography	31	37.80	12
14	MTV	31	37.80	12
15	ATN (Bangla)	29	35.36	13
16	Sony (Max)	27	32.95	14
17	V Channel	25	30.48	15
18	BBC World	23	28.04	16
19	AXN	21	25.60	17
20	Alfa	19	23.17	18
21	Asia Music	19	23.17	18
22	HBO	18	21.95	19
23	Sahara TV	10	12.19	20
24	DD3	04	04.88	21
25	TMC	01	01.21	22

The data reveal that DD1 (national) channel is at first rank with 69.51% viewer ship, closely followed by Sony and Zee Cinema with 63.4% and 60.97% respectively. Discovery Channel and DD7 (Bangla) are other channels most popular among the youth with 54.87% and 53.65% respectively. The channels like DD2 (Metro), Zee, Zee News, Star Plus, SITI channels, Star Sports and Star Movie, have medium level of viewer ship i.e., between 41-50%. While National Geography Channel, MTV, ATN (Bangla), Sony Max, V Channel, BBC World and AXN, however, have relatively low viewer ship i.e., between 25-40%. Alfa, Asia Music and HBO have less than 25% viewer ship. The channels like Sahara TV, DD3 and TMC are unpopular among the youth as they have less than 15% viewer ship.

Table : 2 Rating of Channels among Male Youth

Sl. No.	Channel	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
01	DD1 (National)	33	75.0	1
02	Sony	29	65.9	2
03	Zee Cinema	28	63.7	3
04	DD7 (Bangla)	27	61.4	4
05	Star Sports	27	61.4	4
06	Zee News	24	54.5	5
07	Discovery Channel	23	52.3	6
08	SITI Channel	20	45.5	7
09	Zee	20	45.5	7
10	MT V	19	43.2	8
11	Star Plus	19	43.2	8
12	National Geography	18	40.9	9
13	Star Movie	18	40.9	9
14	DD2 (Metro)	18	40.9	9
15	BBC World	17	38.6	10
16	ATN (Bangla)	17	38.6	10
17	V Channel	16	36.4	11
18	AXN	15	34.1	12
19	Sony (Max)	12	27.3	13
20	HBO	12	27.3	13
21	Asia Music	10	22.7	14
22	Alfa	09	20.4	15
23	Sahara TV	08	18.2	16
24	DD3	03	06.8	17
25	TMC	01	02.3	18

A comparative picture of viewer ship among the male and female youth as shown in table 2 and 3 reveal that DD1 Channel is at the top in rank order among both the male and female youth. Followed by Sony in the second rank order and Zee Cinema in the third rank order among both the male and female youth. The channels like Discovery channel. Zee, Star Plus, Alfa and DD Metro are very popular among the females in comparison to the male youth. The channels like DD7 (Bangla), Star Sports, Zee News and BBC World are relatively more popular among the male in comparison to their female counterpart. About 45 % or less viewer ship of channels like SITI channel, Star Movie, ATN, AXN, HBO and Asia Music is found both among the male and the female youth. The channels whose viewer ship is more than 40 % among the male but less than 40 % in case of female youth are MTV, National Geographical Channel. However, the Channels like Sahara TV, DD3 and TMC are relatively more popular among the male youth but less popular in case of female youth.

Table : 3 Rating of Channels among Female Youth

Sl. No.	Channel	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
01	D.D. 1 (National)	24	63.2	1
02	Sony	23	60.5	2
03	Zee Cinema	22	57.9	3
04	Discovery Channel	22	57.9	3
05	D.D. (Metro)	22	57.9	3
06	Zee	20	52.6	4
07	Star Plus	19	50.0	5
08	SITI Channel	17	44.7	6
09	D.D. 7 (Bangla)	17	44.7	6
10	Star Movie	16	42.1	7
11	Zee News	15	39.5	8
12	Sony (Max)	15	39.5	8
13	National Geography	13	34.2	9
14	A. T. N. (Bangla)	12	31.6	10
15	M. T.V.	12	31.6	10
16	Alfa	10	26.3	11
17	V. Channel	09	23.7	12
18	Asia Music	09	23.7	12
19	Star Sports	09	23.7	12
20	B.B.C. World	06	15.8	13
21	A.X.N.	06	15.8	13
22	H.B.O.	06	15.8	13
23	Sahara T.V.	02	05.3	14
24	D.D. 3	01	02.6	15
25	T.M.C.	00	00	16

Cinema

The cinema is a very attractive medium for Indian masses. The main reason for its popularity is that it does not require any initial money to invest in comparison to other audio-visual media like television. Indian masses are not in a position to invest a huge amount of money on these items. Naturally, cinema going is relatively cheaper. Most of the respondents (76.83 percent) have the habit of cinema going. While less than one-fourth (23.17 percent) of the respondents have no habit of cinema going. However, the tendency of cinema going was relatively high (81.81 percent) among the male youth in comparison to their female counterpart (71.05 percent).

For the analysis of tendency of cinema going the responses of the subjects were classified into six categories; 1) Very high (More than four times); 2) High (four times); 3) Medium (two-three times); 4) Low (only once); 5) Very low (None) and 6) Not applicable. The data indicate that more than half (51.22%) of the respondents have very low degree of cinema going i.e., they have not gone to cinema in last one month, a little less than one-fourth (23.17%) of the respondents never go to cinema, near about one-fifth (19.51%) have low degree of cinema going i.e., they go to cinema only once in last month, while less than one-tenth (6.09%) of the respondents have medium degree of cinema going i.e., two to three times in last one month, where as no respondents

have very high or high degree of cinema going that is more than three times in last one month. Thus, the frequency of cinema going is relatively declined among urban middle class youth. The middle class youth prefer to see film either on Cable TV or channels of Doordarshan and Satellite television.

On the basis of the persons accompanying the respondent to cinema, they are classified into six categories, 1) With Family Members; 2) With Friends; 3) With Relatives; 4) Alone; 5) With any other person; 6) Not applicable. The data reveal that more than two-fifth (46.35%) of the respondents go to cinema with friends, a little more than one-fourth (26.83%) go to cinema with family members, while less than one-fourth (23.17%) of the respondents never go to cinema, and only a few of the respondents go with relatives (1.21%) or alone (2.44%) go to cinema alone.

Types of Media used for Sending Urgent Message

Now a days people use different types of media for sending urgent messages to their friends, relatives and their dear ones. From this point of view they are classified into six categories, (i) Using Telephone (ii) Using Telegram (iii) Using Speed-post (iv) Using Fax (v) Using Courier Service (vi) By sending a person. The data indicate that a little less than three-fourth (73.18%) of the respondents use telephone for communicating urgent messages, one-sixth (15.85%) use Fax, while less than one-tenth of the respondents use Telegram (4.88%) and Speed Post (6.09%) to send urgent messages, where as not a single respondents use Courier Service, or by a person for sending the urgent messages. Thus, it shows that most of respondents use telephone to send urgent messages.

The media exposure of middle class youth may now be sum up as follows: Radio listening is high among the youth (75.61%). However, only 23.18% of the youth listen radio daily or regularly in a week, where as 24.39% of the middle class youth do not listen radio and 31.70% listen radio occasionally. As far as programmes of radio are concerned, the youth mainly listen News (60.97%) and Film songs (56.09%), Commentary (20.73%), Sponsored programme (15.85%), and Plays (13.41%). Thus, it suggests that radio now fulfils certain specific needs of the youth. Silchar Radio Station is very popular among the respondents with 70.73% followed by All India Radio (42.68%), B.B.C. London (29.26%) and Voice of America (28.04%). But other Radio Stations are less popular among the middle class youth. Most of the middle class youth read newspaper (85.36%) and there is no significant distinction between males and females with regard to newspaper reading. Local Bengali newspaper *Dainik Jugashanka* (50%) is more popular among female youth where as another Local Bengali newspaper *Dainik Sonar Cachar* (40.24%) is more popular among the male youth. However, 39.02% of middle class youth read *The Telegraph* which is popular both among the male and the female youth. Most of the middle class youth (70.73%) read newspaper daily or regularly. Magazines like the *Competition Success Review* is very popular among the middle class youth (35.36%) followed by *India Today* (28.04%) and *Competition Refresher* (23.17%) is very popular among male youth where as *Front Line* (7.31%), *Women's Era* (04.87%), *Femina* (12.19%) and *Sananda* (24.39%) are read by the female youth. All the middle class youth watch television which suggests that television is most popular

medium among the middle class youth. Most of the middle class youth watch television (79.54%) from 1 hour to 3 hours in a day, where as most of the female youth watch television (36.84%) from 4 hours to 5 hours in a day. Thus, it suggests that female youth spend more time on watching television rather than their male counterpart. As far as watching of television in a week is concerned most (89.03%) of the respondents have very high degree of exposure to TV as they watch it daily/regularly. Thus, it shows that females are watching television more in comparison to their male counterpart not only in terms of number of hours a day but also in number of days in a week. As far as place of watching television is concerned most of middle class youth (97.56%) watch TV at their home, (97.73% males and 97.40% females) where as only few (2.27 %) watch in neighbourhood and only few (02.60%) females watch television at relative's place also. As far as nature of programmes is concerned, News (91.46%), Feature Film (81.70%), Detective or General Serials (80.48%) and Sports (78.04%) are very popular, followed by Chitrahaar (58.53%), Mythological Serials (43.90%) and Plays (40.24%) both among the males and females. But U.G.C. programmes are seen more by males and Dance programmes are seen more by the females youth. Most of the middle class youth (70.73%) have the Cable T.V. /Disc Antenna connections. Most of the middle class youth prefer to watch channels of Cable T.V. like Sony (63.41%), Zee Cinema (60.97%), D.D.1 (69.51%) followed by Discovery Channel (54.87%), Zee (48.78%), Metro (48.78%), Zee News (47.56%), Star Plus (46.34%), SITI Channel (45.12%), Star Sports (43.90%), Star Movie (41.46%). Most of the middle class youth still go to Cinema (76.83%). Among males cinema going habit is more (81.81%) than their female counterpart (71.05%). Most of the female respondents (63.15%) have low frequency of cinema going i.e. they did not go to cinema in last one month, where as most of male respondents (29.54%) also have a low degree of cinema going i.e. they went only once during the last month and 11.36% male youth have medium degree of cinema going i.e. they went two times in last one month. As far as accompanying person for watching cinema is concerned most of the males go to cinema with friends (59.09%) and most of the females go to cinema with their family members (36.84%). Most of the middle class male youth send informations and message through telephone, Fax and Speed Post irrespective of their sex. Telephone has emerged as most popular medium used by the middle class youth (Males-70.45%; Females-76.31%).

Levels of Modernity

The attitudes of the people can be arranged on a modernity - conservatism scale. In the present study certain variables have been chosen to judge the modernity of an individual. A modern person according to the concept used in the present study, is the one who exposes himself to mass media, believes in science and technology and modern education for the well being of the mankind, believes in proper planning, and does not depend on fate, takes interest in events not only of his locality but of the world at large, is secular in outlook and tolerant towards stranger, is a member of modern social institutions and finally approves of the small family norm (Doshi, J.K. 1984 : 29). In order to measure the level of modernity among the respondents over all modernity scale developed by Inkeles and Smith (1974), on the basis of their work in six developing countries was used. While retaining most of the basic scale we adapt to meet the local requirements. The

scale includes the following items : a) reading of newspapers .b) concern about public issues. c) use of modern technology .d) educational aspiration for the son .e) qualities for holding high office. f) most important thing for the progress of country. (g) interest in types of news. (h) whether and atheist can be a good man. (i) membership of voluntary organizations . (j) awareness of problems facing the country. (k) continuity of pardah system in the family.

The responses to the questions related to above mention items are analysed on the basis of scores. For responses representing the conservatism zero score are given . While for responses related to modernity 1 or more score are given . Total score on the scale is 34. On the basis of the score, the individual respondents were put into 5 categories : 1) Very Low (1-7). 2) Low (8-14). 3) Medium (15-21). 4) High (22-28). 5) Very high (29 or above). But before we analyse over all modernity score, it will be more appropriate first to analyse individual items of modernity.

1. Reading of Newspapers / Magazines

The first items is related to the habit of reading newspapers or magazines. The data reveal that 85% of the respondents read newspapers/magazines. of them 70.73% of the respondents read newspapers daily or regularly .

2. Concern about Public Issues

The second item relates to concern about public issues such as roads, drinking water, electricity, price hike and terrorism etc. The data reveal that 96.35 % of the youth are aware of the public issues .

3. Use of Modern Technology

The third question is related to the use of modern technology for raising income rather than depending on age - old technology. There are two alternative answers to this question, 1) If they view that some technological device can be used for the increase of production, then it is considered as modern attitude and if they viewed that the best way of production is only traditionalistic method and , there is no intelligence in wasting time, than it is considered as a traditional attitude. The data reveal that nearly four-fifth (79.26%) of the respondents have modern attitude, while remaining one - fifth (20.74%) of the respondents have the traditional attitude on this items. Thus, it shows that most of the youth have modern attitude about the use of modern technology .

4. Educational Aspiration for the Son

To analyse the attitude of the respondents about education of their children, it was asked whether they were ready to give full scope to their children for education . If the answer was affirmative , it is considered as modern attitude and if the answer was negative i.e., they were not ready to provide full scope for the education of their children then it is considered as traditional attitude. From the analyses of the data it has been found that all the respondents were in favour of giving full scope for the education of their children . Thus, it can be said that all the respondents have a modern attitude as far as the education of their children is concerned.

5. Qualities for holding a High Office

The fifth question was related to certain qualities which are desirable in a person to hold a high office. The respondents were to decide between high education or skill and attributes such as family background, respect for elders and popularity. Here higher education was treated as desirable and other less desirable answers. The distribution of respondents against this item is shown in table 4.

Table 4 : Qualities for Holding a High Office

S. N.	Qualities for holding a high office	Frequency			Percentage
		Female	Male	Total	
01	His family back ground should be higher.	-	-	-	-
02	He should be traditionalistic or well disciplined.	03	07	10	12.19
03	He should be popular among people.	-	-	-	-
04.	He should be highly qualified or should posses some extra knowledge	35	37	72	87.81
Total		38	44	82	100.00

The data show that most of the respondents (87.81%) have shown modern attitude on this item that is for holding a high office a person should be highly qualified or should possess some extra knowledge, while only 12.19% of the respondents have traditional attitude.

6. Most Important Thing for the Progress of Country

The sixth question was about, what was most important for the progress of the country? The alternatives were hard work by the people, good government plans, God's help and good fate. In this case, hard work and good plans of government were taken as desirable and other less desirable. The distribution of the respondents into these categories is shown in table 5.

Table 5 Most Important Thing for the Progress of Country

S.N.	Most Important Thing for the Progress of Country	Frequency			Percentage
		Female	Male	Total	
01	People should do hard work	-	-	-	-
02	Better planning of programme by the Government	38	42	80	97.56
03	To depend on God	-	-	-	-
04	To depend on fate	00	02	02	02.44
Total		38	44	82	100.00

The data represent that maximum number of respondents i.e. (97.56) have modern attitude on this item while only (2.44%) respondents have traditional attitude.

7. Desirability of Practising Family Planning

To show the attitude of the respondents towards the family planning, whether they approve the idea of family planning or not, they were classified into two categories :(1) If the respondent is agreed with the opinion that every couple follow the rules of family planning and keep their family small, so that they can bring up their children in a better way, then it is considered as a modern attitude and (2) If he agrees with alternative opinion that they should not keep their family intentionally small, then it is considered as a traditional attitude as shown in table 6.

Table 6 Desirability of practising family planning

SI No.	Desirability of practising family planning	Frequency			%
		Female	Male	Total	
01	Some of the people think that every couple follow the rules of family planning and keep their family small. So that they can bring up their children in a better way.	38	40	78	95.12
02	Some of the people have opinion that they should not keep their family intentionally small.	00	04	04	04.88
Total		38	44	82	100.00

The data show that most (95.12%) of the respondents have shown modern attitude while only 4.88% of the respondents have the traditional attitude. It indicates that most of the respondents approve small family norm which is one of the main problem of the country.

(8) Interest in Types of News

The types of news in which the respondent is interested are classified into five categories: (1) International affairs ; (2) National affairs ;(3) Only news of district and State affairs ; (4) Sports ;(5) News of different festival or regional festival. In this question interest in world events and national events were taken as most desirable and rest as less desirable . The distribution of the respondents against this item is shown in table 7.

Table 7 Interest in Types of News

S. No.	Interest in Types of News	Frequency			Percentage
		Female	Male	Total	
01	International Affairs	13	12	25	30.49
02	National Affairs	20	23	43	52.44
03	Only news of district and State Affairs	03	02	05	06.09
04	Sports	02	07	09	10.98
05	News of different festival or regional festival.	00	00	00	00.00
Total		38	44	82	100.00

The data show that more than half (52.44%) of the respondents were greatly interested in national affairs, less than one-third (30.49%) of the respondents were interested in international affairs, one-tenth (10.98%) of the respondents were interested in sports news, and a few (6.09%) were interested in news of district and state affairs, while no respondents were interested in the news of different festival or regional festivals .

9. Whether an Atheist can be a good person

On this item most (84.15%) of the respondents have a view that a person does not believe in God or any religion is not a better person which is a pattern of traditional attitude, less than one-sixth (13.41%) of the respondents have given their view that a person does not believe in God or any religion is a better person , which is considered as a pattern of modern attitude and only 2.44% of the respondents have no comment on this point. It suggests that on this account most of the respondents have traditional attitude.

