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Antinomies of Social Exclusion

B.S. Butola*

Abstract: The paper is an attempt to analyze some of the antinomies of social exclusion at various levels and tries to rescue it from degenerating into yet another tool of interpretation. The paper further attempts to critically evaluate the relevance and justification of the concept of ‘Social Exclusion’ at conceptual as well as at the level of social practice.

Key words: Social exclusion, conceptualize, marginal, concepts

It is often said that old taxes are no taxes as far as their contributions in increasing the wealth of the exchequer is concerned. Similarly, it could also be said that old concepts are no concepts as far as adding extra doses of rigour to the existing stock of knowledge is concerned. Concepts are like old clothes that loose their sheen after repeated uses. Perhaps this could be one of the many reasons that scholars are continuously engaged in an endless pursuit of finding/coinsing new concepts in order to enhance their abilities to comprehend and analyze the reality and retain the luster in the proposed argument. ‘Social Exclusion’ is a relatively new entrant in the gamut of such concepts. But, despite its recent coinage, social exclusion has become a serious contender in voicing the concerns that were once articulated by concepts like exploitation, discrimination, deprivation and indignation etc. The rise and acceptance of this particular concept has been so meteoric that one could say without being branded preposterous that social exclusion as a concept has already made substantial inroads into the discussions and writings on poverty and deprivations. There is large and rapidly growing literature on the subject (Sen, 2004) across many disciplines.

It would be appropriate to mention here that circulation of ‘social exclusion’ as a concept to analyse deprivations and discriminations is not an avant-garde. Scholars in the past used various concepts like discrimination based on race,

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class, gender, religion, nationality and caste etc. to express their concerns about various types of injustices that are handed over to the weaker, marginalised and subalterns in most of the societies. Apparently, it is considered that there is a logical progression from the old to the new concepts mainly because most of the old concepts were exclusive in nature and these were primarily based on articulating social divisions. In certain cases such as caste, race, class and gender etc. the divisions were considered irreconcilable, antagonistic or permanent. Therefore, to redress the injustice was considered as an exclusive domain of the victims against the perpetuators, who in many cases were projected as enemies, aggressors and exploiters etc. Consequently, the identity of the group was built around the notion of an excluded and distinct group. As opposed to this, ‘social exclusion’ aims to break open the quarantine that was built by the victims of various forms of injustice and replace it with an inclusive concept, in which there is sufficient scope to accommodate the victims of various types of injustices and build some sort of consensus to fight for a common cause. Moreover, the success of three great historical events:

a. The rise of democratic governance in the aftermath of the French Revolution;

b. Victory of the workers and peasants struggles and taking control of the state power to decide the distribution of social produce among the masses on the basis of “from everybody according to ones ability and to everybody according to their need” in the post Bolshevik Revolution in the Former USSR, and

c. Greater incorporation of scientific and technological knowledge in production processes, leading to secular empowerment of individuals and social groups. contributed in making the antagonistic social relations like class contradictions, racial discrimination, ethnic violence and colonisation etc. infructuous to a great extent. To quote American historian Francis Fukuyama,

we who live in a stable, long standing liberal democracies face and unusual situation...have trouble in imagining a world that is radically better than our own or a future that is not essentially democratic and capitalist. (Fukuyama, 1992 : XII)

These are perhaps the main reasons that most of the scholars have accepted ‘social exclusion’ as an inclusive concept, well suited for the purpose. But, there is a big difference between what is suitable and what is justifiable. There is no
doubt that most of the concepts used in the past had limited scope as these were built on exclusive premises. As opposed to this, the ‘social exclusion’ is quintessentially and inclusive concept and it has wider acceptability across disciplines. But, before one accepts it as an inclusive concept, it should be remembered that in the past, most of the concepts came into circulation only after raising fierce contestations and oppositions against the then reigning and contending concepts and their acceptance became possible only after they succeeded in replacing the old ones and emerged as ensembles. Most of those concepts were not coined by armed chair scholars or a bureaucrat, which unfortunately is the case with ‘social exclusion’\(^1\). On the contrary those were epitomes of the concrete experiences of society. The concept such as ‘social exclusion’ is yet to pass this litmus test. In the absence of which, using ‘social exclusion’ as a generic and inclusive concept is nothing more than eclecticism at its best. It is largely due to the absence of this particularly historical force and the so-called birth pangs and short gestation period that the ‘social exclusion’ continues to float like a protean concept, amenable to multiple interpretations, most often full of antinomies.

**The Genesis**

As mentioned before, the authorship of the concept ‘social exclusion’ in its present expressions goes back to 1974, to the works of former French Secretary of state Rene Lenoir. Though, some scholars are firmly of the opinion that the concept has its genesis in the writings of Max Weber, particularly his concept of ‘social closure’, which has all the ingredients present with in it. According to him,

‘Social Closure’ is the outcome of the .... attempt of one group to secure for itself a privileged position in society at the expense of some other groups through a process of subordination. (Parkin, 1979 : 2)

It is possible that this concept was introduced by Weber much before it was picked-up by Lenoir, as it is claimed by some Weberians, but there is little doubt that, this concept in its present meanings found expressions for the first time in the writings of Rene Lenoir in 1974. Since then, it did not only travel thick and fast across many disciplines, cultures and nationalities, but also caused some sort of paradigm shift in social analysis. And, if the present trends are an indication to something different, significant and fundamental then, it could be safely said that inclusion of social exclusion as a distinct concept used for analysing contemporary
social situations across communities and nationalities, also heralded the end of many paradigms that had been in vogue for ages. Some important paradigms that seem to have been relegated to backburner (at least for the time being) are that of discriminations and deprivations in the name of class, poverty, underdevelopment, subaltern, marginalized and of course caste in case of India.

Rene Lenoir used the expression ‘social exclusion’ specifically to describe those individuals and groups of people who were excluded from the French state’s social protection systems largely due to administrative reasons. Included here were

the mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents, multi problem households, marginal, asocial persons, and other social misfits. (Sen, 2004 : 3)

As mentioned before, social exclusion as a conceptual tool emerged like a universal paradigm for explaining a vast range of issues full of regional, temporal and cultural variations and it has become the central themes of academic discourses across disciplines and cultures. There are little doubts about the European and particularly French origin of this concept, so it’s but natural that it continues to remain deeply entrenched into French history, culture and politics. Moreover, it is also a well-known fact that if England had the honour of leading the world in terms of its economic and scientific endeavours at least in the initial stages of the modern world system, then the France had the honour of being the protagonist and trendsetters in modern political systems. There are very few who can contest that the idea of enlightenment (French), peoples’ power, and the concept of modern democracy with its triple virtues of liberty, equality and fraternity had profound influences on the future course of human history; had originated from the historical experiences of the French people. There is no doubt that the richness of these illustrious traditions had their own weak and strong points. Each of these has gone through the ebbs and tides of social scrutiny.

France being an important European coloniser was always bothered about the influx of the immigrants from the colonies. The issue of immigrants and their integration in the French culture and society had always been a major concern of the government and society. In France, social exclusion as a conceptual tool was used to address those groups who slipped through the Bismarckian social insurance system or those were administratively excluded. (Buchardt, Grand and
Piachand, 1979: 2) As a matter of facts, most of the groups included in this category were of those emigrated from the former colonies. There were both legal as well as cultural barriers on free intermingling between the native French population and the immigrants. In other words, the France along with some other European countries like Germany etc. had very strict immigration laws particularly for the immigrants forms the colonies. Though, there were some who succeeded in migrating to these countries, but it was difficult for them to get citizenship and voting rights etc. Hence, they could neither become a political base of any political party, nor form a vote bank or political constituency unlike in country such as Britain. Consequently, these discriminatory policies of the French government further reinforced the nature of ‘social exclusion’ in that country.

Perhaps, these may have been some important factors at the back of his mind while Lenoir was conceptualising ‘social exclusion’. But, irrespective of the specificities mentioned, the author was decidedly successful in giving new expressions to the concept, which had been adopted by many in different context thereafter. Hilary Silver, while agreeing with the original theoretical formulation emphasized that

> Social Exclusion must include a livelihood; secure, permanent employment; earnings; poverty, credit, or land; housing; minimal or prevailing consumption levels; education, skill, and cultural capital; the welfare state; citizenship and legal equality; democratic participation; public goods; the nation or the dominant race; family and sociability; humanity, respect, fulfilment and understanding. (Sen, opcit : 3)

Similarly, there were others who tried to add new dimensions to the concept by contextualizing it to regional, socio-cultural and historical specificities. (Todman, 2004: 2-21) Consequently, no universal meaning could be assigned to it despite plethora of literature surfacing every year. This is only indicative of the fact that the process of ‘social exclusion’ is dynamic social reality, which either cannot be limited to certain specified and fixed meanings or this could also be the result of the overall disbelief among the large section of scholars about the very notion of assigning an universal meanings to a concept. According to these scholars, truth and universality are not only antithetical to each other but these are also projected, retailed put in the circulation as inseparable from each other only by suppressing the organic (local) truth by the instrumental (universal) truth. In other words, accepting universal definition is also a kind of epistemic violence.
Some of the important region specific dimensions that are important from the point of view of the present article are briefly mentioned as follows. There are some who firmly believe that social exclusion is fundamentally a result of certain economic processes that restricts the participation of people in the employment and job market on an assured and sustained bases. It is denial of their economic rights and the discrimination they face in the labour market. There are some others who believe that social exclusion is a much wider and deeper process than what some economic thinkers would like to believe. The so-called paramounting significance of the economic exclusion lies mainly because it is more visible than the others. According to them, social exclusion is quintessentially an issue of social contacts and the process of socialisation itself, in which right/denial of a dignified life such as rights to healthcare facilities, education, social security, and right to be recognised by others play an important role. There are still others who opined that, to bracketing social exclusion within the larger frame of economic relations and social contracts blunts the intensity of human agonies and indignation that inevitably accompanies it. The need is to make it more focussed. Thus, right in the inception it is mandatory to draw the broad contours and make the field of activities more explicit. For the purpose of this article, attempts have been made to outline the following three well-identified aspects. The first and foremost is related to the poverty. Poverty according to L. Townsend

Individual, families and groups can be said to be in poverty when...their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are in effect excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities. Resources in this context refer to cash income and collective goods and services”. (Townsend, 1979 : 3)

Related to this is the nature of social exclusion resulting from non-participation in the labour market on account of unemployment. And finally, social exclusions may be on account of the prevailing social and cultural practices. Included here are the attributes such as criminality, lack of work ethics, single parenthood and welfare dependency. (Todman, 2004) Suffice to state here that after including these attributes social exclusion over rides all the previous categories or paradigms and emerges as an ensemble.

This takes the theme of ‘Social Exclusion’ to yet another very important dimension, namely: How is the paradigm of ‘Social Exclusion’ different from that
of the class, caste, poverty and subalterns etc? Various scholars have attempted
to contest and contrast these concepts.

In this paper, an attempt has also been made to analyses some of the inbuilt
antinomies of social exclusion and rescue it from degenerating into yet another
tool of interpretation. Analyzing some of the antinomies have been considered
important to minimise the internal inconsistencies and antagonisms within the rank
and file of different shades of exclusions and focus on identifying the processes
that will be instrumental in lifting up the concept from its present immanent
interpretative mode to possible transformative transcendence mode, thus succeed
in bringing about social change.

**Antinomies of Level One**

1. **Is Social Exclusion an ontological or epistemological issue?**

(a) **The Ontology of Social Exclusion**

Exclusion as a social practice is primarily based on the construction of a
different ontology of the excluded ones. The bases of exclusion may range from
the biological and anthropological characteristic features like differentiation in the
colour or pigment of the skin, type, colour and magnitude of hair on the body and
skull, physical structure of the body, facial indices like shape and thickness of the
lips, nose, cheekbones, and shape of the skull etc. to the level of material and
cultural attainments that an individual or group has failed to achieve. This is always
in comparisons to other groups that are projected as achievers. In this way, the
excluded groups are constructed as incomplete, uncivilised, crypto-barbarians,
under achievers and undeserving. They are also viewed as those suffering from
certain inherent socio-cultural and historical deficiencies. In other words an
excluded group is one that is incomplete in one-way or the other. It is this incomplete
colonial ontology that according to British imperial historian defined as *that great
scene of British action*. (J. Mill, 1817, Sen, 2005) Describing the distinct
ontological construction of the Indian in the colonial discourses Ashish Nandi is
of the view that

*Kipling’s idea of the effeminate passive-aggressive and ‘half-savages-half-
child’ Indian was more than an Anglo-Indian stereotype: it was an aspect of
Kipling’s authenticity and Europe’s other face. (Ashish Nandi, 1999 : 38)*

In Kipling’s own words:
Take up the White Man’s burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives’ need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child. (Rudyard Kipling).

(b) The Epistemology of Social Exclusion

It is based on some basic assumptions that no culture, individual and group are perfect. All are incomplete in one-way or the other. There is nothing like complete or incomplete individual or group. The quality of completeness is a function of methodology adopted for assessing it. In other words, it is based on the ideological position one takes under given situations. Some of the classical examples of epistemological exclusions are ones again from the colonial discourses on India. There were Indologists like Max Muller who was overawed by the remarkable achievements India had made in the past and attracted many foreign scholars in search of truth and knowledge. According to him the Vedic culture of India was the ancestor of the European classical cultures. The study of Indian culture is the key to the understanding of the Pagan European cultures and religions and the key to this understanding is the knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit, which is oldest of all the Indo-European languages. But, he was deeply hurt after seeing the plight of the Indian and their cultures under the colonial rule and forbade his students to visit India; to him, the India that was living was not the true India and the India that was true had to be but dead. (Nandi, opcit : 17)

As opposed to this, there were British Indologists like Richard Congreve (Bishop of Oxford), James Mill and Macaulay etc. who had utter contempt and disregards for the Indian cultures and its achievements.

James Mill comprehensively denied Indian intellectual originality and accused that ....under the glossing exterior of the Hindus, lies a general disposition to deceive and perfidy. (Sen, 2005: 79)

Mill was so dismissive of the past achievements that he even did not acknowledge the originality of Aryabhata’s work completed in 499CE. According to him,
the Indian pundits had become acquainted with the ideas of European philosophers respecting the system of the universe, and had then proceeded to claim that those ideas were contained in their own books. (Sen, opcit : 78)

Moreover, he also dismissed the great Indian discovery of decimal notations as really hieroglyphics. Thomas Macaulay was more forthright and vocal when he nullified all the achievements that Indians had made in the past in one sentence,

*A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. (Sen, opcit : 77)*

Thus, as per the imperial construction of which Thomas Macaulay and James Mill were the front ranking advocates, Indian civilization was on a par with other inferior ones known to Mill. (ibid : 147) It is an infantile and incomplete civilization, which is always in need of authentication from superior civilization, in this case the European and particularly the British culture was the role model. According to Richard Congreve

*God has entrusted India to us to hold it for him, and we have no right to give it up. (ibid : 34)*

Moreover, the exclusion of the colonies was not confined only to lack of achievements in the field economic, politics, cultural and civilization only. On the contrary, these were simple manifestations of a much deeper malice at the level of intellectual construction, discourses and epistemology.

*Colonialism was quintessentially a by-product of the Baconian theory of objective, scientific, ‘true’ knowledge which strictly partitioned off the observer from the observed, the subject from the object of knowledge, the enlightenment agents of history from the passive a historical laity, the rational from the nonrational. (Ashish Nandi, 2000)*

Since in all class societies the being is defined in terms of ones having, particularly the ownership of resources and wealth, therefore, all the indicators of completeness are also measured in relation to ones material possessions. Consequently, inability to own material assets summarily amounts loss of being, thereafter, exclusion remains the only viable option. As opposed to this, societies where, individuals do not appropriate resources and wealth in order to strength their economic prowess and social status and strive to build the bonds of social associatedness, keep it as alive and well in place, being in such societies does not only exit independent of the having, but also anchors itself firmly on the collectivities against the temptation of material positivities.
Antinomies of Level Two: Functional verses Structural coordinates of Social Exclusion.

(a) Is social Exclusion a Functional Variable?

Most often it is argued that social exclusion is the result of certain functions that an individual or a social group undertakes either under compulsions or voluntarily but by the very nature of these functions they get excluded from the rest of the society. Scholars are of the view that the origin of caste system in India was primarily based on specific types of function an individual or social group used to perform. The low castes among the Hindus were excluded on the principles of hygienic/unhygienic and purity/impurity. Similarly, the social deviants, criminals and delinquents etc. were excluded on the bases of the socially unwanted activities they were engaged in. Apart from these, there were some who were excluded due to their inability to perform the most of the functions that an ordinary member of the society was expected to perform. Included in this category were the physically challenged or people with different abilities.

It is interesting to notice that under patriarchy women in general are included under the category of under performers, hence, they are excluded from undertaking most of the social responsibilities and activities including their ability to honour the ownership of resources, wealth, confidence and even moral character. The so called culture of meritocracy too resorts to similar arbitrary tests and qualifying yardsticks for proving one’s eligibility in undertaking social responsibilities including getting jobs and assignments in society, failing which they are automatically excluded form most of the social activities. Similarly, the trans gender community, gay and lesbians etc are also excluded either on account of their inability to perform certain biological functions (trans-gender community) or for performing unnatural biological activities. Hence, they are excluded from enjoying many benefits that are otherwise available to other members of society. Moreover, exclusion may also be on account of an individual’s inability to take up an employment, perform a particular job, avail social amenities like education, health care, benefits of the public distribution system etc. due to lack of experience or exposure. It could also be the result of failure of the part of the social institutional mechanisms to reach such individuals and redress their pressing needs.
(b) Is social Exclusion a Structural Variable?

It was once said by Karl Marx

...all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of the things directly coincided. (Karl Marx, 1978 : 817)

It is particularly relevant in case of studies on “Social Exclusion”. It is much deeper and encompassing phenomenon than what has been made of it by reducing it to a few noticeable and articulate functional attributes. Social Exclusion addresses the issues that are embedded into the overall structure of relations that are responsible for reproducing such relations on daily and generational bases. According to the structural interpretation,

various functions performed either by an individual or group and their subsequent articulations in the form of institutions and apparatuses are never anything other than the materialization and condensation of class relations; in a sense, they presuppose them, ..., and it is only in ...bourgeois ideology in the ‘social sciences’ which might be loosely referred to as the ‘institutionalist-functionalist’ current, it is apparatuses and institutions that determine social groups (classes). (Poulantzas, 1978 : 25)

The structure is so over dominating that not only the individuals and groups are firmly embedded into it but also the state.

State apparatuses do not possess a power of their own, but materialize and concentrate class relations. The state is not an ‘entity’ with an intrinsic instrumental essence, but it is itself a relation, more precisely the condensation of a class relation. (ibid : 28)

Thus, social exclusion in all class societies too forms core of class relations and these are articulations of the underlying structure. The have-nots are excluded from material as well as legal, cultural, social and political benefits not merely by the policies of the government or through the presence of certain cultural practices and ideological apparatuses, but by the very existence of social structure. And the policies of the government, aspects of the ideological apparatuses, rituals and customs of a society simple articulate what is embedded in the underlying structure. Referring to the extent of structural determination Poulantzas opined that,

...these apparatuses neither create ideology, nor are they even the sole or primary factors in reproducing relations of ideological domination and subordination. Ideological apparatuses only serve to fashion and inculcate (materialize) the dominant ideology. (ibid : 31)
Thus the so-called distributional justices and welfare measures taken by the state and government in most of the class societies are due to change of hearts on the part of the haves but mainly due to the collective bargain the have-nots impose on their class enemy. The nature of class struggle is the most determining factor in deciding the nature and form of social injustices including social exclusions.

**Antinomies of Level Three**

**Is Social Exclusion Primarily a Euro-Centric or Universal Paradigm?**

(a) Is Social Exclusion Primarily a Euro-Centric Paradigm?

It was discussed under section Genesis of ‘Social Exclusion’ of this article that the authorship of present expression of this concept goes to French Bureaucrat Rene Lenoir who used this to refer to Individuals and groups of people who were administratively excluded from state social protection system (Todman, 2004 : 2) in his report published in 1974.

Thereafter, it has travelled the entire length and width of globe as well as that of various disciplines with an enviable degree of success. Apart from emerging as a key concept in most of the social analysis, it has also challenged and demolished most of the existing paradigms. Some important paradigms that have been rendered dwarf in front of the gigantic size and burgeoning strength of this concept are that of the race, class, caste, gender, deprivation and poverty etc. There is no doubt that the concept continues to march from strength to strength, but it can not be ignored that it continues to remain deeply anchored in the fertile soil of European liberal tradition. Its popularity is largely due to the cushioning it continues to receive within the meliorism of western liberalism. Meaning thereby, the conviction that liberalism is quintessentially a progressive worldview and it is capable of resolving all social contradictions within the broad framework of institutions and social networks. Thus, violent options and militant activities aimed at redressing various types of social injustices are not only unnecessary but also indicative of pathological disorders of the doers. European modernity, based on the greater absorption of modern scientific knowledge and technical skill has all the potentials and possibilities of assuring a future where not only our material and cultural needs are satisfied but ..we who live in a stable, long standing liberal democracies face an unusual situation….have trouble in imagining a world that is radically better than our own or a future that is not essentially
democratic and capitalist. (Fukuyama, 1992 : XII) Democracy and capitalism, the twin European virtues, form the bases of the new social ontology, which in turn is based on Hobbesian concept of scientific civility. Meaning thereby,

to be is to be scientific... Science is the grammar of power and violence of the state becomes a symptom of the breakdown of science. (Nandi, 1988 : 260)

Since, Europeans have successfully waded through the troubled waters of history and are more than comfortable and avant-garde in handling the science and technology, state, institutions and civil society organisations, so Europeans are the nature leaders in every thing that we do in different parts of the world. They had the way out and shown it to others in the past and continue to enjoy this privilege even today, and ‘social exclusion’ is the new analytical tool that European culture (particularly France) has coined for others use.

(b) Is Social Exclusion an Ensemble or a universal paradigm?

There is no doubt that ‘social exclusion’ is decidedly a most powerful concept, but it is constraint by its own internal contradictions, which the champions of western liberalism vehemently oppose. One of the most formidable flaws in this argument is the notion of end of history. (Fukuyama 1992 : XI) Thus, this paradigm is devoid of a transformative dimensions and continues to remain deeply embedded in the unchanging and everlasting virtue of liberalism. To this extent, it encourages the choice of options of social reform against structural transformation or revolutionary overthrow. According to the materialist interpretation “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle.”

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in contrast to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight…. (Marx and Engels, 1977 : 95) Continuing the argument further Marx said,

The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. (ibid : 48)

There is no doubt that these propositions are by far the most objective and rational among many. Moreover, it is the only one that has a transformative dimension. But, there are many that have serious reservations about multiple degree of regressions that are intrinsic to this paradigm i.e. regressing multiple
levels of social interactions to conflicts, (Marx and Engels, 1975) multitudes of social relations to economic relations, variety of change to revolutionary overthrow and ultimately multidimensional reality to binary logic etc. are either too deterministic to be accepted in a free society or too prognostic to qualify the scientific tests, the very basis of modernity and democracy. Moreover, it appears that over emphasis on redistributive justice in the materialist approach has succeeded in marginalizing other concerns like recognition, status and honour etc. This, according to Hegel, constitutes the twin motives of human history, which has been either missed by the materialist or they consider it inevitable once redistributive justice gets achieved. Continuing their displeasure with the reductionism of the materialist, Weber opined that reducing social to economic power is like putting cart before the horse. To quote

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\text{power is not the only basis of social status. Quite the contrary: social status or prestige can be, and very often has been, the basis of power, even of economic power. The legal system may guarantee both power and economic status.} \quad (\text{Weber, 1922})
\]

It only justifies that by virtue of its ability to incorporate recognition and redistribution, economic power and social status, the social exclusion paradigm has a universal appeal and it stands out as an ensemble. To strengthen the case of social exclusion over other paradigm including the one of poverty, it sees social exclusion as a result of impoverished lives and not just depleted wallets. (Sen, 2004 : 4) Sen sees social exclusion and poverty and deprivation in cause and effect relationships, which cannot and should not be reduced to mere income levels. Thus, social exclusion sums up the totality of social relationships including being able to appear in public without shame. (Sen, 2004 : 5) Therefore, it overrides all the other paradigms including the one that brackets it as an European paradigm.

**Antinomy of Level Four**

(a) **Language of Exclusion**

Language has always been venerated as one of the greatest discoveries in the history of humankind. It is our ability to use language for expressing and communicating our thought, feelings, believes ideas and ideologies, anxieties and ecstasies etc. among fellow beings that distinguishes human from rest of the species in the animal kingdom. But, over the year it has been realised that language has
transcended its conventional role and it has been increasingly used as an effective instrument of bio-political technology. Everywhere it is used for constructing and communicating certain sets of meanings, believes and opinions at the cost of multiple meanings. The golden rule about language is *one who has the gold makes the rule.* The expressions that one gets from binary concepts like nationalist-chauvinist, modernisation-colonisation, secular-communal, development-underdevelopment, starvation/ fasting etc. are dependent on the objectives and motives of the user of the language. Language in this particular role has been used more effectively in modern times. Taking an example form the writings on Indian history, its communal interpretation uses language in a particular way. In most of the schools textbooks it is often mentioned, “Jallaluddin Akhbar was Muslim ruler but he was kind”. This particular sentence contains two statements and both are correct if taken independently. But, the problem lies with the use of the conjunction ‘*but*’. Which either means a Muslim is supposed to be unkind or if Akhbar was kind then it was unlike being a Muslim. This is where language is at its best as a tool of political technology used for social exclusion. Similarly, if one looks at the concepts like ‘Pax-Economica’, ‘Pax-Britanica’ and ‘Pax-Americana’ etc. these too are deeply entrenched into the politics of social exclusion. Apparently, these were supposed to be for the purpose of bringing peace and prosperity, but the historical experiences tell different stories. These were the tools of political-technology used for spreading the network of colonialism from 18th century onwards and still continuing under neo-colonialism or in the name of liberalisation, privatization and globalization.

Similarly, the most cherished ideals of modernity like democracy, nationalism, development, scientific temper, technical orientation, and empowerment at the grassroots level etc. are concepts that have been coined and circulated apparently for the purpose of general benefits but in reality for the benefits of selected minority. Moreover, these are not restricted to the material gains of the selected few but also in creating and unending army of socially excluded groups. There are very few concepts other than listed above that have created more social exclusions. Take for example, in the name of scientific temper and technical orientation millions of people get excluded on account of their inability to update their scientific knowledge. Once again there are very few social actions that create as many redundancies and obsolescence as is done in the name of scientific temper and technical orientation. Suffice to mention here that drop-out from the school
education is another name for inability on the part of the millions to bear the increasing cost of education and the so-called merit is the ability of the wealthy and rich to buy this costly education at every cost.

**(b) Language as Exclusion**

Frantz Fanon once said, **people in the colonies neither write nor say anything**. It is the prerogative of the European coloniser to write and say something and we in the colonies only repeat the same in hundred and thousand different ways. In other words, the colonial or postcolonial millions are destined not to be avant-garde. To follow the west, its art, science, culture, politics and economy is our collective destiny. Thorstein Veblen in his famous book ‘The Theory of Leisure Class: an Economic Study of Institutions’ (1899) and an article *The Barbarian Status of Women* (Veblen 1898-99 Vol. 4) once mentioned that fashion is a statement made by the affluent classes to the poorer ones communicated through their ability to misuse resources that are otherwise scarce to the underclasses. Similarly, language in every class society has always been the prerogative of the affluent classes and the distance between the official and the vernacular languages has always been almost the same. In case of India, it has been more like a tradition that had existed for centuries and is followed even today. Right from the times of Vedic Sanskrit, Loakik Sanskrit, Prakrit, Paali, Aphranvasha, Persian, Urdu, English and Hindi etc. language had always been the basis of social exclusion. The commoners have always been busy in getting closure to the so-called, the language of the affluent classes and before they succeed in reaching at that level of competence, the language of the affluent classes changes to a different one and the masses are left with little choice but to endlessly renew their efforts of learning the new languages unless they chose to remain permanently excluded.

**Antinomies of Level Five: Outcome verses Processes of Exclusion**

**(a) Is Social Exclusion as an Outcome Variable?**

There is a common saying that “all is well that ends well”. Meaning thereby, the justification for the efforts lies in attaining the desired results. There are scholars who believe that

*Social Exclusion has conceptual connections with well-established notion in literature on poverty and deprivation and has antecedents that are far older*
While other forms of deprivations like poverty etc. mainly harp on the outcome in terms of per capita income, per capita calorie consumption, or per capita consumption expenditure etc. the social exclusion emphasises more on the process or social relations.