10. Members of Voluntary Association :

If the respondent was the member of any voluntary association, he was considered modern . If he was not member of any voluntary association his attitude was considered as traditional .

Table 8 Members of any Voluntary Association

Sl No.	Members of any Voluntary Association	Frequency			Percentage
		Female	Male	Total	
01	Yes	04	20	24	29.26
02	No.	34	24	58	70.74
Total		38	44	82	100.00

The data show that only less than one-third (29.26%) of the respondents were the member of any institution or club , while remaining (70.74%) of the respondents were not the members of any institution or club .

11. Awareness of Problems of the Country

It has been found that all the respondents were aware about different problems faced by country which shows that they have modern attitude .

12. Continuity of Pardah System in the Family

The last item on the scale was whether the Pardah system is still continuing in respondent's family, which is core feature of traditional attitude. (Table 9)

Table 9 Continuity of Pardah system in the family

S. No.	Continuity of Pardah system in the family	Frequency			Percentage
		Female	Male	Total	
01	Yes	05	09	14	17.07
02	No.	33	35	68	82.93
Total		38	44	82	100.00

The data, show that in more than four-fifth (82.93%) cases the pardah system is not continuing. While in remaining (17.07%) respondents family it is still continuing . Thus, it indicates that most of the respondent's have modern attitude and have rejected the tradition of pardah system .

The **level of modernity** among the middle class youth may now be summarized : Most of the middle class youth (87.81%) have a modern attitude regarding the desirable in person to hold a high office, (females 92.10% and males 84.09%). Most of the middle class youth (97.56%) have modern attitude regarding the most important thing for the progress of country (females 100% and males 95.45%). As far as the question whether an Atheist can be a good man is concerned most of the middle class (89.47.% females and 79.54% males) answered no, where as only (07.89% females and 18.18% males) answered yes. Thus, it suggests that most of middle class youth on this account have traditional attitude. Regarding the membership of voluntary organizations only

(10.53 % females and 45.46% males) are the members of club or institutions . Thus, it shows that males are more modern in comparison to their female counterpart in this connection. Most of the middle class youth read newspapers and magazines (85%). Of them 70.73% of the respondents read newspapers daily or regularly. As far as the desirability of practising family planning is concerned all the middle class female youth and 90% male youth approve family planning. As far as the interest in types of news among the middle class youth is concerned both the males and females youth prefer national affairs (52.44%), where as most of the female youth prefer international affairs. Thus, it suggests that females have more modern attitude in comparison to their male counterpart. Most of the middle class youth are aware of the problems like price-rise and terrorism (females 97.36% and males 95.45%). Thus, it suggests that both the male and female youth are aware of national problems. As far the continuing of Pardah System in the family is concerned, most of the middle class youth (82.93 %) have modern attitude as Pardah System is not continuing, where as some of the middle class youth (17.07%) have traditional attitude as the system is continuing in their family. Thus, it indicates that still now some youth are orthodox and traditional in nature but majority of them reject pardah system. Regarding the question of Awareness of problems facing the country, both the middle class female and male youth are aware of the problem . Thus, it suggests that middle class youth have the modern attitude on this account.

Score on O.M. Scale

The score of the respondents on O.M.Scale leads to their categorization into different levels of modernity as discussed above in this paper. The distribution of respondents into these categories is shown in table 10.

Table 10 Score on O.M.Scale

S.N.	Level of modernity	Frequency			Percentage
		Female	Male	Total	
01	Very low (1 to 7)	00	00	00	00.00
02	Low (8 to 14)	02	08	10	12.20
03	Medium (15 to 21)	26	24	50	60.98
04	High (22 to 28)	10	11	21	25.60
05	Very high (29 and above)	00	01	01	01.22
		Total	38	44	82 100.00

The data show that near about three-fifth (60.98%) of the respondents have medium degree of modernity, one-fifth (25.60%) of the respondents have high degree of modernity, while about one-eighth (12.20%) of the respondents have low degree of modernity, and only 1.22% have very high degree of modernity . Where as it was found that no respondents were in the very

low degree of modernity . Thus, it indicates that most of the respondents have the medium level of modernity. As far as the sexwise level of modernity of middle class youth is concerned, most of the middle class female youth have medium (68.42%) and high (26.31%) level of modernity, while most of the middle class male youth have medium (54.54%) and low (18.18%) level of modernity. Thus , it suggests that female youth are more modern in orientation in comparison to their male counterpart.

Mass Media Exposure and Modernity

On the basis of mass media exposure of the respondents they are classified into five categories : (i) Very low media exposure ; (ii) Low media exposure ; (iii) Medium level of media exposure ; (iv) High media exposure and (v) Very high media exposure . Similarly, the respondents are categorised into five levels of modernity by using O.M. scale . The distribution of the respondents in relation to their mass media exposure and level of modernity is shown in table 11.

Table : 11 Mass Media Exposure and Level of Modernity

Media exposure	Level of Modernity					Total score
	Very low	Low	Medium	High	Very high	
Very low	-	-	-	-	-	-
Low	-	-	08	01	01	10
Medium	01	05	30	13	01	50
High	-	04	08	09	-	21
Very high	-	-	-	01	-	01
Total	-	10	50	21	01	82

The data indicate a positive relationship between mass media exposure and modernity level, in the sense that out of 46 respondents who have medium level of media exposure, 65.2% have medium level of modernity level . Among those who have high level of media exposure 41.66% have high level of modernity, but 54.2% respondent in this category have medium level of modernity and 4.2% low level of modernity level . At the level of low media exposure no one has low level of modernity but 55.6% have medium level and 44.4% high level of modernity . It suggests that although there is a positive relationship between mass media exposure and modernity at the medium level but mass media exposure is not solely responsible for the modernity level of an individual . It is also influenced by some other variables such as caste, class, occupation and education of the subject. The relationship between social structure and modernity level may now be examined.

2. Social Structure and Modernity

In order to analyse the relationship between social structure and modernity, the main elements of social structure such as caste, educational level of the respondent, father's occupation, and income group are taken into consideration .

(i) Caste and Modernity

Caste constitutes the core of Indian social stratification system . The respondents are classified into four caste categories - (i) Brahmins (ii) Kayasthas (iii) Vaishyas and (iv) Lower castes. The distribution of the respondents in relation to their caste and level of modernity is shown in table 12.

Table 12 Caste and Level of Modernity

Caste	Level of Modernity					Total
	Very low	Low	Medium	High	Very High	
Brahmin	—	05	12	06	—	23
Kayastha	—	03	36	14	—	53
Vaishya	—	01	02	—	—	03
Lower Castes	—	01	—	01	01	03
Total	—	10	50	21	01	82

The data show that among the Brahmins 21.7% have low level of modernity, 52.2% medium level of modernity and 26.1% high level of modernity. In case of Kayastha 67.9% have medium level of modernity, 5.7% low level of modernity and 26.4% high level of modernity. Among the Vaishyas out of 3, two have medium level of modernity and one has low level of modernity. In case of 3 lower castes respondents, 2 have high level of modernity and one low level of modernity. Thus , there seems no clear cut relationship between caste and level of modernity as most of higher caste subjects have medium level of modernity against the lower castes who have relatively high level of modernity.

(ii) Level of Education and Modernity

The education is considered as an agent of modernization. Therefore, the relationship between level of education of the respondent may through some light on the determinants of modernity. The respondents were classified into three categories on the basis of their level of education: Primary, Secondary and Higher as shown in table 13

Table : 13 Level of education and Modernity

S. N.	Level of Education	Level of Modernity					Total
		Very low	Low	Medium	High	Very high	
01	Primary	-	-	-	-	-	00
02	Secondary	-	02	14	-	-	16
03	(i) High Upto Graduate	-	06	23	13	-	42
	(ii) High upto Post Graduate	-	02	10	07	01	20
	(iii) Other Extra Qualification like Diploma & Training	-	-	03	01	-	4
Total		00	10	50	21	01	82

The data shows that there is a positive relationship between educational and modernity, in the sense, that no respondents have primary level of education and no one has very low level of modernity . At the secondary level of education, 87.5% have medium level of modernity and only 12.5% have low level of modernity . Among the highly educated respondents, 32.8% have high level of modernity, 56.3% medium level of modernity and only 12.5% have low level of modernity . It suggests that there is a positive correlation between education and modernity . But the modernity perpetuates more at medium level .

(iii) Income Group and Modernity

The monthly income is classified into five categories, (a) Less than Rs. 3,000 (b) Rs. 3001 to 5000 (c) Rs. 5001 to 10,000 (d) Rs. 10,001 to 20,000, (e) More than Rs. 20,000 . The distribution of the respondents in relation to the income group and their level of modernity is shown in table 14.

Table : 14 Income Group and Level of Modernity

Sl. No.	Income Group	Level of Modernity					Total
		Very low	Low	Medium	High	Very high	
01	Less than Rs. 3000	-	-	05	01	-	06
02	Rs. 3001 to 5000	-	01	11	05	-	17
03	Rs. 5001 to 10,000	-	04	20	11	01	36
04	Rs. 10,000 to 20,000	-	04	11	03	-	18
05	More than 20,000	-	01	03	01	-	05
Total		00	10	50	21	01	82

Those who are from low income group i.e. less than Rs. 3000 (83.34%) have high level of modernity. Those who have the monthly income from Rs. 3001 to Rs. 5000 among them 05.88% have low level of modernity, 64.70% have medium level of modernity, and 29.42% have high level of modernity. Those who have the monthly income of Rs. 5001 to 10000 among them 11.12% have low level of modernity, 55.55% have medium level of modernity, 30.55% have high

level of modernity and only 2.78% have very high level of modernity. Those who have the monthly income of Rs. 10,001 to 20,000, among them 22.22% have low level of modernity, 61.12% have medium level of modernity and 16.66% have high level of modernity. Those who have the monthly income more than Rs. 20,001 among them 20.00% have low level of modernity, 60.00% have high level of modernity. Thus it indicates that those respondents whose father have the monthly income of Rs. 5001 to 10,000 have the higher degree of modernity in comparison to others.

3. Social Structure and Mass Media Exposure :

In order to analyses the relationship between the Social structure and mass media exposure, some variables has been taken into account for social structure like caste, education of respondents, educational qualification of father and monthly income.

(i) Caste and Mass Media Exposure :

For analytical purpose, mass media exposure has been classified into three categories ; (1) Low ; (2) Medium ; and (3) High and the caste categories has been classified in to four categories ; (1) Brahmin ; (2) Kayastha ; (3) Vaishya and (4) Lower castes. The distribution of the respondents into these categories is shown in table 15

Table 15 Caste and Mass Media Exposure

S. N.	Caste Categories	Mass Media Exposure			Total score
		Low	Media	High	
01	Brahmin	02	14	07	23
02	Kayastha	08	28	17	53
03	Vaishya	-	02	01	03
04	Lower castes	-	02	01	03
Total		10	46	26	82

The data reveal that among the Brahmin, 30.44% have high mass media exposure, 60.86% have medium level of mass media exposure and only 8.70% have low mass media exposure; among the Kayastha 32.07% have high mass media exposure, 52.83% have medium level of mass media exposure and 15.10% have low mass media exposure; among the Vaishya only 33.33% have high mass media exposure and 66.67% have medium level of mass media exposure, where as no respondents have low mass media exposure among the Vaishya, similar to that among the lower caste 33.33% have high and 66.67% have medium level of mass media exposure . Thus it indicate that most of the higher caste respondents have medium level of mass media exposure.

(ii) Level of Education and Mass Media Exposure

To analyses the mass media communication with educational qualification of the respondents , the mass media communication has been classified into three categories ; (i) Low; (ii) Medium ; (iii) High and educational qualification of respondent has been classified into five

categories; (i) Under matric; (ii) Matric to Higher Secondary; (iii) Upto Graduate; (iv) Upto Post Graduate; (v) Other extra qualification: Diploma and Training. The distribution is shown in table 16

Table : 16 Education and Mass Media Exposure

S. N.	Level of Education	Media exposure			Total score
		Low	Medium	High	
01	Under Matric	-	-	-	-
02	Matric to Higher Secondary	04	09	03	16
03	Upto Graduate	04	26	12	42
04	Upto Post Graduate	02	09	09	20
05	Other extra qualification Diploma & Training	-	02	02	04
Total		10	46	26	82

The data indicate that at the secondary level 18.75% have high mass media exposure, 56.25% have medium mass media exposure and 25.00% have low mass media exposure ; among the Graduate, 28.57% have high mass media exposure, 61.90% have medium mass media exposure and 09.53% have low mass media exposure ; among the Post-Graduates youth 45.00% have medium mass media exposure and only 10.00% have low mass media exposure, in case of Diploma or extra qualification holders . 50.00% have high mass media exposure and remaining 50.00% have medium mass media exposure . Thus, it indicate that respondents having higher educational qualification have high mass media exposure.

iii) Father's Education and Mass Media Exposure

To analyses the relationship between the educational qualification of father and the mass media communication, the mass media communication has been classified into three categories; (i) Low; (ii) Medium and (iii) High; and the educational qualification of father has been classified into five categories; (i) Under matric; (ii) Matric to Higher Secondary; (iii) Upto Graduate; (iv) Upto Post Graduate; (v) Other extra qualification, diploma & training. The distribution is shown in table 17

Table 17 Father's Education and Mass Media Exposure

S. N.	Level of Father's Education	Mass Media Exposure			Total score
		Low	Medium	High	
01	Under Matric	-	03	-	03
02	Upto to Higher Secondary	04	15	08	27
03	Upto Graduate	06	24	14	44
04	Upto Post Graduate	-	-	-	-
05	Other extra qualification-diploma & training	-	03	01	04
Total		10	46	26	82

The data reveal that among the under matric all the respondent's father were having medium mass media exposure. Among the father having qualification upto higher secondary 29.62% have high mass media exposure, 55.56% have medium level of mass media exposure and 14.81% have low media exposure; among the graduate father's 31.81% have high mass media exposure, 54.55% have medium level of mass media exposure and 13.64% have low mass media exposure; in case of post graduates father 75.00% have high mass media exposure and remaining 25.00% have medium level of mass media exposure, where as among diploma or training holders only 25.00% have high mass media exposure and remaining 75.00% have medium level of mass media exposure. Thus, it indicates that those youth whose fathers were highly qualified have the attitude of high mass media exposure, where as those who are under matric have only medium mass media exposure.

(IV) Father's Occupation and Mass Media Exposure

To analyse the relationship between father's occupation and mass media exposure, the mass media exposure is classified into three categories - (i) Low ; (ii) Medium and (iii) High and the father's occupation has been classified into four categories, (i) Business ; (ii) Govt. Job ; (iii) Private firm ; (iv) Retired from work . The distribution of the respondents into these categories is shown in table 18

Table : 18 Father's Occupation and Mass Media Exposure

Sl. No.	Father's Occupation	Mass Media Exposure			Total score
		Low	Medium	High	
01	Business	02	10	03	15
02	Govt. Jobs	04	19	10	33
03	Private firm	-	03	02	05
04	Retired from work	04	14	11	29
Total		10	46	26	82

The data indicate that among those who have a businessman father, 20.00% have high mass media exposure, 66.66% have medium level of mass media exposure and 13.34% have low mass media exposure; among those who have a father engaged in Govt. job, 30.30% have medium level of mass media exposure and only 12.12% have low mass media exposure ; among those whose father is working in private firms, 40.00% have high mass media exposure and remaining 60.00% have medium level of mass media exposure, among those whose father's are retired from work, 37.93% have high mass media exposure 48.27% have medium level of mass media exposure and 13.80% have low mass media exposure. Thus, those whose father's are engaged in Govt. job and Private Firm have high mass media exposure, in comparison to those with a Businessmen or Retired father.

V) Income Group and Mass Media Exposure

To analyse the relationship between monthly income and mass media exposure, the mass media exposure is classified into three categories: (i) Low; (ii) Medium and (iii) High and the

monthly income has been classified into five categories ; (i) Very low (Less than Rs. 3000); (ii) Low (Rs. 3001 to Rs. 5000); (iii) Middle (Rs. 5001 to 10,000); (iv) High (Rs. 10,000 to 20,000); (v) Very high (more than Rs. 20,000). The distribution of the respondents in relation to these categories is shown in table 19

Table : 19 Income Group and Mass Media Communication

S.N.	Income Group	Mass Media Exposure			Total Score
		Low	Medium	High	
01	Very Low (Less than Rs. 3,000)	-	05	01	06
02	Low (Rs.3001 to Rs. 5000)	01	11	05	17
03	Middle (Rs.5001 to Rs.10,000)	04	20	12	36
04	High (Rs. 10,001 to Rs. 20,000)	04	11	03	18
05	Very High (more than Rs. 20,000)	01	03	01	05
	Total	10	50	22	82

The data reveal that among those who came from very low income group 6.66% have high mass media exposure and remaining 83.34% have medium mass media exposure; Among those from low income group, 29.42% have high mass media exposure, 64.70% have medium mass media exposure; Among the middle income group 33.33% have high mass media exposure and 11.12% have low mass media exposure; Among the high income group, 16.66% have high mass media exposure, 61.12% have medium mass media exposure and 22.22% have low mass media exposure; Among those who have the monthly income of more than Rs.20,001, 20.00% have high mass media exposure, 60.00% have medium mass media exposure and 20.00% have low mass media exposure. Thus, it indicates that there is no clear cut relationship between income group and mass media exposure of middle class youth.

The relationship between mass media exposure, modernity and social structure may now be summarized: As far as the relationship between mass media exposure and modernity is concerned there is a positive relationship between mass media exposure and modernity at the medium level, but mass media exposure is not solely responsible for the modernity level of an individual. It is also influenced by some other variables such caste, class, occupation and education of the subject. Regarding the relationship between social structure and modernity it is found that there is no clear cut relationship between caste and level of modernity as most of the higher caste subject have medium level of modernity and the lower caste subjects have high level of modernity. Thus their seems to be a negative relationship between the caste and the level of modernity. However, there is a positive relationship between and education and modernity in the sense that no respondent have primary level of education and no one has very low level of modernity. At the secondary level of education most of them (87.05 %) have medium level of modernity and a few (12.05 %) have low level of modernity. Among the highly educated respondent about one-third (32.08 %) have high level of modernity, more than half of them (56.03 %) have medium level of modernity and only a few (12.05 %) have low level of modernity. It also suggests that although the level of modernity increases with the level of education but it perpetuates more at medium level.

As far as the relationship between the income group and level of modernity is concerned that the medium level of modernity was observed in all the income groups. Which suggests that there is no clear relationship between income group and modernity. Among the Brahmins, most of them (60.86%) have medium level of mass media exposure, while among the Kayastha, most of them (52.83%) have medium level of mass media exposure, among the Vaishyas, most of them (67.67%) have medium level of mass media exposure, among the lower caste no one has low media exposure and most of subject have high (33.03%) and medium level of mass media exposure (66.67%). It suggest that the media exposure of lower caste is relatively high than the upper caste respondents. The level of mass media exposure also increases with the level of the education of the respondent. At the secondary level, one-fourth (25%) subjects have low media exposure, while at the graduate and post graduate level it goes down to 10%. The level of high media exposure increases as one moves from secondary to post graduate level (at secondary level 18.75%, graduate level 28.57% and post graduate level 45%). Father's education also has a positive relationship with son's media exposure. The subjects whose father are engaged in Govt or private sector have more mass media exposure rather than those whose father are engaged in business activities or retired from the services. There is no clear cut relationship between income group and mass media exposure. In conclusion, we can say that the relationship between the three variables taken in the present study is complex. Although there seems to be a positive relationship between mass media communication and modernity, but level of modernity perpetuates more at the medium level. The other factors like level of education, father education and occupation have important bearings on the level of modernity of a person. However, the structural variables like caste has to some extent in negative relationship not only with level of modernity but also with exposure to mass media communication as lower caste respondents have high and medium level of modernity associated with high and medium level of mass media exposure. Therefore, it can be said that education is most important factor in the advancement of the modernity level from medium to higher level rather than exposure to mass media communication. The factors like religion and caste have a negative impact on the process of modernization. Which is evident from the items wise analysis of the modernity in which most of the respondents were of the view that a person who is atheist may not be a good person. thus the deep root of caste and religion in Indian social structure check the process of modernization in a developing society like India. Therefore, the level of modernity perpetuates more at medium level.

On the basis of above mention findings it can be said that the view of Dharamvir (1990) and Mahajan (1990) that mass media has a negative relationship with modernity, does not stand valid, but seems an over simplification of the intricate relationship between mass media exposure and level of modernity. The finding of the present study also invalidated the works of Agrawal (1978), George Gerbner (1984), Sharada (1988) and Singhal and Rogers (1989). It is very clear that it is not simply the exposure to mass media communication which brings modernity but what is most important is that contents of the programme listen or watch by a person on audio-visual and broadcast media or the kind of contents read by a person in the newspaper or the magazines. The high frequency of watching mythological serials on television by most of the subjects indicate that such type of programme may check the process of modernity rather than to enhance it.

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Enemies of the Petty-Commodity Producers: The Case of B. K. U. in Meerut Commisionary

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Nature of agricultural production and exchange are some of the major concerns of agrarian (peasant) studies. Both the nature of production and exchange generate interdependence not only between different units within agriculture but also between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors of production. Such interdependence to a certain extent is indispensable in the production and exchange processes. The interdependence at times manifests contradictions within and generates grievances among these interdependent units i.e., either within agriculture; or between agriculture and urban capitalism. Such grievances are effectively manifested in the form of collective action. Participants in these collective actions project some specific groups or institutions as the major sources of grievances. They wish to change their power relations with the extractors of surplus. In the pursuit of changing power relations, the participants in the collective actions project the grievances, against the projected enemies of cultivators, in terms of violation of the notions of justice and equality. Comprehension of the nature of agrarian social structure and the production process are indispensable in order to realize the nature of grievances and enemies of peasants.

Access to land rights in the form of ownership, control and use of labor constitute some of the crucial components of agrarian social structure (Beteille, 1974). Landholdings are categorized into five categories on the basis of size of landholdings in the Meerut commissary (Statistical Bulletin, 1985 and 1995), These five categories of landholdings are regrouped into three main categories in accordance to the argument of Mellor [1976] and Torii [1976] as more than 40 per cent of the cultivable land in the commissary is under wheat cultivation (Statistical Bulletin, 1985). These three categories can be termed as poor, middle and rich peasants or small, medium, and large land holdings. More than 77 per cent of the holdings in the commissary are non-economic holdings and they own nearly 35 per cent of the total cultivable land in the commissary in 1983-84. Eighteen per cent of the total landholdings are in the category of middle peasantry. The middle peasantry owns 40 per cent of the total cultivable land. The remaining five per cent of the total land holdings belongs to rich peasants' category. The rich peasants' category own nearly 25 per cent of the total cultivable land [Statistical Bulletin, 1985]. These facts indicate that middle peasantry is dominant in the commissary. Brass (1985) too observed similar trends.

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However the proportion of landholdings in the rich peasant category declined from 5 percent to nearly 3 percent by 1990-91. The proportion of cultivable land under their ownership too declined from 25 percent to 17.77 percent indicating that the rich peasants became relatively weaker at least numerically speaking. The category of middle peasants also experienced a decline both in terms of landholdings (from 18 percent to 14.97 percent) and the proportion of land under their ownership (from 40 percent to 37.7 percent). However the proportion of landholdings in the category of poor peasants increased from 77 per cent to 82.17 percent. The proportion of cultivable land in the hands of poor peasants too increased significantly from 35 percent to 44.52 percent (Statistical Bulletin, 1995). These facts indicate that fragmentation of landholdings rather than concentration of land in fewer hands is the general phenomenon observed in the commissary. Studies conducted in Punjab, Haryana and Tamil Nadu also revealed similar trends with regard to the distribution of landholdings (Bhalla, 1977; Shergill, 1986; Harriss, 1991). Friese (1990) too found a tendency of non-concentration of land in Western U.P. Such decentralization of land can be explained through demographic, market and institutional processes (Vyas, 1980; Satyanarayana, 1996) and less marked shift of labor force to non-agricultural sector (Singh, 1987). Such fragmentation of land holdings is affecting the sources of income for the rural population. Share of non-farm income for all rural households has increased except for the medium and marginal landholders. The medium and marginal cultivators could increase their income mainly from agriculture opting either for more intensive cultivation of land with a combination of green fodder, wheat and paddy/maize and allied activities or acquisition of more land on tenancy or sharecropping or animal husbandry or a combination of all (Srivastava, 2000). The cultivators of smaller size of landholdings need higher marketable surplus to cope with their subsistence needs (Bharadwaj, 1974) related to replacement, ceremonial funds and payment of taxes to the government and its agencies.

Agrarian class structure can also be derived on the basis of the organization of production. The form of organization of production varies with the size of land holdings, technology, and crops. In the cultivation of wheat, the rich and middle peasants not only own and control the land but also participate in different manual agricultural operations as co-worker. Labor of the landowners' household male members is occasionally supplemented with their counterparts' labor. They employ wage labor mainly in harvesting and threshing of wheat. Piece rates are mainly paid in kind in wheat harvesting. The owners of non-economic landholdings either hire-in threshers or mostly extend their labor on reciprocal exchange of farm tools and cattle with their kin and factional members. Laborers are mainly employed in weeding and in the fag end of sugarcane harvesting. In weeding sugarcane, piece rate payments are made in cash. However, payments in sowing and harvesting of sugarcane are generally made in kind. Maize and paddy are generally cultivated under sharecropping, as these crops are more labor intensive. The poor peasants mainly lease in land on sharecropping from the middle and rich peasants for the cultivation of maize and paddy crops [Satyanarayana, 1985].

If we concede to this argument, then the predominant form of organization of production in the commissary can be derived on the basis of major crops under cultivation. Out of the total cultivable land under different crops, wheat occupies more than 2/5th of the total cultivable land followed by sugarcane with 2/7th of the total cultivable land in the commissary. Wheat and sugarcane crops jointly cover nearly 70 per cent of the total cultivable land. Sugarcane –wheat in crop rotation require more commercial energy resources in comparison with other crops. Irrigation

demands maximum share of operational energy for wheat and sugarcane crops in rotation (Alam, 2000). Thus, these two crops in rotation need more capital for their cultivation. Paddy covers just 7.6 per cent of the total cultivable land. Bajra and Maize, cover nearly 1/6th of the total cultivable land. From these facts it can be derived that familial mode of organization of production is predominant with reciprocal exchange of farm tools, cattle, and labor among kin, factional members, and neighbors' landowners, supplemented occasionally with wage labor or *naukars* or sharecroppers. Rich and middle peasants employ one or two extra-family labor for a period of ten months or for a season or for one-month duration with payments in advance without interest (Satyanarayana, 1985).

Mechanization of agriculture can be identified on the number of land-holdings, number of cultivators, and hectares of cultivable land per different farm tools. There are 452 ploughs, 262 Wooden and 190 Iron ploughs, per 1000 hectares of cultivable land. There is a thresher per every 40 hectares of cultivable land. There is a tractor, highly capital- intensive farm implement, per every 45 hectares of cultivable land. Just around 50 per cent of the total cultivators per village own their ploughs for plowing (Statistical Bulletin, 1985). In the context of decline of farm cattle at the rate of 8 per cent per annum in the period of 1978-82 (Statistical Bulletin, 1985), it can be derived that some of the poor, marginal and small size of landholders may or may not own either farm implements or farm cattle or both for agricultural operations. Such incomplete set of farm cattle and tools may facilitate reciprocal exchange of farm tools, farm cattle, and labor among owners of land, or leasing in and out of farm tools and cattle. However reciprocal exchange of farm tools, cattle and labor is prevalent. Kin members own and use jointly some of the farm implements like tube wells, tractors, and threshers that are relatively more capital intensive than ploughs, sickles, spades etc. The ownership and use of tools jointly, and reciprocal exchange of farm tools, cattle and labor will further strengthen the primordial relations of kinship and caste. The costs in such production process are lower as the labors are unpaid due to its family, domestic or household character than those of a capitalist farm producing the same produce, on the same piece of land. The capitalist farm incurs additional costs of recruitment and supervision and must pay a wage or some sort to the labor. Thus peasant production survives as it provides minimally secured refuge against mass unemployment (Sen, 1985). Within a peasant household joint utilities and internalized norms take the place of optimizing behavior. It is an element in the functional relationship between peasant production and urban capitalism (De Janvary, 1982).

Out of the net-cropped area, nearly 70 per cent is under double cropping in 1983-84. According to Rastyannikov [1981], seeds of the major food grains were produced within cultivators' farm [87 to 89 per cent for rice; 68 to 69 per cent for wheat; 67 to 69 per cent of Jowar; and 75 to 79 per cent of pulses] in 1950's. However, in 1980 land under High Yielding Variety of wheat (cent) has increased tremendously (up to 90 per cent) causing extensive dependency of cultivators on markets for seeds and the sale of the produce. The extensive coverage of high Yielding variety of wheat seeds indicates that this new technology became size neutral (Singh, 1987). A higher incidence of H.Y.V. and fertilizer use was observed among small cultivators (Givind, 1986).

Intensive cultivation of crops leads to an increasing growth in the volume of agricultural work. There is a field or crop related activity throughout the year. Under such conditions neither the cultivator nor the land gets rest period. It also results in time constraint on cultivators since harvesting and threshing of previous crop must be completed quickly to leave time for the prepara-

tion of land for the next crop. Such intensive cultivation of land with high yielding variety of seeds and commercial crops, like wheat, sugarcane and potato requires secured irrigation facilities along mechanization of agriculture. Nearly 80 per cent of the total cultivable land in the commissary had secured irrigation facilities in 1983-84. Out of the total irrigated land 31 per cent of land receives irrigation facilities from canals while 67 per cent from tube wells (Statistical Bulletin, 1985). Traditional sources of irrigation provide irrigation facilities for only two per cent of the total cultivable land in the commissary. The dependence on tube wells has further intensified from 67 per cent to 71 per cent by 1991-92. However, the dependence on canals for irrigation has declined from 31 per cent in 1983-84 to nearly 26 per cent in 1991-92 (Statistical Bulletin, 1985; 1995). These facts do indicate that the State's investment on secured irrigation facilities is declining while the role of private investments on secured irrigation facilities is increasing. There is a tube-well per seven hectares and less of tube well irrigated land and one electrified tube well per every ten cultivators in the commissary (Statistical Bulletin, 1985). Such a high density of tube wells will result in the sinking of ground water table, more so in the continuous successive drought periods. In such situations, cultivators make endeavors to renovate their tube wells to deeper levels in the earth crust. As a consequence of this renovation, the old low horse powered motors become defunct and higher horse powered motors are required to uplift the ground water level from the deeper levels of the earth's crust. The purchase and use of higher power electric motors further increases the cost of electricity as the electricity tariff is collected on the basis of horse power capacity of the motor installed at the tube well. Simultaneously the proportion of replacement fund in the total produce will increase and results in more constraints on the surplus of the cultivators. The installation of more tube wells also brings more cultivators in contact with the U. P. S. E. B. administration and the proliferated middlemen who provide repair services, spare parts and new motors. It intensifies 'moral density' (Durkheim, 1964) between cultivators who adopted capital-intensive agricultural practices and the urban capitalism.

Such a level of mechanization, double cropping, and commercialization of agriculture affects the rural artisans, who performed two core functions in the traditional division of labor of villages. First, they worked as producers of farm implements, and secondly, they served as maintenance workers on these farm implements. With increase in the irrigation facilities, adoption of high yielding variety of seeds, and increased intensity of double cropping, the cultivators' dependence on carpenters and blacksmiths as repairers and maintainer of agricultural implements, in general, will increase. In Western Uttar Pradesh, the simpler farm implements like plough, sickle, spade etc., were purchased from the open market to the tune of 70 per cent in 1960's (Rastyannikov, 1981) as the preparation of new tools is based on contractual relations (Reddy, 1955). Artisans are usually paid on crop basis in kind for the maintenance and repair of farm implements and custom determined the amount of payment (Wiser, 1958). Urban capitalism has emerged as a major force in the production, supply and repair of farm implements like diesel engines, electrical motors, tractors, tillers, threshers, rubber tyres and tubes. So the role of artisans as producers of agricultural implements declined drastically but retained predominantly the role of maintenance workers even in the present period. Cultivators, in 30 per cent of villages, avail repair services to their farm implements either within or in a distance of one kilometer from their villages. However, cultivators in the remaining 70 per cent of the villages travel a distance of more than three kilometers to get their capital-intensive farm implements get repaired (Statistical Bulletin, 1985). This implies a con-

tinuous and constant strain on the resources of the cultivators who need the services of technicians to maintain the tools in working condition.

Changes in the structure of power sources in the Indian agriculture indicate that the contribution of draught animals drastically declined from 60.8 per cent to 42 per cent in the period of 1955-56 to 1970-71. On the other side the use of machine power [operation of tractors, diesel engines, electric motors] increased drastically from 4 per cent to 22 per cent in the same period. The rate of such change has been accelerated since 1960's. Thus, the importance of farm cattle declined as a consequence of mechanized plowing, threshing and transportation. However, the contribution of human labor in the agricultural operations has slightly declined from 35.2 per cent to 32.2 per cent in the same period (Rastyannikov, 1981). Thus, the decline in the contribution of draught cattle power in agriculture in general served as an effective means of social control for rich peasantry (Frankel, 1971).

Such an intensive mechanization affects the requirement of livestock both farm and milk cattle. Besides this the high yielding varieties of seeds yield lesser quantum of fodder than the traditional ones to feed their cattle. Simultaneously the common village grazing lands are declining as either it is distributed among landless households or the powerful individuals in the village converted it for cultivation. Haryana with traditional specialization in commercial animal husbandry provided bulk of farm cattle to the villagers of Meerut Commissary (Rastyannikov, 1981) Livestock inclusive of farm and milk cattle, increased at the rate of 0.9 per cent per annum between 1978-82. The farm cattle declined at the rate of 8 per cent per annum in the period between 1978-1982. Within the category of farm cattle, male buffaloes declined at a faster rate (7 per cent per annum) than bullocks (one per cent per annum). The species of cow population increased at a slower pace [0.375 per cent per annum] than the female buffalo species [1.6 per cent by annum] in the period of 1978-82 (Statistical Bulletin, 1985). These facts do indicate that female buffalo as milk cattle have acquired relatively more importance than the farm cattle in the rural economy. In addition, the slower growth rate of livestock contributed to the decline in the availability of organic manure per hectare of cropped land. The higher growth rate of human population, in comparison to cattle, absorbs a lot of cattle dung for fuel, as the forest cover in the commissary is just two per cent of the total land area. Such a decline in the availability of organic manure intensified the dependency of cultivators' on chemical fertilizers from less than 20 Kgs per hectare in 1960's to more than 100 kgs per hectare in 1991 (Rasthyannikov, 1981, Statistical Bulletin, 1995), which are becoming costlier every year.