(b) Is Social Exclusion a Process Variable?

Albert Camus once said there is an inseparable relationship between freedom and bread. If someone takes away your bread then he also suppresses your freedom and if some one suppresses your freedom then he also threatens your bread. Similarly, there is an intricate relationship between availability or access to resources needed for enjoying life without deprivation and being able to appear in public without shame. (Sen, 2004 : 5) There is no doubt that low income and depleted capabilities can be the causes for the impoverishment of one’s life, but to equate poor life summarily with low income is unjustifiable. After all, lower per capita calorie consumption or lower per capita consumption expenditure or even low per capita income may be common to a beggar, a sadhu (mandicant, fasting devotee) and a social activist on hunger strike, but all of these are not at the same level as far as their ability to lead a decent life is concerned. In other words

If our paramount interest is in the lives we can lead- the freedom they have to lead minimally decent lives – then it cannot but be a mistake to concentrate exclusively only on one or other of the means to such freedom. We must look in impoverished lives, and not just a depleted wallet. (Sen, 2004 : 4)

Thus, the primary concern in social exclusion is to analyse the processes that causes impoverishment of life and not merely shortage of something.

Antinomies of Level Six

Individual verses group Exclusion

(a) Individual Exclusion

This is perhaps the most significant aspect of social exclusion, particularly under capitalist relations of production. Capitalism is believed to be a system different from all the previous ones primarily on the basis of freedom that it guarantees to the individual as well as to the groups. Once again, it is only under
this particular system that the socio-economically deprived and cultural minorities are protected under law to enjoy their right to freedom. But, the nature of freedom enjoyed by the proletariats, also the majority within this system are of two types; they are free from owning any means of production including their own labour and they are free to sell their labour power. Therefore, exclusion in this particular system is believed to be the result of an individual’s inability to build up one’s own capabilities.

(b) Group Exclusion

In case of group exclusion every member belonging to a particular community gets excluded not because they have failed to meet the minimum standard required including skill, capabilities and legal requirement but on the contrary, their exclusion is based on their group identity. It may be their origin in a particular socio-cultural identity like caste, race, gender, colour, religion and nationality etc.

Thus, the group characteristics of exclusion are based on social and cultural identity, and are irrespective of individual attributes. (Thorat, 2009)

Antinomies of Seventh Level

Distributional verses relational Exclusion

(a) Distributional Exclusion

In poverty analysis, the major emphasis is laid on the distributional aspect of the social produce and opportunities. It is ability/inability of certain individuals, households etc. to have accessibility/inaccessibility to economic resources that plays significant role in deciding their inclusion or exclusion. Principal focus here is on the material forms of disadvantages particularly, their ability to organise resources i.e. food, clothing and shelter, needed for achieving minimum level of subsistence. Unemployment, lack of resources to participate in the market either as a buyer or a seller etc. may cause exclusion.

(b) Relational Exclusion

As opposed to the distributional exclusion, relational exclusion is about the relational aspects of the disadvantaged such as lack of proper social integration, affiliation, family ties, friends, colleagues, community and society, including public services and institutions. (Todman opcit : 13) This type of exclusion can result
either from the lack of abilities of the individual/group in terms of their low level of social and cultural capital, persistence of hegemonic civil society, disconnectedness, low level of political consciousness, ignorance about the advantages of trade unionism, geographical isolations or a result of the nature of state, political power and counter hegemonic struggles etc. It has been the common experiences of the many societies that democracies and welfare states are more inclusive in their approach as compared to the autocrats and dictators. Since the bases of democracy lay in the legitimising power of the masses, the needs of the rulings classes to get peoples consent at regular intervals, and power being an empty space belonging to no one on permanent basis, it is mandatory for the state and power that may be to engage people through a network of relations in the form of initiating various welfare measures like health, education, entertainment, social securities and other welfare schemes. Thus, the strength of any democracy lies in building as many relations as possible and take effective measures to break isolation of every sort.

**Antinomies of Level Eighth**

**Uni-dimensional verses Multidimensional**

(a) **Uni-dimensional Exclusion**

Discriminations are most often viewed in terms of one or a few representative parameters. This is particularly true in case of studies related to poverty, racial, gender, caste, nationality and religious discriminations. There is no doubt that in a given situation, specific forms of discrimination may over shadow all the other forms, but there is a difference between what gets manifested and what lies at the base. According to Marx

...all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of the things directly coincided. (Marx, 1978 : 817)

The protagonist of the uni-dimensional aspect of social exclusion generally ponders on material or economic discriminations like low income, unemployment and lower economic capabilities. The possible remedies too are simple ones mainly focusing on redistributive justice. It is basically a reformist way out of it, which survives mainly on suggesting short-term remedies and postponing the major ones for future. Most often they turn out to be quite explosive at the end.
(b) Multidimensional Exclusion

As opposed to the uni-dimensional approach this one sees social exclusion in terms of it multiple manifestations, some overt some covert. The major emphasis of this approach lies in combining the material and non-material aspects in analysing social exclusion. It also interrogates the network of social and cultural relations, civil society and efforts on the part of the state in removing social exclusion. For example, often it is noticed that poverty, hunger and starvation etc. are understood or analysed in-terms of a few representative or one principal characteristic feature namely, income/percapita consumption expenditure/per-capita calories intake etc. Social exclusion, on the contrary, includes these attributes along with other equally important aspects like basic amenities in terms of health, education, housing, entertainment, empowerment, culture and social connectivity etc. This approach takes a comprehensive view of social exclusion and suggests social transformation instead of reform as the permanent remedy for exclusion.

Antinomies of Level Nine

Active Exclusion and Passive Exclusion

(a) Active Exclusion

Social exclusion could be based on explicit criterion and could be practiced on active basis. It could be stated at times in the policies of the concern state and government or part of the state politics of the pressure groups. Discrimination of the immigrants in most of the regions and countries world over is actively pursued. The issues of ethnic minorities, religious groups, linguistic groups, and gender groups etc. are all examples of active discrimination. In case of India, the policies of government of India for not granting citizenship to the people those migrated from Bangla Desh after December 1971 is an example of active exclusion. It may have different manifestations in other parts of the country. The politics of sons of the soil (Bhoomi Putra) practiced by various chauvinists groups in Maharashtra, Assam etc. are the clear-cut example of active exclusion.

(b) Passive or Entrenched Exclusion

It is most persistent and effective method of social exclusion. Here exclusion is carried through social processes. The process of socialisation itself performs the task without resorting to any kind of direct action. Apparently, there is no
explicit and deliberate attempt to exclude any group. Government of Delhi’s
efforts to clean the city environment and close down all the polluting factory and
vehicles within the territory of national capital region and thereby throwing many
workers out of employment are all examples of passive exclusion. Similarly, the
efforts on the parts of state government to launch anti-tuberculosis campaign
through the DOT programme but not providing the treatment to the patients with
out valid resident proof are also examples of passive exclusion. Displacements
of people in the name of development projects, formation of Special Economic
Zones (SEZ), and conservation of wild lives etc. are aspects of passive social
exclusion.

Conclusion

The concept ‘Antinomy’ acquired special significance after the writings of
the philosopher of enlightenment Immanuel Kant. Though, he identified four types
of antinomies\textsuperscript{10}, but here the concept has been used in most simple ways, which
simply ‘means a contradiction between two apparently equally valid principles
or a contradiction between two stands that seem equally reasonable’. The use of
this concept in relation to ‘social exclusion’ has been done with this very
understanding that though, it consists of many antinomies and has emerged as an
important concept of social analysis, yet it continues to be far from developing
into a transformative paradigm. There is no doubt that it has become an ensemble
of many articulations against the established orders but without providing any
way out. Multitude of antinomies could either be a positive sign of the analytical
rigour of the concept or it could be indicative of lack of focus.

On the bases of the arguments and mapping of the antinomies of ‘social
exclusion’ discussed in preceding pages, it can be said that multiple meanings of
the concept is due to its over engagement among the intellectuals at the level of
theory without linking it with concrete and practical experiences. There is plethora
of literature available on the subject in every discipline but unfortunately, the
examples of it being as a theoretical guide to action are still scantly available.
Fight against discrimination on caste, class, ethnicity, gender, nationality,
redistribution, recognition and empowerment etc. outnumber the instances of
contestations based on social exclusion as part of the living day to day experiences
not only in India but also the world over. Many reasons could be cited for these
lopsidedness ranging from factors that are related to history, sociology, politics,
economics, psychology and even science and technology. But to succeed in becoming a theoretical guide to action ‘social exclusion’ needs to look beyond the present level of intellectual articulations and emerge as the philosophy of social transformation.

The experiences of the past quarter century (since the concept was assigned new meanings in 1974) it can be concluded that ‘social exclusion’ has failed to create the common fault line among various contestations and for greater mobilisation. This can partly be attributed to the confusions created by the antinomies mentioned above. At each level, there are at least two conflict paradigms that are trying to assign specific meanings to it. Consequently, there is lack communications between the two paradigms. Take for example the case of India, where social exclusion is fundamentally a structural issue but the system is trying to find an answer through the constitutional and legal paradigm. To use the phrases of Habermas, social exclusion at the level of lived experiences requires practical or emancipatory rationality, but the system is always trying to solve it through using instrumental rationality. Finally, it should be a conceptual tool for changing the world and not interpreting it differently. In order to graduate to that level it is imperative to take into account different levels of antinomies.

Notes:

1. Social Exclusion in its present expressions was first used by Rene Lenoir, Former Secretary of State for Social Action, French Government in 1974.
2. For detail on the nature of comparisons read and article by Amartya Sen, 2004, Social Exclusion: Concept Application and Scrutiny Critical Quest, New Delhi and also L. C. Todman, 2004, Reflections on Social Exclusion: What is it? Collaborator Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Milan, Bicocca, Italy.
3. The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it, 1945, K. Marx and F. Engels, 1976, Feuerbach, Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlooks; Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 101.
4. Antinomy has been derived form two Greek words, which means against the law. It English it stands for an apparent contradiction between valid conclusions or a conflict of authority, discrepant though apparently logical or a contradiction between two statements that seem equally reasonable.
5. William Shakespeare was most articulate in his expressing the male chauvinist views in his Famous Tragedy: Hamlet, Prince of Denmark: Act I; Scene-II Frailty, thy name is women! The Complete Works of William Shakespeare, Collins Clear-type Press, p. 1130.
6. Karl Marx, 1859, The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the 
   economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and 
   political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of consciousness, 
   Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Selected works Vol. 

7. Though it is altogether a different thing that modern science is anything but liberating 
   and cherishes freedom. In fact the annals of history are full of instances that Science 
   once felt that these societies (tribal) had no history; today, it seems to have decided 
   that they have no future. If the tribal was once whipped into modernity because he 
   was a savage, today he is being bludgeoned back as being incapable of science 

8. Not so very long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants: five 
   hundred men and one thousand five hundred million natives. The former had the 
   Word; the others had the use of it. …..The European elite undertook to manufacture 
   a native elite. They picked out promising adolescents, they branded them, as with 
   a red hot iron, with the principles of western culture…..After a short stay in the 
   mother country they were sent home, white washed. These walking lies had nothing 
   left to say to their brothers; they only echoed. Frantz Fanon (1980): The Wretched 
   of the Earth; Penguin books, Harmondsworth, England Preface First paragraph, 
   p. 7.

9. Balraj Sahni, 1972, Balraj Sahni’s Convocation Address at Jawaharlal Nehru University 
   That day I saw with my own eyes the difference in the attitudes between a man 
   brought up in a free country and a man brought up in an enslaved one. A free man 
   has the power to think, decide, and act for himself. But the slave loses that power. 
   He always borrows his thinking from others, wavers in his decisions, and more 
   often than not only takes the trodden path, pp. 3-4.

10. The four types of Antinomies’ according to Kant are: a. the limitation of the universe 
    in respect of Time and Space; b. the whole consists of indivisible atoms, c. free will 
    in relation to universal causality, and d. the existence of a necessary being.

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Sen, op. cit. p.3.


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Ashis Nandi op. cit. p. 17.


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ibid. p. 34.


ibid. p. 31.


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Amratya Sen: op cit, p. 4.

ibid, p. 5.

ibid, p. 4.


Human Security and the Responsibility to Protect: A Holistic Approach to Dealing with Violent Conflict in Southeast Asia

Otto F. Von Feigenblatt

Abstract: Mediation is mostly treated apart from other approaches to dealing with violent conflicts, especially when dealing with conflict in which one or both parties deny the legitimacy of an overarching sovereign authority. This is the case in most violent conflicts in Southeast Asia which are overwhelmingly ethnic in nature and usually pit a group fighting against the central government. This paper treats mediation as just one tool in a wider set of approaches to dealing with so-called “intractable-conflicts” and shows how mediation can and should be integrated so as to achieve the synergy and momentum necessary to deal with the many obstacles to a long term settlement of a dispute. The concept of Human Security as well as of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) are used as overarching theoretical frameworks necessary in order to achieve not only negative but also positive peace. An approach to mediation resembling Lederach’s “elicitive model” and Burton’s problem solving workshops are recommended as important tools in a concerted and holistic effort to move an intractable conflict towards settlement and sustainable peace. Examples are used throughout the paper from Southeast Asia’s many intractable conflicts such as the one in Indonesia between the government and the pan-Islamic movement Jemaah Islamiya (JI), the Muslim nationalist Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) fighting for independence in the Philippines, and the Southern Muslim insurgency in Thailand fighting for an Independent Greater Patani.

Key words: Conflict, Southeast Asia, human security, peace

Introduction

Mediation has been traditionally treated as a separate and distinct process with respect to humanitarian and development efforts for peace building. This reflects the historical association of mediation to high politics and the diplomatic

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realm (Kissinger, 1994). However recent theoretical developments in the fields of development studies and international security have attempted to bridge the gap between different approaches used to deal with similar conflict situations. Intuitively, it is easy to see the connection between short term humanitarian assistance, mid and long term development aid, and security in dealing with humanitarian emergencies which tend to be caused by intractable conflicts (Brunnee & Toope, 2006; Williams, 2009). Galtung and other scholars from the Peace Studies tradition have stressed the importance of striving for positive peace rather than limiting the effort to searching for a more limited negative peace (Galtung, 1969; Jeong, 2000). This early articulation of a more holistic view of conflict resolution distinguishes between a negative peace broadly defined as the absence of violence to a more holistic view of peace which includes both the absence of violence and also the presence of social justice (Galtung, 1969). Galtung’s positive peace can be interpreted to mean that for peace to be sustainable it must be based on a just and stable social system. Burton added another piece to the puzzle with his stress on the importance of dealing with basic human needs as a prerequisite for achieving peace (Kriesberg, 1997). Thus, peace requires dealing with the root causes, usually a deprivation in terms of one of the basic human needs, before a sustainable resolution to a conflict can be achieved.

At a global level, two recent theoretical developments have attempted to integrate the previously mentioned holistic tradition in peacemaking and peacebuilding. Human security and the responsibility to protect came to the fore in the last decade of the 20th century as overarching paradigms linking previously isolated fields such as security studies, development studies, and conflict analysis and resolution (Bellamy, 2009; Brunnee & Toope, 2006; Khong, 2006; Mack, 2005; Patcharawalai Wongboonsin, 2006; Peng-Er, 2006). Human Security, broadly defined as “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” encompasses humanitarian, development, and security assistance in a single theoretical paradigm (Von Feigenblatt, 2007). The importance of the concept lies in the fact that it successfully shows the connection between “want” and “fear” and how the two areas of human security are interdependent. It follows that in order to strive for greater human security, it is necessary to deal with both “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear”. A second and equally important theoretical development brought about by the concept of human security is the emphasis on the individual human as the referent of security (Von Feigenblatt, 2009). Thus, the goal shifted
from securing a territorial entity or a state to securing the individual. This theoretical shift has the direct consequence of increasing the number of concerned stakeholders in conflict situations. In brief, it legitimized intervention by a wide array of non-state actors in an effort to secure the “human”.

A second theoretical current that arose in the late twentieth century was that of R2P (responsibility to protect). This concept attempts to redefine sovereignty away from its traditional inviolability and basis on right to one based on responsibility (Bellamy, 2009). The importance of this shift is that a new international norm was created establishing the duty and responsibility of national governments to protect their citizens. However, the concept went even further than that and asserted the right and duty of the international community to intervene in cases in which national governments are unable or unwilling to protect their citizens (Brunnee & Toope, 2006). It is also important to note that the concept includes both protections from “fear” and from “want”. Therefore, R2P increased the theoretical traction of Human Security by appending an operational code for attempting to achieve human security.

**Violent Conflicts in Southeast Asia**

Southeast Asia is home to some of the most intractable conflicts in the world (Dupont, 2005). Several of the world’s most feared rebel armies operate in the region, as well as several terrorist groups (Hazen, 2008). Most of the violent conflicts in the region involve disputes over sovereignty. That means that at least one party to the conflict refuses to recognize a sovereign authority. Thus, an overarching authority with the power to terminate the conflict is lacking. In addition to that the multiethnic nature of the region and the residual effects of the colonial experience further exacerbate conflicts (Neher, 2002; Rolfe, 2008; Saul, 2006; Singh, 2008-2009). Three important regional conflicts will be discussed in the following sections so as to show how human security and R2P provide an appropriate theoretical framework to analyze and possibly resolve them.

**Indonesia and Global Terrorism**

Indonesia is home to most infamous terrorist groups in Southeast Asia, Jeehmah Islamiyah (JI). As the largest Muslim country in the world, Indonesia is known for its moderate strand of Islam (Mulder, 1996). However, inroads made by Wahabi teachings and neo-Salafism imported from the Middle East has
radicalized an important sector of the population (Ramakrishna, 2005). The late 1990s and early years of the 21st century saw a sharp increase in the number of pesantren teaching a strict interpretation of Islam. Concurrent economic woes brought about by the 1997-98 Asian economic crisis and the consequent fall from power of the Suharto regime opened up the necessary functional space for radical groups such as JI to operate (Smith, 2005). Political space was also available due to the increase in the number of disgruntled youths without gainful employment who were increasingly exposed to fundamentalist strands of Islam. Moreover, the global geopolitical context following the September 11 attacks and the following American-led war on terror supported radical arguments of an American conspiracy against the global ummah (Barber, 1996).

JI’s political ideology is based on a radical strand of neo-Salafism stressing the importance of the strict interpretation of Islam and emphasizing a religious identity over a national one (Liow, 2006; Ramakrishna, 2005). Thus, JI espouses the goal of creating a Pan-Islamic Caliphate uniting the Muslims in Malaysia, Indonesia, the Southern Philippines, and Southern Thailand. As an organization, JI is thought to have around 1000 active members, some with considerable battle experience in Afghanistan and Mindanao (Haklai, 2009; Smith, 2005). In terms of funding, it receives considerable aid from the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia, through Islamic charities and front companies. Nevertheless, JI’s power is not only based on its individual capability but rather on its function as a node between regional Radical Muslim groups and the global Islamic Terrorist movement. Thus, JI has extensive links with Al-Qaeda and local groups such as the MILF and the Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO) in southern Thailand (Jory, 2007). It has cooperated with the MILF in terms of training and in conducting some terrorist attacks in the Philippines (Rodell, 2005).

In terms of efforts to deal with the terrorist threat in Indonesia, the government first tried to avoid accepting that there was a terrorist threat and later on accepted to join the American-led war on terror. However, the support of radical Islamic Groups in Indonesia by some sectors of the armed forces has made the implementation of a counter-terrorist plan very difficult (Ramakrishna, 2005). Weapons and protection are provided by the armed forces for some terrorist groups. Moreover, the instability of the post-Suharto democratic system in Indonesia hampers the development of a unified approach to deal with terrorism.
The Bali bombings, orchestrated by JI, led to a more active participation by Indonesia in the war on terror. However, the government tried to play down the terrorist threat due to fears of the effect it could have on the tourism industry. Western nations such as Australia and the United States provided technical and economic help to the Indonesian government and foreign security specialist were deployed to the region. Nevertheless, most aid has been earmarked for the implementation of a traditional counter-terrorism strategy. Improvements, in intelligence, surveillance, and military equipment have been emphasized by the United States. In addition to that, better control over the flow of funds in order to disrupt the funding of terrorist activities has been attempted.

The traditional counter-terrorism strategy that has been pursued by the United States and Indonesia in dealing with JI and extremism has not been effective in destroying JI for the simple reason that it has not reduced the political space for it to operate (Smith, 2005). Even if the functional space is reduced by traditional counter-terrorism approaches, as long as there are a large number of youths ready to join extremist groups, the ranks of JI will be replenished. In addition to that, there is a large portion of the population that while not part of JI and not in agreement with some of its methods, is generally sympathetic to it. This is very important in that they can provide safe-houses for its members and limit the ability of the government to deal with the root causes of the struggle, namely, fundamentalist Islam (Chalk, 2005).

In order to deal with radical Islam in Indonesia a more holistic approach should be undertaken. Following the concept of human security and R2P, the United States and the International community should undertake a multilevel approach to deal with the root causes of the rise of radical Islam in a historically moderate region. Development projects aiming at increasing gainful employment could reduce the functional space of JI and related groups. An improvement in the public education system would weaken the role of radical pesatren in favor of a more moderate version of Islam. Finally, a public relations campaign should also be undertaken so as to stress the importance of tolerance for a peaceful realm (Ramakrishna, 2005). The previous possible activities would close the political space available for the JI to operate as well as deal with some of the most important grievances of the grassroots supporters of radical groups. Without new foot soldiers to replenish the ranks fallen due to the traditional counter-
terrorist approach, JI and related radical organizations would be greatly weakened and their ability to regroup would be limited. Thus, “fear” and “want” should be tackled concurrently by the International Community and the Indonesian Government.

Mediation in the Indonesian context should be undertaken by moderate academics and moderate religious scholars. Strengthening the position of those moderate scholars would weaken radicals and allow them to mediate between the people and the government as well as with the International Community. A track-2 approach is the only realistic possibility in Indonesia since JI is not seeking to negotiate with any government. The same is not true for its grassroots supporters and the communities that sympathize with them. Furthermore, by having insider-partial mediators who are part of the social system and who will have to live with the consequences of their intervention, they would have more credibility with the people (Lederach, 1996). Moreover, regional culture stresses the importance of hierarchy and favors a directive approach to mediation (Cohen, 1996; Mulder, 1996). Therefore, a concerted track-2 mediation approach by moderate scholars and religious leaders supported by the government and the international community would go a long way in closing the political space for radical Islam in addition to providing a different image of international intervention as not only based on traditional security but rather concentrating in finding long-term solutions to building a sustainable peace.

The Philippines and Muslim Separatism

The main armed threat in the Philippines is the separatist insurgency in Mindanao (Rolfe, 2008). A violent insurgency carried out by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and other related groups in order to seek the establishment of an independent Islamic State in the South has grown in intensity and size in the last few decades (Mulder, 1996; Neher, 2002; Rodell, 2005). The MILF is an organization mainly devoted to nationalist goals rather than an internationalist pan-Islamic agenda. Nevertheless, it has cooperated with JI and other terrorist groups operating in the region. Several training camps in MILF controlled territory have been known to harbor members of JI and Al-Qaeda (Abuza, 2005). In terms of capability, the MILF is a formidable opponent for the Filipino armed forces. Historically, it received weapons from the Soviet Union
and Libya and is thought to have a standing army of about 10,000 well armed and trained insurgents (Rodell, 2005; Singh, 2008-2009). In addition to that it enjoys the support of the population of the region and is not listed as a terrorist organization by the United Nations.

While the main goal of the MILF is the establishment of an independent state for the Muslims in the Philippines, the insurgency is fueled by a vast array of grievances. The Muslim population has historically been discriminated in terms of government jobs and development programs organized by the central government. Thus, the region inhabited by the Muslim community is one of the poorest regions in the country (Neher, 2002). Infrastructure is lacking and unemployment is a serious problem. Furthermore, a population bulge among young Muslims further exacerbates the situation. Historical grievances are also present for, the rest of the country was successfully converted to Catholicism during Spanish rule while most of the areas inhabited by Muslims were never successfully subdued by the colonial government. During the colonial period Catholic Filipinos from the central regions of the country were given most opportunities in the local administration and this situation continued during the period under American control. Therefore, the Muslim community has been historically considered a frontier region.

In terms of the approach taken by the Philippine government to deal with the insurgency, it has closely followed the dictates of the American War on Terror. However, even in terms of conventional weapons, the Philippine army is considered to be one of the weakest in Southeast Asia (Emmers, 2001). Corruption among officers is common, and much of the weapons of the MILF and other violent groups comes from the government armory. Some attempts at mediation were undertaken with the help of Libya and several cease-fires have been signed, including the 1975 Tripoli agreement (Rodell, 2005). However, none of the agreements have proven to be durable. The United States has provided training and weapons to the government forces but the army has been unable to make a break in the stalemate with the MILF. Some of the difficulties in dealing with the MILF is that it enjoys the support of moderate and conservative Muslim Nations. In addition to that, the population is sympathetic to the cause and provides safe houses for MILF members in addition to a never ending flow of new recruits (Dupont, 2005).
The Muslim insurgency is a good example of how a traditional security approach to deal with violent non-state groups is not very effective by itself. A multilayered approach to the insurgency would encompass consultation, development aid, efforts to increase the professionalism of the armed forces, and finally mediation. Consultation refers to a medium to long term process of track-2 diplomacy resembling the workshops recommended by Scholar-practitioners such as Burton (Kriesberg, 1997). Development projects would ease unemployment and improve the infrastructure of the region. This would deal with some of the general grievances of the population and thus weaken the support for the MILF. Consultation would improve mutual understanding between Muslim and Catholic leaders, academics, and other such notables and thus reduce tensions and avoid misunderstandings. Concurrently with the traditional security approach so as to make continued conflict costly for the MILF and the Muslim population, all of the previously mentioned activities would lead to the proper combination of factors to undertake a serious mediation process which would attempt to resolve the entire dispute. It is evident that the Philippine government lacks the resources for such a daunting task and most of the resources it receives from the United States are earmarked for traditional security (Rodell, 2005). Following the concept of Human Security and R2D it is imperative that the international community devote an equal share of resources to soft-security efforts which encompasses development and consultations.

Unrest in the Deep South of Thailand

The insurgency in the Deep South of Thailand is difficult to characterize because it lacks a clearly identifiable group leading the violence. Formerly the Patani United Liberation Front (PULO) was recognized as the principal group fighting for the independence of the former Sultanate of Patani (Jory, 2007; Liow, 2006). However, the renewed insurgency that gained strength after the 2004 raid of a government armory is not under the control of PULO (Ungpakorn, 2007). Bombings and attacks on Buddhist symbols such as temples and monks happen regularly in the three Southern most provinces of Thailand (Storey, 2008). Historically, an independent Malay Kingdom, the region was annexed by Siam (former name of Thailand) in the early years of the 20th century (Askew, 2007; McCargo, 2008; Wyatt, 2003). Most of the population of the region is of Malay ethnicity and Muslim. Historically, the region has been marginalized by the central
government in terms of economic development and culture. Poverty and unemployment are widespread and the educational system does not include the predominant local language, Melayu Patani (Jory, 2007; Liow, 2006; McCargo, 2008). To complicate matters even more, the porous border with Malaysia is home to several important organized criminal groups engaged in the drug trade, weapons smuggling, and human trafficking (Askew, 2007). Thus, the rule of law is virtually absent in the region. Historically, the official government policy to deal with the insurgency was the same as the one used to deal with the Communist insurgency of the 1970s and 80s and was overwhelmingly based on a military approach (AHRC, 2009; McCargo, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007). Control over the administration of the Southern provinces was given to the Military and martial law was declared in the area.

The actual number of armed insurgents in Southern Thailand is believed to be of less than 1000 fighters divided among several small groups (McCargo, 2008; Ungpakorn, 2007). Nevertheless, there is a wider group of supporters among the local population which could include as much as one third of the Malay community in the region. This explains the difficulties the military has had in identifying insurgent groups and their members. Furthermore, a majority of the population is sympathetic to the cause of the insurgents even if they do not approve of some of their methods. Thus, the popular support for the insurgency combined with the porous nature of the border with Malaysia makes it very difficult for the central government to be able to deal with the insurgency effectively.