Intensive cultivation of high yielding variety of seeds, mechanization, commercialization of agriculture and secured irrigation facilities affect the labor demand in agriculture. There are two opposing views on such relationship. First, increase in double-cropped area and substantial increase in productivity per unit area will stimulate more demand for labor. On the contrary, mechanization of agriculture reduces the labor requirement in agriculture. These two opposing view points are often resolved in net increase in the employment of extra-family labor as contribution of family labor in direct agricultural operations declined due to green revolutionary prosperity (Rastyannikov, 1981). Singh, (1987) too observed that the employment of human labor in farm work has declined on farms of all sizes except the largest. However, the use of hired labor shows a sharp decline in case of the small size of land holdings. Small holdings are predominantly found in the commissary. Utilization of hired labor remained more or less constant on all size groups be-

tween 2.88 and 10.66 hectares but increased significantly in the case of farms of above 15 hectares. The proportion of landholdings above 10 hectares in the total land holdings of the Commissary is very less. The proportion of hired labor to the total labor has gone up on all size groups above 4.72 hectares. Proportion of landholdings above 5 hectares in the commissary is just less than 5 per cent of the total landholdings. A clear inverse relationship in family labor use per hectare and farm size is observed (Singh 1987). However, the changing demographic composition too has some role to play in the decline of family labor contribution in agriculture. Nearly 43 per cent of the total population is below 14 years of age and 7 per cent of the total population is above 60 years of age (Statistical Bulletin, 1995). Such a demographic composition might be contributing to the decline in the contribution of family labor in agriculture. Besides this there is an increase in the proportion of school and college going children. These factors too might have contributed to the decline in the contribution of family labor in agriculture besides the agrarian prosperity due to green revolution.

Labor use showed an increasing trend with increasing intensity of double cropping and shift to high yielding varieties of crops per cultivated hectare land (Balishter & Singh, 1981). Chauhan (1981) too found that the labor use per hectare was about 17 per cent higher on mechanized farms than on non-mechanized ones. The recent technological changes in agriculture have tended to reduce the human labor input for raising individual crops on one hectare. But the total labor requirements per cultivated hectare land have increased as a consequence of increase in the intensity of double cropping in the irrigated area and the use of more manure per hectare and shift to high yielding varieties of crops.

Landless laborers are mainly dependent on domesticated animal husbandry as one of their major source of livelihood. They acquired the milk cattle from either their in-laws or through 'Saajha' (partnership) system from landowners or purchasing few from the open market. Landless laborers provide their labor to the sugarcane cultivators for harvesting it and receive tender parts of the harvested sugarcane as payment. Landless labor uses these tender parts as green fodder to their cattle. The duration of harvesting continues for a period of not less than seven months in a year. For the remaining period women of the landless labor collect grass from the ridges of the landowners' land while their male members are engaged in non-agricultural seasonal jobs in the nearby urban areas. Girls and women of landless households play a crucial role in fetching grass from the ridges of the landowners' land. Many conflicts between landowners and lower caste landless women revolve around the issue of, allegedly or really, cutting crops from the fields rather than collecting grass from the ridges and spoiling the crops. It has its implications on the pattern of atrocities landowners commit on women of the lower caste landless households.

Has land acquired the character of a commodity where landowners are freely alienated from their property rights on land? Answer to this question will provide us a base to find out the components of capitalistic dimension in agriculture. Traditionally land was sold on priority basis to kin, caste, and villagers but to the outsiders only as a last resort. It implies that custom had a role in restricting land sales to outsiders, which further led to non-transfer of land to the people, who had no roots in the particular village. But, in the contemporary period such traditions are not coming in the way of land sales. Now- a - days, land is sold to the person who pays the prevailing market prices to the land i.e., the element of rationality has come into play and free sale of land is becoming an important element in such transactions. These facts do indicate that land has acquired the

character of a commodity and the owners of land are freely alienated from their property rights on land. The landowners sell their patrimony mainly to cope with contingent expenditure related to marriage, death, to fight out legal cases etc. (Bailey, 1957; Satyanarayana, 1996). Besides this, the cultivators have increased the scale of commodity production by adopting high yielding variety of seeds. A portion of the returns from agriculture is invested in the purchase of farm implements and other farm inputs, which facilitates both fertility and productivity of the land. The requirement of capital increased as the short time maturing variety of crops not only needs more manure but also the availability of organic manure has declined due to slower growth rate of livestock. In addition to this, the intensity of double cropping also has increased the requirement of capital for cultivators. The formal financial institutions are providing only nominal amount of credit. The increased requirement of capital has led to increased dependency of cultivators on public and private credit. Besides these capital requirements the cultivators are dependent on a number of middlemen who provide services required for the maintenance of agricultural implements where the cultivator has no clear knowledge about the repair and maintenance of the tools.

How can we characterize such a pattern of production process and relations of production in agriculture? Scholars interested in the agrarian studies made concerted efforts to make distinction between capitalistic and non-capitalistic form of agricultural production. Capitalism in agriculture can be identified on the basis of the following features: The means of production are not only concentrated but also centralized in fewer hands (Marx, 1967). The share of industrialized agricultural inputs, which are capital intensive, like tractors, threshers, pump-sets, tube-wells, rubber tyres and tube, motors, pesticides, insecticides and herbicides, fertilizers, fertilizer responsive hybrid seeds and crops etc., will increase. Free wage labor, as a commodity to buy and sell freely, will distinguish capitalist form of production from other forms of commodity production (Marx, 1967; Weber, 1961). Employment of not a single wage labor, but a certain minimum number of wage labor is required to liberate the employer from the manual work (Marx, 1967). Employment of at least five or more person years of wage labor on average throughout the agricultural year is considered as a prerequisite (Stavenhagen, 1975) to separate the managerial and organizational activities from manual labor [Sorokin, 1930, Marx, 1967]. It is also the dividing line between bourgeoisie and petite –bourgeoisie (Therborn, 1979). Employment of five or more person years of wage labor results in the prevalence of class relations within the sector of production either agriculture or industry (Friedmann, 1978). If cultivators are commodity producers and dependent on market transactions for their survival and aimed to provide the household with socially acceptable level of consumption and to renew or replace the depreciated elements of productive inputs (Bernstein, 1977), then it is a simple commodity production. In the internal organization of simple commodity production, wage costs and profits are also not separated (Bernstein, 1977). The simple commodity production has no class relations within the enterprise where the free wage labor plays merely an ancillary role in the labor process (Bernstein, 1977). The peasant becomes dependent more on merchant, usury, industrial and bureaucracy (Friedmann, 1981). The familial form of agricultural production is an example of formal subsumption of labor under capital without the emergence of capitalist relations of production (Marx, 1967). From the writings of these scholars it can be derived that in the capitalistic form of production land ownership is centralized and concentrated in fewer hands along with dependency on capital-intensive farm tools, fertilizer responsive short time maturing variety of crops. Crops are cultivated with a commitment to the

market. Besides the above-mentioned prerequisites for the identification of capitalism, employment of a certain minimum number of wage labor, say five in number, promotes the development of capitalistic relations of production in agriculture. The decentralization of the means of production, use of less capital intensive tools, predominant dependency on family labor, production of agricultural produce either for direct consumption or for market with a motive to provide the household with socially acceptable level of living and to renew or repair the depreciated farm tools though the production is market oriented.

Agrarian development in Meerut Commissary does reveal that means of production is neither concentrated nor centralized in fewer hands. Capital-intensive agricultural farm implements are adopted and they are owned and used jointly. Production is oriented to the market rather than for direct consumption, involving cash in market transactions and for subsistence. Still the agriculture may not be capitalistic, as it requires the employment of a minimum number of wage laborers as commodity on average in a year. Employment of certain number of wage labor throughout the year is a prerequisite to identify the farm as capitalist or non-capitalist [Marx, 1967]. With the employment of more wage workers throughout the year not only more surplus value is created but also appropriated by the landowner. In the organization of work the role of supervisor will emerge. The owner-cultivator may himself perform the supervision role or he may employ a supervisor to look after the cultivation process [Satyanarayana, 1985]. To have a significant change in the organization of production, a critical number of wage labor, at least five, [Marx, 1967] to be employed on average throughout the year. Under such conditions the owner of land cannot remain as a co-worker as he has to arrange the critical resources needed in the production process and the role of supervisor will become important. The organization of the production in the commissary is primarily based on the family labor. Even the rich peasants do not employ more than two laborers on an average throughout the year. The owner cultivator is also a co-worker. So, kin and factional relations predominantly dominate the relations of production. The kin jointly own the majority of the farm implements even after the partition of land and household. The tools are mostly exchanged on reciprocal basis at the time of need rather than leasing the tools to non-owners of tools [Satyanarayana, 1985]. So the capitalistic dimension is visible only in the aspects of forces of production but not significantly in the relations of production in the Meerut commissary. Thus, the development of agriculture in the Meerut commissary can be characterized as capitalistic without the predominance of capitalistic relations of production. Such a form of production process has no independent existence from other forms of production processes. It exists as subordinate to urban capitalism, and the cultivators feel more homogeneous within while projecting their grievances against the enemies. They project class based relations with their enemies but undermines class differences within (Batra, 1978). Purely monetary relationship places the peasants as subordinated to capitalist conditions of production. This happens without any modification of the non-capitalist relations of production i.e., the affect of capitalist appropriation on agriculture without the predominant use of wage labor as universal form. Thus industrial, merchant and financial capital reduces the peasantry to a vehicle for accumulation.

II

Such a form of agrarian development in the commissary contributed to the manifestation of functional relationship between peasant production and urban capitalism, viz. between villages and urban centers, agriculture and industry, cultivators and proliferated middlemen. This interdependency is articulated at two levels i.e., at the institutional level where impersonal rules guide the reciprocities between cultivators and formal institutions. At the formal institutional level surplus is extracted from petty-producers, where the owner is a co-worker without a systematic separation of wage and profit components, through price system, and unilateral enforcement of individual contracts. Secondly the cultivators while competing among themselves for scarce critical agricultural inputs and other services will develop goodwill and favor based personal relations with the position holders in the formal institutions. On these two principles, state under the domination of urban capitalism and its formal institutions extracts surplus from commercialized petty-commodity producers. The State manifested the interests of urban capitalism through various policies related to development, finance, and agricultural markets. Positional holders in these formal institutions have their fixed informal charges in order to make available the critical agricultural resources. The informal claims on peasants are not changed though the paying capacity of peasant declines in the crisis period. In such situations peasants allege that their position in the society is deteriorating in terms of autonomy, control, and power. Such a situation is attributed to the governmental policies and its agencies in the process of implementation.

Price System: Cane farming is a commercial activity. It is cultivated under contract system. The cultivation of sugarcane under contract system promoted technical and social integration of dispersed producers. It also reduced the fixed cost and disperses much of production risks to the direct producers and promotes self-exploitation of peasants. Cultivators of sugarcane receive fertilizers, and pesticides at subsidized prices on credit. Thus sugarcane cultivators are controlled and subordinated through credit in advance. The household members of the cultivators contribute labor in sowing, watering, harvesting and transportation of the produce either to the purchase centers or directly to the mills. At the harvesting time, cultivators receive slips in specified periods from the society. A portion of the value of supplied sugarcane is deducted from each cultivator. The deducted amount will not be paid to the cultivator, if he fails to fulfill the terms in the contract. Non-payment of arrears, even after the supply of specified quantum in the contract constituted one of the main grievances of the cultivators in the area. Such arrears do not accrue interest to the cultivator. There is stipulated time specified in the contract for the payment of arrears. The non-payment of loans to formal lending institution within stipulated time leads to penal interest. On the other hand, the cultivator needs cash to look after the preparation of land for the next crop and to cope with the subsistence needs. He borrows loan from different sources at higher rate of interest whereas his own money lies in the hands of millers without yielding interest. Thus, the cultivator remains indebted throughout his life. However, the cost of irrigation is increasing as the sinking ground water table needs not only replacement of the less horse powered motor with high horse powered motor but also investment in terms of renovation of the boring. Besides this the power tariff is collected on the basis horsepower capacity of motor installed at the tube well. The sugarcane not only yields sugar but also seera, and khoi, which are used for the production of beverages. BKU. president of Saharanpur district, in one of his personal interviews, alleged that a quintal of

sugarcane yields eight kilograms of sugar but only Rs.26 per quintal is paid to the sugarcane cultivators in 1988. In addition 10 bottles of liquor is prepared from a quintal of sugarcane's by-products, which yield nearly Rs.300 to the millers. But single rupee is not paid to the cultivator on account of the profit from the by-product. However, the state receives bulk of this value in the form of excise duty from the mills. Thus, surplus values are transferred from sugarcane cultivators to the agro-industries from where the bulk of unpaid surplus to the cultivators reaches the state in the form of excise duties.

Support price policy in general provides insurance to the cultivators and promotes the adoption of improved technology without fear of excessive price falls. In determining the minimum support prices, cost of cultivation of the relatively efficient and innovative farmer is considered as relevant. The Agricultural Price Commission while announcing the minimum support prices to paddy for 1966-67 took into account the average price of paddy during the last post-harvest period as well as in the last three years. This indicates that distress sales became the basis for the determination of minimum support prices. If the minimum support prices are based on the distress sales, then how can the interests of peasants be safeguarded? In addition to this price quotations for wheat were obtained from the areas where issue prices of imported wheat formed the basis for 9 centers. Out of them 5 are from the deficit areas. The remaining 14 centers are from surplus states. Under such conditions if prices go up at a faster rate in deficit areas than in the surplus producing areas, then the wholesale price index for the commodity would then go up at a rate much faster than the prices received by the wheat producers have risen. Thus substantial part of increase in the agricultural produce price index is the result of widening gap between the prices of deficit and surplus areas rather than of increase in the prices received by the cultivators. In the case of manufactured commodities, which are more heterogeneous, official price index is based on the price of certain commodities only. For instance official price index of tractors is based on the prices of Massey Ferguson alone. Besides this, the price quotations exclude cost of transport, local taxes, the margin of wholesalers and retailers. If the prices beyond ex-factory prices increase at a faster rate, then the prices paid by the cultivators would increase at a faster rate than that reflected by the official price index for industrial commodities. The implications of such over representation of prices of agricultural commodities and under representation of manufactured goods leads to superficial conclusion that terms of trade moved in favor of agriculture (Tyagi, 1979).

Cultivators in the B.K.U. movement demanded an increase in the prices of farm produce at par with other commodities. "Peg the prices as prevalent in 1967-68 when wheat was sold at Rs.130 per quintal while cement was bought at Rs.11 per bag, urea at Rs. 42 per bag and power tariff Rs.10 per horse power", (interview with B.K. U. President). The B.K.U. demanded for the fixation of remunerative prices at 12% above the cost of producing agricultural produce. They also demanded repeal of controls on interstate movement of cereals on private account and Writing off kisans' loans to formal lending institutions. They further demanded higher subsidies (direct ones) for various agricultural inputs and supply of electricity at the cheapest rate along with the waiver off power tariff for six months.

Farm Management Survey reports for the states of U.P. and Punjab revealed that a large number of small cultivators were not able to cover even the cost of production (Tyagi, 1979). The actual output of all major crops except rice in Western U.P. has declined markedly after 1970-71 (Singh, 1981}. Agricultural development in India and Pakistan had declining incentives to farm

output as the internal terms of trade moved against agricultural products as the prices of farm inputs and of consumer goods used by the agricultural population rose significantly while the prices of food grains and some other farm produce were held down by government action (Mason, 1966). The B.K.U. raised fundamental issues challenging the pro-urban and pro-industrial policies of the Central Government. Illiterate cultivators in collective actions expressed such feelings repeatedly in a vague form. However the literate and educated section of kisans who participated in collective actions articulated manifestly such feelings in their speeches. A high school girl student through Raginis (folk songs) expressed her feelings in this manner: "The government is protecting the interests of industrialists and capitalist system but not the workers and kisans through its policies". Educated section of kisans, who participated in the jail Bharo part of collective action, felt that B.K.U. is fighting against the exploitation of peasants by the capitalist system in alliance with the government and its agencies. Through collective action it will abolish the rampant corruption in social life.