Thailand’s southern insurgency is mostly an ethnonational liberation struggle fighting to correct regional grievances such as underdevelopment compared to the rest of the country, assimilationist attempts by the central government, and a widespread feeling of being treated as second class citizens in their own land (Ungpakorn, 2007). Military abuse has further aggravated the situation by reinforcing the ideology of the insurgency in the eyes of the population (Dingwerth, 2008). While the southern insurgency presents a difficult case for mediation since there is no single leadership for the insurgency a prenegotiation approach such as consultation and track-two diplomacy could be a very useful first step. Religious leaders have tremendous power through their control of a parallel education system in the three provinces. An improvement in mutual understanding between local leaders and Bangkok notables such as leading academics and bureaucrats
could have important effects on the ground in terms of direct effects on the functional and political space available to the insurgents. As mentioned in previous sections of this paper, it is very important to deal with the political space available to an insurgent movement because its narrowing would have a similar effect on the functional space without the cost in lives and money of the traditional counterinsurgency approach. Moreover, an approach based on human security and R2P would involve local NGOs as well as the international community in a concerted effort to deal with some of the structural violence behind the unrest. Participatory development projects, improvements in the local infrastructure, and a restructuring of public education in the region would be more effective than a military approach fighting against a nonconventional threat. Thus, foreign consultants could be hired to design an educational system that takes into account the cultural diversity of the region, and includes long term grievances such as the teaching of Melayu Patani in public schools, as well as the religious component which could be made optional so that Buddhist students could choose to take Buddhism while Muslims take Islam. Curriculum design should be at the core of dealing with identity needs long sought by the local population.

Conclusions

As shown by the three case studies, violent conflict can be a very complex process. Violent conflict is a social process that is just one part of the overall social system in which it operates and thus it is affected and at the same times affects its context. Since social conflict does not happen in a vacuum, it should not be dealt with, as if, it were separate and distinct from its environment. A holistic approach to overall security and development provides the most promising theoretical approach to building sustainable peace. Human security provides the needed theoretical link between development and conflict and by addressing both “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want”, it provides a wider lens needed to deal with “intractable conflicts” such as the ones in southeast Asia. Complementing human security, responsibility to protect (R2P), operationalizes the concept of human security in terms of creating a pertinent norm of international law to justify the measures necessary to achieve human security. Finally, mediation and consultation were discussed as important tools that can be used in a holistic approach to conflict resolution. It should be clear from the examples provided of radical Islamic terrorism in Indonesia, Muslim nationalism and terrorism in the
Philippines, and unrest in the South of Thailand, that violent conflict is affected by many factors and its context and that a holistic approach to deal with the perpetrators of the violence, their supporters, their needs, *inter alia*, is more promising in terms of attaining sustainable peace than either a traditional approach or a counterinsurgency approach modeled after the “War on Terror”.

**References**


Challenges to States and Regional Stability, pp. 3-18, New York: East Gate.


1*Pesantren: Islamic religious schools and universities.*

2*Ummah: global body of Muslim believers.*
Globalization: An Appraisal (Part–I)

Gopal Saran*

Abstract: This article critically examines the concept and meaning of globalization. The mass of literature on the subject of globalization attests to its centrality within social theory and to the growth of critical interest in the politics of space. However, despite the volume of work produced on globalization, relatively little attention has been paid to theorizing the links between culture, globalization and nationalism in any sustained manner. It is the author’s aim in this article to critique the heteronormativity of writing on globalization and to provoke the scholars to come out with a rightful perspective on the subject of globalization. The author’s attempt here is not to produce a definitive or authoritative last word on globalization i.e. discursive truth about global system- but rather to examine what links can be leased out and articulated between globalization, nation-state and culture.

Key words : Globalization, technology, culture, world

I

One of the most talked about words of the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century is globalization. With regard to its meaning, content and impact there are wide-ranging difference. In the last twenty-five years, the technological change has many champions of globalization that through new channels of communication; ‘a homogeneous and largely commercial culture’ is spreading which will eventually give rise to ‘a uniform global culture.’ Let us examine if it is attainable.

In the ‘General Introduction to The Globalization Reader’ edited by them, Frank Lechner and John Boli say that the world is becoming a single place. It is to some extent true. But from this to conclude that different institutions function as parts of one system and distant people share a common understanding of living together in one planet is not true. A society has a culture but is there a world society? To Lechner and Boli,

Globalization instills in many peoples a budding consciousness of living in a world society and its culture. To links and institutions we therefore add culture

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and consciousness. Globalization is the process that fitfully brings these elements of world society together (2000:1).

In the proper anthropological and sociological sense, what Lechner and Boli are projecting as world society is no society at all. Better communication, more exchange of goods and services between different autonomous human groups which have their distinct identity does not make them parts of a single world society.

About five centuries ago, European powers began colonizing non-Europeans. With this began economic integration which was exploitative. In the last twenty-five years, there has been rapid explosion in computer technology, reduction of trade barriers and expansion of economic and political power of multinational corporations. All these have speeded up the globalization process. Instead of improvement in productivity, innovation and creativity, globalization of a corporate-led plan for economic integration is hurting people and their economies. The promise to build a better world for all is not likely to be fulfilled even in distant future but the prevailing free-market model of globalization is “eroding both democracy and equity.”

Economic globalization brings about expansion of trade and commerce in goods and services between countries which will result in a more equal, more peaceful and less parochial world. From this assumption, it is not difficult for the champions of globalization to jump to the conclusion that global integration and cross-cultural understanding will result in a borderless world where political parochialism are put aside in a new pact of shared universal humanity (Ellwood, 2005:10).

The term globalization is new but as a process it is age-old and has been actively connected with 40-50 odd years’ history of European colonialism. One of the most notorious advocates of colonialism was Cecil Rhodes. In 1890s this unabashed propagandist of colonialism focused on exploring new territories.

We [the Europeans] must find new lands from which we can easily obtain raw materials and at the same time exploit the cheap slave labour that is available from the natives of the colonies. The colonies [will] also provide a dumping ground for the surplus goods produced in our factories.

Rhodes’ vision of ‘colonialism’ was thus focused on ‘markets and plunder’.
This is what the present-day globalization also aims at.

During the colonial period, particularly between the 1860s and the 1870s, world trade expanded rapidly. Over a century ago in 1890’s—the so called ‘golden era’ of international commerce, the capital that was transferred from north to south was much more than what it was in 1990’s. In the beginning of the twentieth century, export was larger of global production than at the end of that century. In his *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1917), David Ricardo presented the theory of ‘comparative advantage’. He recommended nations to specialize in producing those goods in which they have ‘natural advantage’ and for which there is market. This will benefit both buyers and sellers provided the trade between the two nations does not make one dependent or indebted to the other. The capital invested is local and is not allowed to flow from a high-wage country to a low-wage country. Ricardo’s idea of local self-reliance and balanced export and import is nowhere visible in the contemporary world economic system. This makes today’s globalization very different from the globalization 100 or even 50 years ago. Belief in the magic of the market place and in acceptance of the doctrine of laissez-faire capitalism in which uninhibited pursuit of self-interest is taken as the best service of common good; and money is becoming the main criterion of value.

Nearly 250 years ago, Adam Smith’s book, ‘The Wealth of Nations’ was published. In his times, market was conceived quite different from its present-day idea under globalization. To him efficient working of market was dependent on the equality of buyers and sellers and none should be large enough to influence the market price. This would make sure the best use of society’s natural and human resources. Adam Smith favored local investment of capital for its best management by the investors. David Korten has clearly presented his views thus,

*His [Adam Smith] vision of an efficient market was one composed of small owner–managed enterprises located in the communities where the owners resided. Such owners would share in the community’s values and have a personal stake in its future. It is a market that has little in common with a globalization economy dominated by massive corporations without local or national allegiance, managed by professionals who are removed from the real owners by layers of investment, institutions and holding companies (quoted in Ellwood 2005 : 17).*

Even a rapid capitalist and currency speculator, George Soros, saw negative
underlying in the direction of the contemporary global economy and how fundamentally does it differ from the kind of economic system recommended by Adam Smith. He observes that

Insofar there is dominant belief in our society today, it is a belief in the magic of the market place. The doctrine of laissez-faire capitalism holds that the common good is best served by the uninhibited pursuit of self-interest...unsure of what they stand for; people increasingly rely on money as the criterion of value. The cult of success has replaced a belief in principles. Society has lost its anchor (Ellwood 2005: 17).

We live in a world, which is much different from that which Adam Smith inhabited. Likewise, globalization today is much different, firstly, because of the communication technology revolution in the last 25 years and, secondly it was based on the fixed currency-exchanged regime agreed in 1944 at Bretton Woods. This agreement gave nearly 25 years of steady economic growth.

In 1980 under Maggi (Thacher) in Great Britain and Ronnie (Reagan) in the United States the governments became free-market oriented. The regulatory role of the governments (State) was very much reduced vis-à-vis corporate executives who must be free to move their operations anywhere in the world so that costs could be minimized and returns to investors maximized. Free trade, unfettered investment, deregulation, balanced budgets, and low inflation and privatization of publicly-owned enterprises were trumpeted.

Free trade in goods and services was spread along with deregulations of world financial markets. The big banks and investment agencies were keen to invest surplus cash in anything profitable. For a long time investments have been made in the production of real goods and services but today speculators make money from money. Contrary to Ricardo’s and Smith’s views the investors of modern globalization era were not concerned with the impact of such modern-day investments on local communities between international capital flows during the 1990’s and the frequency of financial rises resulting in the collapse of the East Asian currencies which began in July 1997. Just before it, the Annual Report of the IMF praised Thailand (one of the ‘Tiger economies’ of East Asia) for its ‘remarkable economic performance’ and consistent record of sound macroeconomic policies.
Until the early 1990’s foreign investment in East Asia was tightly controlled by national governments, which played strong and active role in building a strong foundation for the economy. But under pressure of IMF and others, the so-called ‘tigers’ opened up their capital accounts resulting in heavy borrowing by private sector business. Promoters of free market presented these East Asian countries as proof that classic capitalism would bring wealth and prosperity to millions in the developing world. But, in actuality indiscriminate short-term borrowings from offshore investors were disastrous for these economies of the East Asian ‘tigers’. The IMF was proven disastrously wrong bringing untold human and economy misery to millions of peoples. The ‘global managers’ and finance kingpins showed that the global economy was more frangible and explosive than it was imagined. It can be said without any hesitation that the East Asian economic crises was a serious blow to the ‘promise’ of economic globalization because it raised real doubt about the merits of corporate globalization.

The Noble Prize winning economist, Joseph E. Stiglitz, is a very popular writer on globalization. He poses in his book, Globalization and its Discontents, the following question:

what is this phenomenon of globalization? and answers it thus : Found mentally, it is the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of the costs of transportation and communication and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital knowledge and (to a lesser extent) people across borders. Globalization has been accompanied by the creation of new institutions ..........to work across borders (2003:9).  

Globalization is driven strongly by international corporations through which technology also moves across borders along with capital and goods. Renewed attention has been paid to the international intergovernmental institutions which have been in existence for along time, e.g. UNO, ILO, WHO, UNCTAD etc. There is hardly any controversy about them and facets of life they deal with. There has, however, been controversy about the economic aspects of globalization. Here one has to deal with international institutions which formulate rules or push forth liberalization of capital markets. In developing countries, this means elimination of rules and regulations framed to stabilize the flows of volatile money in and out of the country.
Many things which globalization encompasses include, according to Stiglitz, (1) the international flow of ideas and knowledge (2) the sharing of cultures, global civil society and (3) the global environmental movement. Economic globalization is supposed to bring about a closer economic integration of the countries of the world through the increased flow of goods and services, capital and even labour. Stiglitz further contends that it is hoped that globalization will bring about higher living standards throughout the world. Poor countries will have access to foreign markets to sell their goods, allow in foreign investment that will make new products available at cheap rates and open borders so that the people may travel abroad for education, work and sending home earnings to help their families and to establish new business.

Unbalanced outcomes both between and within countries is being generated by the current process of globalization. The simple and legitimate aspirations for decent jobs and better future for the children of a majority of women and men has not been met by globalization. It may have been helpful to countries in their GDP and the increase in overall production of goods and services but most of the people in those countries have not been helped. Stiglitz says that it is a matter of anxiety that globalization ‘might be creating rich countries with poor people’. The following are some concerns.

1) The rules of the game that govern globalization are unfair.
2) Globalization emphasizes material values over other values.
3) The way of managing globalization has compromised with the sovereignty of developing countries and their ability to take decisions in key areas on their own that affect the well-being of their citizens;
4) In both developing and developed countries many have benefited economically due to globalization.
5) The economic system forced upon developing countries is not only inappropriate but is grossly damaging. Globalization should not mean either economic policy or culture. There is resentment because it often does so.

Under globalization, the power of individual states has been reduced. The political and cultural standards of one region of world, namely the west, is imposed on all other regions. According to Lechner and Boli,
Globalization is westernization by another name. It is exploitative, repressive and harmful to most peoples because it undermines the cultural integrity of other cultures. It is claimed by some that deregulation of trade and total market freedom will produce a general rise in living standards and societies which are fairer for all. Bernard Cassen finds that in reality the situation is reverse. Under globalization, there is no correlation between need and investment. Since the early 1990s, the percentage of the poor people has increased in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. Who is going to sing praises of globalization to them? (2000:15).

Yet, there are men who praise globalization as a great emancipator of people.

Globalization is not inevitable nor does it merely reflect the march of technology. It makes the successful spread of the economic liberalizations that began nearly 60 years ago in Western Europe with the Marshall Plan. It is now bringing unprecedented opportunities to billions of peoples throughout the world (Wolf 2000: 11).

Workers in the 20th century United Status of America, France and Germany have not benefited from generalized liberalization with regard to wages and employment as was the contention of the advocates of globalization. Even then they cite the cases of the East Asian ‘tigers’ prior to 1997 crises whose growth rates were in two figures. Barnard Cassen points out that the East Asian “tigers” cases are not supportive of ultra liberalism and deregulation. The industrial and commercial power of South Korea or Taiwan and least of all China was not founded on the economic principles enunciated by either Adam Smith or David Ricardo. Cassen has revealed a very basic fact about the “success” of globalization in East Asia.

Massive US government aid – in the interests of cold war – in the case of South Korea and Taiwan: absolute protectionism to preserve their developing industries, managed trade (the Chinese make no secret of this); and generally speaking and economically omnipresent state. These are the real ingredients of the much-vaunted and very real export driven growth of these countries (2000:15).

The consequence of religiously obeying the dictates of the international globalization agencies like the IMF and the World Bank in ordering their economies by the so-called East Asian “tigers” was the crisis of 1997.

Globalization is an old story making the world shrinks for centuries due to
the entanglement of economics and culture. This so-called ‘old story of globalization’ has taken a new turn due to fast technological change in the last few decades. Many believe that a new homogeneous and largely commercial culture is being spread through new communication channels. The process of change cannot be stopped. Some protagonists of globalization think that it has to be positive because we recognize that the common threat of humanity binds all the people together. The people of the West believe in social and economic progress as fundamental goals.

The sense of isolation felt in the developing countries has been reduced by globalization. In these countries, many people have received which a century ago was not accessible to even the wealthiest. The west has driven the globalization agenda. Says Stiglitz,

ensuring that it garners a disproportionate share of the benefits at the expense of the developing world (2003:7).

The western countries are accused of hypocrisy because they

have pushed poor countries to eliminate trade barriers, but have kept their own barriers preventing developing countries from exploiting their agricultural products and depriving them of desperately needed export income. The United States was, of course, one of the prime culprits (Stiglitz, 2003:6).

He further points out that

against very limited advantage of globalization a heavy price has been paid as the environment has been destroyed, as political processes have been corrupted, and as the rapid pace of change has not allowed countries time for cultural adaptation (2003:8)

Fortune magazine identified

globalization as the first of four business revolutions happening simultaneously, the other three being computer, flexible management and the information economy. So while some industrial and social phenomena seem to resist globalization and the nation-state has obviously not disappeared there is sufficient general support for the thesis that capitalism is entering something like a global phase to justify this inquiry (Skilair, 2000: 65).

Transnational capitalist class is growing stronger and more united. It can be
best explained within the context of the culture – ideology of consumerism. The transnational corporations strive to control global capital and material resources, the transnational capitalist classes strive to control global power and the transnational agents and institutions of the culture – ideology of consumerism strive to control the realm of ideas. Effective transnational control of global capital and resources is almost complete. There are few important national resources that are entirely exempted from economic transnational practices.

The control of ideas in the interests of consumerism is almost total. The ideas that are antagonistic to the global capitalist projection can be reduced to one central counter hegemonic idea, the rejection of the culture-ideology of consumerism itself. Without consumerism the rationale for contiguous capitalist accumulation dissolves.

*It is the capacity to commercialize and commodify all ideas and material products in which they adhere, television images, advertisements, newsprint, books, tapes, films and so on, not the ideas themselves that global capitalism strives to appropriate (Sklair 2000:69).*

The most common interpretation of globalization relates it to the ideas that the world is becoming more uniform and globalized through a technological, commercial and cultural synchronization. Linked to modernity, globalization emanates from the West. Nederveen Pieterse wants to view globalization as a process of hybridization which gives rise to a global mélange. To Albrow,

*Globalization refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society.*

Since these processes are Plural, we may as well conceive of globalization in the plural, since in social science there are as many conceptualizations of globalization as there are disciplines. In economics, globalization refers to economic internationalization and the spread of capitalist market relations.

*The global economy is the system generated by globalizing production and global finance.*

In international relations, the focus is on the increasing density of interstate relations and the development of global politics. In sociology, the concern is with increasing worldwide social densities and the emergence of “world society”. In cultural studies, the focus is on global communications and worldwide cultural
standardizations, as in Coca-colonization and McDonaldization, and on post-colonial culture. In history, the concern is with conceptualizing “global history” (Pieterse 2000:99).

If globalization is viewed as a multidimensional, it unfolds in multiple realms of existence simultaneously. Many modes of globalization historically range from long-distance cross-cultural trades, religious organizations and knowledge networks to contemporary multidimensional corporation’s transnational banks, international institutions, technological exchange and transnational network of social movements. To globalize is the policy of advancing or managing a particular mode of globalization. In the realm of political economy, globalization advances the cause of economic internationalization or, in other worlds, the corporate globalization of transnational enterprises.

Nederveen Pieterse is of the opinion that irrespective of the nature of emphases globalization is the “intensification of world–wide social relations” which are presumed to exist beforehand. Thus, globalization is the conceptualization of a phase following an existing condition of globality and part relations.

Before the outbreak in 1939 of world II, criticism of laissez-faire capitalism and an unchecked market economy was wide–spread in 1930s in the west. A market based economic model put money and investors at the center of its concerns rather than social values and human well being. In his book, The Great Transformation, Karl Polanyi has stated that

To allow the market mechanism to be the sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment ....would result in the demolition of society (Ellwood, 2005: 24-25).

He was one of the ablest economists of the market system which could be positive as well as negative. The Great Depressions of 1930s made him realize that

Without firm boundaries and controls, capitalism would be immobilized by its own greed and would eventually prove self-destructive.

According to Keynes, the notion of an ‘interventionist’ state made governments make an effort to put their economics in a balanced state. His
suggestion showed a way out to the government facing economic stagnation. In this book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936), Keynes opined that left on its own the free market in reality creates unemployment. Roosevelt administration’s ‘New deal’ policies show direct influence of Keynes in the enactment of the American Enactment Act of 1946. In the act ‘to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power’ was accepted and alongwith the federal government’s production and purchasing power’ was accepted as the federal government’s responsibility. In 1944, the British Government also accepted ‘the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment’ as its primary responsibility. After the war with the spread of Keynes influence, people started realizing that economies can be managed to ensure human progress. At the end of the World War II, Karl Polanyi felt optimistic and expressed his opinion in this way:

> We are witnessing a development under which the economic system ceases to lay down the law to society and the primacy of society over that system is secured”

(Ellwood, 20054:07).

**Bretton Woods Trio**

1. **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

   In July 1944, when the World War II had not officially ended, a Financial and Monetary Conference was held at Bretton Woods village in New Hampshire (USA) in which delegates from 44 nations took part. One aim of the Bretton Woods Conference was to erect a new framework for the postwar global economy to save the world from future economic depressions. The IMF was born to create economic stability for the world. At the very beginning it was supposed to ‘facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and to, contribute to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income. IMF had to promote currency ‘convertility’ for easy exchange world trade. Another job of the Fund was to act as a ‘lender – of – last – resort’, supplying emergency loans to countries, which ran into short-term cash flow problems.

   Keynes’s suggestion to set up an International Clearing Union did not favour with the Conference. The Union would have automatically provided loans with
no string attached’ to the needy countries. IMF loans today are not automatic. Member countries would be entitled to limited loan amount determined by a complex quota system.

One of the participants at the Bretton woods Conference was James Maynard Keynes, one of the greatest economists of the twentieth century. In the context of the global economic depression of 1930, he pointed out that economic downturn is due to the lack of sufficient aggregate demand. Government policies should favour increase in aggregate demand.

At Bretton woods, Keynes had sufficient influence but the Conference did not accept his proposals to establish a world ‘reserve currency’ to be administered by a central bank. He believed that such a bank would have created a more stable and fairer world economy, as it would have automatically recycled trade surpluses to finance trade deficits. The Conference finally decided to have a system based on the free movement of goods. The American dollar was accepted as the international currency.

In an article entitled, “The Global Economy Myth”, Martin Wolf said that

Global economic integration is far more irresistible. Governments have chosen to lower trade barriers and eliminate foreign exchange controls. They could if they wished, halt both processes (Halimi, 2000:19).

The discourse of champions and markets and globalization was not in the same vein as in the earlier portion of this paragraph.

With regard to social inequalities Serge Halimi sarcastically remarks that

either existence is denied or said to exist because “we don’t have enough markets. Not enough school or hospital vouchers. Not enough enterprise zones. Not enough tax breaks. Not enough pension funds. Not enough competition within the civil service. Like with Stalinism before every stumble in the march toward a pure radiant, bountiful market society is explained by the timidity of the march, not by its direction, and like with Stalinism before, the critics of your model have to be irrational in need of re-education programme of a mental treatment? (2000:19)
Halimi further comments

will it might be-just be-that the market is a model that does not work well for most people, that markets can be great wealth-creating machine but not great when it comes to building a human just decent society for most of us” (2000:19-20). If the falls of communism and of its related certainties about the nature of mankind have taught us anything, it should not be the need for totalitarianism for another tyranny –that of financial markets (Halimi, 2000-20).

But the value of doubt and the need for dissidents. Let us relearn the value of doubt says Halimi.

Due to rejection of Keynes’ idea of International Clearing Union IMF members would not automatically receive loans when they were in deficit because Keynes’ idea that in international trade the ‘winner should be obligated to the ‘losers’ by recycling the surplus to deficit nations did not find favour. IMF members would have access to limited loan accounts which were to be determined by a complex quota system.

When a country joins the IMF, it is assigned a quota which is calculated in special drawing Rights (SDR), the Fund’s own unit of account. Quotas are determined by a country’s relative position in the world economy. The most powerful economies have maximum clout and influence. The USA is most influential and has the largest SDR quota which is about 27 billion dollars. A lot of things are determined by the size of a member’s quota. It includes how many votes it has in IMF deliberations and how much foreign exchange it has access to if it is in financial trouble. The US treasury Secretary Dexter White dictated that IMF would not simply dole out money to debtor countries which will have to repay them within five tears. At Bretton Woods interest was shown on removal of trade barriers but not in movement of capital internationally.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established to prevent another worldwide depression. In the beginning IMF worked with the view that often markets did not work well creating massive un-employment. IMF was not able to provide funds to the needy countries to remove unemployment and to restore their economies. The IMF was established under the belief that collective action at the world-wide level was needed for economic stability.
The IMF is a public institution funded with money provided by taxpayers around the world. It does not, however, report either to those citizens who pay for it or to those whose lives it affects but to the finance minister and the central banks of the world. Voting arrangement in IMF is based on the economic power of the countries at the end of the World War II. The IMF is controlled by the major developed countries of the world but only the United States of America has the veto power.

At its inception, IMF believed that markets often worked badly. But now it champions market supremacy vigorously. In the beginning, it was believed that international pressure needed to be exerted on country to have more expansionary economic policies like increasing expenditures, reducing taxes or lowering interest rates so that economy may be stimulated. Today IMF provides funds for those working for contradiction of economy by adopting policies like cutting deficits, raising taxes or raising interest rates, Kenyes would have been mortified to note the present-day activities of the institution (IMF) which he had helped to found.

IMF was founded nearly sixty years ago with the mission of providing funds for countries facing an economic downturn so that they restore themselves close to full employment. Many of the policies of IMF such as capital market liberalization have brought in global instability instead of stability. In all the areas of involvement the IMF has committed mistakes whether it is involvement in crises management or in transition from communism to capitalism.


At Bretton Woods Conference, another goal was to rebuild the economies of those countries which had been ruined in World War II. The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development came into being to undertake this task. Funds came from the dues paid by its members and money borrowed from international credit markets. The members were paid loans at a rate lower than the rates available at commercial banks. The World Bank, as it started being called in the Third World countries, advanced loans for economic infrastructure which included power plants, dams, roads, airports, ports, agricultural development and education, among others. The Bank provided money for reconstruction of Europe after World War II. The USA wanted faster development of Europe as
a market for its industries. Therefore, it set up Marshall Plan to provide dollars directly to European countries mostly as grants rather than loans.

From 1950’s, the World Bank started helping developing countries of the Third World to prepare infrastructure to take off to enter the industrial age. The Bank funded hydroelectric projects and highway system throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia. In spite of the World Bank’s concessional lending rates very poor countries did have difficulty in repaying loans. In 1950’s the bank set up as its wing International Development Association (IDA) to provide ‘soft loans’ with very low interest or no interest at all to enable the Third World countries to establish an independent funding agency separate from the Bretton Woods institutions (namely IMF, WB and WTO).

IMF and World Bank were created to serve two different though two complementary aspects of the economic life of the people of the world. As the crisis around the world became bigger the funds available to the IMF were found to be insufficient. The World Bank was then invited to provide billions of dollars as emergency support by merely as secondary to IMF. It was the fund which decides guidelines of the programmes to be supported. IMF dealt with the budget deficit of a country’s government, the country’s financial institutions of the country, its labour markets, its trade policy, etc.

In actual practice since the structural issues could affect the overall performance of the economy therefore the IMF took everything as falling within its domain. Even when free market ideology was reigning supreme there were controversies between the IMF and the World Bank about what policies would be the most suitable for a country. For every country, the IMF had basically the same answers without need for any discussion. The World Bank debated what should be done. When a crisis develops in a country IMF’s funds and programmes do not stabilize the situation but often make matters worse. IMF has not succeeded in its original mission of promoting the transition of countries from communism to market economy.

The international economic institutions (IMF, World Bank and WTO) were founded with good intention but they became something different as time passed. Under Keynesian orientation IMF emphasized market failures and the role of government in job creation. In 1980s free market ideology replaced the initial aim under Maggi (Margaret Thacher) and Raggi (Ronald Reagan). This was a
part of the new “Washington Consensus”. This was consensus arrived at by the IMF, World Bank and the US treasury about what should be the “right” policies for developing countries. This pointed to a radically different “approach to economic development and stabilization.”

Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel Prize winning economist, reminds his co-professionals that

The world that IMF economists are working in is not the world they studied in graduate schools”. In its editorial THE TIMES OF INDIA (4/5 September 2007), under the title “GET REAL FUND-BANK” exhorts that ‘emerging economies’ should have a bigger say in Bretton Woods institutions.

The editorial reads thus,

It has become the norm for the US and Europe to hold on top jobs of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), respectively, in defiance of structural changes in the world economy over the last three decades. Russia has opposed the candidature of former French finance minister Dominique Strauss Kahn by former Czech Prime Minister Joseph Tosousky, but Strauss Kahn is almost sure to become IMF managing director. It is time that emerging economies - Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa and countries in the South East Asian and Latin American regions-have a bigger say in the affairs of the IMF and the World Bank.

IMF’s voting rights and top officials do not reflect the new world economic order. Emerging countries account for 43 percent of world exports against 20 percent in 1970. At purchasing power parity rates, their share in global GDP has inched ahead of that of the developed power parity rates, their share in global GDP has inched ahead of that of the developed world, as against a contribution of 40 percent to world output in 1950. The change in the case of China and India is remarkable. In PPP terms, the two make up 7 percent of world GDP and 10 percent of world GDP growth. But their votes at IMF account for 5.5 percent of all votes. The US has supported more voting rights for China, South Korea, Turkey and Mexico but the change is less substantial and, in any case, leaves the basic power structure at the Fund intact.

The IMF and the World Bank not only need to reflect the new balance of economic power, but also to remain relevant as a lending window. With just Asia’s foreign exchange reserves way above what the IMF can lend in a year, it
is not surprising that many economies do not need its money any more. In 2003 and 2004, Thailand and Russia paid their debt before schedule. Ukraine and Serbia have declined assistance. India, besides being a creditor to IMF, chose to raise funds by other means in 1998 and 2000, when it floated India Resurgent Bond and the Millennium Deposit Scheme respectively.

If Strauss Kahn is serious about reversing these trends, he would have to resign the IMF and ensure that an Asian succeeds him. The world needs the IMF to oversee imbalances in exchange rate policies and tide over financial crisis that spill over countries and threaten the stability of the world economy.

3. General Agreement on Tariff’s and Trade (GATT)/

World Trade Organization (WTO)

A set of rules to govern global trade was established by the GATT. It aimed to reduce national trade barriers and to stop the competitive trade policies which had created awkward economic situation prior to World War II. Under the GATT treaty seven rounds of negotiations were conducted to reduce tariffs. The final ‘Uruguay Round’ began in 1986. In 1994 at Marrakesh in Morocco GATT was replaced by World Trade Organization (WTO) which has an international status. It has 137 member states and 30 observers. Besides GATT agreements focused on trade in goods, WTO incorporated 160 areas which included telecommunications, banking and investment, transport, education, health and the environment. Like GATT, WTO also continues rich World’s domination. Rubens Ricupero’s, Director-General of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), assessment of multilateral trading system was frank. According to him, there is ‘concrete evidence’ that global trade rules are ‘highly imbalanced and biased against developing countries’. He poses a very pertinent question that, while the developed countries got decades to come to terms with imports of agricultural products and textiles from the Third World, why the poor developing countries are being forced to open their borders immediately to Western banks and telecommunication companies.

A multifiber arrangement (MFA) existed on textiles under which developed countries could impose quotas restricting clothing and textiles imports from developing countries. Ricupero noted that this temporary measure could last for over five decades. In contrast, developing countries have willingly reduced tariffs
and reduced trade barriers: India from 82 percent in 1990 to 30 percent in 1997; Brazil from 25 percent to 12 percent in the same period; and China from 43 percent in 1993 to 18 percent four years later.

WTO pursues free trade agenda but there is growing nervousness about its globalizing agenda particularly about the new Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) under whose cover WTO has legal tools to approve tough trade sanctions by one member against another. Under GATT arrangement if a country was to be disciplined every member had to agree. Under the WTO, dispute settlement panel is of appointed ‘experts’, who hear the case behind closed doors. If the DSB decides on sanctions the only way to escape them is when every member opposes them. It is a near impossibility. If a country formulates in its national interest policies about environmental laws, labour standards, human rights legislation, public health policies, cultural protection, food self-reliance, etc., these can be attacked as unfair ‘impediments’ to free trade.

WTO has effectively struck down national legislation in its pursuit of a ‘level playing field’. Its ‘most favoured nation’ clause demands that similar products from different member countries be treated equally. In terms of Lome Convention, the EU had promised to give preference to bananas from former European colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. The WTO decided in favour of the USA, stating that the European preference was unfair. The small island nations in the Caribbean worried that the WTO decision will cut off a guaranteed market and destroy their industry.

According to the ‘national treatment clause’ a country may not discriminate against products of foreign origin on any grounds whatsoever. This way it removes the power of national government to develop economic policy which serves the moral, ethical or economic interests of their citizens.

The international economic institutions (IMF, World Bank and WTO) were founded with good intention but they became something different as time passed. Under Keynesian orientation IMF emphasized market failures and the role of government in job creation. In 1980s, free market ideology replaced the initial aim. This was part of new “Washington Consensus”. This was a consensus arrived at by the IMF, the World Bank and the US Treasury about what should be the “right” policies for development and stabilization”. On this issue, Wayne Ellwood says this:
These institutions which first emerged from the Bretton Woods negotiations half a century ago became more important players with each passing decade. It is their vision and their agenda which continue to shape the direction of the global economy. Together they are fostering a model of the liberalized trade and investment which is heartily endorsed by the world's biggest banks and corporations. A deregulated, privatized, corporate-led free market is the answer to humanity's problems, they tell us. The proof, though is not so easily found” (2005:37).

III

II-Effects Of Globalization And Resistance To It

It is needless to say that to force a developing country to open itself up to imported products which are produced by local industries for competition with stronger corresponding industries in more developed countries can be both socially and economically disastrous. Jobs are destroyed till these countries’ industrial and agricultural sectors become strong for creation of new jobs. Highly subsidized agricultural products from Europe and America do not let poor farmers in developing countries compete with them. This has been an issue hanging fire at several meetings of the WTO since the Uruguay Round IMF’s economic policy prescription makes creation of jobs by developing countries impossible. Stiglitz finds that liberalization brings increased misery instead of growth. That is why advanced industrial countries like Japan and the United States protected some of their industries before they were strong enough to compete with corresponding foreign countries. It is not surprising that the United States of America used international economic institutions like IMF for its selfish ends at the detriment of the developing countries.

What the United States of America experienced in the nineteenth century was similar to today’s globalization and throws light of yesterday’s successes and today’s failures. With the reduction of costs of transport and communication, local markets expanded. With the formation of new national economies, new companies came into being which did business throughout the country. The markets, however, were not allowed to develop on their own and the government shaped the evolutionary course of the economy. Due to the verdict of the courts, the federal government acquired right to regulate interstate commerce. It meant the regulation of financial system by setting minimum wages and working conditions.
and finally providing employment and welfare systems to tackle the problems which a market gives rise to. The federal government promoted some industries (laying of first telegraph lines) and encouraged others (like agriculture).

Champions of globalization regard it as a process which is capable of tremendous “improvement in human happiness” [sic!] through a true collaboration across borders, across societies, across cultures. They want the powers of the state reduced because according to them it (the state) may mean the elimination of “the cross-border choice which globalization may have offered”. Peter Martin calls this “damaging and deeply antidemocratic”. If the multinationals are prevented from exploiting the local resources of a country and to exploit it to derive unlimited benefit then the democratic rights of these exploiting-traders are usurped. If anything, the people to whom the resources rightly belong are saved from being looted/plundered. Bernard Cassen has very correctly remarked that:

*In the final analysis, it is democracy itself which is the prime victim of free trade and globalization.... Taking responsibility and being obliged to be accountable are the touchstones of democracy. On the assumption that it is their intention to work for the good of their fellow citizens, what happens when elected representatives and governments are less and less in control of the real decision-makers, who have no direct link with their territory, that is to say the financial markets and the vast conglomerates. There is no need to seek further the main factor in the disintegration of societies. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly inappropriate to describe them as “societies since they are being subjected to the kind of treatment that is antithetical to the very notion of the common good.*

(Cassen 2000:16).

**Opposition to Globalization**

Sometimes under pressure from the agents of globalization who want to serve their self-interest which is profit-making and sometimes with the intent of not being left behind in the race for growth and progress, particularly in the economic affairs, some non-western countries take decisions which are detrimental to their resources and self-confidence-cum-self reliance. Some examples of protest against globalization will be presented soon. Before that, let us see how some western scholars look at the 21st century.

In the 21st century, ‘modernity' stands for free, strong currencies,
deregulation, privatization, communication, etc. Europe is also prominent in this area. Serge Halimi assigns that trend to that of the steam engine era and that is why considers it as archaic. He wants journalists to oppose globalization and its logical consequences and ought not to consider it as inevitable. In his essay entitled ‘The Global Economy Myth’ Martin Wolf has said that global economic integration is resistible if the governments decide to lower trade barriers and eliminate foreign exchange controls. Both these processes could be stopped if the governments so desired. Halimi wants peoples to help their governments.

In Mexico City, the peasant protest in 1995 was a grassroots mobilization against the impacts of globalization. The targets, tactics and strategies of movements, because of the shift of economic and political power, centres from nation-state towards an international economic system which is more and more under the domination of transnational corporations. It is quite likely that in future those demanding social justice and ecological sanity on the national and even local levels may have to take their demands to the global level.

In 1960, the guiding maxim was; “Think globally, act locally”. This slogan is no more relevant. Joshua Karliner thinks people’s movements, non-governmental organizations labour unions, academicians, doctors, lawyers, artists and other around the world constitute a global society. The essential paradox and challenge which the civil society has to face is “developing ways of thinking and acting both locally and globally.” The global corporations in the age of globalization will be difficult to contain by the world’s social and environmental movements generated by a number of novel, innovative and coordinated movements which are international in their impact but the rooted firmly in local realities.

In 1995, hundreds of indigenous people from the far away state of Tabasco and places more than 600 miles away assembled in the central plaza of the Mexico City to protest electoral fraud and to demand, in their words, “democracy, liberty and social justice”. This was a grassroots mobilization around the world against the impacts of globalization. One of the spokespersons of the protests was leftist opposition leader, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador. He complained that ever since the Mexican Stock Exchange was opened to international investors, it has become a symbol of Mexico’s growing subordination to the prerogatives of the corporate-driven world economy. Lopex claimed that this liberalization of Mexican economy has resulted in the loss of land to compassions, loss of jobs to workers
and dropping of purchasing power to the level of 60 years ago. Lopez pointed out that

in the last twelve years [Since 1995] of hunger and sacrifice, in which the workers and peasants have been forced to serve in inhumane conditions, we have seen the corporate profits on the exchange grow (see Karliner 2000:35).

When tension increased and the police was about to move, the protestors went away to avoid confrontation. Karliner feels the peasants made their point to Mexican President and also to corporations and investors around the globe who have a stake in Mexico.

The above mentioned Mexican case is no doubt, an example, of resistance to globalization, but, whether it is Mexico or India, it is not as broad-based and powerful as anti-colonial movement of the past. The anti-colonial movement was led by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders. It was powerful and won freedom from the British colonial rule. But peoples’ movements against globalization, growing control of the country’s economy by the transnational corporations and international money-lending institutions are not as powerful as the nationalist freedom movements but often they derive inspiration and guidance from them.

The economic sovereignty of the Indian state is being compromised and in turn, it affects the political sovereignty as well. Despite slight increase in revenue from income tax, the overall tax collection is quite limited. The current debate is about the implications of independence of our foreign policy. The agricultural sector has not been contributing its share to the national exchequer and the fear of the impending opening of agricultural trade despite heavy subsidies to their farmers by the USA and the European Union is sure to be ruinous for the Third World countries, particularly for India where agriculture is not merely an economic activity but a way of life. The present government in India is keen to permit FDI in a number of sectors and seems inclined to allow even Wal-Mart for exploitative activities. This includes some European countries also. On the home front the Government of India is eager to disinvest and privatize even profit-making, public-sector undertaking which have served the country well and have made name internationally for their good work. All these activities are indulged in to raise funds for development. Most of these funds are embezzled, misused, plundered or allowed to go down the drain. According to Rajiv Gandhi, only 15 paise in a
rupee reaches the people.

The economic liberalization policy followed since the early 1990s, has generated the negative impacts of globalization, a movement in India which is still not as vibrant in the land of Mahatma Gandhi as it ought to have been. Lakhs of farmers, fishermen, labourers, union workers opposed urban-national corporate penetration of the Indian economy. They are by large non-violent in nature. They are based on satyagrah, Swadeshi and Charkha which proved efficacious during the nationalist movement against colonialism. The Sunday Times of India reported that to champions and agents of globalization this philosophy must seem like heresy: The globalizationists want to plunder the natural resources of the country which serve as a source of subsistence for hundreds of millions of people. The Sunday Times of India very correctly depicts Swadeshi as an imperative for current times than it was more than fifty years ago. For in this period, a process called ‘development’ has deprived more people of direct control over their immediate environment and means of livelihood (cf. Karliner 2000; 37-38).

M.D. Nanjundaswamy led a movement of hundreds of thousands of farmers against Cargill Corporation. He was quite sure of throwing out all the powers that are trying to colonize India now. But the matter becomes complicated when the Government of India herself aids and abets millionaires in such a colonization totally against the spirit of Swadeshi and Charkha.

In 1992, the Government of India permitted the Cargill Corporation to begin a salt-mining enterprise in the Kutch region of Gujarat state which was then, like the central government, ruled by the Congress Party. It is the same political party which was in fore-front in the Indian freedom movement with the three basic principles mentioned earlier. Gandhiji himself led the civil disobedience march in 1930 which aimed at making India self-sufficient in salt.

When the government of India invited the Cargill Corporation to move in and begin producing salt for Japan and the East Asian markets, the people were shocked and started calling Cargill the “New East India Company”. In 1993 tens of thousands of people which included members of the Parliament, students and youth, trade union leaders, representative of other popular movements, non-governmental organization local salt manufacturers, etc. took part in a number of protest demonstrations one of which was a march which followed the reverse route of the Mahatmaji’s famous Dandi march. The protesters were planning a
blockade of the Run of Kutch with Gandhiji’s words: “We will make salt” as their slogan which echoed throughout the length and breadth of India. The Cargill Corporation saw the writing on the wall, packed its bag and pulled out of the country.

Cargill was clever enough not to engage in a fight with the protesters. Karliner says that like the Boston Tea party for the United States of America or the nationalization of oil for Mexico, the salt issue for India carries with it a great historical and symbolic resonance. It could have catalyzed a significant backlash not only against Cargill, but against the opening of Indian economy in general. Yet the bailing out of Cargill before the satyagrah turned into a national (protest) movement and the importance of that moment cannot be denied. The Public Interest Research Group of New Delhi considered that this victory of the Indian people indicated that

the beginning of the larger struggle against the economic policies of the Government which strike at the very roots of a self-reliant and socially-oriented economy (Karliner 2000: 37).
Agrarian Struggles in Contemporary Bihar (1965-85)

M.N. Karna*

Abstract: The paper attempts to analyze the nature and the magnitude of agrarian struggles. It also analyzes mobilization and forms of actions of marginal peasants, sharecroppers and landless peasants in Bihar during the years 1965 to 1985. The paper studies three cases of peasant mobilization from different areas of the state and shows a pattern of organization and ideology.

Key words: Peasants, Bihar movement, struggles, land, zamindars

Bihar, the land of 90 million people constituting India’s second most populous state, is an enigma. It is endowed with natural resources accounting for nearly 40 percent of India’s total mineral production and highly fertile land of the Gangetic plain but it is at the same time the poorest and the most backward state in the country by almost every measure. It has an agriculture-based rural economy. While 82.50 percent people of the state live in rural areas, almost 79 percent are directly dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood.

The basic cause of Bihar’s continuing backwardness is the outmoded agrarian structure. Absentee land ownership, large and scattered land holdings, insecure tenancies and iniquitous agrarian relations are constraints to rapid agricultural growth and economic development. Although the state has been a pioneer in enacting land reform laws but its performances in implementing them has not only been unsatisfactory but lamentable. The first phase of reforms started with the abolition of intermediaries after independence but even in the matter of zamindari abolition its dismal achievement is visible from the fact that besides collecting large amount of compensation, the big zamindars extended possession over large

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*Bihar includes the state of Jharkhand also for the present analysis.

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areas of land by resorting to large scale eviction of tenants, under-tenants and sharecroppers. Naturally, the bulk of the rural population hardly benefited from the abolition of intermediary interest.

The other measures of reform that could have benefited the disadvantaged groups of marginal farmers, sharecroppers and landless labourers are enforcement of ceiling on agricultural holdings and the redistribution of surplus land, tenancy reforms and protection of homestead tenancies. But, even in these areas of land reforms, legislation has fallen far short of desired objectives and implementation has been tardy and inefficient. The perfunctory performance of Bihar in land reform implementation is rooted in the very structure of rural power relations and caste alliances at the village level. The large landowners are not only economically affluent but also socially puissant and politically powerful. They form part of the dominant centre of power and regulate the politics and administration of the state. Moreover, the existing legal system leans favourably towards the rich and influential. Under the conditions, it has been difficult to enforce a radical transformation of agrarian structure.

However, the scenario, of late, changed as a result of mobilization of small peasants, sharecroppers and landless labourers in raising the issue of agrarian reforms. The organizations of poor peasants have articulated the demand for land reforms at the political level and have asserted their rights at the village level. The prevailing agrarian tension and rural unrest, mounting protests and dissent are the symptoms of inherent contradictions in agrarian structure. It may be noted that the pace of implementation of land reform measures has gained or lost momentum as the pressure created by organized peasants mounted or declined. In fact, the sense of urgency with which the ruling elite revived the question of land reform during the close of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies can easily be attributed to the signals given by various forms of action both institutional and extra institutional for distribution of land from the rich to the poor.

This paper intends to analyze the nature and magnitude of this mobilization and forms of action of marginal peasants, sharecroppers and landless labourers in contemporary Bihar. Our choice within the contemporary period has been more or less limited to a span of only 20 years between 1965 to 1985 because it was during the spell that the intensity of agrarian struggles was witnessed in a high degree. By taking up three cases of peasant mobilization from different areas
of the state, it has been shown that the peasants involved in such attempts are not ‘pre-political people’ of Hobsbawm’s formulation but their collective endeavour are informed by ideology and organization. These struggles are not spontaneous and unorganized as is visible from their action programmes such as rallies, demonstrations, strikes, *bundh, jail bharo*, forcible harvesting, armed resistance and others. Both the structural context and the whole range of ideas that highlight specific agrarian contradictions of the system have been examined here to gain deeper insight into the problem.

II

There were no sustained activities of peasants in Bihar on the eve of independence. However, the pressure created by the long drawn struggle of the Kisan Sabha and the progressive thinking within the Congress compelled the government to work out some plan for the immediate redressal of the grievances of peasants. Accordingly, the first phase of agrarian reforms was initiated with the abolition of Zamindari and the introduction of some other institutional changes. They were followed by steps such as imposition of ceilings on land, tenancy reforms, and minimum wages for agricultural labourers and so on. Other measures undertaken through the Community Development Programmes and Panchayati Raj also accelerated the transformative processes in rural areas. The new strategy to increase agricultural productivity, launched a little later, brought further changes in respect of economic relations, power structure and inter-caste alliances at the village level. These changes gave relief to the rural folk to certain degree but, some other agrarian issues emerged simultaneously in the very first decade after independence.

The *bakast struggle* and the anti-eviction fight by the *bataidars* (sharecroppers) as well as by agricultural workers resisting eviction from homestead lands were prominent among them. Certain political parties raised demands for famine relief and distribution of *taccavi* loans while others highlighted special problems in some areas such as the question of canal rent, sugarcane prices and restriction imposed on the preparation of *gur*. However, even the most vocal among the political parties, the Communist Party of India (CPI) was not involved in any organized peasant struggle. Likewise, the socialists faced serious organizational crisis after their crushing defeat at the first general elections and the departure of Jayaprakash Narayan from the electoral politics. The
emergence of *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan* added another dimension to the peasant question. But, on the whole, peasants were completely defenceless and their condition was one of apparent inertia and helplessness.

The situation started taking a gradual turn in the post 1960s when the socio-economic consequences of land reform measures and green revolution began expressing themselves in growing peasant class differentiation. A transition towards commercialization of agriculture, though limited, was another significant development that initiated qualitative alteration in the character of agrarian relations. In place of traditional *Kisans* dominating the scene, two other categories of peasant forcefully emerged on the scene – *bataidars* and agricultural labourers. The agrarian contradiction in this phase thus turned the corner both in terms of class character and nature of demands showing an entirely a different trend in the agrarian affairs of the region. A new wave of tension began to erupt in rural areas taking shape of mounting protests and dissent against the prevailing iniquitous agrarian order. To a large extent, a qualitative transformation started taking place in the understanding of the masses. The growing consciousness of deprivation was articulated in terms of demands for their rightful claims. These disgruntled groups became more aware of their numerical strength and political power. The changing tenor was further visible in growing activities of several militant groups and increasing atrocities on members of Dalit castes who were most of the cases poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

A more sustained and organized mobilization of peasants, sharecroppers and agricultural labourers started forcefully after 1965. It witnessed notable political changes after the defeat of the Congress as the political parties also renounced their inertia and came forward to make use of the opportunities created by the deteriorating conditions of the peasantry. The period also experienced several new ideological experiments in the domain of peasant mobilization, which attempted to develop alternative models. Thus, three broad types of peasant mobilization are discerned in contemporary Bihar from the point of view of ideology and organization. They are:

1. mobilization undertaken by the parliamentary political parties,
2. struggles initiated by the militant political groups subscribing to the Maoist ideology, and
c) the movements launched by the organization putting trust in ‘peaceful class struggle’.

In the first category, we include mainly those struggles which emerged out of the parliamentary political parties such as the Communist Party of India (CPI). The Communist Party of India (Marxist) CPI (M), the Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP) and the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) launched their struggles in the Chotanagpur region. Among the struggles launched in North Bihar, the most prominent has been the *Bataidari* struggle in Madhubani region. The Tundi Movement, which came into existence during 1972-80 under the aegis of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in Dhanbad region, is another movement, which may be included under this category.

Ideologically, the second type of agrarian struggle in the present context is one that was initiated by the militant political groups subscribing to the Maoist ideology. While the spirit of Naxalbari seemed to wither away elsewhere, it started guiding a large section of rural poor in late seventies and early eighties in different districts of Central Bihar.

In the third category, we include the Bodh Gaya peasant movement launched in 1978 under the guidance of the *Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini*. It is ideologically and organizationally different from both the *Bataidari* struggle of Madhubani and the peasant movement of central Bihar. It reposed faith in peaceful but militant peasant mobilization and put forward a notion of ‘peaceful class struggle’.

It is now proposed to analyze these cases of peasant resistance movements of this period in comparative sociological perspectives.

III

Madhubani district touching the international border with Nepal in North Bihar has a long history of peasant mobilization but its intensity increased in the post-1965 period.

The CPI under the leadership of Bhogendra Jha was successful in building up a strong base among the small peasants, and agricultural labourers. Although some activists keeping allegiance with the socialist parties (SSP and PSP) also worked in the area but, the CPI proved to be more forceful among the rural poor. Its political credibility and reputation was further established when they
gained electoral successes since the 1962 general elections. The situation was thus ripe enough to launch an intensified struggle on the agrarian front.

The bataidari struggle in Madhubani emerged within the framework of age-old practice of sharecropping. The system has continued to be widespread mainly because landowners are always in advantageous position from the points of view of covering risks, assured supply of labour and management problem. On the other hand, the skewed patterns of landownership have left the substantial rural population without land for whom leasing-in, on the most unfavorable terms is the only available source of livelihood. Conflict and contradiction are thus inherent in such an agrarian structure.

The current struggle was mainly centered on what is locally known as bataidari claims. The sharecroppers in this case are brought forward by the political workers to register legal claims over landowners’ land. In claiming that certain sharecropper was cultivating the particular plot of land for more than twelve years, that sharecropper takes the advantage of a provision recognized by law to acquire occupancy rights over such lands. The day these claims are lodged, the legal battle starts, as the landowners are kept away from the claimed land and it comes under dispute.

In Madhubani, the fight for these claims started in about 50 villages but it gradually spread over to about 200 other villages. Most of these villages are located in areas forming parts of Basopatti, Benipatti, Bisfi, Harlakhi, Khajouli, Jayanagar and Madhavpur Community Development Blocks.

The nature and magnitude of these bataidari claims provide an interesting clue to the dynamics of agrarian relation and peasant in the region. During 1970-75 as many as 16,606 cases were filed in the district of Madhubani out of which only 2,994 were disposed of during 1974-75. Technically, these claims are individual in nature but how do they from part of the collective action is evident from the way these petitions are filed. In the first place, these petitions are never submitted individually. For example, during 1973-74, 1080 claims were submitted by the sharecroppers in Basopatti area but all of them were registered just on 14 different dates. While 226 applications were submitted on 16 April 1973, this number went up to 279 on 16 October of the same year. A similar trend was found in Harlakhi and Jayanagar Blocks where hundreds of petitions were presented on a single day. Secondly, the sponsored nature of these claims is
further apparent from the fact that only some selected CPI leaders were nominated to the thousands of Boards of conciliation on behalf of the bataidars. The government constitutes such Boards where nominees of both landowners and sharecroppers are included to settle these claims.

However, the struggle was not only confined to the filing of claims alone but it was reinforced by a strategy adopted to challenge the established authority of the landed class. Numerous programmes of direct action were undertaken to put pressure not only on landowners, but on the government as well, so that pro-poor agrarian legislation could be effectively implemented.

Forcible harvesting, refusal to divide crops, capture of disputed batik lands, stoppage of work on landowners’ land, demonstration and procession in support of their grievances were other actions undertaken regularly by the sharecroppers. Such modes of protest resulted in several serious violent incidents. Between 1967 and 1975, police recorded as many as 803 cases of physical violence involving land disputed at the headquarters in Madhubani alone. Reported cases at other police Stations indeed were larger. A close scrutiny of 300 First Information Reports (FIR) revealed that most of these complaints were lodged by landowners and their associates mainly against the CPI and the Socialist party workers. The supporters of the former figured generally in reports lodged in the northwestern part of the district while the workers of the SSP were named in FIRs lodged by the people from the eastern part. On an average 25 to 1000 persons had been held responsible for fomenting troubles in each of these incidents. The forcible harvesting of standing crops by the sharecroppers was the most common complaint made in these reports. However, the situation was aggravated year after year, while between 1967 and 1969 the police recorded 119 such clashes, the figure increased to 684 during 1970-1972. The period between 1972-74 also remained explosive when as many as 482 cases were registered with the authorities.

Two categories of landowners-absentee landlords have very limited local support and face much more pressure than the local manhunts. Nevertheless, the former invariably retaliated with much physical force through their goons from outside leading to serious clashes causing death and injuries to a large number of people from both sides. Between 1967 and 1975, as many as 24 persons were killed in these clashes according to the district office of the CPI. Nothing definite
can be ascertained about the number of persons killed from the other side for want of reliable information.

However, the most violent clash took place on 30 November 1972 in village Selibeli under Basopatti police station in which seven persons including Santu Mahto, a member of the Bihar state council of CPI were allegedly killed by the hired musclemen of the village Mahantha. The Selibeli encounter has since become a landmark in the history of peasant resistance not only in Madhubani but also in the whole of Bihar. On 5th August 1973, two CPI workers were killed and six other were injured in a serious clash in Hisar under Benipati Teju Mukhia lost his life in Madhepur on the land of Mirzapur Mahantha. The village had been involved in such agrarian clashes since 1966-67 and even in 1967 the supporters led to the death of Alizan Mian on 1 July 1971 in Manpour while Inarwa village in Jaynagar Block witnessed yet another clash in December 1971 causing death to Jiwachha Mukhia and bullet injuries of four others.

Organized attacks to gain control over disputed land was yet another dimension of the present struggle that was similar to the strategy adopted by numerous earlier peasant struggles. While powerful landowners and Mahantha relied mainly on their money and muscle power, the sharecroppers and the landless poor had numerical strength and political support at their disposal. Besides, numerous demonstrations, rallies, picketing, dharna, gherao etc. were also organized in support of the demands of bataidars. About 20,000 sharecroppers and landless labourers staged a massive demonstration on 17 November 1971 in front of the office of the sub-divisional officer, Madhubani demanding speedy disposal of pending bataidari cases. A similar demonstration was organized on 25 February 1973 at the Khajouli block development office in which more than 5000 persons participated. Although the struggle was intensified after 1970 but rallies and processions prior to this were also not unusual. In fact, demonstrations organized by the workers and supporters of the CPI were so frequent that they were often taken casually both by the administration and the public.

The degree of involvement of sharecroppers in various action programmes can easily be ascertained from the number of persons who were prosecuted under different sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. According to one assessment, more than 10,000 persons were prosecuted and about 4000 were undergoing trial up to 1974 for participating in these programmes. On 3rd January
1972 alone, about 4500 persons named in various cases presented themselves before concerned officials for mass-arrests because individual attendance on different dates created problems for them.

The struggle of sharecroppers thus created heavy pressure equally on the administration and the landowners. The law and order machinery responded by deputing magistrates with armed forces and tear-gas squads in disturbed areas while the landowners retaliated both politically and physically. A new organization called the Kisan Mazdoor Congress (KMC) formed under the patronage of the local Congress Party leaders emerged in order to resist various moves of the Communists. But except for releasing press statements the KMC could hardly prevent the CPI from going ahead in its fight for the rightful claims of sharecroppers.

Realizing the serious nature of mounting tension and its political content, the Government of Bihar initiated a dialogue with the major political parties involved in the struggle at the district level. Thus a tripartite agreement known as ‘Madhubani Agreement’ was signed by the Congress (Ruling), the CPI and the Bihar Government on 9th September 1973 to settle the problem amicably. The meeting attended by 27 political and peasant leaders and nine government officials recognized the need to solve the problems of sharecroppers and landless labourers. How far the decisions arrived at Madhubani were implemented is yet to be evaluated but the government’s cognizance to settle these issues politically is obvious from the Agreement. The situation also attracted the attention of the Central Government and the Prime Minister’s Secretariat sent a list of selected landowners of Madhubani to the Government of Bihar for taking action under the Land Ceiling Act.