Cultivators can retain wheat for longer duration with them without selling it at minimum support prices to the government purchase centers. Nearly 90 per cent of the total wheat cultivated area in the commissary is under high yielding varieties. This fact indicates that production of wheat is significantly for market. In order to cope with such requirements, the cultivators need to sell their produce immediately after the crop is harvested. Otherwise the cultivators have to borrow loans at higher rate of interest from traditional moneylenders or from other private sources to cope with replacement and ceremonial funds along with payment of taxes to the state. In the drought period open market prices for wheat rose significantly higher (Rs.200+) than the state regulated prices of Rs.175. To regulate prices in the open market, controls on the movement of cereals on private account, even for personal consumption, are imposed. Western U. P. is a surplus area in wheat production, the prices stood though higher but still lower to that of deficit states. In addition to this, wheat cultivators had other forms of grievances too. The government purchase centers purchase wheat at Rs.175 per quintal from cultivators and sell the same to flour millers at Rs. 240 per quintal i.e., there was a difference of Rs. 65 per quintal between the purchase and sale prices in the year 1988. Still F.C.I. pleads that it is incurring losses as the overhead charges reach to Rs.273 per quintal. Cultivators are not convinced with this argument. Cultivators of wheat argue that the sale of wheat to the flour millers at Rs. 240 per quintal is more advantageous for cultivators rather than selling it to the loss incurring F.C.I. at Rs. 175per quintal.

The Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Punjab, Haryana and Delhi conducted a study on 'Rural income and rural poor' covering a period of 1970-71 to 1984-85. The study revealed that the value of output in agriculture and allied activities has increased at an annual rate of 1.90 per cent only and value addition increased at still lower rate (1.50 per cent) at constant prices of 1970-71. Thus, the value of output in agriculture and allied activities was significantly lower than the national average of 3.5 per cent. The per annum trend growth in agriculture varied in accordance with the crops under cultivation. For instance, livestock recorded 3.1 per cent growth rate followed by fish with 3.0 per cent, wheat 2.2 per cent and plantation 1.9 per cent per annum.

Crops other than oil seeds, cotton, spices sugarcane etc., recorded insignificant in value output. Thus most agricultural occupations became less attractive than before as a consequence of widening disparity between the prices of agricultural inputs and agricultural produce (The Hindustan Times, Feb.8, 1988).

Through the announcement of minimum support prices to agricultural produce and other mechanisms like controls, state is regulating the prices of agricultural produce. For instance support prices for wheat were fixed at Rs. 173 per quintal with an incentive of Rs. 2 per quintal for the year 1988-89. It was just 4.2 per cent higher than the support price of 1987-88 while the price index of all commodities went up for more than 10 per cent in the last one year (The Hindustan Times, Feb. 8, 1988). With reference to the prices of 1970-71, prices of all commodities have gone up by 4.17 times while the wheat support prices raised by just 2.27 times. This means wheat producers have to sell at least 83 per cent of their wheat more in 1988-89 as compared to 1970-71 to buy the same mix of goods. Paddy cultivators too faced similar type of experiences (Singh, 1988). Thus cultivators are price takers rather than price makers for their products. The suppliers of farm inputs are often free to raise the prices of farm inputs without hindrance while the individual cultivator is in turn frequently uncertain as to whether he can recoup his costs. Cultivators are not always able to press on their increased cost of production in full or part because of the low-income elasticity of food demand but also their subsistence requirements keep on pressing. Cultivators have found themselves in a cost price squeeze" (Glan, 1972). The intensity of the cost price squeeze may vary from time to time and from product to product. Cultivators have attempted to apply political pressure in order to allow the effects of increased costs to be mitigated by increased prices for farm products (Self and Storing, 1962).

The term subsidy needs a clear comprehension beyond its rhetoric as the Finance Ministers of the nation in annual budgets claim that subsidies on agriculture are increasing significantly and they need a reduction in order to reduce the intensity of budget deficit. The word subsidy means the amount of money that was paid to cultivators in excess to what they would get, if they were exposed to free external and internal market conditions. Thus, in assessing the quantum of subsidy, a comparison is made between the domestic prices of the commodities with their imported prices including the cost indulged in the freight. If domestic prices are higher than the imported prices of a commodity, then we can treat that the domestic producers of that particular commodity are subsidized. The difference between the two prices indicates the level of subsidy. The ratio of domestic prices to imported prices was less than one varying between 0.37 and 0.73 for rice in the period of 1980-81 and 1984-85 (Singh, 1988). Thus on the issue of subsidy to cultivators, payments are made to cover up the losses of industries that produce agricultural inputs and the government departments supplying farm inputs and services to the cultivators. These facts have a grain of truth in the government's rejection of cultivators' demands for direct subsidy. From these facts it can be derived that the government coerced the cultivators of different crops through controls, minimum support prices based on distress sales, procurement etc. to subsidize food grains manifestly to urban consumers and latently to industries and the government. Thus urban capitalism as a dominant form of production squeezed surplus from the commercialized petty-producers.

Field observations reveal that cooperatives too failed to emancipate the small and marginal cultivators from the clutches of moneylenders. Non-payers of cooperative loans on the closing day of the accounts are charged an additional amount of 10 per cent as Amins' expenditure. Various status-degrading measures like auctioning the property, imprisonment for a period of 15 days etc., are adopted in order to realize the loan amount from the defaulters. Such measures lower the status and honor of the defaulters in the village community where people value honor and status very dearly. In order to avoid such status degrading measure defaulters adopt the strategy of

paying interest first and converting the earlier principle amount as borrowed afresh. The employees of the cooperative society charge four to eight per cent of the loan amount as service charge. Thus cultivators under transfer entry system pay 20 to 30 per cent as interest to the society. It indicates that the cooperatives, which came into existence to emancipate the cultivators from the clutches of moneylenders, could not succeed in their mission.

Collectivities of peasants allege that they have no power and autonomy in matters of fixation of agricultural produce prices, determination of the quality of produce and its weighing. The purchasers of agricultural produce and sellers of agricultural inputs have power and autonomy in determining the quality, price, and quantity of agricultural produce and inputs. In the process the purchasers of agricultural produce will undermine not only the quality but also over weighs it. In contrary to this the sellers of agricultural inputs not only emphasize highly its quality but also underweighs the inputs and adulterates them. In this process the cultivator is selling more quantum of agricultural produce due to over weighing and getting lower prices as the quality of the produce is under assessed. On the contrary the peasants pay more for lesser quantum and lower quality and adulterated agricultural inputs, which results in higher rates of investment and lower rates of returns. In the process of unfavorable integration with markets peasants are exploited on both the fronts. Thus Capitalist institutions appropriate surplus from peasant producers through unfavorable integration with markets.

Besides this to get even the burnt transformers repaired, to get water through canals, loans from banks and cooperatives, getting a ration card from the village pradhan, in encashing the cheques issued by formal institutions purchasing the agricultural produce, even to get the sugarcane weighed at the purchase centers, to receive specified number of sugarcane slips from the society, name the area of social and economic life one needs to grease the palms of the concerned official in general. Otherwise such services will not be available to kisans and workers in the countryside of the commissary.

Thus, urban capitalism and its formal institutions under the protection of the state extracted surplus from commercialized petty-commodity producers in normal years without being identified as the enemies of cultivators. In the crisis period the capacity to cope with subsistence needs declined with a decline in the agricultural productivity. Besides this the critical agricultural inputs are not available to the cultivators either with reduced amount of service charges or without them. Thus under crisis the non-benevolent state and its agencies forced the cultivators to describe the earlier interdependent units and its agencies as their enemies.

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Civil Society, State and Empowerment: The Human Situation in India

G. Ram

In modern society the totality of life consisting of social, cultural, economic and political formations is expressed in the three domains; namely, particularistic structures, state and civil society based on the respective principal of ascription, authority and mutual consent. For the longest period in the history of all human societies of the world, unification of the parochializing, particularistic structures formed of the affective ties of family, gender, caste, ethnicity, language and religion and the homogenizing, hegemonic state left little of choice for individual roles. However, the process of historical differentiation of societies gradually led to the emergence of an opening between the two structures (particularistic structures and state) giving rise to some of civil formations addressed basically to the goal of human empowerment or liberty against the on-going atomization of individuals in the times before. This in-between, structural opening that varies in terms of its magnitude determined inter-institutional relations as well as intra-institutional human situation. There, a question arises: **What kind of human (rights) situation is perceived to be emerging in the wake of socio-political formations in India?** The question is being attempted with reference to theoretical formulations of interrelationship of the three domains/structures and their empirical occurrence in the contemporary Indian society.

Theoretical Formulations

The three domains; namely, particularistic structures, state and civil society viewed in terms of their interrelationship constitute the three **paradigms** of socio-political formations; viz., (i) the unitary paradigm, (ii) the dualistic paradigm and (iii) the dynamic/ interactive civil society paradigm

The unitary paradigm of socio-political formations in a society refers to the fusion of political and particularistic institutions characterized by a primacy of either of the two structural tendencies, i.e., parochialization and homogenization. The fusion brings forth two variants of the paradigm; viz, (a) parochialistic political society and (b) homogenizing political society. In the state of fusion of the two types of power (ideological and political) in these paradigmatic variants the ideological power (parochial or universal) provides justification for political power. The parochialistic political societies such as traditional China, Byzantium and Islam acquired religious-ideological

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justification for political power whereas secular or socialist ideology justified the power of homogenizing political society in the erstwhile east European bloc, China, North Korea, North Vietnam, etc.

The dualistic paradigm of socio-political formations based on the mutually opposed relationship of the civil society with the particularistic structures and the state manifests the two forms of dualism; viz., (a) the state-civil society dualism and (b) the dualism of particularistic structures and civil society. The state-civil society dualism is indicated by the opposition of individuals and groups (civil society) such as the solidarity in Poland and the civil rights movements in other east European societies in the communist bloc, which was mounted against the state. The particularistic structures-civil society dualism is expressed in the movements and organizations fighting against gender discrimination, violence in family or patriarchy.

The dynamic, interactive civil society paradigm that envisaged necessary civilized state-society interaction in which the three elements, i.e., particularistic structures, civil society and state are engaged in a dynamically dialectical relationship with one another. The civil society opposes the inhuman, parochial actions of particularistic structures like dowry death in a family, talaq in a religious community or sati (self immolation of a woman on her husband's funeral pyre) in the Rajput/Kshatriya (caste/ruling class) tradition in India, while the state mediates the opposition for or against either of the two in a situation. On the other hand, the state-civil society opposition is mediated by the particularistic groups for or against either of the two in a situation, e.g., the opposition of civil society to state's (forced) family planning joined for it by religious groups and that to sati joined against it by a caste (Rajput).

The first paradigm conceives a set of two elements whereas the second one consists of the three elements but only two of them operate at a time. The third paradigm contains the three elements in all situations. The first paradigm represents the despotic societies, the second one represents the type of transitional societies with a weak civil society and the third refers to the type of developed societies with a matured civil society. The three types of societies strikingly differ in the matter of human situation. In the first paradigm individuals are commanded by the unified power of ideology and state to act in a given manner. The second paradigm leaves some space of choice for individuals in the situations of the opposition between the particularistic (ideological) structures and the state (political power). Individuals get full opportunities of choice for action in a dynamic/changing situation of opposition between and intermediation of all the three elements in the third paradigm. Since it is only the civil society which could cause a paradigmatic shift in the conception of human (rights) situation, a brief discussion on the concept of civil society is undertaken here.

Having remained ever caught in a cross formulation by the differentiative and the synthetic views of the theoretical and empirical relationships between economy, social philosophy and state in the social sciences, the term **civil society** has suffered from the shiftings and ambivalence of meaning in different as well as in the same writings. In the intellectual distinction of disciplines, sociology that emerged out of political economy, social philosophy and moral statistics was assigned social, symbolic and normative phenomena collectively termed as 'society' while political science was left with the political relations such as state, power, government, political parties, etc. and economics became the science of production and distribution of economic relations. But, on the other hand, August Comte's sociology as the synthesizing science attempts to integrate political,

economic and social phenomena. Similarly, in Marxism the base-superstructure metaphor contrasts the economic base with the superstructures of law, politics and social relations but the relations of production are argued to be social, economic and legal (Abercrombie et al.2000: 48). Moreover, in the socio-historical progression civil society has a varied experience of its position in the situation of three-element interactions.

The contractarians, Hobbes and Locke, conceived civil society like nation or state against the state of nature to protect the right to life, liberty and property of the individuals (Uberoi 1999:21; Pandey 1999:46). On the other hand, to carefully distinguish the state from civil society the philosophical historians of the early nineteenth century drawing influence from the Hegelian and the Saint-Simonian writings advanced the new conception of society, something more than political society or state, concerned with the whole range of social institutions (Bottomore 1986:17). This distinction, an important step in establishing sociology as a science, motivated the early sociologists to examine the relationship between civil society and state and to classify political systems based on different forms of civil society (Bottomore 1986:151). The very Hegelian approach in the early writings drew upon Adam Ferguson's **An Essay on the History of Civil Society** (1967) which treated society as a system of interrelated institutions and the nature of society, population, family and kinship, the distinctions of rank, property, government, custom and law (Bottomore 1986:17). He treated 'civil society' as a state of civility consequent upon civilization discussed in the contrast of western government with oriental despotism (Abercrombie et al.2000: 48). The term eventually came into sociology through the analyses of Hegel and of Marx.

In Hegel (1837) civil society interposed between family and state acquired specific connotations for a property of modern bourgeois society that comes into prominence with the birth of capitalism (Uberoi 1999:24; Abercrombie et al.2000: 48). Marx and Engels (1845) conceptualizing a basic dichotomy between civil society (the ensemble of socio-economic relations and forces of production) and the state (the superstructural manifestation of class relations inside civil society) argued that civil society is the true source and theatre of all history, i.e., the explanation of political, legal and cultural developments is to be sought in the development of civil society (Abercrombie et al.2000: 48-49). To Marx, civil society is an autonomous area of economic exchanges dominated by commodity principle and it is distinct from earlier forms where economic and political powers were collapsed (Uberoi 1999: 24). Adopting the Marxian conception Gramsci constituted civil society as the realm of the private citizen and individual consent that lies between the coercive power of the state and the economic sphere of production. His formulation of the relationship between economy, society and state in terms of contrasts between private and public life, and consent and coercion has played a fundamental role in the contemporary Marxist analysis of ideology and power as in the contrast between **ideological state apparatus** and **repressive state apparatus** in the work of Louis Althusser (Abercrombie et al.2000: 49).

Thus, all through its historical progression the term **civil society** conceived as an intermediary social space, flanked by the state on the one side and a sequence of the particularistic groups such as the concrete reality of the single individual and abstract human society in Hobbes and Locke's, the family in Hegel's, the market in Marx' and in Gramsci's and the church in Hall's, in Gellner's and in Habermas'*the history of civil society begins only when the institution of the sacred or divine Kingship begins to dissolve into differentiated institutions at the dawn of the ancient, or at the very latest the medieval, period of the past* (Uberoi 1999: 19).

Institutions of the intermediary space (civil society) are also conceived differently in the writings, i.e., the state or nation in the contractarians, the social institutions other than the state in the philosophical historians, voluntary associations, independent professions or the self-governing medieval guilds in Hegel, commodity exchange based institutions in Marx, associations based on mutual consent in Gramsci and secondary cadres like professional organizations in Durkheim (Uberoi 1999: 21-23). Historically, it emerged as the associative process of nation-state formation, the state-church separation, religious multipolarization, bourgeois, capitalist and middle class formation, individualization, egalitarianization, democratization and constitutionalism in the Christian society of western Europe in the modern world.

Presently, civil society is.....*supposed a category of universal human society, or of historical civilization as against pre-history and not only a category of bourgeois society or of modern capitalism, for example, as in the tradition from Hegel to Habermas* (Uberoi 1999:19), or defined at the three levels of formation; namely, (i) the European society as civil society, (ii) the total civil society and (iii) civil society as the section of a society (Oommen 2000). In normative sense, civil society is a civic space where (i) the members associate with each other open-endedly, (ii) decide and choose roles guided by knowledge and reason, and (iii) act and move without any fear of coercive forces like terrorism, pressures, *fatwas*, *gheraos*, mobbing, etc. (Saberwal 2002). Finally, as a structural phenomenon civil society is a system of egalitarian, individualistic, pluralistic and differentiative relations in social, economic, political, and cultural aspects established on the basis of mutual consent and freedom of association, decision making and action among individuals at the level of a national/political society, a historical civilization and the universal human society. The examples of such institutions are constitutional laws, political parties, cooperative organizations, trade unions, professional organizations, voluntary associations, women's empowerment organizations, environmentalist organizations, human rights organisations, dalits organizations, etc.

The foregoing discussion clearly signifies that the civic institutions create an intermediary autonomous space of human freedom, reason and consent, and strikes a balance of power on behalf of individuals between the state and the particularistic institutions in a society. Therefore, it is the civil society which defines the human situation in the midst of the encaging structures; it is the source of the **human rights**, i. e., the basic conditions of human life. This spurs one's mind to formulate two assumptions: (i) Human rights originate in the sphere of civil society and (ii) the basic life conditions get amplified in proportion to the growth of civil society in a given society. By this reason, both, civil society and human rights have ever remained dynamic rather than static phenomena. The very historical progression of civil society reveals the dynamic, changing or ever growing nature of human rights as conceived in different traditions of thought; namely, (i) rights to life, liberty and property in the contractarians, (ii) right to form voluntary associations, independent professional organizations and occupational associations (guilds) in Hegel and Durkheim; (iii) right to form autonomous associations for commodity exchange in Marx and (iv) right to associate on the basis of mutual consent and cooperation in Gramsci. Apparently, in the course of time the human rights have grown from the few basic/fundamental rights to some descent life conditions for all sections of men, women and children in social, political, economic and cultural spheres at local, national and international levels as declared in the thirty articles on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As such the human rights, constitute all descent conditions of life ranging from

the right to life in the contractarians to the right to development as adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1986 (Beteille 2001; Sanajaoba 1994:30). Besides, the human rights being enlisted and defined variously by international organizations and conventions, national governments and autonomous organizations and constitutions make the phenomenon complex and confounding, and it gives rise to conflicts at various levels. The human rights, then, become a tool in the hands of the powerful to twist arms of the powerless- a nation or a local community. The conflicts on human rights arise in the three forms: (i) Conflicts between a local and the provincial/national society on the issues like Narmada Bandh Pariyojna in India, (ii) conflicts between a national and the international society on the issues like environmental protection, banning of child labour, etc. and (iii) conflicts between a local and the international/global society on the issues like cultural invasion of transnational corporations, etc. As the conflicts on the human rights arise in the situation of their diverse conceptions in view of differential distribution of civic institutions at various levels of social organization and development in the contemporary times, the human rights situation can be defined in terms of the people's own perceptions emerging out of their socio-structural and environmental settings.