Both the Central and State Governments thus showed concern over the happenings in Madhubani and directed the officers to implement land reform measures on a priority basis. In this sense, the Madhubani sharecroppers’ struggle succeeded in putting pressure on the government to take up steps to resolve the issue effectively. In addition, the sharecroppers had other measures of success to their credit. The landowners accepted the strength of bataidars albeit tacitly and in some cases they openly surrendered before the latter. In village Loma Pahipura, for example, about 250 acres of land are still under the control of the sharecroppers despite the high Court verdict in favour of the landowner. Secondly, they achieved
relatively a better success with regard to homestead lands. It is claimed that more than 50 new hamlets (tolas) have come up on these lands in different villages of the district. It is further claimed that more than one lakh parchas (deeds) have been distributed among the privileged persons with the efforts of the communists in Madhubani district alone. Finally, the intensity of absenteeism has been considerably reduced because unable to resist the growing strength of sharecroppers the absentee landowners are selling their land out of all proportion.

A brief description of the nature and magnitude of the sharecroppers’ struggle in Madhubani provided above gives a good account of the popularity and effectiveness of this form of peasant mobilization. The number of persons killed and prosecuted and of the bataidari cases instituted in law courts, of mass arrests, massive demonstrations and FIRs lodged, of satyagrah and processions organized and of much other similar protest amply suggest the mass appeal of the struggle. Moreover, the concern displayed by the politicians and administrators alike further suggests the vigour and tenacity gained by the bataidars in course of this struggle.

However, a more fundamental issue stems out of its underlying goals and objectives. Is it a general struggle of the sharecroppers against rapacious landowners for immediate gains or a deeper movement sweeping the life of the peasantry as a whole? How revolutionary are the aims of the struggle? The mobilization has primarily been within the established legal framework and it has hardly attempted a wholesale demolition of the iniquitous system, which does not only perpetuate exploitation but facilitates social oppression as well. The strategy adopted had been planned and executed mainly in terms of immediate local gains. Naturally, the struggle gained and lost momentum as the pressure of organized effects increased or decreased. From this angle, the sharecroppers protest has partly achieved its immediate goals. But if the wider transformation of the agrarian structure in favour of the poor peasants is a primary objective of any peasant movement, the Madhubani bataidari struggle has fallen far short of the expectation.

IV

Since the challenge of Naxalbari in West Bengal, signs of Naxalism began to appear even in Bihar. Raj Kishore Singh was the first person in this domain who initiated struggle against the landowners in Musahari area of Muzaffarpur district in north Bihar. But this struggle of late 60s was short-lived and hardly made any significant impact on the agrarian scenario of the region. However, the
ideas of militant peasant mobilization subsequently crossed the Ganges and travelled to Sahar area of Bhojpur district which remained in the limelight for about a decade starting from almost the same period in 1967-68, and Jagdish Mahto, popularly known as Jagdish Master (teacher) from village Ekbari become one of the early founders of Naxalite movement in Bihar.

The movement in Bhojpur was primarily confined to some selected areas and gained momentum under a new leadership that emerged from within the existing socio-economic structure. A significant development on this front was the emergence of local cardres who were recruited mainly from among the socially deprived castes. Naturally, fresh agrarian issues were raised and new strategy was adopted under the guiding ideology of Marx-Lenin Mao tse – Tung thoughts. The then prevailing situation in Bhojpur has aptly been described in these words:

*Heroic guerrilla actions of the vanguard against notorious landlord, combined with attempts at developing revolutionary committees to mobilize the masses for seizing land and crops provided a militant mass character to the movement right from the beginning and Bhojpuri created a niche for itself in the history of peasant movements in modern India (CPI (ML) 1986:26).*

This phase of the Bhojpur struggle was completely underground and emphasized mainly on armed struggle against landlords and their supporters. It involved attacks on police-posts to seize arms and ammunition. A journalist had described the growing influence of the movement in these works:

*According to police records, the Naxalite movement has taken into its tight fold as many as 150 villages spread over 9 of the 16 blocks of Bhojpur district. In one block, Sahar, the entire population of poor peasants and labourers is believed to have joined the movement. The number of villages strongly held by Naxalite thana wise was thus given in a statement prepared by the district police superintendent on July 10, 1975: Sahar-39, Sandesh-29, Piro-23, Tarari -15, jagdishpur-6, nawanagar-6, Udhwantnagar-6, and Berhampur-5 (These 8 than cover 6 blocks). But such mapping could only be technically correct, for the police superintendent said 90 percent of the landless peasants (Harijans) of the district are sympathizers or activists of the Naxalite movement (Sinha 1978: 27).*

The movement, however, suffered serious setbacks by 1976 due to heavy police pressure and organized counter resistance of landlords. A substantial change also took place in patterns of leadership because most of the first group of leaders were either killed in police encounter or were languishing in the jails. The movement scenario thus went through considerable transformation as a result of shifting
ideological positions accompanied by splits and disintegration among the group involved in the struggle. Nevertheless, the movement instilled a new consciousness among the poor peasants, sharecroppers and agricultural labourers.

Thereafter, the scene of peasant activism shifted from Bhojpuri to the neighbouring districts of Patna, Nalanda and Jehanabad. Numerous violent clashes reported from these areas sent immediate signals with regard to the changing rural scene. Although it is not easy to systematically analyze the objectives, organizational structure and stages of the peasant mobilization in Patna-Jehanabad belt primarily because of the confusion created by ideological divisions among the people involved in the struggle but its directions and trends may be highlighted on the bases of information collected from the field reports and some other published materials.

Initially, the central Bihar experienced the upheaval during 1977-80 but the geographical coverage gradually expanded to some other parts of Bihar as well. Unlike Bhojpur, the struggle here started with underground, in Patna the CPI (ML) Liberation adopted a double tactics. It started operating both at the levels of over ground mass organization and underground armed units. Several mass organizations under the name of Kisan Sangha, Sangha, Sangharsha Samitis, Jan Kalyan Samitis etc. started ventilating the grievances of peasants through dharnas, demonstrations, rallies, meetings and so on. On this front the formation of the Bihar Pradesh Kisan Sabha on 23 February 1981 was significant development as it launched comprehensive programme and co-ordinated its activities by becoming an important constituent of the Indian Peoples Front.

According to its own submission and assessment the peasant struggle guided by the CPI (ML) Liberation ‘brought to the fore miraculous potentialities inherent in the organized strength of the rural poor’. The upsurge in Patna belt mainly centered on:

- Smashing the control of the landlords over village properties (tanks, common land, etc.) and bringing them under the control of the village people;
- Wage-increase;
- Seizure of vested land held illegally by the landlords;
- Smashing feudal social oppression;
Curbing social evils like theft and dacoity;
Curbing oppression of women, specially harijan women;
Smashing armed gangs of the landlords, and
Resisting police atrocities [CPI (ML) 1986:61].

With these objectives in view, the struggle adopted several programmes that included both institutional and non-institutional means. The Liberation document highlights the main forms of struggle in these words:

Demonstrations, mass meetings, gheraos, strikes, masses in their hundreds and thousands encircling thanas (police stations) and forcing the authorities to release their arrested comrades, snatching firearms from the landlords’ armed gangs and from tyrant landlords themselves as well as from the police – these were the main forms of struggle through which the peasants vented their ire (ibid: 61).

The network of village committees, which have been constituted to act as nerve centres for peasant activities, has adequately supplemented the militancy of the movement. These centres are not only vanguards of the struggle but have also emerged as local armed squads operating within the interior boundary of the regular-armed units. Some such centres identified by the ideologues themselves are (ibid. 62):

a) Sikandarpur-Lahsuna (Poonpoon-Naubatpur-Masaurhi border belt of Patna district).
b) Narhi-Pirhi (northern part of Bikram black bordering Pali and Naubatpur block in Patna district).
c) Baruha (Nawanagar – Brahmapur – Jagdishpur border belt in Bhojpur district).
d) Masarh (the belt bordering Hilsa and Ekangarsarai blocks of Nalanda, Ghosi block of Gaya and Dhanarua block of Patna) and
e) Kaithi (Obra – Daudnagar – Hanspura border belt in Aurangabad district).

An outline of some major features of the peasant struggle launched by the Liberation group in central Bihar shows that it is not only a new initiative based on a distinct ideological position but it has also linked certain socio-cultural issues to the basic peasant movement. Feudal social oppression, social evil such as theft and dacoity and oppression of harijan women are some such issues on
which the struggle has kept its attention. Thus both economic exploitation and social oppression have been made integral parts of the peasant mobilization.

Secondly, the mobilization of the peasantry along class lines is its accepted strategy but while analyzing the reality at the grassroots the resisting role of caste sentiment has not been ignored. Consequently, class-caste dimension is considered one of the most striking features of this ongoing peasant movement.

Thirdly, deviating substantially from the earlier underground approach of several Maoist groups, the CPI (ML) Liberation has effectively linked its credentials in the resistance movement against landlords’ attacks, in struggle for democratic rights and in demonstrations and rallies on general demands of the poor peasantry.

Finally, adopting a new path the movement has attempted to establish agrarian labourers’ and poor peasants’ hegemony over the peasant leadership and organization. It has provided the vanguard role to these classes and has strongly contested the popular notion in the history of peasant movement that burdened with semi-feudal bondage, these classes cannot play a revolutionary role in agrarian struggle. Such a role is normally assigned to the middle peasants as they are considered the most volatile, revolutionary and dynamic force in the rural social order.

V

Now, we set out to examine the ways in which the agrarian question has been approached through what is called the ‘peaceful class struggle’. The land struggle in Bodh Gaya claims to have demolished the socio-economic authority of the local Mahantha, the owner of the largest religious estate in Bihar. The victory of the struggle was announced in a conference held at Lakhaipur (Gaya) during 25-27 October 1987 and its achievements were highlighted through the Lakhaipur-Patna march during the same period. The organizers claim an unprecedented success in Bodh Gaya both in terms of concrete gains and awareness building. In almost a nine-year journey during 1978-87 the movement raised not only some crucial issues involved in the strategy of peasant struggle but also proved the strength and usefulness of the ‘peaceful class struggle’ as an ideology of peasant mobilization and social change.
The Chhatra Yuva Sangharsha Vahini launched the struggle on 8th April 1978 against the illegal control of land by the Bodh Gaya Math. In a state level rally at Bodh Gaya on this day the Vahini resolved to liberate the Math land through a sustained movement. The ideas and inspiration of Jayaprakash Narayan provided the ideological framework for this youth organization which was founded by him in mid – 70s.

The situation in the district of Gaya of which Bodh Gaya forms an important part is not essentially different from other districts of Bihar with regard to the nature of land ownership and control. However, the presence of powerful religio-feudal establishment like Bodh-Gaya Math has added a peculiar feature to the structure of agrarian relations in this part of the State. It has not only perpetuated an iniquitous pattern of land control but has maintained ‘chains of servitude and bondage’ through its socio – religious authority. The control of Math over more than 18,000 acres of land spread over several hundred villages and Revenue circles located in 11 districts has deprived a large number of rural poor from ownership rights. Even the government has no authentic records of these holdings. They are mostly controlled by the fictitious religious trusts and powerful individuals organically linked with the Math. A substantial portion of land has also been kept under the illegal occupation in the name of charitable and religious functions.

The struggle launched by the Vahini challenged the traditional socio-religious authority of the Math and demanded immediate distribution of its land among the rightful tillers. The mobilization was initiated from among the sharecroppers, landless labourers and poor peasants who were tilling math’s land for a considerable period of time. The Vahini activists comprising mainly local sharecroppers and labourers formed a new organization known as the Mazdoor Kisan Samiti. The Samiti assumed the leadership role and the Vahini just remained the guiding force of the struggle.

Within a year the struggle spread over to about 40 villages where the labourers and bataidars started non-cooperation and satyagrah on the math land. By 1979, complete strike was observed by the labourers in 52 villages of four anchals where the land was located. When on 8th August 1979 the Mahanth attempted to plough the land with the help of outside labourers in village masseur (only 1Km. away from the famous Mahabodhi temple), the labourers squatted peacefully and offered satyagrah before the ploughing team. But the Math management, in
order to terrorize the poor labourers, fired shots killing Ramdeo Manjhi and Panchu Manjhi on the spot. Several labourers were also seriously injured in the incident. The movement responded vigorously against this attack by intensifying land satyagrah in more and more villages. The situation in Bodh Gaya took a serious turn and the then Janta government of Bihar headed by Ram sunder Das had to take cognizance of the changing scenario in the region. A Committee under the Chairmanship of Narsingh Narayan Singh, a Sarvodaya leader was appointed by the government with Radha Raman, Keshav Mishra, Gita Prasad Singh, Bashista Narayan Singh and K.B. Saxena as its members. While Saxena was its Member-Secretary, two other youth representatives, Anil Prakash and Surya Narayan were nominated as special invitees. The Committee submitted its report on 8th October 1980 to the government but it was never officially released despite the repeated demands of the people from different walks of life.

Besides providing 13 main recommendations, the Committee reviewed the prevailing situation of the region. One of its significant apprehensions was that the Mahanth could forcibly attempt to harvest the crop sown by the harijan labourers on 200 acres of farzi and benami land of the Math. It suggested the government to instruct the local administration to provide police protection and arrange smooth harvesting by the labourers treating them as raiyats/dar raiyats (tenants/sub-tenants) in accordance with the Bihar Kashtakari Adhiniyam (Bihar Tenancy Act). The Committee further said that the Bodh Gaya Mahanth owned landed property in 188 villages out of which it could locate only 9576 acres of land in 138 villages. It felt very embarrassed to note that the district administration had conspicuously avoided locating Math’s farzi and benami land. The administration had not even tried to maintain proper and authentic records of holdings under the control of the Math.

During the same period in 1980, the struggle took a militant turn. The labourers did not permit the Mahanth to cultivate farzi and benami lands in four anchals – Bodh Gaya, Barachatti, Sherghati and Mohanpur. On the other hand, the labourers themselves took control of about 6000 acres of Mahanth’s land. However they could not fully utilize the land for want of seeds, ploughs, fertilizers and other essential resources. Even then they cultivated about 2000 acres in which they sowed paddy and lentil. As the area is drought prone and lacks irrigational facilities, the crops in at least seven to eight hundred acres were completely destroyed. When the standing crops on the remaining 1200 acres
were almost ready for harvesting, the Mahanth who had earlier withdrawn from the fields at the time of sowing appeared for harvesting with full police protection. The jawans of the Bihar military police were deployed in almost all the villages where the Math owned land. Thus the labourers could harvest the crop of only about 300 acres out of 2000 acres which they had sown. The villagers of Piparghatti, Koosha, Beeja, Jairampur, Laxmipur and Mauni thwarted all attempts of the Math to loot their crops. The local police and administration openly sided with the Mahanth and they virtually looted the crops of the labourers. Despite the pressure from the police, the labourers and sharecroppers could liberate about 6000 acres of the Math land.

By 1981, the Math started loosing control over its large number of Kachaharies. In fact, the latter were symbols of economic exploitation and social oppression and had always been eyesore to the poor of the area. All the workers and agents of the Math left these Kachaharies which had by then turned into police camps. While strikes and satyagrah shook the economic foundation of the Math, the end of Kachaharies destroyed its administrative and social authority.

The movement was not centered only on agrarian grievances but it campaigned against social evils as well. Beating of women, child marriage, practice of keeping concubine, use of alcohol, all these issues formed integral parts of the struggle. It was claimed that such a blending of agrarian and social issues provided stronger base for sustained mobilization. The active participation and involvement of women in action programmes was made possible due to awareness building at the local level. The class organization became stronger because of growing consciousness among women.

Though 6000 acres of land were liberated through the pressure created by the movement, hardly 2800 acres were actually acquired for distribution among the landless labourers. Out of this, only 91 acres were actually distributed among 192 families in Goshainpeshra village on 31st October 1981 and another 300 acres were kept under the government control. Subsequently, 140 acres were distributed in Kusha-Beeja and Piparghatti. However, the people at Piparghatti raised an interesting issue at this stage when the local administration decided to distribute land. As per the established practice, the land was to be settled only in the name of male members of the family. But the activists of the movement questioned this practice. They demanded settlement of land even in the name of
female members, which was refused by the officials. Though it caused some delay in the distribution of land but ultimately the administration had to concede to the demand.

The Math faced an adverse situation from the judiciary as well. The Patna High court had declared 17 religious trusts of the Math as fictitious but the Mahanth challenged this decision in the Supreme Court. However, the latter rejected this appeal and upheld the decision of the High Court. Under this decision, 1102 acres of trust’s land and 2576 acres of land under the Land Ceiling Act were to be acquired for distribution among the landless. It further eroded the economic authority of the Math and a large number of murias (priests) and other persons working for the Math had to leave in search of some jobs elsewhere.

The activists, supporters and sympathizers of the movement faced heavy police repression and violent opposition of the Math, despite the fact that the struggle adopted the peaceful path of mobilization not as a tactics but as an ideology. All the programmes were operationalized keeping this basic frame in view. But the response of the established agents of power and authority was not different from the one that was experienced in the context of movement subscribing to the ideology of armed struggle. The law and order machinery opened fire on several occasions and implicated about 1300 persons in more than 150 police cases. The front rank leaders and activists were kept in jails and the local courts convicted nine of them. However, even in this respect, the Bodh Gaya activists claimed that their peaceful style of work neutralized the violent opposition of the Math repression of the police.

VI

Throughout the foregoing discussion, our primary objective has been to examine three cases of peasant mobilization, which have been launched within the framework of three different ideological positions. The articulation of grievances and the structure of leadership have also been looked into. It is appropriate now to compare the features of these movements in order to identify broader issues involved in agrarian movements.

There is a substantial agreement that peasant changes have preceded it. The nature of circumstances provides the objective conditions which facilitate emergence of a movement. In the present case, all the three movements are the
products of outmoded agrarian structure. Iniquitous patterns of ownership, age-old practice of sharecropping and exploitative rates of wages have been inherent characteristics of agrarian relations in almost all regions of Bihar. These issues coupled with social oppression perpetrated by the caste system have created a location for movements. Under the circumstances, the mobilization of poor segments of agrarian population has been relatively easier and convenient. Though some local differences in agrarian situation are found in different parts of Bihar, they are not of substantive nature that can produce essentially different results.

It is apparent from the articulation of agrarian grievances that all the major demands raised by these movements are of long standing nature. The claims of Madhubani bataidars, demand of wage-increase in Patna belt and the distribution of benami land insisted by the Bodh Gaya peasants- all these issues have emerged out of the exploitative agrarian structure. Under such historical conditions, these movements have appealed mainly to the poor and oppressed strata of agrarian society. Nevertheless, some differences are found between Madhubani and Patna-Bodh Gaya situations in this regard. While the class base of movements in Patna and Bodh Gaya is primarily the lowest stratum of agrarian hierarchy, it is not so distinct in Madhubani. It is a crucial issue because the role and orientation of different agrarian classes determine the very character of a peasant movement. The nature and extent of involvement of these classes also influence its perseverance and standing. Accordingly, dissimilarities found among the movements currently under review are essentially due to the difference in their class base.

Another important facilitating element in a peasant movement is leadership and organization. No collective mobilization is possible without some kind of organized leadership. But a question, which is raised in this context is, who are heavily represented in the leadership? The representation of middle peasants, under middle class intellectuals and politicians has been commonly found in the leadership of various historical peasant movements. Thus in majority of cases, it is the outside elements that guide and provide direction to such movements. Naturally, the question whether the peasantry can produce its own leadership assumes significance in this context. In the case of Madhubani, the CPI leadership has played the key role in the bataidari struggle and so has been the role of the CPI (ML) Liberation in Patna-Jehanabad belt. However, in the cases of the
latter, more and more and more local level cadres have assumed leadership role in various action programmes. In this domain, the Bodh Gaya peasants have raised a different slogan from the beginning of the struggle. They have taken a completely different and well-defined stand expressed in the slogan *sangharsha jiska, netritva uska* (those who fight should provide leadership). Thus mobilization of poor peasants has been achieved horizontally. They have never looked towards ‘outsiders’ for day to day guidance and advice for sustaining the movement. Initially, the *Vahini* activists, no doubt, raised the issue, mobilized the poor peasants, organized them but once the movement assumed a shape, they withdrew from the leadership role by handing it over to the people concerned.

The goals of a movement are connected with a broader view of society. But all movements may not pursue their goals in the same direction. Similarly, they may also adopt different long-term and short-term strategies to achieve their goals. What is being emphasized here is that the breadth and depth of goals give identity to the movements. Following this, it is possible to see that while the Madhubani struggle has mainly concentrated in legal battle against the landowners, the Bodh Gaya movement has moved slightly further by challenging both the social and economic authority of the *Math*. The attempt of the Liberation in the present context has been to challenge the basic iniquities and exploitation of the system as a whole. However, all these movements have also highlighted immediate economic gains.

Issues very similar to these are the linkages that have been established between social oppression and agrarian grievances. Except Madhubani, other two struggles have successfully integrated these issues to make their fights broad and comprehensive. In a more general sense, there is a clear departure from the traditional peasant struggles that primarily put emphasis on immediate economic gains. Both the Bodh Gaya and Patna struggles have tirelessly fought also against the rampant social oppression faced by the poor peasants and landless agricultural labourers. As social oppression and economic exploitation are intertwined, it is natural that the issues of social dignity and caste atrocities have been combined with anti-landlord struggle. It is in this respect that central Bihar Movements have marched ahead of the Madhubani struggle.
Notes

1. The earlier draft of this paper was presented at the A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna, I am thankful to the participants for their fruitful comments at the Seminar the helped me to revise the paper for publication.

2. For details, see Sengupta 1982.

3. For a detailed account of the background and the nature of the struggle of bataidars during 1967-75 launched by the CPI in Madhubani district, see Karna 1981; for purnia region Sengupta 1986.

4. Iyer and Maharaj (1986) highlight that the nature and extent of movement among the Chotanagpur tribals during the contemporary period have been substantially different from that of the earlier tribal movements.

5. There are several studies of these struggles both by the professional social scientists and political activists. For example see Mukherjee and ManjuKala 1979; ManjuKala et al. 1986; CP (ML) 1986; Prasad 1974; Gupta 1994.

6. Most of the information in this section in based on my earlier study mentioned above.

7. Interview with Shri Bhogendra Jha, the then CPI member of Lok Sabha representing Madhubani constituency, New Delhi, 9 April 1976.


9. Interview with B. Jha, New Delhi, 10 April 1976.


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From Feudalism to Democracy: Emergence of New Power Elite in Rajasthan

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Abstract: The paper traces the emergence of new Power Elite in Rajasthan discussing the shift from feudalism to democracy. It takes up the study of Sikar district to analyze the Jat/Rajput caste equation and discusses how the dynamics of power politics functions in India as well as in Rajasthan.

Key words: Caste, class, politics, mobilization

The major aspects relating to the study of politics in India refer to resilience, dimensionalism, structural changes, nexus between caste, class and power, the role of ideology, and socio-economic transformation in power politics. Resilience is defined as a process of adjustment of the traditional institutions like caste, religion, and family with modern forces of change including political innovations and initiatives. But never the process of modernization has never been smooth. Since the interaction of modern and traditional institutions have resulted in contradictions. This has persisted in one form or other along with reciprocal adjustment.

Early studies of Indian politics by Kothari, Morris Jones, Philip Mason, and Rudolph and Rudolph¹ in particular have highlighted caste resilience vis-a-vis constitutional provisions, adult franchise, and reservations. However, some other studies conducted more or less at the same time in the late 1960’s and the 1970’s emphasize more on the dimensions of Indian society such as caste, class, and power (politics) rather than on reciprocal resilience of the traditional and modern institutions. Andre Beteille, P.C. Aggarwal and Anil Bhatt² have studied caste, class, power and religion as distinct aspects analytically, but in relation to each other. Despite being different dimensions of Indian society, these are intrinsically interrelated. Though these aspects are unreducible, yet they are inseparable in a given social formation. In both, the resilience and the dimensional perspectives,

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emphasis on functionalism is at writ large. Uncovering of the apparent or the real contradictions and antagonisms remains an unrealised charter.

The Indian Constitution in general and some of its provisions in particular are instruments of structural changes in the Indian society. When basic relations relating to control of property, assets, land, opportunities, and movement and mobility alter a given society, then it witnesses an upside down situation as it threatens the established social order and paves a way for a new one. Studies of the abolition of the zamindari and the jagirdari systems of land tenure, adult franchise, caste-based majoritarian mobilizations, assertion of social and ethnic identities, demands for egalitarian treatment, women’s quest for equality etc. are some of the factors and forces inducing structural changes.

Emphasis on the rights of the weaker sections, women, rural poor, industrial workers, slum-dwellers and the oppressed people calls for a structural perspective of study and analysis of the Indian society as reflected in the writings of Bipan Chandra, Gail Omvedt, Charles Bettelheim, Randhir Singh, C.P. Bhambhri, Moin Shakir and many others.

Structural Changes and Power Elite

What bothered us was the singularistic bias in the study of politics, eulogizing caste or class or ethnicity or religion as the sole factor determining particularly the electoral politics. Srinivas, Kothari and Rudolphs look at the phenomenon of dominance and power from the caste point of view. Such a view is not acceptable to the Marxist scholars like Desai, Bettelheim, Bhambhri, Shakir and Randhir Singh, and the ideologues like E.M.S. Namboodiripad, T.B. Randive and A.K. Roy. The latter lately realized that caste was so deeply entrenched into India’s social fabric that it had to be acknowledged as a stark reality to have a fruitful class analysis of the Indian society.

Specific studies of development and change in the countryside relating to green revolution, irrigation, electrification, means of transport and communication, education, migration and mobility etc. bring out the impact of these factors on social structure and politics. Emergence of the principal peasant castes at the centre stage of power politics, competition for power between the established and the emerging leaders initially, and between the newly established leaders
from among the middle castes later on, intra-caste and inter-caste rivalries and factionalism have been enlisted as the major trends in power politics. The emergent groups and families characterize a change in caste-class-power nexus incorporating middle-level peasant castes, agriculturally produced economic prosperity and assets, and control of political and public offices replacing the upper castes who thrived on culturally produced wealth and domination. Such a scenario is pronounced more at the district, block, and village levels but echoing effect is not completely absent at the state-level politics. However, its clear manifestation at the national level is yet to be seen, though unsuccessful attempts to implant such a model were made by the late Chaudhary Charan Singh and Chaudhary Devi Lal.

Factionalism has structural as well as processual aspects as it refers to distribution and control of resources and opportunities and a heightened sense of socio-political consciousness among the emerging leaders to assert competitiveness, identity, and equality. Factions are formed or deformed for the sake of power and prestige. Roles performed by communities, families, and individuals become inputs in the formation of factions. Despite their distinctiveness, these entities are found as interrelated phenomena in the structuring and functioning of factions particularly at the district and other lower levels. A caste or a community is present in a faction in terms of its informal membership and perceptive realization, but power accruing from the strength of a faction is not uniformly shared by individual members and their families. Power shared by an involved community can be realized only as a sum total of the power extracted by its members. Power and prestige derived from factional alignments are reflected very often in personal and social gratifications, and it is used as a resource to further status and prestige by individuals and families. Criticism and rivalry from those who remain deprived or least benefited in the process of distribution of resources and opportunities are quite natural corollary of such an inegalitarian system. The main bothering questions are: Who are being empowered and who have become de-empowered since independence? What power really means to the gainers and losers in the society? What are the sources and locale of power? How people exercise and demonstrate power? What is the modus operandi for political and factional mobilization? Is power and influence of leaders and elites confined to their respective factions or they have a wider appeal beyond factional divides?
A comprehensive review of conceptual issues and approaches to the study of power elite provides a backdrop for an interdisciplinary understanding of caste-class nexus and political power at the district level. Multi-layered political institutions and processes become the focal point of historical and contextual analysis of the present-day political situation in Sikar district of Rajasthan. Before presenting our salient conclusions it may be desirable to offer a comment on some recent studies on Rajasthan.

Iqbal Narain and P.C. Mathur, at the outset, in a comprehensive essay on Rajasthan put forth the question;

*what is the pattern of dominance in the political governance of this state and to what extent can it be regarded as being different from other states of the country? (Narain, Iqbal and Mathur, P.C., 1990)*

In the para following this question Narain and Mathur respond:

“Our answer to the question refers back to the basic premise that history and ecology have bequeathed a distinctive pattern of socio-economic and socio-political life to the people of Rajasthan, which makes it very difficult to apply Brahmanical models of dominance to the region” (ibid : 3).

Further, Narain and Mathur observe that the socio-economic patterns of dominance and development in Rajasthan have been determined by its own political history, ecological handicaps, and socio-cultural values which have shown a remarkable continuity for nearly a thousand years (ibid : 3). The authors have quoted their own writings in support of the above argument apparently offering a definitive answer. They have also marshalled eclectically bits of information from historical sources of pre-independence and the pre-British periods and from the post-independence documents and records. Glamorization of Rajputana and Rajput polity by James Tod had a colonial mandate given to him by the Raj. The weak spots of this classical work have unfortunately become the focal points of some of the recent writings on Rajasthan including the one by Narain and Mathur.

Our study of Sikar district shows that today there is no correspondence between Rajasthan’s pre-independence history, social organization, culture, and economic development, and the formation and composition of the present power elite. The emergence of the Jats and some other middle castes as politically
dominant entities mark the beginning of a partial break in the continuity of tradition in the post-independence era. It is a partial break because the Jats were a principal agricultural caste before independence and were always at loggerheads with the upper castes in general and the ruling Rajputs in particular. Social and political hegemony of the Rajputs has been mystified by Tod, Rudolphs, and Narain and Mathur (Rudolphs, 1984, op.cit; Narain and Mathur, 1990, op.cit.). Besides Rajputs, Jats, Brahmins, Chamars, Bhils, Bhatas, Lohars, Jains, Banias, and Muslims were other main segments of society in Rajasthan (Census of India, 1931).

Caste/Community and Political Mobilization

The Jat-Rajput rivalry particularly in the north-west Rajasthan and the Shekhawati region has no parallel elsewhere in the state. Before independence such a rivalry implied opposition to the autocratic Rajput role and the oppression by the Rajput rulers of their principal agricultural castes. Such systematically originated rivalries and conflicts have their symbolic effects on the political situation in the post-independence era. The Rajputs kept themselves away from the Congress party after independence, and they hated the Praja Mandals and the Kisan Sabhas before independence. At the same time those who were aligned with the Congress Party prior to independence did not like the entry of Rajput leaders into the party. The Rajputs in general treated the Congress as an anti-Rajput organization. Hence, their natural preference was for the Ram Rajya Parishad (RRP) and Jan Sangh immediately after India’s independence. Some social segments which worked in close association with the Rajput rulers also aligned with them politically by joining these parties. The Swatantra Party was more or less a congregation of politically influential Rajputs under the leadership of Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur.

Depressed socio-economic status and political standing became a source of strength for the Jats to translate their numerical preponderance into a superior and effective political power vis-a-vis other castes and groups. Caste-based mobilization among the Jats remains unparalleled in all other castes. Immediately after independence the Jats began to extract economic mileage from land reforms, and after consolidating the gains, started appropriation of adult franchise to their fullest advantage. Panchayati Raj and developmental programmes provided an
opportunity to the principal agricultural castes for exercise and manifestation of their united efforts to challenge the persisting, though weak, elements of the traditional power hierarchy in the late 1950’s and the 1960’s. A couple of Jat leaders like Har Lal Singh, Kumbha Ram Arya, Nathu Ram Mirdha, and Ram Niwas Mirdha were acknowledged leaders of their community in the state in the 1950’s and 1960’s. They not only occupied high offices in the Congress and other political parties, but also aspired for the chief ministership of the state. These leaders represent the Jats more than their respective political parties. This is not quite true about the political leaders from among Brahmins, Rajputs and Banias.

Intense caste-based political mobilization as found among the Jats is not witnessed among other castes including the Rajputs. Bhairon Singh Shekhawat is the only Rajput who has occupied the office of the Chief Minister, and that too thrice during the past two decades. There is no other leader from among the Rajputs having a state-level standing, credibility, and acceptability. Shekhawat is more a Jan Sangh/BJP leader than a Rajput leader. Rajputs could never muster courage like their arch rivals Jats, to mobilize themselves socially and politically. Several factors could be attributed to their weak political position. Withdrawal of powers and privileges after independence, abolition of the jagirdari system, introduction of adult franchise and PRIs, and developmental programmes have given a severe jolt to the Rajputs as a community who enjoyed unbridled power and dominance. The process of downward mobility initiated by the Indian State demoralized Rajputs socially, morally, and politically. They could never regain their lost moral and social zeal.

The pre-independence period witnessed political tensions as reflected in the studies of peasant movements and struggles against feudalism. Immediately after independence, legislations to bring about land reforms generated tensions, litigations, and violence between the adversely affected landed interests and the benefiting peasantry. The Bhooswami Andolan led by Thakur Madan Singh Danta is a solid testimony to the then prevailing situation. However, due to nationalistic and democratic zeal in the country as a whole and social contempt for the atrocious Rajput rulers in Rajasthan in particular Rajput rulers and other landed interests were kept away from power-politics. Thus, a break signifies in the case of Rajputs
and their allies, whereas a process of active mobilization and assertion characterizes the main agricultural castes.

Narain and Mathur observe that;

*they (Rajputs) have continued to play a dominant role in the political life of Rajasthan even after the distinct political identity of the princely states was abolished* (Narain and Mathur, P.C. 1990, op. cit.).

The Congress government at the centre also tried to appease and rehabilitate the princes and jagirdars by offering them positions like Raj Pramukh, Maharaj Pramukh, and diplomatic assignments to keep under check their disappointments and frustrations. However, to admit this policy as a ‘political role’ played by Rajputs – is a distortion of reality. None of the princes with the exception of Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur and Maharaja Harish Chandra of Jhalawar could stay in politics for a considerable period of time. Bhairon Singh Shekhawat was a Bhomia (a small landholder in a jagir), and has stayed in politics not as a Rajput prince/jagirdar/bhomia, but as a time-tested worker and leader of the Jan Sangh/BJP. The political developments after independence thus do not testify continuity of the Rajput domination in Rajasthan. The question whether Hira Lal Shastri, Jai Narain Vyas, Tika Ram Paliwal, M.L. Sukhadia, Hari Deo Joshi, Barkatullah Khan, Shiv Charan Mathur, Hira Lal Deopura, etc., symbolize the continuity of Rajput domination in Rajasthan has a clear answer of No, because all of them opposed the princely order.

The other observations made by Narain and Mathur are even more unrealistic and conjectural. These are: The Rajput domination ensured ‘regional segmentation’ which resulted into ‘a type of secularization of politics and society’ unknown in other parts of India, where Brahmanical values envelop the minds of elite and masses alike. It is because of this the people of Rajasthan did not look up to the Brahmans as cultural models. The Rajput lifestyles dominated the people of all other castes (ibid : 16-25). In support of these observations trivial facts and episodes have been extracted from not-so-significant sources. Details about peasant uprisings, movements, resistance to social and cultural oppressions, contemptuous feelings for Rajputs, imitation of ‘Singh’ as surname to lower down their name and fame – are some of the vital social realities, which have not attracted the attention of Narain and Mathur. The Rajput rule is full of accounts of inhuman
treatment meted out to the people. It crushed the voices of dissent and just expression.

Another observation that the Rajputs evolved their own ‘ritual norms’ which were imitated by other people is also not factually correct. Brahmins were at the top of priestly order. Some Rajputs, while following Brahmanic lifestyles, adopted vegetarianism and teetotalism. On the contrary, the Rajputs were generally perceived as idiotic, quarrelsome, primitive, barbaric, alcoholic, and un-Brahmanic in food habits. In certain respects, even the Banias were considered culturally superior to the Rajputs, as they did not indulge in any of these ‘vices’. The vices and image distortion caused by the withdrawal of power and privileges relegated the princes and jagirdars to the background in the electoral politics. Brahmins and Banias were also affected by the emergence of the Jats in politics, but they were quick in reconsolidation of their hold on professions, trade and industry. Representation of the Jats and other peasant castes is minimal in these domains.

Finally, the observation that a multi-caste base has added an element of secularizations to the political process in Rajasthan (ibid : 18) underestimates the socio-cultural divides and conflicts in the state. To rule out ‘class analysis’ in a feudal state like Rajasthan where social relations were mainly seen in terms of the oppressor and the oppressed speaks of ideological preference of Narain and Mathur for a caste view of society in Rajasthan. Plurality of castes or a plurality of elite do not make a society secular, broad-based, and democratic. India remains a caste-based society, antithetical to democratic ethos and practices in social and political life. However, secularization has taken roots in the Indian society due to the very process of democratization, distributive justice and socio-political awakening.

One finds a community-oriented analysis of power elite in the studies conducted by the Rudolphs, and Narain and Mathur. Rajputs were a phenomenon and not a systematic force. Even if a lower caste would have been enthroned like Rajput as rulers, it would have acquired the status of a governing elite, but without becoming necessarily the ‘cultural models’ for superior castes. Leaders like Jamnalal Bajaj, Jai Narain Vyas, Hiralal Shastri, Haribhau Upadhyay, Ladu Raj Joshi, Bhogilal Pandya, Manikya Lal Verma, Master Bhola Nath, and a host of other leaders including Vijay Singh Pathik, Ram Narain Chaudhary, Kesari Singh
Barhet and Arjun Lal Sethi were the role models for the people. It is evident from this short list that elites were recruited from among the Brahmins, Rajputs, Vaishyas, Kayasthas and Jats to organize active opposition to the feudal system and its connivance with the British rule. Some of these leaders were teachers, lawyers, and other professionals.

Secularization and de-parochialization of polity, economy, and society were demanded by the popular leaders, but it was resisted and suppressed with an iron hand by the princes and the jagirdars. The Bijolia movement in Mewar and the peasant agitation in the Shekhawati region were glaring examples of opposition to the autocratic rule of the princes. The non-dwij castes were subjected to inhuman restrictions including a ban on taking marriage processions on horse-back, wearing of certain ornaments, etc. Thus, to attribute Rajput rule as a vehicle of cultural pluralism is a hoax and not a fact of social life.

No doubt, the Kshatriyas being rulers were superior to Brahmins and Vaishyas politically, but the Brahmins enjoyed socio-cultural superiority over the Rajputs and Banias, because at no point of time these groups could deprive the Brahmins from presiding over the religious and ritual functions. Even the poorest of the poor and illiterate Brahmins enjoyed cultural superiority over the Rajputs and Banias in the Shekhawati regions. On the contrary, the Rajput lifestyle was always considered unsanskritic and un-Brahmanic, hence it was disliked and distanced not only by Brahmins, but also by Banias and other non-dwij castes who had a preference for Brahmanic lifestyle and priestly canons. The Brahmins performed the function of ‘prescriptions’ for Rajputs and other castes, though it was not always carried out by these groups.

The pre-independent Rajasthan could be characterized by exploitation, class antagonism, conflict, and alienation. ‘Social divides’ among the people clearly reflected these features. Rudolphs and Narain and Mathur have undermined these features in their analyses of the feudal system in Rajasthan. The emergence of the oppressed Jat peasantry at the centre stage of power politics and the decline of the Rajput Raj and the virtual disappearance of Rajputs from political scene clearly indicate the ushering in of the processes of structural change and equalization in Rajasthan.
Socio-Political Alliances and Power Elite

The present-day political situation has two main features: (1) society in Rajasthan is faction-ridden, and factionalism is not independent of ideology and interests of the faction leaders and their followers; and (2) there are no clear-cut cleavages and divides between the traditional and the modern elites and leaders. Factionalism may be generic to the social composition of a given district, block or village, but at the same time very often factions in a local situation also reflect factionalism prevalent at the state level. Thus, factionalism reflects caste divides, antagonisms among the key influentials, and political divisions at the state-level power politics.

It is rare to find the Jats and Rajputs within the same faction or even in the same political party. Thus, caste and party alignments at times coincide in relation to factionalism. Rural Rajasthan, despite social and factional divides, has changed faster because of effective abolition of the jagirdari system. Its tangible consequences are observed in ‘downward social mobility’ of the Rajput landlords and their allies and the upward social mobility of the erstwhile depressed peasantry, artisans and manual workers (Sharma, K.L., 1980). From the 1960 onwards one feels that social change is so paramount that a continuity between Rajasthan’s feudal past and the present situation is more of a myth than a reality. Today, traces of ‘feudalistic forms’ are untraceable in socio-economic and political life of the people in Rajasthan. In fact, people generally ridicule the Rajputs on account of their ‘proletarianized’ status, and in several cases even for being ‘pauperized’. Even lip-service is not rendered to the former Rajput rulers by their ex-tenants and functionaries. On the other hand, the present day situation, for example, in Bihar is characterized by ‘semi-feudalism’ and in eastern Uttar Pradesh by the persisting hold of the Kshatriyas and Brahmins on land (Hasan, Zoya, 1983). This is not the situation at all in Rajasthan. The present-day situation in Rajasthan can be summed up as follows:

1. A remarkable change in the distributive processes has occurred commensurating with change in social relations since the 1960’s.
2. The emergent situation marks an upside down scenario as the former dominant segments have become losers, and the gainers are the previously deprived sections.
Such a process of structural transformation, besides having equalizing effect on highly structured hierarchical formation, has created a decentralized and plural power structure. Though some new forms of inequality are observable, some formerly backward castes/groups have become more powerful than others due to their caste-based mobilizations and economic well-being, yet the post-independent Rajasthan is far more different and new than what it was until 1950’s.

Understanding of the dynamics of political parties, power blocs, and factions also become essential for an understanding of the linkages between the power elite and the social structure. In certain respects, the pattern of power-politics and the elite-formation and functioning are in tune with the situation elsewhere in the country as a whole. But the situation in Rajasthan in general and in the Shekhawati region in particular is different due to its historicity, social structure, ecology, and post-independence structural changes.

New forms of power blocs, alignments and strategies are not only indicative of the efficacy of constitutional and political superstructures, they also symbolize changes in the traditional society and culture. Traditional social hierarchy has considerably crumbled down giving way to new social forces to take over the centre stage of power politics. In this process of the shaking up of the traditional social structure, both caste and class have surfaced in rejuvenated forms. Caste-based mobilization is backed up by numerical power and right to vote, and now it has become an effective instrument of access to power, but only after the consolidation of economic gains accruing from land reforms by the peasantry. Thus, it is not correct to say that politics in India does not base itself on India’s class structure, contradictions, and class-based domination and subjection.13

Notes
1. Kothari, Rajni, 1970, Politics in India, New Delhi : Orient Longman. See also Rajni Kothari, 1970, ‘Introduction : Caste in Indian Politics in Rajni Kothari (ed.), Caste in Indian Politics, New Delhi: Orient Longman. However, lately Kothari has taken up issues relating to the Indian state, civil liberties, social justice, peoples actions and voluntary organizations. See, for example, his Politics and the People, 2 volumes 1989, Ajanta Publications. See also W.H. Morris Jones, 1964, The Government and


10. Glorification of Rajput polity is palpably evident in several writings such as Iqbal Narain and P.C. Mathur, *op. cit*; S.H. Rudolph and L.I. Rudolph, 1984, *op. cit* Many historians and mofussil writers have showered endless praise on the princely rule in Rajasthan.


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Ibid., p. 3.

Ibid., p. 3. See also references cited by the authors, p. 3, fn. 8.

See Rudolphs, 1984, op. cit; and Narain and Mathur, 1990, op. cit.


Ibid., pp. 16-25.

Ibid., pp. 18.


Problem of "Knowledge" in Applied Anthropology*

Vineetha Menon*

Abstract: The exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power. Knowledge and power are integrated with one another, and there is no point in dreaming of a time when knowledge will cease to depend on power. It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power (Foucault 1972, p.52). The intricate relationship between knowledge and power is made clear by Foucault. In this paper, the author contends that the relevance of applying knowledge for anthropology lies in de-centering power and making it inclusive even for the most marginalized. One could see that the different types of knowledge production within anthropology illuminates different aspects of human lives and cultural realities, challenging anthropological knowledge generation.

Key words: Anthropology, knowledge, power, globalization, marginalized

Applied anthropology or the application of anthropological knowledge to social good, beginning with a phase of anthropologists aiding administrative policy, has had a long history. Anthropology’s aid to administration has earned it much criticism too as many of its practitioners played into the hands of power, albeit in the belief that they are aiding the powerless. However, in community development and nation-building in a de-colonising phase, applied anthropology gained much popularity. Knowing “the community” deeply was the crux of effective social analyses here. Indian anthropologist L.P. Vidyarthi outlined the great responsibility of the anthropologists as social doctors who not only diagnose the ailing community or society to help the administration at various levels (Preface to Vidyarthi 1968), but also prescribe the medicine and see that under their supervision and guidance the medicine is administered and curing of the ailment is ensured. Such a...
formulation of an anthropologist’s role was a response to the community development drive in India in the post-independence situation when a cohesive community for nation-building rather than the fragmented interests and their conflicts received highlight. It was the need for collaboration between the anthropologist and the administrator in the goal of nation-building that was inherent in this perception of the role of the anthropologist.

British anthropologist, Raymond Firth (1950) had noted that the ideal role of an Anthropologist is that of diagnosis and prediction. Firth outlined several uses of anthropological knowledge, for instance, helping understand native customs so that the importance of native attitudes is understood (Firth Raymond, 1950; applied anthropology). These were the times when the “self” and “other” were compartmentalized in such a way that both anthropologist and her informants saw only the other. This made applied anthropology an enterprise of development, anthropologists collaborating with administrators and taking on the role of mediating between the people (who were the “beneficiaries”) and the policy makers.

Vidyarthi (1968) too underlined the “predictive precision” and “scientific management of social situations”. Somehow, this idea does not seem to have received sustained attention. To diagnose, prescribe a remedy, and to stay with it till a cure is found, call for a long term commitment on the part of the anthropologist. This might have been a reason why knowledge generation for such predictive precision and scientific management and application of that knowledge could not be sustained by anthropologists in the confines of the academic discipline. For those who moved away from academia to areas of application, working in/for a non-governmental organization, such sustained long-term involvement with communities were more possible.

Applied anthropology has been distinguished from Action anthropology by some, but anthropologists like Sol Tax (1968) sees the difference between the two as a question of whether the anthropologist acts as a free agent or gives into power.

If applied anthropology presupposes a body of scientific knowledge ..... developed by theoretical anthropologists and awaiting application to particular situations when we are asked to do so by management, government, administrator; or organisation, then action anthropology is far different..... the action anthropologist can have no master: he works as a member of the academic community.... “, he asserted (Ibid: 33).
Since Action anthropology was clear that anthropologists should not operate from a position of power or undue influence (Sol Tax 1968:36), those working for state agencies that implemented development schemes of international agencies through NGOs or other grass root level institutions, operated from the margins of applied and action anthropology.

**Context of Globalization**

Since the 1990s, globalization became an important topic for theoretical and conceptual discussions. In this context, applied anthropology has an unprecedented responsibility. It has to critically examine the practices of its practitioners and reflect upon applied anthropology’s positions with regard to people. In a global context when development actors and agencies are neither national nor culture-specific, but are moving beyond such boundaries and boundedness, the “local” is never the “local” in an un-mixed sense. A geographically centred location no longer gives content and meaning to a culture. Cultures become amalgams of different influences in varying degrees. People who migrate exert influence not only on their immediate family members, household, kin and friends, but also on economy, polity, religion, media etc. even in absence and from a distance. They carry emotions and perceptions of community and travel back and forth between locations, from the locus of one culture’s influence to another through several transit points of cultures. Media brings to fore, alternate ways of life to choose from. Information and communication technology connect people in virtual communities. Even a person experiencing these multiple influences of globalization’s several processes cannot untangle them easily and put them in a narrative that an anthropologist may collect. Yet, despite these influences that come to the local from the “outside” and shape its contours, the influences of the local can also remain very powerful. The influence of traditional and modern sources of power, how they get juxtaposed in ways that do not allow categorizations such as “traditional” and “modern”, how these powers impact the lives of different individuals and groups differently, functioning of state and its regulations, functioning of a political and civil society, its judiciary and the bureaucracy all impinging on these powers, how religion and economy enter politics and legislation and vice versa, how all these processes are shaped through global forces from different parts of the world, all are relevant enquiries for an anthropological enquiry in the contemporary times of globalization. The sources of power influencing the lives of a people and culture in a locale are thus made
very complex and are constantly in flux. At the same time, local institutional structures are strengthened, sometimes putting in place new institutions with new objectives, sometimes while maintaining continuity with the old, or some institutions done away with altogether. Continuity and disjuncture between the “old” and the “new”, themselves not untainted or un-tampered with, have made any anthropological enquiry very complex with human relationships and behavior very intricate and elusive. Combined with all these are the international networks of new social movements like environmentalism, feminism/s, human rights etc. It is in this atmosphere of a curious mix of flux and constancy and global influences emanating from different loci of power and influence that today’s applied anthropology must operate to find immediate solutions for pressing social problems. In response to the changes in human lives, anthropologists have been engaged in serious conceptual, theoretical, empirical, ethical and methodological issues to decide on appropriate theories and tools to generate knowledge for anthropological practice, especially for applied anthropology.


We can see that the different types of knowledge production came about in anthropology due to historical and ideological reasons. These illuminate different aspects of human lives and cultural realities, and also reflect the concerns of the times and society, challenging anthropological knowledge generation and shaping the knowledge for applied anthropology and also, the relevance of the discipline. Globalization, viewed alternatively as dominance of western capitalism, came to be seen by many scholars as creeping into the field of knowledge by virtue of its control over resources. The role of international funding agencies in promoting and proliferating certain types of knowledge is seen as substantiating such arguments. Contesting the west’s hegemony in knowledge, ideological resistances have developed in various quarters of academia. Corresponding changes in the practice of anthropology in different countries became evident when many anthropologists shaped their research questions and knowledge couched in economic, political, ecological, and equity concerns, and above all, on “identity”, defined by “self” and “others”, two categories that are situationally fragmented and polarised. Indigenous anthropologies took shape challenging what was seen as dominant western anthropology and considered them anti-hegemonic or subaltern in relation to the latter. Ironically, indigenous anthropology also took on national characters, despite the power differentials and cultural varieties within it and a selective transnational identification with one another as indigenous
anthropologies. At the same time, interest-based polarities and networks of anthropologists also came up within and also transcending such boundaries. Easy movement of anthropologists to congregate in conferences, possibility of instant communications, ideological and professional collaborations, internet discussion groups, all gave a dimension to anthropology that allows anthropologists to look at indigenous realities and the global penetrations into those realities.

Gustavo Ribeiro (2005) characterizing anthropology as a Western cosmopolitics that consolidated itself as a formal academic discipline in the 20th century raises another dimension of changes in anthropological knowledge generation. He noted that

the increased importance of the non-hegemonic anthropologists in the production and reproduction of knowledge that was never duly incorporated in the critiques will create more plural world anthropologies due to the changes in the conversability among anthropologists located in different loci of the world system and that the time is ripe for world anthropologies.

The ‘world anthropologies’ was expected to go beyond the disciplinary bounds of the universal and university-based academic anthropology through a circulation of knowledge that anthropologists gather and produce in different locations. This circulation of knowledge and experience intersects with the circulation of local peoples’ knowledge and experiences at several points and form a churning whirlpool of knowledge.

Eduardo Restrepo and Arturo Escobar (2005) described ‘world anthropologies’ as an intervention aimed at loosening the disciplinary constraints that subalternized modalities of anthropological practice and imagination. They employed the concept of dominant anthropologies by which they meant

the discursive formations and institutional practices that have been associated with the normalization of anthropology under academic modalities chiefly in the United States, Britain and France .... (These) include the diverse processes of professionalization and institutionalization that accompanied the consolidation of disciplinary cannons and subjectivities, and through which Anthropologists recognize themselves and are recognized by others as such. Dominant anthropologies are made possible by a set of institutionalized practices and modalities of production and regulation of discourses. These practices and modalities are anchored in a disciplinary domain (Restrepo and Escobar 2005, pp.102-103).
The impact of indigenous anthropologies and world anthropologies on the knowledge for applied anthropologists furthers the argument in favour of processual and multi-layered understandings, even in different locations of lived realities. Applied and action anthropology had come about from the disciplinary confines of a ‘dominant anthropology’ with certain practices of the profession and accepted ways of professionalizing even before such open discussions about power in the field of knowledge and power that knowledge helps create. Nevertheless, both applied and action anthropologies sought to move away from the disciplinary and systemic rigidities.

The impact of another stream of knowledge-post-modernism-on these developments also cannot be overlooked, although historically, they cannot be slotted within the same time frame. Experimentation in knowledge production was the practical side to these theoretical and ideological discussions. Collaborative ethnographies between the researcher and the researched, giving voices to people, multi-vocality, subaltern studies etc., are cases in point. Privileging peoples’ narratives and discussions of the differential impacts of subjectivity and objectivity in research on the knowledge generated also ensued in relation to these. Whether giving voice to the less privileged or one’s own subjective positions took away the objectivity of research has remained a major controversial and unsettled issue in this regard. Reliability, validity and objectivity were all discussed critically and those who argued in subverting the so-called dominant methodologies and their philosophies justified their stand ideologically. Cumulatively, these have created a space and legitimacy for peoples’ rights to decisively participate and share. This, notwithstanding the fact that the modalities of ensuring such participation and sharing in decision-making, in the creation of “appropriate” knowledge for “development” and in the development that is ushered in through a use of this knowledge has differed considerably.

**Public Anthropology- For Effective Policy Intervention**

Discussions of “Public Anthropology” have stemmed from an impetus to engage meaningfully with the public. This, I suspect, results from a realisation of the immense power of public opinion in influencing policy formulations. Through opinion formation or mobilization as in the case of social movements, subjective experiences and even emotions could be transformed into something beyond the subjective, amenable to objective analysis. It is not just governments that
manufacture consent (Herman and Chomsky 1988), but also the people, including the weak and the poor. As shown by Scott in the “power of the weak” (Scott 1985) the powerless often strategise resistances. They may also get unexpected support through the involvement of media that popularise such issues even through sensationalising them. But more often than that, they fail to develop as a strong interest group with an internal coherence and solidarity. The interplay between theory and practice, going beyond the discipline, being interdisciplinary and removing the applied anthropology/academic anthropology divide are all integral to “Public Anthropology”, a new trend in the discipline. (Purcell 2000).

Debates within anthropology following post-modern critiques of the discipline’s ethnographic practices have already given rise to seeing anthropological knowledge as emerging within the interactional field involving the anthropologist and the informants. One does not produce or discover it; the interactions cumulatively generate the knowledge and take away any concentration of power that might have attached to or accrued on the anthropologist/researcher. In a globalized world, the interactional field cannot remain purely “local”. Basu has raised the dilemma of the policymaker in such a world:

*The need for multi-country co-ordination of policies of a kind that has little precedence* (Basu 2008:53).

Applied anthropology in today’s world operates in this world of policy-making, which is far from a de-colonising-community development-nation-building context of isolated policy and praxis or consensus on issues.

This knowledge/wisdom from an understanding of diverse cultural realities and awareness of different theories and hypotheses formulated by a host of anthropologists the world over when employed in interpreting the data gathered in the field through a careful combination of methods, triangulations and combining and cross-checking of synchronic and diachronic data, history and memory of informants gathered through narratives, over and above the tools for rapid data generation give the anthropologist advantages over a lay person, however locally experienced the latter may be. In the context of public anthropology, Purcell (2000) brings to notice that objectivity comes with lived public participation.

Public anthropology of today is an improvisation upon applied anthropology of old to suit the contingencies of contemporary times and find the relevance of anthropology for it. Practical questions concerning the generation of knowledge
for meaningful action anthropology and simultaneously keeping up with the demands of an ever-growing academic field where knowledge-contests and debates surrounding them have been shaping the professionalism of the academic community has been no easy challenge for applied anthropology in particular. I believe, it is this challenge, coupled with challenge of having to ensure people’s participation and a speedy and timely generation of knowledge that prompted several anthropologists to grab on to approaches and tools like Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) etc. that go outside disciplinary bounds. For example, early use of these tools has been in research on agriculture, industry, forestry, ecology and so on. The social relevance of anthropology as a discipline had also come under much discussion as anthropologists increasingly realized that their presence in the policy arena has remained negligible compared to that of disciplines like economics even when evidence suggests that economic prescriptions without sound anthropological analyses could have disastrous consequences in policy-making and implementation. A major blame for this lack of anthropological involvement had to be borne by anthropology’s time-consuming methodology of participant observation that is indeed a stumbling block in giving “quick-fixes” for development dilemmas.