Socio-political Formations in India

In India before the ascendance of the British East India Company in power in 1757 A.D. one finds the unitary paradigm of social formations in operation, where the political/state power remained unified with the ideological power of one or more particularistic structures like family, caste and religion. During the period of 100 years the Company's rule in India that followed upto 1857 A. D. the dualistic paradigm of socio-political formations operated. The particularistic structures construed the British as the pollutive of their culture and civilization as well as the hegemonic and oppressive power on them. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, i.e., after the power taken over by the British paramountcy the third paradigm of the formations became operative. During the period a westernly educated middle class in India, which interacted dynamically with, both, the particularistic structures and the British power, and opened a civic space between them. The (dynamic-interactive) paradigm is at work in post-Independence India as well. Before a discussion on the working of the paradigm, a brief account of its elemental structure is undertaken here.

The particularistic structures in India are different from those in other societies in the sense that they are multiple, plural and overlapping. They can interact conjointly as well as individually and simultaneously or at different intervals of time, and this makes them complex and typical structures. These structures include caste, religion, ethnic/tribal, regional and linguistic structures. The other universal, structural differences of family, gender, status and class further complicate them. The state under the British in India was undemocratic, hegemonic and centralized, though democratic institutions had been ever growing and flourishing in Britain. Democratic action in the British India (Ram 2001: 32-34) was initiated meagrely and niggardly during the two decades of the nineteenth century. However, the state could establish a rule of law over the larger part of the territory. After Independence it became democratic, secular and welfare state working under guidance of the constitution of India. The process of democratic decentralization has taken a full round and power circulation through elections at various levels involved various pluralities and sections. The civil society in India emerged during the pre-Independence period when the middle class took lead to set up social, religious, political and educational organizations, launched socio-

religious movements, started programmes for upliftment and rural reconstruction, carried on freedom movement and framed a constitution. After Independence the civic space expanded with the emergence of political parties, cooperative movements, trade unions and professional organizations, voluntary organizations and new movements-feminist, environmentalist, dalit and tribal.

The interactive dynamics of the three structural elements are also typically peculiar. The civil society has been interacting with both of its lateral structures, and consequently several reforms are introduced in the realm of family, marriage, divorce, succession, inheritance, etc. The tradition of mediation was extended through the Congress Party which operated as a platform of diverse interest groups, sections and identities. But the particularistic structures are always competing and contesting to unify the political power with their parochial, sectoral (ideological) power. Due to this structural peculiarity the British state used the strategy of 'divide and rule' during their rule in India for 200 years. After Independence the stratagem is operative in the divides of minority-majority and north-south, Mandalization and Kamadalization/saffronization of politics. Despite the fact that the Congress Party was in power at the centre and in most of the states, the north-south divide remained the prominent issue during the two decades that followed Independence.

By the General Elections in 1967 the first generation Congress leadership that emerged in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries had either passed away or had moved out of the Congress Party and the second generation, local/regional leadership of the landed class of feudal mindset increasingly ascended to the political power in the decades that followed. The emergence of this kind of leadership is rooted in the processes of democratic decentralization (Ram 2001:34-44), green revolution, ideological differences and power politics. The other identities like caste, religion, and language/region also kept on to eclipse the state power as reflected in the mandal-kamandal divide and the emergence of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) into power with religious agenda in the early nineties of the last century. From the late nineties the market has been coming up along with the particularistic structures.

Cooperative movement and organization emerged in several states and regions of India, but only in Maharashtra and Gujarat it could grow and affect people's life immensely. In view of the growing industrial and service sectors the trade unions in the organized sector grew up at various levels- national, regional and local. Similarly, the associations for various professions have also come up to stay. Bar Council of India, Press Council of India, Institution of Engineers and others for doctors, teachers, administrators are some of the remarkable associations. These organizations take up their collective cause with the state/organized sector of production as well as their social cause in the domain of particularistic structures. Various movements like Chipko Andolan, Narmada Bachao Andolan, Shetkari Sangathan, Bharatiya Kisan Panchayat, Women's Movement, etc. took up the cause of environment, tribals, dalits, peasants/farmers and women. From the eighties of the last century, a large number of voluntary associations or Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) have been spawning over various activities and spheres of life. These movements have originated largely against the state actions. The particularistic structures did penetrated into cooperatives, trade unions, professional associations, voluntary organizations and movements. But they have never lost a total sight of the achievement-based recruitment of their members. Similarly, the state strangled civil society under the constitutional emergency during the period 1975-1977. Otherwise, all through it remained non-despotic. The question that springs

up here is : Why could the particularistic structures and the state not fully eclipse the fragile civil society in India ? The answer is: It is due to multipolar, plural and overlapping groups of the particularistic identities which balanced each other outside as well as inside the domain of the state. Therefore, the civil society could remain free from any heavy onslaught of one or more identities, on the one hand, and they balanced state power through the all inclusive ruling parties like the Congress Party or through the fragmentation of political parties and orchestration of the coalitions in power, on the other. This ever dynamic multilateral balancing among such groups imputed the civil society in India with its immanent strength. Moreover, these balancing groups forced the state to don the mantle of welfarism in the late sixties of the last century to decentralize its powers and facilitate the people upto the grass roots level. These actions at the political theatre empowered the people and groups variously and overlappingly at different layers of organisation and thereby reduced the state's hegemony. This all is taking place under the rule of law enshrined in the constitution which itself signifies the delicate balance of pluralistic interests. The constitutional provision of the separation of powers has been largely responsible for independence and activism of judiciary which took the revolutionary steps of public interest litigations, legal aid, lok adalat, consumer courts, etc. in the judicial history. The same state has been the source of the civil society as well as of various conflicts with it on sundry occasions and dimensions of life. In a nutshell, the three elements of the third paradigm of socio-political formations in India have been operating in terms of their interactive, dynamic relationship .

Human Situation in India

In India the human rights are enshrined largely in its constitution as well as derived from the international declarations and conventions to which India is a signatory. The constitution and periodically constituted governments have operated consistently all through the years after Independence, barring a few exceptions. But the enemies of civil society and human rights like poverty, casteism, communalism, gender discrimination and child abuses put question mark before the human rights situation in India. There are three sources of the constraints operating upon the human rights in India: (i) Inequalities of material resources, (ii) cultural differences and (iii) power-politics. Unequal distribution of wealth is manifest in the rich-poor, urban-rural, skyscrapers-slums or hi-tech—bullock cart contrasts in the people's life. Similarly, the distribution of education, life style, consumption level and power is also highly skewed in view of the economic inequalities. In the situation of mass poverty and inequalities it is rather easier for the poachers of civil society to discriminate and oppress the people on the basis of traditionally divisive factors like caste, religion, language or gender. Frequently arising communal riots, Babri Masjid demolition, murder of Graham Steward Staines and caste conflicts in rural areas are detrimental to civil society and human rights. Mostly, the north and western Indian states are inflicted from these problems. In the periphery the states like Jammu and Kashmir and those of North East India suffer from the cross-border interventions instigating insurgency, transnationalism and sub-nationalism. The human beings are generally caught in the cross-fire of the state power and the terrorists.

Human Situation in North East India

In the North East India there are broadly three areas of activities where human rights are suppressed; viz., (i) the state interventions, (ii) the terrorist activities and (iii) inter-ethnic conflicts. The human beings squeezed between the terrorist activities and the state interventions loose the rights to life, liberty, property and so on. Besides, the inter-ethnic conflicts of multiple tribal

communities are also distributed almost in all the states in North East India. Inequalities, cultural diversity and sub-nationalism are the three sources of conflicts affecting human rights in the region. The abject poverty along with the emerging inequalities of the masses is the breeding ground for insurgency facilitated by ethnic plurality and sentiments of sub-nationalism. The state's suppressive reactions to the sub-nationalistic sentiments rather aggravates alienation and sufferance of the people.

The human rights situation is precarious in view of a relatively small civic space in the regional society which is yet to emerge in a real sense. No civic institutions of the expanse at par with the region could emerge thus far. The reasons obviously pertain to the absence of a regional normative structure of social organization and a civil society in it. The state institutions like North Eastern Council (NEC), educational institutions, judicial set up, etc., the gradually emerging regional market (Guwahati) and linguistic structures of Assamese, Bengali, English and Hindi did make a way to the common normative structure. But in view of infrastructural problems, ethnic diversities, unemployment, poverty, emergent inequalities and diasporic border situation the statecraft, and not merely the state, is a crucial factor to facilitate the emergence of a regional society along with the civil society of a significant size to ensure the human rights. In the North East India the basic question is: How to tame and make use of the state for development of the people rather than to reduce its role?

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Marxian Streaks in the Weberian Model of Bureacracy

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“The conduct of a polemic focuses attention on the differences between two points of view to the neglect of their continuity and convergences” (A. Gowldner 1955)

This comment holds true to a greater extent for Weberianism and Marxism. Each of these viewpoints tends to define themselves in opposition to the other. This has led to the development of the two approaches into two systems of sociology as if they are two utterly alien systems despite Weber’s frequent recourses to Marxian concepts either to respond to Marx’s theory of society or to develop his own version of social theory. Although Weber developed an alternative position on the origin of capitalism, yet he picked up a definition of capitalism – An enterprise working towards unlimited accumulation of profit and functioning according to a bureaucratic rationality”, which resembles the Marxist conception of capitalism (Aron 1970). Methodological and philosophical differences between the two have been overemphasized, but points of similarities and convergency have been glossed over.

The present work attempts a comparison of the Weberian and the Marxist perspectives on bureaucracy to trace out the scope and the limitation of the two models and to ascertain the applicability of the concept of the new middle class in understanding the bureaucratization of modern industry. The comparison is necessary as there are two dominant competing concepts—the new middle class and the bureaucracy—conceptualizing the emerging trends of social organization of industry and polity in modern sociology. This paper examines Weber’s and Marx views on bureaucracy with a view to identify a common thread which can help us in understanding and explaining recent developments.

Weber’s ideal type of bureaucracy has two fold theoretical roots. On the one hand, it is placed in the more general context of his theory of legitimation of power, on the other hand, it is grounded in his quest to develop an interpretative understanding of the rational organization of capitalism. He endeavoured to encapsulate the further advancement of economic(capitalistic) enterprises and state (socialistic) enterprises through the concept of bureaucracy. Weber maintains, “Bureaucracy thus understood, is fully developed in political and ecclesiastical communities only in the modern state, and in the private economy only in the most advanced institutions of capitalism” (1973: 327). Placing capitalism and socialism under the conceptual umbrella i.e. bureaucracy

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(Gouldner 1955; 497), Weber hints at not only the explanatory import of bureaucracy but also its theoretic roots.

From the point of view of authority, bureaucracy is the purest type of legal authority grounds of which are rational “resting on a belief in the legality of enacted rules to issue commands” (Weber 1978: 215). Moreover, the bureaucracy is characterized by a hierarchical authority structure with limited areas of command and responsibility, impersonality of relationships, separation from ownership of the means of administration, absence of appropriation, recruitment of officials on the basis of ability and technical knowledge and high degree of specialization.

In case, we think of a common thread in relation to the characteristics of bureaucracy we find a general and all pervasive element- a system of control rooted in rational rules which maintains and regulates the process and structure of organization on the basis of technical knowledge with the aim of maximum output and efficiency. This is the feature which makes the bureaucracy specifically rational. It is, therefore, not simply the existence of rules but the quality (rational) of these rules. In feudal administration, too, there was organized action controlled by rules, but the decisive difference between the feudal administration and a bureaucratic organization is that rules in the feudal organization are not based on technical knowledge and rational thinking but on convention.

Weber’s type of authority as such and bureaucracy as a legal authority in particular are treated only in the context of legitimation and thereby in isolation. There is another dimension of Weber’s model of bureaucracy. Weber’s typology of authority is only one of the prominent discussions of *Economy and Society*. Weber relates authority to modes of appropriation and forces of production. He links authority to interest constellation, economic structures of domination and ultimately to the nexus of rules and the rules. “Only after defining domination in terms of rule by master and his apparatus does Weber add the ultimate grounds for its validity. He turns to legitimacy because of its inherent historical importance, the need of those who have power, wealth and honour to justify their fortune” (Roth 1978: XC). Discussing bureaucracy from this point of view, Weber formulates economic explanation of bureaucratic administration (1978: 963-978). One statement of Weber suffices the assertion, “A certain measure of a developed money economy is the normal precondition at least for the unchanged survival, if not for the establishment of pure bureaucratic administration”. It is here that the second theoretic root of bureaucracy comes to the foreground in Weber’s analysis.

Weber considers bureaucracy as a formal category but also as a group with vested interests (1978: 91). At the core of this approach to bureaucracy is the explanation of specialized knowledge and administrative functions by ruler-capitalists and political masters (993-998), besides quantitative and qualitative tasks (969-980) and economic presuppositions of bureaucracy (963-969).

Weber uses the concept of appropriation to distinguish the rulers, the bureaucracy and the subjects. He prefers the concept of appropriation rather than property, because for him property is too narrow a concepts for many historical cases. Bureaucracy is characterized by the absence of appropriation while the capitalist or the political masters appropriate the means and the positions

of administration ranging from economic resources and machinery to managerial and political functions. This appropriation is justified by rational legal authority, i.e. bureaucracy. The bureaucratic structure goes hand in hand with the concentration of the material means of administration in the hands of the masters. This concentration occurs, for instance, in a typical fashion in the development of big capitalist enterprises, which find their essential characteristics in this process. A corresponding process occurs in public organizations.

This logic helped Weber to deal with the bureaucracy as collegiate bodies and interest groups. He distinguishes between collegiate bodies of experts and supervisory board of directors representing masters. He discusses at length the process of appropriation and watching of interests by the masters through collegiate bodies. This point has not been given due importance by analysts of Weber. Weber while providing this analysis goes back to his original problem of formal aspects of bureaucracy, although he raises two important issues:

1. "How far are these administrative structures in their developmental chances subject to economic, political or any other external determinants, or to an "autonomous" logic inherent in their technical structure?"

2. "What, if any, are the economic affects which these economic structures exert?"

If these formulations are extended in the light of politico-economic determinants and consequences, bureaucracy will have to be conceptualized in terms of class structure to which Weber does not give enough attention. It, however, was Karl Marx who enunciated the discussion on the relationship between bureaucracy and class structure almost half a century before Weber. Though the concept of bureaucracy does not occupy a central place in the Marxist theoretical model, yet his views on bureaucracy are crucial in understanding the context of Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy. The Marxist concept of bureaucracy can only be understood in the context of his general theory of class and class conflict.

Classical Marxism conceives bureaucracy as an oppressive and controlling instrument of capitalist class (Marx 1970, 1976; Engels 1968). Bureaucracy comprises of a social group associated with the state apparatus which serves the interests of the ruling class (Lefebvre 1968; Poulantzas 1973, 1975). The presupposition is that the state does not represent the general interests but serves the particular interests of the ruling class. According to Marx the formal and legalistic notions of bureaucracy do not represent its true nature. He takes Hegel to task for formalism in his approach to bureaucracy. Hegel could not unfold the actual content of bureaucracy by confining his study to the formal aspects of bureaucracy, which resulted in the apologetic for its rationality. In this kind of analysis bureaucracy comes down to a formalism applied to the content inside it (Marx 1976: 369). This is a false image of bureaucracy which can properly be understood in relation to the ruling class and its political and ideological domination (Poulantzas 1978, 28-34).

To Marx bureaucracy is an instrument through which the ruling class exercises its political domination over the other classes. Its main task is to perpetuate the status-quo and the privileges of its masters. Nevertheless, bureaucracy is not an integral part of the capitalist class in the

capitalist social formation, but its interests and future are closely linked to the capitalist class. Its very existence is bound to the dominant class. Its role is two fold- on the one hand, it perpetuates and consolidates class division and domination, on the other it creates a camouflage between the rules and the ruled (Mouzelis 1975) to serve the ideological function of the ruling class as well to project its own significance.

The maintenance of class divisions and inequalities being the basic task in the capitalist society, further bureaucratization becomes indispensable. It is implied that bureaucracy is not directly associated with the productive process but an integral part of political and ideological forms of domination. Moreover, Marx thinks of bureaucracy as incompetent, unimaginative, conceited, irresponsible, parasitic and transient. It is also characterized by 'sordid materialism' which gets reflected in promotion, careerism, hierarchy, status and prestige (stated in Mouzelis 1975).