It is in this context that tools of RRA, PRA etc. have caught on very fast, chiefly as a result of the rapid spread of activities of international agencies and NGOs in the developing and less developed nations so much so that social analysis has come to be seen as something anyone can lay his hands on. Now these tools are not used for rural appraisal alone, but also in urban settings, not solely by anthropologists, but also by other agencies in the development field enquiring into farming systems, changes in landscape, physical indicators of wealth, and so on. NGOs, government and educational institutions that needed time-bound information have preferred these tools to the more time-consuming research of individual researchers. Extension workers who are obliged to collect information for governments have found them convenient. Academic researchers too have increasingly found these methods easier and better than the conventional methods and the time-consuming rapport building as these methods help to churn out many more publications in a much shorter period to satisfy the demands imposed by the professionalized discipline. Institutions that give training programmes on these tools and organized networks of practitioners of such tools also contribute to the proliferation of practitioners of these tools. The rhetoric of “participation”
gives the findings a legitimacy that also enhances the appeal of these methods and at the same time frees the researcher from any responsibility for the failure of his recommendations. The “menu of methods of RRA and PRA”, as Robert Chambers calls it, transforms the anthropological data collection into a mechanical exercise employing the people themselves. The great danger that all this has brought on is a general feeling that anybody who has undergone a crash course in the “menu of methods of PRA and RRA” can give out “anthropological” advice on development issues. They, in turn, very often become trainers and train many others in such exercises. The “knowledge” thus generated by such mechanical use of these tools by NGOs, lay persons, government officials, researchers and investigators employed by international agencies can by no stretch of imagination be equated with the knowledge that an anthropologist helps generate through deep social analyses. Therefore, knowledge generated through employing such tools for rapid data gathering, I would submit, can at best only be incomplete, preliminary “knowledge” for applied anthropology. Many of the methods like transect walk, social mapping, wealth ranking, group discussions, taking chronologies of events, listing major events in a study area (“time lines” in PRA parlance), collection of oral narratives of the past, of social changes etc. (“trend analysis” in PRA) have in any case, been elementary parts of anthropological data gathering although these terms were not conventionally in use. I would argue that both applied anthropologist and action anthropologist while they could profitably use PRA and RRA as part of their entry points, must necessarily move beyond them to interpret the social realities, placing them in a historical and cultural context. The meaning of conflicting information may need to be untangled from historical facts and individual and collective memories, conflicting very often, and even from the gray areas between “memory” and “history”. Power and powerlessness, ethnic and gender and age, may mould and colour human experiences. More importantly, individuals and cultures cannot be essentialised, as Anthropologists have time and again pointed out.

Therefore, an anthropologist must move beyond the quantified and visible data to elicit the “knowledge” of the complexities in human lives without which the knowledge cannot be applied for social good.

**Knowledge/Power of the Marginalized in Kerala’s Decentralization Context**

To illustrate the arguments given above, I shall in this section deal with the
issue of power of scheduled tribe people even under decentralization of governance in the Indian state of Kerala. I use this context of decentralization as it was expected that within it, there would be ample space for decentralization of policy-making through the democratic political mechanisms of peoples’ participation even at the lowest levels and that through such participation, development programmes could be shaped or policies re-molded. However, for effective participation in the democratic polity, a basic capability in terms of orality, literacy, and knowledge are important, even at the level of de-centralized planning and governance. The Scheduled Tribe experience within Kerala’s decentralization process is specifically isolated for two reasons: (i) that early observers of Kerala’s development experience have noted that the scheduled tribes were outside of Kerala’s development model that was applauded for achieving high indicators of development despite poor per capita income; and (ii) that decentralization in Kerala put in place new institutional mechanisms of which one called “oorukoottam”, a congregation of tribal people living in an area where they live in large numbers so that power can be de-centered. The state guidelines for the governance of this institution also stipulate training the leaders who are state-selected representatives of the tribal people, a selection based on rhetorical abilities, educational level and a basic capability to interact with the administration and bureaucracy. This new institution of oorukoottam implies a new composition of tribal people, but using a traditional nomenclature. A traditional tribal oorukoottam was a gathering of people of the same ethnicity inhabiting the same ooru or hamlet, a territory under a chieftain. The new institution of ooru may sometimes involve people of more than one tribal ethnic group if that is the demographic composition in a geographical area. The oorukoottam, a congregation of members of an ooru, is meant to facilitate greater participation of the tribal people in the planning process. However, in many areas with mixed-tribal constitution, the representative of the socially, educationally and politically more dominant group assumes leadership even when they are a numerical minority, against the true spirit and principles of democracy. It is also seen that the material benefits of the central and state governments’ development schemes that come through the local self-government institutions are largely reaped by members of these politically dominant groups even when they are a numerically small group. Sometimes, the group as a whole may not be dominant, but there may be a few educated youngsters or politically active members in this dominant group who are de-facto decision-makers in the oorukoottam as they are approached by the state machineries for administering its programmes and schemes. The instance of
oorukoottam in Kerala shows that these socially excluded and marginalized people, despite state policies in their favour, may remain excluded even when a semblance of participation is maintained. New dimensions of accessing social prestige and power are found in the field. In many parts of Kerala, in areas where a socio-politically dominant tribe or a tribe with a leader with such dominance resides alongside other tribes without such dominance, and they share the same oorukoottam, dominant groups or leaders are found to be the decision-makers and the less-dominant groups complacent and reluctant to express any specific need of their own. This dominance in the local governance also means that the dominant decision-makers reap a better share of the benefits of govt. schemes for scheduled tribes.

For instance, in the Kasaragod district, where Mavilan and Malavettuvan, two scheduled tribes share an oorukoottam, the former, although comparatively more disadvantaged than many other caste and class groups, but better organized politically than the Malavettuvan, and having had greater access to education and production resources and assets, are more effective in participation in the democratic process. Between the two groups, the Mavilan, more powerful than the Malavettuvan numerically, economically, educationally and socially, have more access to the democratic politics in Kerala with even some elected representatives in the state assembly although from a constituency reserved for scheduled tribes. The Mavilan are more vocal and historically more politically conscious and organized through their involvement in the agricultural labour movement and connected at the higher levels of governance through involvement in the political party system which is very crucial in the pragmatics of Kerala’s democracy. Their numerical strength and their capacity to express themselves in public fora have helped them advance socially and politically. In fact, they have successfully tried to keep away the Malavettuvan from getting their rightful share of the benefits of government welfare schemes due to the scheduled tribes so that they themselves could enjoy these benefits. Their representation at the higher levels of governance above the oorukoottam has been helpful and their relatively better numerical strength has made them more powerful in the system of party politics that pay heed to vote banks.

At the level of policy, the institution of oorukoottam is very inclusive. As per Government regulation, oorukoottam has to be formed for selecting beneficiaries of welfare schemes, to create awareness among scheduled tribe population regarding development schemes for them, to train them in self-
governance and so on. Educated scheduled tribe (ST) promoters who are selected and trained by the state are in control of the oorukoottam meetings. Oorukoottam has the mandate to prepare development projects, suggest changes, monitor them, and do social auditing of all development projects in the tribal area. Generally it is seen that these ST promoters are from the dominant tribal group in a locality who also get the benefit of special training to ST promoters to engage with the political processes. The power dynamics inside such oorukoottams are not amenable to mapping or charting or other such tools for rapid data collection.

Detailed empirical study of the oorukoottam in different localities in the State will throw up more insights. What needs underscoring here is that participation is a very complex issue. It can be mere presence in meetings, mere assent to decisions of the influential people, or contrarily, active involvement. The processes that go into such decision-making and participatory exercises need critical scrutiny for applied anthropologists to effectively intervene in such policy-making and implementation scenarios where the political and public rhetoric may be participatory or consensus-based, but in reality something else. There are compromises that the less powerful groups come to make because they are left behind in knowledge essential for inclusion in the system in their own right. At one level, they may resent this representation of the dominant group; at another level, they may appreciate the latter’s intervention in higher decision-making bodies for scheduled tribes or their “ooru” (tribal hamlet). The dominant groups’ active involvement in a larger political movement of Dalits within the national boundaries may bring under its umbrella the less dominant groups also. These categories of people differing in knowledge/power, may come under a larger global banner of indigenous peoples’ movements, taking on newer and different meanings to their identities, as separate tribal ethnic groups or as similarly oppressed and marginalized groups united across national boundaries, or even splintering off from an ethnic group on political and ideological differences. In the context of Kerala’s tribal people, self-determination in local self-governments are not going to happen immediately for the most downtrodden tribal communities despite state policy for their inclusion because of the very nature of centralized and aggregating democratic politics and the ineffective political participation of these groups. Their ability to influence policy at higher levels of governance is more complex, dependant on knowledge as a crucial factor. In such a context of Kerala’s polity, as Richard Borshay Lee (2006) while discussing 21st century indigenism has pointed out, even the term ‘indigenous’ covers a multitude of
contradictory meanings, used in a range of contexts. If this is the situation with reference to one identity perception in a tribal society once considered most simple and elementary, one can imagine the task for anthropology which has to deal with multiple cross-influences in several such societies.

Therefore, in the ultimate analysis, I am persuaded that knowledge for applied anthropology has to emerge at the confluence of theory and praxis, one feeding into the other, in a combination of both histories (dominant, subaltern etc.) and memory, (again, dominant, subaltern etc.) and very holistic and interdisciplinary in understanding and methods. Notions of ethics and justice have a crucial role in this knowledge that should critically inform applied anthropology. These notions are not easy to conceptualize with clarity or consensus. A nice illustration of this can be had from Amartya Sen who uses the story of “Three Children and a Flute” to make his point that there is no such thing as perfect justice, and that justice is relative to a given situation (Suroor, 2009). Sen’s story is that of three children who contest over a flute, one claiming it as her own as she is the only one who knows how to use it; another, because he is so poor and has no other toy to play with unlike the others; and the third, claiming the flute as she has made it out of her own labour. However, unlike Sen’s position that rather than search for ideal justice, the stress should be placed on removing the more manifest forms of injustice (ibid.), applied anthropology/public anthropology will have to take upon itself the task of making manifest even the un-manifest forms of injustice. Knowledge for applied anthropology/public anthropology, I would argue, should be carefully elicited in the interactional fields where the anthropologist’s awareness of synchronic and diachronic information pertinent to a research question would consider its “interactional field” much wider than a chosen geographic location or a unified people who are seen confined to a geographical area and its immediate influences. It would also include the cumulative wisdom from an action anthropologist’s field experiences in a conventional sense, the convention-resisting “indigenous anthropologies”, “world anthropologies”, or “subaltern or alternative anthropologies” or from social and civil movements. The knowledge generated by the latter categories resist some form of power or hegemony and take us closer to a critical understanding of social justice, the implicit goal of applied anthropology. It is here that applied anthropology and public anthropology share ground despite differences in theoretical underpinnings or political positioning, and the latter involving in more public debates perhaps. The knowledge both these generate is, I shall argue, ultimately not an alienable knowledge that anyone
can lay hands on with a crash course and getting some willing “local” people to co-operate, not withstanding criticisms one may raise about anthropologist’s “authority”.

References


HIV/AIDS in the Framework of Medical Sociology

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Abstract: The paper attempts to discuss HIV/AIDS in the framework of medical sociology. After a critical analysis of medical sociology, its history and its status in India, the causes and the stigma related to HIV in India is discussed. Finally, the paper suggests some sections of society which can be instrumental and participative in helping and guiding the programme planners related to AIDS.

Key words: HIV/AIDS, Medical sociology, sociologists, health, illness

Introduction

Human immune-deficiency virus (HIV) is a new reality the world over. It affects selectively those in the productive period of life, and perhaps has greater economic, social and demographic implications than any other disease or cause of death. In more than 30 years history of the AIDS epidemic, it has become increasingly apparent that social, cultural, economic and legal factors exacerbate the spread of HIV and heighten the impact of HIV/AIDS. At the same time it is a new health risk, not only in the sense that it has posed a new health problem but also in the sense that it differs from the earlier forms of morbidity and mortality in several ways. Unlike infectious and contagious diseases which have been controlled by using antibiotics and insecticides it can be controlled only by behavioural prevention efforts. Thus the approach to stop HIV epidemic is behavioural rather than medical. Also it has been quite difficult not only to identify HIV+ people but also those who are more susceptible to risk of HIV such as female sex workers, men having sex with men and injecting drug users. From sociological point of view, risk of HIV is associated more with mobility rather than class structure of society. Lastly, unlike other public health problems governments cannot go for compulsory testing and treatment of HIV. HIV + people are seen to be the most vulnerable segment of society whose rights are to be protected by state and civil society. Therefore, there is a need to examine the

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sociological aspects of the risk in a new framework.

**Why Medical Sociology?**

Hafferty and Castellani define that two main areas of medical sociology are stress and coping and professionalism. Some recent additions to medical sociology are Sarah’s *The Sociology of Health and Illness*, Barry and Yuill’s *Understanding the Sociology of Health*, and Wainwright’s *A Sociology of Health*. Medical sociology sees illness as sociomorally and intersubjectively construed. It presents a holistic view of health and illness. It has to be seen differently from social studies of mortality or morbidity which aim at establishing a causal connection between social stratification and risks, by using a generic definition of health risks, and which, with certain limitations, may be classified under the discipline of sociology of health or medicine. Medical sociology, on the other hand, may be seen as the ethnomethodological study of health and medicine which aims at understanding the nature and sources of people’s notions of health and illness. Here the issue is: what are the constructs of health and illness among men and women and what conceptual schemes do social scientists need to understand? This is a task similar to building second order constructs in the language of Max Weber.

To follow Manning and Fabrega, Jr. (1973), body, interpersonal relationships, and sentiments are intimately interdigitated with behavioural changes associated with illness. Medical sociology pays more attention to social constructions of illness than to the biological framework of body. Lorber and Moore (2000) use this notion of health when they say:

*Illness is not just a physical state; it is a social phenomenon. Different cultures consider some physical states “illness” that others consider “normal.” Westerners usually consider physical health as a state in which people can do what they have to do and want to do, and illness as something that disturbs the physiological equilibrium of the body. But what we actually experience as illness is a disturbance of our social lives so that we cannot go about our usual pursuits, a situation which may or may not be the result of actual bodily dysfunctioning.*

Medical sociology is one of the fast growing areas of sociology in the developing countries. The reasons behind this are as follows: (a) it uses a holistic concept of health combining illness with risk factors, pain and discomfort, cognition, interpersonal activities, affect, health system responses and insurance shifting attention from the prevailing medical model of health to a more real and
subjective understanding of health and illness; (b) it establishes the importance of social variables such as social support, degree of integration, and sick roles, etc. in promotion of public health; (c) it draws attention to the relationship between experience of health and normative structure of society, and thus helps in evolving a rational social policy to improve health; (d) it reveals preferences regarding health seeking behaviour; (e) it focuses on social representations and contributes to methodological developments in empirical studies of morbidity by identifying conditions, norms and cultural factors which lead to underestimation or overestimation of morbidity in data on reported morbidity; and (f) it suggests that combining survey with biomarkers can produce more reliable estimates of morbidity.

In other words medical sociology rejects the biomedical model of illness that assumes the following: (a) disease is a deviation from normal physiological functioning; (b) diseases have specific causes that can be located in the ill person’s body; and (c) illnesses have the same symptoms and outcome in any social situation; and (d) medicine is a socially neutral application of scientific research to individual cases.

In actuality, the experience of health ‘is the outcome of cultural categories and social structure interacting with psychophysiological process such that a mediating word is constituted’ (Kleinman and Kleinman, 1991).

According to medical sociology, disease is a social construction. This implies that in different settings people employ different constructs to interpret health and illness. Looked at from this perspective, health may be seen as a state of equilibrium, absence of illness, or lack of awareness of body. Women’s issues are of great interest to medical sociologists. On the one hand, they support the constructionist base of medical sociology and on the other, they raise health issues among the victims of patriarchal social structure. In the context of patriarchy, medical sociology links women’s health issues to gender roles, and contributes to women’s empowerment more than the class based approach to health inequalities in classical sociology.

Studies have shown that illness may appear in several forms. In some situations, it may appear as destructive while in other situations it may appear as liberating. For some, it may involve a duty to struggle against it (Herzlich and Graham, 1973). Causes of illness are as much internal as external. The manifestations and outcome of illness vary from situation to situation and depend
on socio-economic conditions of people, circumstances and the normative structure of society.

**History of Medical Sociology**

Medical sociology is a relatively younger branch of sociology. Cockerham (2000) divided the history of medical sociology into four stages as follows:

- Origins of Medical Sociology (1897-1955)
- The Golden Age (1956-1970)
- Period of Maturity (1971-1989)
- The 1990s

According to Cockerham, the roots of medical sociology can be traced back to Emile Durkheim’s study of suicide in 1897, and the sick role theory propounded by Talcott Parsons in his book *The Social System*, published as early as 1951. However, while producing data on suicide rate for different societies and for different groups in a society, Durkheim was more interested in establishing the importance of sociology as an independent discipline. As a founder father of sociology, Durkheim was not interested in health behaviour *per se* but he wanted to illustrate that health behaviours or health outcomes are rooted in social integration. Thus in the classical, Durkheimian approach, mortality and morbidity, the two negative indicators of health, are dependent on the degree of social integration and the aim of studies of health is to explore the nature of this dependence. Talcott Parsons focused on rights and obligations of the sick and the role of medicine in macro-level social system. For him, sickness is a role and the sick have an obligation to recover. In addition, Pareto’s *The Mind and Society*, published in 1935, gives cases of belief that by means of certain rites and practices, (magic and witchcraft) *it is possible to raise or quell a storm*. Here too the author was not interested in establishing medical sociology, he was trying to emphasize the role of *sentiments* in social action, a concept central to his theory of action.

During 1956-1970, the attention of sociologists shifted from social class differences to symbolic interactionist research on health and illness. Robert Merton, Howard Becker and Irving Goffman who conducted studies in the field stressed on symbolic nature of health and illness, asylums and hospitals as institutions and experiences of illness.
In the third phase, medical sociology attracted attention of empirical sociologists in both the developed and developing societies. In America, sociologists took up two main issues: (a) women’s health; and (b) the deprofessionalization process affecting physicians. Here the term deprofessionalization refers to a process by which relative autonomy of medical profession is weakened due to development of new institutions interfering in professionals’ work. British sociologists enriched the discipline by concentrating on empirical studies of social inequality and health, micro-level studies of medical care, lay beliefs, qualitative studies of illness experience, and feminist studies of reproductive health. During this time, interest in medical sociology also developed in developing countries. By this time, Indian demographers and sociologists started collecting data on health and exploring regional, urban-rural and social class differences in various indicators of health such as infant and child mortality, and maternal mortality.

Foucault examined how people use the discourses of medicine, psychiatry, and science to care for and control themselves and others (Hafferty and Castellani, 2007). Foucault (1973) looked at hospitals and their anatomy within the framework of power. To him, medical institution is just another illustration of the nature of power distribution in society. Foucault averred that the modern societies exercise power through invisible observation of people’s actions rather than visible demonstration of social force, leading to production of self-discipline. Looked at from this perspective, hospitals like other institutions such as schools, asylums, army barracks, etc. are the places where disciplinary power is exercised. Arguing along similar lines, feminists have added that medicalization of modern societies has reinforced patriarchal control. (The medical professionals are commonly the males). It has been observed that in doctor-patient relationship too a woman patient is treated primarily as woman rather than as patient and doctors use stereotypes of women to draw meanings in women patient’s statements of illness (Fisher and Groce, 1985). They are authorized to regulate and control women’s bodies. They assert that medicine profession in the modern society does the same thing to control women that organized religion did to women in pre-modern societies.)

Interest in studies of structural correlates of health or sociology of medicine (Wroblewska, 2002; Wiggins et al., 2002) is still alive but in 1990s the attention of medical sociologists has shifted to developments associated with postmodern
change, such as stress, the rise in sexually transmitted diseases, ageing, women’s issues, poverty among minorities, self-care and use of alternative medicine, class differences in utilization of physicians, doctor-patient relationships and emergence of corporate medicine. Writing on gender and health, Lane and Cibula (2002) have analysed the issues of sexual violence (including ‘bride burning’, ‘dowry deaths’, honour killing, rape, and attempted rape), female genital mutilation, and the associated sexual and psychological problems. This change is reflected in India in increasing number of studies focusing on reproductive health and self-reported problems as against studies of patterns of morbidity. Sociology is also increasingly studying orientation towards modern medicine (Calnan and Williams), medical pluralism, effect of racism and communalism on health and illness, and alternative medicines. All this gave rise to what may broadly be called medical sociology. Today, sociologists are doing a number of things simultaneously: they are providing critique of medicine, working with medical institutions to make them more effective, and exploring changes in the institution of medicine. Central to their works is the question: how are health and illness represented socially?

Social Representations of Health and Illness

Social representations refer to social definitions of health and illness as opposed to medical experts’ definition. They combine cognition, perception and experiences of health and illness in the context of a socio-cultural system. Social constructionists and ethnomethodologists, argue that there are no real facts as assumed by empiricists.

Transition from health to sickness can be sudden. It has a strong effect on self-concept. Through societal reaction to sickness and disability it can lead to crisis (Taylor, 1999). In some cases, social constructions may cause stigma against certain forms of sickness, health seeking behaviour and the sick. In extreme cases, it has produced homophobia or fear of homosexuals and homosexuality. Affliction caused by HIV/AIDS is a good example of this type of stigma. To quote:

*Sickness and disabling conditions are often stigmatizing. People are socially stigmatized when they are seen to be in some way unacceptable or inferior and are thus denied full social acceptance* (Goffman, 1968).

There is thus a gap between what Goffman calls their virtual social identity (the way they should be if they were ‘normal’) and the actual social identity
(the way they are). Those who are stigmatized are confronted with a series of decisions about the management of spoiled identity both in terms of their interactions with others and their own self-concept.

Herzlich and Graham conducted a study of general psychological content mechanisms among French professionals. The study was conducted among 80 subjects in the first phase and 20 in the final phase. The following questions were asked about health and illness: (a) What is the importance of health for the individual and for personality? (b) What is the relationship between notions of health and illness? (c) What are the ideas of the principal causes of illness? (d) What is the place of health and illness in the value system of society? (e) What is the nature of health behaviour and illness behaviour? (f) What factors are important for health? (g) How does illness affect social participation? (h) Do people see any relationship between health, illness and death? One of their significant findings is the following:

The world of health is a social world, the world of the active individual integrated into his social group. In the world of illness, the individual is no longer defined by what he does, but by the inactivity of the sick person. The usual laws of society no longer operate; the individual is relieved of the demands imposed upon him by society, but also risks being excluded from it. This is the situation which the sick person has to confront.

Medical Sociology in India

Health research in India has its origin in demographic studies of mortality and morbidity. It may be argued that in ancient India, health was not a social subject: views on health or illness were part of the spiritual and dharmic (moral-religious) discourse. In the spiritual tradition, swasthya (the closest Indian word for health) was used for (sthit) existence in swa (self) or self-realization. Thus a person who is free from dependence on the sense organs or external reality is healthy. In folk tradition, illness was attributed to astrological conditions, sin, prarabdha, curse, magic, evil eye, and food. Although, India has a long tradition of Ayurveda, in practice there was little distinction between medicine, magic and religious purity. In Gita, that still inspires millions in India and outside, it is said that certain type of food desired by the persons of rajasic tendency is the cause of “pain, grief and diseases”. The modern studies of health and illness among women in India have so far followed the empiricist approach. By and large, they have focused on levels and correlates of mortality (less often on morbidity)
National perspective on health has stressed the medicalization model. It assumes that health is a function of three things: (a) food and nutritional status; (b) availability and efficiency of the health care infrastructure; and (c) inter-sectoral coordination in implementation of health programmes and health related activities. International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994 diverted attention in the Third World countries from complex issues involved in health to issues of safe abortion and reproductive rights only (Qadeer, 1995; Winkoff, 1988).

Recently, Unnithan-Kumar (1999) examined reproductive health care in the context of women’s perceptions and experiences of illness in general and in terms of the material, ideological and political dynamics of household, kin and gender relations in particular. It is shown how perceptions of illness and health seeking behaviour in a Rajasthan village are interlinked with outreach of health services, hospital experiences, age of marriage, beliefs about allopathic, Unani and spiritual remedies, household composition, fertility, economic conditions, Quranic education, and working conditions. Her fieldwork shows that mere provision of health services is not enough. It has to be supported by proper attitudes and beliefs, and positive experiences. To quote:

*There is no doubt that the villagers in Sanganer want and need access to good health care services as is reflected in the high costs they incur as well as the distances they travel to seek out effective health cures. At the same time, most of their experiences with the health services often have been negative, and given the exacting nature of their lives, women especially have a tendency towards inaction as far as seeking treatment for illness is concerned. Given reliable information about effective cures and doctors, women are quickly willing to explore the possibilities of seeking treatment from these sources, provided they have some support from their kinspersons to do so.*

Pokarna (1994) studied social beliefs and cultural practices regarding health in selected villages of Jaipur tehsil. Traditionally, health services were essentially responsibility of both individual and community. The new myths propagated by medical system have led to loss of identity and self-image among people. There is a gap between people and the system regarding understanding, acceptance and world-view.

In Pratibha Ray’s narrative on the Bonda tribe, illness comes with migration from city. She tells about the knowledge and attitude of the tribe about modern medicine. The Bonda woman (as well as man) does not trust modern medicine.
She thinks that the sickness is caused by the wrath of Goi Gigey, the god of death. Their god was offended by arrival of new gods and doctors from city. Doctors pretend. To a Bonda woman, the sickness can be cured by a sorcerer, by doing a biru (involving cow sacrifice and feast to the village), chanting of mantras, appeasement of gods and stopping interference of the outside doctor. To quote:

The sickness spread. The Health Department suddenly became active: teams of doctors drove up in jeeps, distributed pills and jabbed needles into people's bodies and swiftly retreated to the plains. As soon as they had gone, the Bondas threw away their medicines. They had illness. If a man was fated to live, he would live; if he was fated to die, no medicine could save him. It was only the gods who could extend the span of a man's life, not the gulang doctors.

India has advanced in collection of data on health. Measured in terms of mortality and morbidity, health has been explored in Indian censuses, reports of Sample Registration Scheme, District Level Household Survey – Reproductive and Child Health Survey, survey of health by National Council of Applied Economic Research, and three National Family Health Surveys and National Sample Survey 60th round publication on morbidity, health care and the condition of the aged. Time has come to examine health issues in sociological perspective. Some of them, particularly the National Family Health Survey-III, have produced data on HIV. Sociologists have yet not shown much interest in analyzing those data.

**Issues in HIV studies**

HIV has a number of new challenges before the sociologists in India. Some of them are discussed below.

**Diverse meanings**

One of the issues in handling HIV is the issue of explaining the origin and nature of HIV among people. Since the origin of the virus is not scientifically established there are many ways of thinking on the subject. To quote (NACO, 2006) on the origin of HIV:

*We do not know. Scientists have different theories about the origin of HIV, but none has been proven. The earliest known case of HIV was from a blood sample collected in 1959 from a man in Kinshasha, Democratic Republic of Congo. (How he became infected is not known.) Genetic analysis of this blood sample suggests that HIV-1 may have stemmed from a single virus in the late 1940s or early 1950s.*
We do know that the virus has existed in the United States since at least the mid-to late 1970s. From 1979-1981 rare types of pneumonia, cancer, and other illnesses were being reported by doctors in Los Angeles and New York among a number of gay male patients. These were conditions not usually found in people with healthy immune systems.

In 1982, public health officials began to use the term “acquired immunodeficiency syndrome,” or AIDS, to describe the occurrences of opportunistic infections, Kaposi’s sarcoma, and Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia in previously healthy men. Formal tracking (surveillance) of AIDS cases began that year in the United States.

The cause of AIDS is a virus that scientists isolated in 1983. The virus was at first named HTLV-III/LAV (human T-cell lymphotropic virus-type III/lymphadenopathy- associated virus) by an international scientific committee. This name was later changed to HIV (human immunodeficiency virus).

However, it is established that HIV is passed on from the infected person to another person through the contact of body fluids such as blood, semen, vaginal fluid, breast milk and other body fluids containing blood. In other words, the virus may be transmitted through blood to blood and sexual contact, and from pregnant women to baby during pregnancy, delivery or breast feeding. Among health workers, it has also been acquired through contact of cerebrospinal fluid surrounding the brain and the spinal cord, synovial fluid surrounding bone joints, and amniotic fluid surrounding a fetus. The virus starts weakening the immune system of the body making it more and more susceptible to various types of infectious attacks (since these infections can easily attack the body of the AIDS patient they are often called the “opportunistic” infections) and the person ultimately succumbs to one or more of them and dies. Although, the relationship between HIV and AIDS is not fully understood, available evidence suggests that the HIV is the cause of AIDS: HIV may remain dormant for as many as 8-10 years and develop into AIDS after that.