Marx also envisages the decline of bureaucracy with the advent of socialism. Lenin, further developing Marx's statement of the withering away of the state and its bureaucracy in capitalist society, believed that the gradual decline of the bureaucratic apparatus would start with the dictatorship of the proletariat (Lenin 1951). Trotsky (1977 discussed in Mellelan 1979) in his theory of permanent revolution pointed out that the Soviet bureaucracy is gradually transforming into a closed privileged group and cannot be explained in terms of immaturity of socialism and lack of development of forces of production. Djilas (1975) goes further and considers the socialist political bureaucracy as a 'New Class'. This is an extension of the implied assertion of Marx that bureaucracy has got a relative autonomous position to some extent in some spheres. Not only does the bureaucracy serve the ruling class but it also acts as an arbiter of the conflicts within the ruling class, whenever they threaten that society's existence.

Max Weber's political sociology in general has a two-fold influence : (1) Max Weber seems to be influenced by elitist theorists in accepting the universality of domination and emphasis on the authority of organized minorities; and (2) recognizing classes as an important basis of authority, he indirectly incorporates the Marxian analysis into his theory (Bottomore 1979). As discussed earlier, Weber asserts various constellation of interests and economic preconditions for the growth of bureaucratic domination and ways in which it claims legitimacy. Weber does see bureaucracy as an important group but does not relate it properly and explicitly to his theory of stratification (that is class). Bureaucracy in relation to the relations of production has been considered by Weber. He characterizes bureaucracy as non-owner of means of administration and non-worker on means of administration in wage-earner's sense. He also thinks that the social relations to the means of administration shape the bureaucratic personality and action.

The difference between Weber and Marx is obvious. Marx rejects the formalist aspects of bureaucracy as 'sordid materialism' while Weber formulates an ideal type of bureaucracy pointing out its internal structure and essential elements. Marx emphasizes the contextual aspect of bureaucracy by relating it to the dominant class and state apparatus. Weber also discusses the relationship of bureaucracy with economic development, capitalism and authority structure. The classical Marxian analysis of bureaucracy mainly discusses the bureaucratization at the state

level. This viewpoint does not discuss in detail the later historical development of industrial bureaucracy, its important role in the process of production, its two way relationship with capitalists and workers, and its relative autonomy. On the other hand, Weber addresses himself to the problems of the development of industrial bureaucracy, its role in the process of production, and its relative autonomy. But, he does not probe in detail the relationship between the bureaucracy (as interest group) and other classes.

Industrial as well as political intellectual bureaucracy have brought some complexities to the class relations within industry and outside it. The industrial and political bureaucracies have distinct economic and political interests. The bureaucracy safeguards as well as articulates the interest. This is applicable to the socialist societies, where certain studies claim that the ruling bureaucracy has more power than political rulers in democratic societies, because political and economic power is concentrated in its hand (Aron 1968; Djilas 1957; Gouldner 1978). Moreover, bureaucracies, particularly its intellectual segment, have started playing the role of decision makers and implementers of various kinds of activities in all types of societies. Merton (1968: 178), therefore, attaches considerable significance to intellectuals in bureaucracies, for evaluating the functions and dysfunction of bureaucracy in society. Bendix (1952), Berle and Means (1952), and Gordon (1952) have examined the bureaucratization of industry. The concentration and expansion of capitalism made bureaucratization and technocratization of industry inevitable, which in turn led to the growth of new socio-economic categories situated between workers and capitalists (Bendix 1952; 119-120; Berle and Means 1952; 154-156; Gordon 1952; 158). It is also pointed out that professional managers and technocrats exert relative autonomy to a greater extent and act as a group (Berle and Means 1952). The industrial bureaucracy - the managers, the technocrats, and the other clerical and supervisory staff can not be adequately analysed in terms of traditional concept of bureaucracy, because it attempts to understand the industrial bureaucracy conceptually in isolation and with total disregard to its relationship either with the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

While emphasizing the importance of a contextual perspective and shifting attention from a quest for formal and ideal typical analysis to a more concrete analysis, the intention is not merely to reject the ideal type of bureaucracy but to modify the concept of bureaucracy so that it may take into account the new dimension of class structure, or else, to articulate an alternative conceptual category which logically takes into account the socio-economic locale of managers, technocrats, supervisors, and clerical staff, and their relationship to the other classes. The alternative concept that has to be articulated is the new middle class.

The social categories forming around the scientific, technological and management aspects of capitalistic productive process may be placed in a separate class location of the new middle class which neither own means of production or administration nor produces surplus value. The new middle class (industrial bureaucracy) possesses educationally acquired technical competence which enables it to supervise, maintain and keep up the forces of production and its dynamics, and which it uses to extract surplus value in order thereby to maximize profit.

The ultimate objective of the capitalist mode of production is to maximize profit. The increasing complexities and intricacies of the advanced capitalist productive process and distribution system also require technical skills (e.g. production management, etc.) in order to maximize profit. Therefore, besides the supervision and the maintenance of the productive forces, the responsibilities of extracting surplus value, as much as possible, is also visited on the new middle class.

In fact, the development of forces of production is indispensable for the very existence and sustenance of the capitalist class itself. Marx stated, "The bourgeoisie can not exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society" (1952: 45). The revolutionization of the forces of production, in recent times, has made use of scientific knowledge, technological advancement, and managerial acumen. Consequently, the maintenance and surveillance of the productive forces have become an intricate, elaborate and technical task, which is beyond the capabilities of the traditional entrepreneur or worker, and hence the need of educationally acquired technical and professional knowledge, technological advancement, professional skill and managerial acumen is underlined. The new middle class possesses all these features, and thus it is a social precondition for further development of the forces of production.

This perspective on the industrial bureaucracy may be conducive to answer the two important issues raised by Weber regarding the politico-economic determinants and consequences of the administrative (economic) structures emerging steadfastly.

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Occupational Mobility among the Gaddis of Meerut Region

Parvez A. Abbasi

In the present study, an effort is made to understand the patterns of occupational mobility among a pastoral community, namely, the Gaddis in Meerut region of Western UP. The study is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the conceptualization of occupational mobility in the existing literature while the second part presents the empirical data, collected from a village (Hajipur), a town (Muradnagar) and a city (Meerut) of Meerut region.

Hajipur Village

The village is located at a distance of 8 kilometers outside the municipal corporation limit of Meerut city on Meerut-Hapur road. As per a door to door census conducted during the course of the study the population of the village was 1,093, divided into 185 households. Out of which, 137 households belonged to the Muslims and 48 to the Hindus. The Muslims were distributed into six castes-like groups: The Gaddis (721); the Banjara (71); the Fakir (38); the Badai (17) and the Nai and Jogi (7 each). The Hindus and distributed in three castes: the Chamar (147); the Gadaria (81) and the Bhangi (5).

Muradnagar Town

Muradnagar town is part of Ghaziabad District. The town is located at Meerut-Delhi route, almost half way from the two major cities-Meerut and Ghaziabad. It has the status of twin town of Muradnagar and Ordnance factory. The town is located near the Ganga-Canal, a major source of water supply to South Delhi. The two major religious groups the Hindu and the Muslim form the major population of the town which counts 54.0 and 45.0 per cent respectively.

Meerut City

Meerut is a commissary head quarter of administrative unit. It is feasibly communicable with Delhi, the national capital (just 70 kilometers) with a national highway which links a state capital city Dehradun, a newly framed state of Uttaranchal. It takes about 100 minutes by bus to approach national capital of Delhi. The available data of population indicate the percentage of the Hindus and Muslims 59.0 and 36.0 respectively.

The samples of the study were drawn at three levels: the villages, the town and the city. At all levels, one cluster each of a Gaddi group was taken for the field study. Outward approach (Mayer, 1960) was followed as significant controlling pattern of occupational structure of the

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Gaddis affecting the groups of Gaddis and this was studied in depth. The design covered 190 families amongst 110 from the village, 40 from the town and 40 from the city. The collection of information through an individual was bit difficult but in a group situation it was rather adequately and instantaneously flowing. Although, the major tool of data collection was a structured schedule, the additional information was gathered through observation, conversation and personal contacts. Two influential persons of Gaddis including one non-practising and other practising advocates became friendly with the investigator especially for the cause of study. As a result the task of the investigator became easier in establishing meaningful rapport with the respondents.

I

The sociologists have used multiple criteria in making differential distinctions to identify the types of the social mobility. Sorokin considered the direction of social mobility as a significant criterion to distinguish between two major types – horizontal and vertical social mobilities. He refers horizontal social mobility as “transition of an individual or social object from one group of people to other located on the same level” (1927: 133). While the vertical social mobility refers to the same relations involved in a transition of an individual or a social object from one social group to another (1927: 133).

Sorokin has further made a distinction between two types of vertical social mobility. ‘Ascending’ or ‘social climbing’ that is in upward direction and ‘descending’ or ‘social sinking’ that is in a downward direction. Most of the studies on social mobility during the last half of the century have been limited to upward social mobility. Quite a few studies have dealt the downward social mobility.

The problem of social mobility is associated with the notion of social stratification. Sociologists consider social mobility as a process of social stratification (Blau and Duncan 1967). It seems that there are as many dimensions of social mobility as the abstractions of social stratification. Sorokin (1927) developed the idea of multi-dimensional social space. As a result, the social mobility has become a multi-dimensional process. Nevertheless, the power related idea about the multi-dimensional social mobility came from classics of sociology particularly by Max Weber’s famous distinctions of class, status and party with reference to social stratification (Weber, 1947: 21-27). However, it has provided almost consensus among the sociologists to treat social mobility and occupational mobility in the same sense. Lipset and Zitterberg (1956) laid emphasis on different dimensions of social mobility and identified four dimensions. Firstly, it may be analysed for measuring the change in occupational position of an individual or groups; secondly, by comparing the consumption patterns of the family of the same income level whose occupational position or income has changed over a period of time, thirdly, social class mobility, i.e., comparison in terms of occupational or economic class position of husbands and wives before marriage, of the respective in-laws or by investigating respondents the names of the occupational status of their friends; and fourthly, the power dimension of mobility (Lipset and Zitterberg, 1956: 561-64). Despite the multi-dimensional phenomenon, the studies on social mobility, have concentrated on the single dimension of occupational or economic change especially to the indicator of occupational change. However, the phenomena of social mobility refers to a change in income, political power, social relations, skill or social and

occupational prestige (Miller, 1960: 67). In this sense, social mobility hints at a change occurring in the economic, political and social order. Each of these four dimensions may have many indicators of change. The economic dimension has the occupational indicator of income, skill, power and prestige. The social dimension has the social indicators of change in social difference or change in the consumption pattern (Miller, 1960).

Occupation is an important determinant of social status. The position of an individual in occupational hierarchy also gives an idea about his/her class position. In the developing societies, like India, where the traditional occupational structure is passing through a transitional phase, it is important to analyse the process of the formation of new occupational structure and its dynamics in terms of process of occupational mobility. In the present study, the process of occupational diversification and mobility has been examined with reference to the three empirical situations – the village, the town and the city.

II

Singh, V. P. (1997-2000: 9) has observed a low degree of occupational mobility among the Muslims of Meerut city as the higher Muslim castes migrated to Pakistan during partition, hence Muslims of the city predominantly composed of occupational castes, their low socio-economic conditions checked the process of occupational mobility into the legal profession. But so far as the traditional occupational structure in the village is concerned, it has moved around the agriculture as main occupation of the Gaddi and other castes of the village. Traditionally, Gaddis, Gujars, Gadarias and Mahajans were constituting the proprietary class and agriculture was the main source of their income. The other remaining castes in the village were involved in the traditional jajamani system and services were exchanged by the members of different castes in the village. Nevertheless, gradually the modern forces of urbanization and industrialization paved their way in the rural society and as a result, the jajamani ties have been moved into contractual relationship (Chauhan, 1990: 106). It initiated the process of geographical and social mobility in rural India. The availability of new job opportunities in nearby urban centres motivated the rural masses either to migrate or to commute to an urban centre for availing these new job opportunities. But the case of social group under study is a typical one as shown above that their rural orientation is very high and even the urban counterparts prefer the traditional occupation of agriculture. Thus, the analysis of occupational structure of the Gaddi in the Hajipur gives some important insights into the problem.

For the analysis of the occupational structure, a standard occupational classification, developed by Indian Council of Social Science Research during the nation wide study – *National Election Study: Cross Section (1971)* and modified by Singh, V.P.(2002) in his study of legal profession in Meerut, was used. The main feature of the classification is that it is useful both for rural and urban societies and is able to measure even a short range mobility in the occupational hierarchy. This classification includes 11 occupational categories arranged in hierarchical order: 1) Executives, Manager and Government officials; 2) Professionals; 3) Large Scale Business; 4) Semi Professionals; 5) Political leaders, Astrologers and Traditional Landlords; 6) White Collars; 7) Small Scale Business Occupations; 8) Agriculture/Zamindar; 9) Skilled Workers; 10) Petty Business; 11) Unskilled Workers;

The Village: Hajipur

The distribution of Gaddi's of Hajipur village in terms of their main and subsidiary occupations, as shown in Table 1, indicate that most of the Gaddi (83.6 per cent) in the village depend on two or more occupations for their livelihood. Of them 14.5% have three occupations. As far as the main occupation of Gaddis is concerned, 67.3 % have mentioned agriculture as their main occupation. It was followed by the petty business activities (14.5%). However, 5.5% of the heads of the households are now working as skilled workers (mainly engaged in tailoring at the urban centres of Meerut and Delhi). The dairying activity has been traditionally associated with the Gaddi and had the status of a subsidiary occupation earlier, but now 6.4% of Gaddi families in the village depend on this activity as their main source of income. The movement of Gaddis to non-traditional occupational categories has been very limited with 5.5% in skilled occupations, 0.9% each in white collar jobs and semi-professions. However, 46% Gaddis of the village moved to the large scale business activities such as cold storages etc. Thus, occupational diversification among the Gaddi, as far as their main occupation is concerned, is very limited. The distribution of the Gaddi in relation to their first subsidiary occupation indicates that 16.4% of them do not have any subsidiary occupation. Amongst those who have a subsidiary occupation, 86.9% depend on dairying as a source of subsidiary income while remaining 13.1% mentioned agriculture as their subsidiary occupation. Only 16 families (14.5 per cent) were having a second subsidiary occupation, out of them five (31.3 per cent) have mentioned agriculture as their second subsidiary occupation. A similar proportion was engaged in dairying activities for their subsidiary income while six (37.5 per cent) of them were engaged in the petty business activities like operations of horse driven carriage, tanga, locally known as Rehri. It suggests that agriculture still remains a main economic activities among the Gaddi with dairying as a subsidiary occupation. Interestingly, not even a single Gaddi family in the village has gone down in the category of unskilled labourers, they have rather preferred a petty business activities for their livelihood. The mobility of the Gaddi is very limited to the modern occupational categories given to their low educational level.

The Town: Muradnagar

Occupation-wise distribution of the respondents in the town (Table 2) reveal that approximately two-third (67.5%) of the respondents depend on more than one occupation for their livelihood. A little less than half (47.5 %) of the respondents were engaged in two occupations while one-fifth (20%) of the respondents adopted three occupations. Only seven (17.5 per cent) respondents reported their dependence on single occupation. The main occupation about half (47.5%) of the respondents is agriculture. It is followed by the petty business activities with 20.0%. The other significant activity of livelihood of the respondents in the town is dairying and unskilled work (15.0% each). Only one respondent is engaged as a skilled worker. However, agriculture is still an important occupation for the Gaddi even in the town setting, where avenues for non-agricultural activities are more when compared to the village situation. But the case of the town suggests that the avenues for mobility among the Gaddi are limited to the low prestige occupations, namely, petty business activities, unskilled and skilled works. Some of the Gaddi have adopted dairying as their main source of livelihood.

The most popular subsidiary occupation among the Gaddi of the town is dairying – a small scale business activity. It has been a traditionally a subsidiary means of income in the town and about half of the Gaddi still depend on this activity as their subsidiary source of income. Only in 4 cases (10.0 per cent) petty business has been adopted as a subsidiary occupation. Amongst those who have a third occupation, the mobility is confined to the lower level of occupations mainly to petty business and skilled works.

The above facts depict that agriculture and dairying are retained as the traditional activities by about two thirds of the respondents either as main or as subsidiary occupation. Only one family has moved towards the large scale business of building constructions.

The City: Meerut

The occupational distribution of the Gaddi sample drawn from the Meerut city is analysed in terms of their main and subsidiary occupations. It was observed that most of the respondents were engaged in more than one occupations for their livelihood. The data in table – 3 present a comparative and cumulative picture of their occupational activities.

The data reveal that 22 (80.9 per cent) of the respondents are engaged in more than one occupations. Only 8 (20.0 per cent) respondents reported only one occupation as their source of income. On the other hand, there are a little more than one-third (35%) of respondents who are engaged in two subsidiary occupations apart from the main occupation. The main occupation of a person is considered as an indicator of his social status in the urban society. It seems to be useful to concentrate on the main occupational activities of the respondents for the purpose of analysing the pattern of occupational mobility. The data indicate that a little less than half (47.5%) of the respondents have reported agriculture as their main occupation. It is followed by the petty business activities 17.5 per cent. Dairying is reported as main occupation at third place with 15.0 per cent respondents. There is only a single case of skilled worker. However, mobility into unskilled jobs is significant with 10.0 per cent. As agriculture and dairying have been traditional economic activities of the Gaddi, it is possible to analyse the range and extent of the occupational mobility on the occupational scale in upward and downward directions from the point of their traditional occupations. On the occupational scale the dairying and agriculture are ranked at seventh and eighth places respectively. Thus, the mobility from these strata to other strata in the scale may be treated as a case of occupational mobility.

The data show that the amount of mobility into downward direction is more (30.0 per cent) in comparison to upward mobility (7.5 per cent). As far as the range of mobility in upward direction is concerned, no member in the sample could attain a position in the first three ranks of the scale. The upward mobility was confined upto the rank of the semi-professionals.

The trend of occupational mobility in context of subsidiary occupation was confined towards the down side, as the subsidiary occupations have a little bearing on the occupational status of a person.

The process of occupational diversification and mobility among the Gaddi of the village, the town and the city may now be analysed in a comparative frame work. For analytical purpose only main occupation and the first subsidiary occupation of the respondents are taken into

consideration. A comparative picture of the main occupation of the Gaddi in the village, the town and the city is presented in table 4.

The data clearly indicate that the upward occupational mobility has taken place only in the village and in the city. In contrast, not a single case of upward mobility was found in the town. Both in the city and the town, a little less than half (47.5 per cent) of respondents have retained agriculture as their main occupation while in the village, a little bit more than two-third (67.3 per cent) of the Gaddi could retain it. Both in the town and in the city 15.0 per cent of the respondents have transformed dairying from a subsidiary to the main activity while in the village it has happened only in seven cases (6.4 per cent). This shifting process has a correspondence with landlessness of the respondents of all the three units under study. The phenomenon of landlessness compels the individuals either to concentrate more on dairying activities or to adopt an occupation with a low status. It is noteworthy that dairying is a small scale business which requires an initial capital to invest. Given to the lack of capital, there are more chances of downwards mobility for the Gaddi families. This seems important factor relating with the more amount of downwards mobility in all the three units under study. The highest degree of downward mobility was found in the town with 15 cases (37.5 per cent), followed by the city 12 cases (30.0 per cent). The amount of downward mobility was found relatively low in the village with 22 cases (20.0 per cent). Another striking feature of the occupational mobility patterns found was that in the village downward mobility could not touch the lowest point of the scale, but perpetuated in the category of petty business activities. On the other hand, among the urban counterparts, the mobility has taken place in all the lower ranks of the scale. There seems to be two possible explanation for this phenomenon: (i) Despite the landlessness, a number of Gaddi's families retained agriculture as their main occupation by engaging themselves in the pursuit of share cropping; but this opportunity was not available to the Gaddi living in the town and the city; (ii) The village is a corporate unit where people are more concerned and conscious about their fellow beings. Therefore, Gaddis of the village seem to be more conscious rather than their urban counterparts. Another possible explanation for downward mobility in both rural and urban Gaddis seems to be the by-products of low level of

Table 1
Occupation-wise Distribution of Gaddi Families in Village Hajipur

S. N.	Occupational Category	Main Occupation	First Subsidiary Occupation	Second Subsidiary Occupation	Total
1.	Executive, Managers and Govt. officials	-	-	-	-
2.	Professionals	-	-	-	-
3.	Large scale businessmen	5	-	-	5
4.	Semi professionals	1	-	-	1
5.	Political leaders, astrologers and traditional landlords	-	-	-	-
6.	White collars	1	-	-	1
7.	Small scale businessmen (Dairy)	7	80	5	92
8.	Agriculturists/zamindars	74	12	5	91
9.	Skilled workers	6	-	-	6
10.	Petty business	16	-	6	22
11.	Unskilled labourers	-	-	-	-
12.	Respondents having no first subsidiary occupation	-	18	18	18
13..	Respondents having no second subsidiary occupation	-	-	76	76
	Total	110	110	110	110

Table 2
Occupation-wise Distribution of the Respondents in Muradnagar Town

S. N.	Occupational Category	Main Occupation	First Subsidiary Occupation	Second Subsidiary Occupation	Total
1	Executive, Managers and Govt. officials	-	-	-	-
2	Professionals	-	-	-	-
3	Large scale businessmen	1	-	-	1
4	Semi professionals	-	-	-	-
5	Political leaders, astrologers and traditional landlords	-	-	-	-
6	White collars	-	-	-	-
7	Small scale businessmen (Dairy)	6	19	2	27
8	Agriculturists/zamindars	19	4	3	26
9	Skilled workers	1	-	1	2
10	Petty business	8	4	1	13
11	Unskilled labourers	6	-	-	6
12	Respondents having no first subsidiary occupation	-	13	13	13
13	Respondents having no second subsidiary occupation	-	-	19	19
	Total	40	40	40	40

Table 3
Occupation-wise Distribution of Gaddi Families in Meerut City

S. N.	Occupational Category	Main Occupation	First Subsidiary Occupation	Second Subsidiary Occupation	Total
1	Executive, Managers and Govt. officials	-	-	-	-
2	Professionals	-	-	-	-
3	Large scale businessmen	-	-	-	-
4	Semi professionals	1 (2.5)	-	-	1 (2.5)
5	Political leaders, astrologers and traditional landlords	1 (2.5)	-	-	1 (2.5)
6	White collars	1 (2.5)	-	-	1 (2.5)
7	Small scale businessmen (Dairy)	6 (15.0)	20 (50.0)	9 (20.5)	35 (87.5)
8	Agriculturists/zamindars	19 (47.5)	9 (22.5)	-	28 (70.0)
9	Skilled workers	1 (2.5)	-	-	1 (2.5)
10	Petty business	7 (17.5)	3 (7.5)	3 (7.5)	13 (32.5)
11	Unskilled labourers	4 (10.0)	-	2 (5.0)	6 (15.0)
12	Respondents having no first subsidiary occupation	-	8 (20.0)	8 (20.0)	8 (20.0)
13	Respondents having no second subsidiary occupation	-	-	18 (41.0)	18 (41.0)
	Total	40 (100.0)	40 (100.0)	40 (100.0)	40 (100.0)

Table – 4
Main Occupation-wise Distribution of Gaddi Families of the Village, the Town and the City

S.No.	Occupational Category	Village	Town	City	Total
1	Executive, Managers and Govt. officials	-	-	-	-
2	Professionals	-	-	-	-
3	Large scale businessmen	5 (4.5)	-	-	5 (4.5)
4	Semi professionals	1 (0.9)	-	1 (2.5)	2 (1.1)
5	Political leaders, astrologers and traditional landlords	-	-	1 (2.5)	1 (0.5)
6	White collars	1 (0.9)	-	1 (2.5)	1 (1.1)
7	Small scale businessmen (Dairy)	7 (6.4)	6 (15.0)	6 (15.0)	19 (10.0)
8	Agriculturists/zamindars	74 (67.3)	19 (47.5)	19 (47.5)	112 (58.9)
9	Skilled workers	6 (2.5)	1 (2.5)	1 (2.5)	8 (4.2)
10	Petty business	16 (14.5)	8 (20.0)	7 (17.5)	31 (16.3)
11	Unskilled labourers	-	6 (15.0)	4 (10.0)	10 (5.3)
	Total	110 (100.0)	40 (100.0)	40 (100.0)	190 (100.0)

Table – 5

First Subsidiary Occupation-wise Distribution of Gaddi Families of the Village, the Town and the City

S.N.	Occupational Category	Village	Town	City	Total
1	Executive, Managers and Govt. officials	-	-	-	-
2	Professionals	-	-	-	-
3	Large scale businessmen	-	-	-	-
4	Semi professionals	-	-	-	-
5	Political leaders, astrologers and traditional landlords	-	-	-	-
6	White collars	-	-	-	-
7	Small scale businessmen (Dairy)	80 (72.7)	19 (47.5)	20 (50.0)	119 (62.6)
8	Agriculturists/zamindars	12 (10.9)	19 (10.0)	20 (22.5)	25 (13.2)
9	Skilled workers	-	-	-	-
10	Petty business	-	4 (10.0)	3 (7.5)	7 (3.7)
11	Unskilled labourers	-	1 (2.5)	-	1 (10.5)
12	with no subsidiary occupation	18 (16.4)	12 (30.0)	8 (20.0)	38 (20.0)
	Total	110 (100.0)	40 (100.0)	40 (100.0)	190 (100.0)

education which not only restricts their upward mobility in the occupational ladder but also it compels them to move into the downward direction to a great extent. Another significant difference in the mobility trend is that in the village the mobility has taken place in an abrupt manner while in the city the trend is more consistent over a period of time.

As far as the case of subsidiary occupation is concerned, the data presented in table 5 show that horizontal occupational mobility has taken place in a particular manner among the Gaddi. In the village as many as 80 (72.7 per cent) of the respondents reported dairying as their subsidiary occupation, while in the city, and in the town, the percentage of dairying as a subsidiary activity has declined with 50.0 per cent in the city, 47.5 per cent in the town. In the town and in the city, the Gaddi have also adopted petty business activities and unskilled workmanship as their subsidiary occupation while in the village no occupational mobility has taken place as far as the case of subsidiary occupation is concerned. Thus, agriculture and dairying still remains the centre of occupational activities for the Gaddi in both rural and urban settings. However, the process of occupational diversification and mobility has been ignited both in the rural and urban Gaddis of the region.

The apparent trend of the mobility in the main as well as the subsidiary occupations hint at that the main diversification has taken place in the traditional occupation at all the levels, the village, the town and the city.

Diversification of occupation on the traditional line has resulted in self generated economic development. 'Pahalwan' and 'Chaudhary' as status symbol in the Gaddi Biradari at a certain

point of respective development of peasantry and farming categories too hint at the peculiarities of Gaddi's ethos. Hard working people intimately connected with the cattle, land and the market retaining their self respect all through as a middle class minority maintaining dignified interactions with their co-religionists as well as their Hindu neighbours in the region.

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Book Reviews

Mahmood, Tahir 2001: Minorities Commission: Minor Role in Major Affairs. New Delhi: Pharos Media & Publishing (P) Ltd. pp. 286.

The concept of minorities is part of the process of modernization as it emphasizes on equal enjoyment of civil rights and liberties of those social groups who have numerical inferiority in a given nation. Three important bases of the identification of minorities are ethnicity, religion and language. In India, religion and language are two important bases for identification of minorities as India is a multi-religious and multi-lingual society. Since independence although Constitution of India provided fundamental rights to all citizens without any discrimination and declared India a secular and democratic state in which members of all religious communities have equal rights but in reality regionalism, linguistic bias and religious disharmony existed in the social fabric of Indian society. Therefore, in 1978 the Government of India set up first time a Minorities Commission to deal with the problems of minorities. The second Minorities Commission was set up in 1996 with some modifications in the existing Act and with some more powers to exercise. The book under review critically evaluates the functioning of the commission since its inception. The author being the chairman of second minorities commission has first hand knowledge about its origin, development and shortcomings in its functioning.

The book is divided into nine chapters. The meaning and definition of the term 'minorities' in different charters of UN from time to time and meaning and status of minorities in Indian legal culture are dealt in the introductory chapter. The author also discusses the nature of India's social pluralism and secularism and its specific characteristics as adopted in Indian Constitution, which emphasizes on absolute equality of all religions in the eyes of the state and makes it remarkably different that known to some other parts of the world represented by the UK, the USA and the late USSR. The social pluralism of India raises the need for the protection and development of all sorts of weaker sections of the Indian citizenry. Whether this weakness is based on number or on the social, economic or educational status of any particular group.

The author then discusses origin and formative growth of Central Minorities Commission in India in detail and evaluates critically the functioning of administrators in the commission and report of the commission in three distinct eras viz., The Masani-Ansari Commission (1978-81), Commission under M. H. Beg (1981-88) and S. M. H. Burney (1988-92). The author views the first era of the commission as a period of activism and deep concern for the minorities of the country. However, in the second era, according to him, both the nature of its functioning and public image changed entirely as it functioned as a pro-government agency and could hardly work for protection and welfare of the minorities. However, in third era the commission had some new policies and programmes to offer but its functioning remains unimpressive. Since 1993 although it had acquired salutatory status by the parliament but its functioning could not improve much. During the period 1996-99 when the author was himself the chairman of the commission its functioning affected with the attitude of the governments towards secularism who ruled the country during that period. Therefore, the commission did not get cooperation from the government but also faced hostile attitude of some organizations that had always been wholly against the minorities and dead opposed to the commission. The author also worried about the continuity of the commission

under the rule of NDA led government. He also shares his personal experiences with different functionaries and raises the issue of the importance of the reports of the commission in protection of rights of minorities released time to time but have not been given due consideration in last 23 years of commission's existence.

As the subtitle of the book suggest that the commission's role is minor in dealing with major affairs of the minorities, the book provides sufficient evidence in this regard and evaluates the functioning of the commission since its inception in a systematic manner and presents a holistic picture of minorities affairs in India. It also informs the reader about how politicians act and have indifferent attitude towards salutatory and legislative bodies. The book is not only useful for the students and scholars of Law, Political Science and Sociology who have vital concern with the problematic of minorities but also to an ordinary citizen who is interested in socio-political scenario of the country. The book is written in a simple and lucid language. The author put his standpoints in a strong and frank manner. The book will be welcomed by academicians as well as by the common educated citizens of the country.

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Ram, G. 2001: *Politics, Development and Modernization in Tribal India*. New Delhi: Manak Publications Pvt. Ltd. pp. 290 + X (HB).

Tribal society in India is passing through a process of change. The factors responsible for the change are indigenous as well as exogenous. Panchayati Raj is one of those institutions introduced not only to inculcate democratic values at the grassroot level but also to ensure people's participation in development process. The book under review examines the process of political modernization and development in a Bhil village Panchayat (Alsigarh Gran Panchyat) of Udaipur district in Rajasthan. The book is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, the author introduces the area and conceptual framework of the study and sets the methodological tools in the light of the previous studies conducted by the social scientists in this fertile area of research. In the second chapter, he moves to discuss the profile of three villages-Alsigarh, Pai and Aad- come under Alsigarh Gram Panchayat, mainly on the basis of primary data collected by the author during the course of the study. The study addresses three fundamental questions; viz, (1) What patterns of social relations exist amidst the process of politics, development and modernization? (2) Why do they exist in the manner they do? And (3) in what way are they consequential?

In the third chapter entitled 'Political Formation' the author mainly focussed upon the patterns of leadership in Alsigarh Panchayat body in a historical-structural and functional perspective. As the study takes into account whole period of above five decades it was, possible to trace continuity, discontinuity and re-emergence of leadership on the basis of ascriptive and achieved criteria. Only few studies on Panchayati Raj system have used this kind of approach in their analysis. The study presents a holistic and dynamic picture of community power structure in a tribale setting of Rajasthan.

In the next Chapter 'Dynamics of Development' the author examines to what extent the panchayat system was to able to fulfil one of its major objectices of delivering development goods in the village in last five decades and evaluates a number of schemes of rurall development implemented through grame panchayat. With the help of case studies of different development works the author shows how the panchayat in a tribal setting has been socially legitimized as an agency for implementation

of development works assumed to be spent up with out a regard for formal norms (p.171). The case material also gives deep insights into the problem of factional politics and fragmentation of the people and their leaders on issues of implemdentation of different developmental works in the villages. The study analyses the problem by highlighting that deep rooted tribal and non-tribal dichotomy influenes socio-economic and political processes of a tribal socity within and outside the boundary of the communtiy. The Panchayti Raj institution although has generated political consciousness at the grass root level but has also disharmonized the structure of tribal (rural) society in India and gives rise to many of factions and conflicting situation in rural (tribal) setting as also evidenced by other studies of panchayati raj system in India.

In the next chapter the author analysed three demisions of modenization process at the grass root level by studying leaders of the panchayat: *social dimension* - mainly takes into account types of houses, electricity facility, water supply, dress patterns and food habits of the leaders in the village; *occupational dimension*- focuses upon size, control and use of land owned by them, crop patterns, agricultural inputs and implements, animal keeping and occupational differentiation; and *political dimension*- mainly political standing, political orientation and political aspirations of the leaders of gram panchayat. the changes have been noted along all the dimensions of modernization in the villages and it was observed that at the level of gram panchayat/ village the forces of modernization - here panchayati raj- mixed with traditional elements of social structure and instead of replacing traditional elements the modern elements make different kind of combinations with traditional elements and thereby make the situation complex. The rural leadership has the capacity to use elements of both the traditional (ascriptive)and modern (acievement) origin as per their convenience.

Finally, the author summarizes the major findings of the study and its theoretical implications. The study not only explains the effectiveness of the Panchayati Raj in the process of social change but also give insights into the nature of tribal response to such institutional innovation and the direction of social change taking in rural India in general and in the tribal communties in particular. The study also dismisses the belief that micro and micro are two seprate compartments and subject to two different processes of change with different analytical strategies. The study shows with strong empirical evidence that even a micro system of tribal Gram Panchayat can be complex and multilayered one i.e., a locus of both the macro and the micro forces of change and finally that particularistic factors of certian essential elements of traditional society can be there in the very centre stage fo secular processes like democratic formations and functioning of panchayat bodies.

The strength of the book lies in the empirical evidence it presents for a period of about five decades of panchayati raj instilution since its inception and ability of the author to trace the linkages between politics, development and modernization in context of tribal society of Rajasthan.

The book can be useful for sociologists, political, scientists and particularly policy makers who may be benefitted by the indepth insights of the present study and cann help in formulating the strategy of rural development in India.

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