Due to lack of scientific understanding of origin, spread of HIV is attributed to different factors in different settings leading to multiple discourses. No wonder some people in Africa attribute HIV to an imperial plot against people of Africa. This makes the task of intervention - testing, prevention and antiretroviral therapy-difficult, complex and uncertain.
Growth of HIV is a Complex Phenomenon

Campbell (2006) says

HIV is able to acquire extensive genetic diversity because of its rapid replication rate and the high frequency of mutations during replication. People with chronic HIV infection harbor a diverse population of closely related viral variants that is often referred to as a “quasispecies.” Many drug-resistant variants do not replicate as well as other members of the quasispecies; however, incomplete inhibition of HIV replication by antiretroviral drugs allows some drug-resistant variants to expand and eventually dominate the quasispecies. Then, when antiretroviral therapy is discontinued, most drug-resistant variants fade from the quasispecies. Even though drug-resistant variants might not then be detected in the plasma quasispecies, they are likely harbored in latent HIV reservoirs and can rapidly return if the selective pressure of the antiretroviral drug is reapplied. When HIV is transmitted from one person to another by sexual intercourse, only a few members of the donor’s quasispecies infect the new host. If drug-resistant variants are transmitted, they might fade from detection in the plasma during initial viral diversification in the new host, but could linger in latent reservoirs.

This implies that the focus will remain on safe practices for long time. Thus HIV cannot be treated but can be prevented. People have to use safe practices.

Free from Social Class Epidemiology: Nobody is Safe

It is said that the risk of HIV/AIDS is dependent on behaviour and not on group. This leads to the conclusion that HIV is more of a psychological or clinical problem than a sociological problem and it requires intervention through information-motivation-behavioural skills approach rather than structural approach. However, there are some interesting sociological facts: there is a growing evidence for feminization of HIV, i.e., increasing proportion of women among the positive people; some groups such as commercial sex workers, migrant workers, truckers, vulnerable groups in both urban and rural areas, drug users and males having sex with males (MSMs) are considerably at higher risk than others; and migrants are more vulnerable to risk than non-migrants. Fisher (1997) arguing for a theory-based framework for intervention and evaluation in STD/HIV, says that individuals function within social networks that establish norms of behaviour, including safer sexual behaviour, and that these social networks enforce adherence to these norms. Also the researches have established that sexual norms, gender roles and culture affect the spread of HIV/AIDS (Niang et al. 2003).
Beyond Conventional Sociology

Sociology of HIV/AIDS will depend heavily on inputs obtained from other disciplines. For example, Fishbein’s behavioural intention theory would be of great help in explaining why people should go for unsafe behaviour despite having awareness of HIV. Conventional sociological approach that explains behaviour in terms of social structure is not adequate: behaviour needs to be explained in terms of background characteristics, attitudes, personality traits and other individual differences which affect behavioural beliefs, normative beliefs and efficacy beliefs, which in turn affect attitudes, norms and self-efficacy.

Stigma

Stigma is most important to HIV prevention. Sociologists must study social representations of HIV in order to explain prejudices against protected person (Sharma, 2006) which includes: (i) HIV-positive; or (ii) actually, or perceived to be, associated with an HIV-positive person; or (iii) actually, or perceived to be, at risk of exposure to HIV infection; or (iv) actually, or perceived to be, a member of a group actually or perceived to be, vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. Also the definition of partner not only includes spouse but also “a person with whom another person has a relationship in the nature of marriage.” It is believed that there is a U-shaped relationship between awareness of HIV and stigma. However, there is a need to develop reliable and valid scales to measure stigma so that its association with social structure and consequences for prevention of HIV can be examined empirically.

Identifying HRGs

Identifying high risk groups (HRGs) itself has been an extremely difficult task. In the past, they have been identified through interviews of key informants (KIs) (ORG, 2003, Kumar, 2008). These KIs are common people who have had some knowledge about movements of HRGs and hotspots where risk behaviour takes place. However, there is a feeling that unless the primary KIs, i.e., the members of HRGs are themselves involved in social mapping, the results of the mapping exercises would not be accurate. There is a need for developing methodologies for identification of HRGs, specially the MSM.
Inequality of Opportunities

Opportunities for counselling and testing, getting antiretroviral therapy and
treatment of opportunistic infections are not equal. Sociologists can with their
traditional wisdom show how social structure and opportunities are interrelated.
They can also suggest what should be the most optimum delivery strategies for
providing facilities and support system to the most vulnerable people, tribal
communities, disadvantaged sections, women and children.

Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation of positive people is another important issue. HIV positive
people have to be looked after in family and community. Governments can help
to some extent but it is not possible to rehabilitate millions of positive people by
governments in poor countries where the HIV prevalence rates are highest.
Isolation of HIV positive people is also not a well accepted policy anywhere.
Sociologists can identify issues in rehabilitation of HIV positive people in different
settings.

NGO/CBO

Sociologists have taken special interest in studies of non-government
organizations (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs) as part of
neo-social movements. However, no studies are conducted of NGOs and CBOs
engaged in HIV action as target intervention (TI) partners of National Aids Control
Organization or UNICEF. There is a need to study them and sociologists with
their training in studies of movements and neo-social movements are most suited
for this.

Conclusion

This paper shows that emergence of HIV/AIDS as a public health problem
has created new and challenging issues before sociologists. There are many
research questions that need to be addressed for both developing theoretical
insights into social aspects of HIV/AIDS as well as for guiding programme planners
such as NACO and UNICEF to run action programmes in an optimum manner.
However, sociologists can face these challenges better if they go beyond the
structural understanding of behaviour and draw insights from other disciplines
and frameworks. In India, they should work with governments, civil society
organizations, and NGOs and CBOs to identify problems and gaps in knowledge regarding ways of preventing spread of HIV epidemics in the country as well as protecting the interests of the positive people, the most vulnerable section of society.

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Children’s Contributions and Entitlement Destitution among Jaunsar Households of Uttarkhand

Rajiv Pandey*, Dharmendra Verma** and Vinod Chandra***

Abstract: The study proposes that for the long term growth of the region and for forest conservation, the policy makers should try to regulate the youth and children power and streamline them with right choice and due entitlement through proper policy, which should integrate the upliftment of the entire resources and conditions of the household including the infrastructure of the region needed for effective development.

The study is based on the time use analysis of male and female children of forest dependent Jaunsary tribal community through the household attribute examination. It was observed that household environment i.e. social, economic and decision making does not govern the variation in the jobs of male and female children of these societies, whose total labor time on per day basis was very high. This shows that the belongings of these children are having no bearings; therefore the developmental programs should be framed accordingly by integration of the upliftment of household in totality.

Key words: Children, household, forest, education, labour

Introduction

Households in developing countries derive livelihoods from diversified portfolios. These household livelihood requirements are availability of adequate food and other essential subsistence goods, cash for purchase of outside goods

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and services, savings and social security. Other than these, disaster management potential, concern about reducing critical risk factors, and local social, cultural and spiritual considerations are also integral part of human livelihood. In a broader sense, livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Ashby and Carney, 1999). Moreover, the rural households of developing countries largely depend on the common property resources (CPR) particularly forests for a range of services and products required for livelihood (Jodha, 1992; Hossain, 1995; Parikh, 1998). The forests contribute extensively for forest dependent community to meet their daily economic, spiritual and social needs (Byron and Arnold, 1999). Majority of these households harvest the wild resource products against their labor for consumption purposes whilst others are harvested for commercial purposes, besides as inputs into other production systems (Cavendish 1998; Shackleton et al., 2000, Pandey, 2009). These contributions of members for the subsistence livelihood of family are generally in the form of expenditure savings or income earnings against their labor for extraction of forest resources (Kar, 1982; Menon, 1987; FAO and SIDA, 1991; Arnold, 1995; Vijay Laxmi et al., 2003). Therefore, the role of family members i.e. male, female and children are detrimental for the welfare of family. The extent of roles of these members is varied due to differences in intensity into efforts for their labor.

In general, these people have poor quality of life. This deprivation of the family in terms of the poor quality of life is primarily due to the lack of actual entitlement to these members from the state. This issue becomes more worse for the community, living in hilly rural location due to typical topographical and remote settings besides the lack of technological interventions and deforestation. These linkages between population, the environment, and poverty have been acknowledged at both international and regional levels since the 1970’s (United Nations, 1997). This all in combinations makes these poor more deprived in terms of their overall human development.

In the context of development, the provision for social and economic opportunity for poor is critical (Dreeze and Sen, 2005). These can be in the tune of locally available resources with possible effective developmental interventions with synchronization of the diverse role of household members. Number of related studies have been conducted at regional and global level. Some dealt with the effects of environmental degradation on household development (Jodha, 1990;
Pasha, 1991); women, children and contribution of forests and CPRs for household production and consumption (Vijay Laxmi et al., 2003; Pandey and Bisht, 2006a); women time allocation decisions for household work (Pandey and Chandra, 2009). Earlier work determines household production and consumption by maximizing their utility under the related constraints of labour, household characteristics, time and income (Sadoulet and de Janvry, 1995). Relationships between household characteristics and dependency on local commons have been studied by several authors (Jodha, 1986; Adhikari, 2002; Pandey and Bisht, 2006b).

In this context, the strategic role of children has been consistently debated by academicians and policy makers in overall development perspectives, which leads for entitlement of better quality of life. Moreover, children contribution in forest dependent communities is very important for household welfare. Their contributions in deriving commercial products from forest in terms of expenditure savings or earnings are able to fill income gaps, which enhance livelihood security of the poor rural households. This is partly because of the welfare or production demand; partly due to the improper facility of efficient educational resources, partly as a result of administrative inertia and because of the lack of social awareness to the essentiality of education as a basic right for children. The significant contribution of children in terms of capability in rural and poverty stricken communities is also most effective long term strategy of poverty relief and economic development, which is generally overlooked by the policy planners in the developmental aspects.

**Gender Environment and Household Welfare**

The analysis of the utilization of resources by the people against their labor particularly for rural livelihoods advocates the beliefs and theories that suggest that problems of poverty, population and the environment are inter-linked, which have come to the fore due to the inclusion of environmental degradation and population growth into the development agenda. Extensive literature exists to corroborate the issue with the rejection and acceptance of the hypotheses, which shows that there is a vicious cycle of poverty, population growth, and environmental degradation (Dasgupta, 1995, Cleaver and Schreiber, 1995; Cavendish 1998; 2000).

Majority of India’s population living in rural areas, has subsistence economy
and are largely dependent on CPR’s for most of their livelihood needs. Women in the subsistence economy are the significant contributors to non-household work such as cultivation of crops and forest collections. The women’s interface with the forests is in many ways i.e. gathering, wage employment, production in farm forestry and management of afforested areas in the community plantation (Saxena, 1991; Vijay Laxmi et al., 2003; Pandey, 2007). Moreover, women of tribal societies play an important role in the socio-economic structure and development of their household. In India, apart from fodder and fuel, the tribal women collect food, medicinal plants, building materials, inputs materials for household items and farm implements (Dhebar, 1961). The differential roles and responsibilities of men and women vis-à-vis forests and the concomitant social and economic consequences for tribal households at large, and women in particular, are considerable. Interestingly, considerable role-played by women in ensuring food security, and provision of cash income from forest products gives women a higher status in tribal societies (Sarkar, 1994; Pandey, 2007).

Depending on the region and crops, women’s contributions vary with their role as pivotal labour from planting to harvesting and post-harvest operations. Moreover, with the increase in poverty, women become more prominent in ensuring the survival of households by sharing greater responsibility to provide resources from forests and common lands (Ramamani, 1988). Kumar and Hotchkiss, (1988) supported that the larger family implies greater energy demand and more labor availability for fuelwood collection. In the state of Uttar Pradesh, women, derive 45 percent of their income from forests and common lands as compared to 13 percent by men (FAO and SIDA, 1991). Menon, (1991) is of the view that the household economy of hilly area is women centered, who make provisions for basic necessities like food, fuel, fodder, minor forest produce, medicine, housing material etc. from forest produce apart from their normal households chores, and bear excess workload. Therefore, overall they tend to work for more hours than men. The predominance of women in natural resource collection work and household activities implies that their role is expected to be very important for the development agenda.

Dasgupta, (1993; 1995) and Dasgupta and Maler, (1995) also develop theories that children are devoted to that part of family income which is derived from the exploitation of natural resources. The cost of the income is labor time, which is required to collect the resources against their labor. Some authors report
that with the increases in poverty, women and children become more prominent in ensuring the survival of households by assuming greater responsibility in providing food commodities from forests and common property resources (Jodha, 1986; Pasha, 1991; Charity and Lovett, 2001).

In developing countries, children are also significant collectors of products from CPR’s particularly fuelwood for cooking energy and fodder for livestock rearing (Jodha, 1995; Amacher et al. 1993; Pandey, 2007). The roles and responsibility between the children gender differs and governs by the social processes as well as the work of respective adult gender. In general, boys get employment in the formal sector while girls are more likely to work in the home (King and Hill, 1993). However, for the household non monetised activities, boys opt the labor job, which is in general, demand more strength and persistence. This is partly because work is sometimes viewed as a socialization process where children learn from adults about their responsibilities in life. Some anthropological studies show that children tend to do the same tasks as adults of the same gender (Bradley, 1993). It has also been reported that women’s formal work and girl children’s formal work are complementary (Grootaert and Kanbur 1995).

The gender dimension of labor implies that girls will also be disproportionately affected by work related to collection of environmental variables. Filmer and Prichett, 1996 showed that female children in Pakistan spent about 20% of the total time on firewood collection, water collection, and cleaning. Heltberg, et. al., 2000 also advocated that number of children have positive and significant impacts on forest fuelwood collection. Pandey, 2007 also reported that for forest dependent community of Jaunsar, India fodder collection is gender sensitive and favor male children, however there is no significant difference between male and female children for other forest collections i.e. fuelwood, leaf twig, fruits etc in hills.

Literature on the effects of productive and housework for household welfare on schooling mostly shows the negative impact of formal child employment, which restrain them for attaining the better entitlement (Rosenzweig and Evenson, 1977; Psacharopoulos and Arriagada, 1989; Psacharopoulos, 1997). However, it is also concluded that augmenting of the opportunity cost of children’s time with increased schooling will reduce the forest degradation. However, this result can also be interpreted as some evidence in support of environmental degradation’s
impact on schooling. That is, children who do not have better quality of life i.e. better facilities at the household are disadvantaged in schooling as well as performance. One explanation for this would be the higher amount of time that these children have to spend on forest collection (Bluffstone, 1995). Levison and Moe (1998) find girls domestic work to affect girl’s schooling negatively, although some of this effect is offset by the presence of other girls and women in the household. Binder and Scrogin (1999) also found that both formal and household work have a small negative impact on human capital formation hours (hours in school and extra-curricula activities) and that formal work is associated with less leisure for children.

Some studies in the child labor literature can be interpreted in other ways based on the quality of life of the people and the evaluation of environmental work. Although this interpretation is indirect or reverse and may not be true in real sense, however, may at least, provide some clue in favor of vice versa issue too. As among the peasant rural economies, schooling is generally conceived as a burden on the family, because of both the expenditure associated with schooling and the immediate loss of the children’s contribution to the household production and income opportunity. The need for children’s indispensable labour is the major reason for parents being reluctant to send their children to school. In other words, the woman’s mobility is reduced through an increased domestic burden due to involvement of children in schooling and thus less time is devoted to housework activities by these women (Pandey and Bisht, 2006 a; Pandey, 2007).

The present study based on the hypothetical assumptions drawn from the review of the aforesaid literature explore the contribution and status of the children of a forest dependent tribal community known as Jaunsary of Dehradun, Uttarakhand. The central hypothesis of this paper is that there are differences between the various household works for male and female children with respect to the respective household social, economic and decision attributes, which determine the household quality of life. In fact, this is with the logic that as overall household quality of life increases, the households respond by substituting their children efforts between household works and by increased opportunity for education to children as the need for their indispensable labour for household welfare is the major reason for parents being reluctant to send their children to school. It is even conceivable that the participation in household works by these children may be shifted for better future by improving their intrinsic and extrinsic
qualities by providing them into increased education opportunity (Dreze and Sen, 1997). Thus, proper and effective analysis of children’s participation in household work with greater extent and the quality of life influencing parameters is essential for an informed choice of better future of the children and thus development of the region and conservation of forest (Bluffstone, 1995). There is no study that we are aware of that specifically evaluated at the effect of children role in family welfare with the heterogeneity in household attributes.

The central issue relates to how the household, defined as an income-pooling group, adopts economic strategies to increase the welfare of household within the available resources with emphasis on both male and female children. The present research is to investigate the contributions of children of heterogeneous household characteristics by evaluating the extent of involvement and role towards the family welfare in general and their quality of life in particular for the forest dependent community of a tribal hilly region, Jaunsar Bawar, Dehradun.

Background Information about Jaunsar Bawar and Jaunsaries

The spatial focus of the study is Jaunsar Bawar of Dehradun, Uttarakhand. It lies between latitudes 30°-31°N and 31°-30°N and longitudes 77°-45°E and 78°-7°-20°E. It is entirely composed of the succession of peculiarly rough and precipitous hills and mountains. The total geographic area is 1002.07 square km, constituting 32.5% area of Dehradun district. It is roughly oval in shape with its major axis lying North–South (Pant and Samal, 1998).

The community of the Jausar Bawar is known as Jaunsaries. Settlements on the region consist of smallholder communities of 8 to more than twenty families interspersed in cluster form with a density of 88 persons per square kilometer as per 1996 survey. Population of the area was 114,593 in 2001 Census, out of which, 59,466 were males with 55,127 female. The proportion of Schedule Caste population is 29 percent. The literacy rates vary from 13 to 39 percent (Pandey, 2007).

The total agriculture land is 36,647 acres with only 10% land i.e. 3,818 acre is irrigated and rest is unirrigated. Their agricultural fields are not suitable for cultivation due to the hilly tracts and rocks. These have been made conducive upto some extent for agriculture by the manual work of the people. Wastelands occupy another 43 percent and out of it, cultivable wasteland proportion is
approximately 34 percents. However, these lands are largely unsuitable for productive purposes due to hilly tracts and lack of irrigation facilities (Joshi, 1995). This situation is not changed with the pace of recent economic development. Farming in Jaunsar is of a subsistence nature and mainly depends on rains. The employment opportunity is almost negligible. Therefore, smallholder households on the region employ diversified economic strategies for subsistence livelihood with limited opportunity for income generation under resource crunch situation except forest, which spread over an area of 64% in the region. Hence the livelihood options revolve around the exploitation of natural resources mainly forest in general and agriculture in particular. The extractions from forest and cultivation of agriculture crop are practiced jointly by the villagers due to the situation of fields at the forest fringes. The forest resource utilization is mainly for consumption goods. They get shelter, home and raw materials for house buildings, food, dress material, cultural equipments, spiritual life or pleasure together with psychological contentment from forests. The forest collections are being practiced in groups. Their way of life is strongly associated to the forests from birth to death. Hence, the entire socio-economic structure of the Jaunsari community revolves around the principle of ‘joint living and joint agriculture’ since generations (Sishaudhia, 1981, 1993). Livestock rearing in Jaunsar is essential primarily for drought power and farmyard manure. The milk and milk products are secondary. The livestock includes mainly buffaloes, cows, goats, sheep and mules (Pandey, 2007).

Methodology

Understanding a phenomenon and locating variables that pattern the events in a certain fashion, require a systematic use of relevant information obtained through efficient collection and logical analysis. The study region has four distinct zones based on forest type. These are 1) Sub-tropical zone i.e. low-hills, 2) Chir Zone i.e. mid hills, 3) Deodar Zone i.e. high hills, and 4) Kharshu Zone i.e. alpine Zone (Atkinson, 1998).

The data were collected through multi-stage random sampling methods. At first stage two zones were selected at random i.e. low and high hill zones. At second level, villages were identified at random within the selected zones. Information pertaining to the time devoted in hours and minutes per day for various classified household chores, including forest resource collections was collected from 302 randomly selected households with 5-12 from each thirty four randomly
selected villages on randomly selected day. Larger sample size from villages could not be considered due to the homogeneous livelihood pattern within a village. This decision was arrived at based on assessment through pilot survey as well as existing literature. Villages were selected by random cluster sampling procedure, keeping in view of homogeneous group of the sampling population. The main part of the field research for this study was conducted in stages during the summer of 2003 through the spring of 2005.

Classification of household activities: The Jaunsary household activities were classified on the basis of their livelihood patterns and traditional economic systems, in the following manner:

(A) **Housework** (performed within the homestead): These activities included (i) fetching water, (ii) cooking, (iii) cleaning and washing, (iv) home gardening, (v) care for children, (vi) care for sick and older members of the family, (vii) drying paddy, seed, etc. (viii) pounding and husking, (ix) construction and repair work (fence, shed), and (x) weaving and knitting.

(B) **Productive work** (performed outside the homestead): These activities are (i) crop farming and agricultural work, (ii) feeding domestic animals, (iii) collection of firewood, (iv) hunting and trapping, (v) grazing, (vi) labor work for construction of road, channel and quarrying, etc (vii) professional job, and (viii) collection of fodder, leaf and twigs.

(C) **Community work** (Extended housework): (i) leisure (free and time for enjoy) and personal care, (ii) marketing, (iii) community work, and (iv) social and cultural activities.

Data for all the above-mentioned activities were collected separately for all members of both sexes including children through pretested questionnaire from 302 selected households. These sorts of data provide information on the distribution of roles of male and female having different positions in household. Besides this data, on the social, economic and decision issues has also been collected from each household. Moreover based on these issues, data were classified in different categories under each issues for making estimates of the time devoted for each household work by male and female children and compared by t-test or ANOVA depending on the number of categories. This comparison may facilitate about the role of these children under the various categories of these issues, which is supposed to govern the variation in children roles for
household welfare on these peasant economies.

**Key Economic and Demographic Features of Households**

Jaunsaries, who are in general away from market mechanism and follow the “production and consumption” economy, follow the extended family system with large size with an average of 10 members (Table 1) that consists of a head of household, his/her spouse, brothers, their wives and offsprings. Traditionally, the eldest among the male members of the senior generation heads the household. He enjoys the patriarchal authority in the family and is known as Sayana. He has the sole authority over the family property, but in order that he does not misuse his right, often he requires and receives advice from his brothers. In past, the wife or wives as well as children are common to all brothers, as they were following polyandry (Sishaudhia, 1981). However, this practice is disappearing now-a-days with the creation of awareness, infrastructure and education (Pant and Samal,)

**Table 1: Some descriptive statistics of quality of life and forest related parameters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Mean ± SE</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family size</td>
<td>9.63 ± 0.21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children upto 5 years age</td>
<td>1.15 ± 0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of male children of 5-15 years age</td>
<td>1.87 ± 0.10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of female children of 5-15 years age</td>
<td>1.38 ± 0.10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of male between 15-25 years age</td>
<td>0.81 ± 0.10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of female between 15-25 years age</td>
<td>0.77 ± 0.05</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of head of household</td>
<td>46.56 ± 1.34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of schooling of head of household male</td>
<td>3.87 ± 0.33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total land holding (In Bighas)</td>
<td>21.34 ± 2.73</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>80.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation land (In Bighas)</td>
<td>5.89 ± 1.13</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time for fuel collection (Hr)</td>
<td>2.63 ± 2.89</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time for fodder collection (Hr)</td>
<td>2.51 ± 2.33</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance covered for fuel collection (Km)</td>
<td>2.29 ± 2.0</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance covered for fodder collection (Km)</td>
<td>2.01 ± 2.0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On average basis, there is at least one member of the age below five and between 5 to 15 years of age in these households. The land distribution is unsymmetrical; with some have no land, and some with land upto 80 bighas with an average of 21 bighas.

The poor infrastructure and rugged topography compelled the Jaunsaries to adopt more than one profession for their survival strategy yet, agriculture is the main activity for seventy three percent households. Sixteen percent of households are primarily involved in labour works. Only three percent earn from salary by different profession and only two percent are getting income from forest through value addition to the forest products including carpentry job. However, while probing the role of forest, all are of the opinion that they are using various products and raw materials from forest. The participations of all family members particularly children are common for the activities related to forest and cultivation.

Proportion of family members participating in various economic activities is varied among different household members. The participation in fuel wood collection was 55% for men, 83% for women and 67.5 % for children (Fig. 1). Female participation in fodder collection was 80%. Children too were actively engaged in fodder collection. They supervised livestock grazing simultaneous with fodder collection. However, for both these forest collection overall female

Fig. 1: Proportion of Household Members Participation in Various Economic Activities
and children participation was more than male. However, for more labour intensive and persistence nature job i.e. agriculture, salaried, labour and value addition, the male participation was more than female.

**Children Demography and Contribution to Household Welfare**

The in-depth study reveals that there was at least one child below 5 years for 60 percent families. However in 10 % families, there were at least three children up to age five. The child below age 5 demands special care therefore engagement of family labor is essential, which reduces total labour force of the family. During survey, it was revealed that this care is primarily the responsibility of either the old aged female or the children up to 15 years of age. Eighty five percent of families support more than one male and female children between 5 to 15 years of age and 75 % for the members of 15 to 25 years of age (Fig. 2). These comprise the main workforce and contribute mainly for labour-intensive jobs, thus provide the opportunity to the elders of the house, in general, with more working time to do other jobs or make them free for leisure depending on their health status. These young ones are participating in many activities related to cultivation and forest collections. The extent of participation varies with respect to their age and their belongings, it seems. They contribute in the forms of expenditure savings rather than earnings in general.

---

**Fig. 2: Household Proportion for Members up to 25 Years Age**

![Graph showing household proportion for members up to 25 years age.](image-url)
The educational status of children was also explored during the survey. It was observed that although, people were aware regarding the benefits of education, still some socio-economic and geographic constraints compelled them to withdraw their kids from the school. The proportional distribution of these children as per their involvement in school and household chores are reported in Table 2. It is apparent, from the table, that there were some families in which the children were totally engaged in domestic activities and not attending school. The non-attendance of schools by the kids was mainly due to the lack of interest in education or participation in some intermittent economic activities. However, the proportion of children attending school and doing household chores as well was nearly fifty percent. These chores for male children was mainly forest based and livestock rearing and for female children household affairs too. Results from this study show that about 83 percent of male children attend school. This might be due to the awareness regarding education. They spend an average of 3 hours per day on leisure activities. On the other hand, 49 percent of female children attend school and on average spend 2 hours of leisure per day. The most important feature is the regular attendance in the school, which was low, noted during general discussions with villagers. The low proportions in school attendance were primarily due to the sharing in family chores responsibility and poor infrastructure for education facility. Boys who spend more time in school devote less time to economic work, while girls are needed to work at home for longer hours and as they become mature their contribution increases. The children participating in labor profession are only those, who belong to economically weak families. The

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children Status</th>
<th>Number of Male children</th>
<th>Number of Female children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children, who are not attending school and performing household chores</td>
<td>Proportion 72.3 10.0 8.0 3.2 0 67.8 20.1 11.1 1.0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children, who are attending school and performing household chores</td>
<td>Proportion 36.9 39.2 19.7 2.9 1.3 32.2 36.9 29.6 1.3 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children, who are attending school and not performing household chores</td>
<td>Proportion 72.0 18.8 9.2 0 0 93.3 6.7 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children engaged as laborer</td>
<td>Proportion 55.9 26.3 16.5 1.3 0 99.0 1.0 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The proportion of families with children in labor profession in the region is less than 50 percent. The proportion of families having one male child as labor in the age group 5 - 15 years is 26 percent with no participation of female children. They are not full time labor rather they get income through it some times.

It was observed that female children assist in household chores especially in food preparation, cleaning, childcare and fetching of water. Children assist mostly in general cutting of firewood and tending cattle. This is mainly due to the edaphic factor of the region and social norms of the community as there is need of more hands to cope with tiresome work in the family. The limited means and resources marshaled the family members for a good spirit of co-operation to cope with the environment and to live jointly. In poorer households, particularly of small family, children’s schooling stands greater risk of being jeopardised as they are often required to assist their mothers in a variety of ways. However, where women extend their families in order to create more security (by increasing income), and flexibility (by balancing out responsibility), workloads of individual members may be reduced significantly.

Over 70 percent of female children and 63 percent of male children were engaged in productive activities in different potential. For these activities, male and female children, were devoting almost same time (2.7 and 2.8 hours per day), respectively. This means that female children are relatively disadvantaged compared to male children through the effect of more work burdens. The time required on productive activities for cultivation and forest collection was more due to nature of the job as well as lack of awareness of scientific knowledge and unavailability of proper tools. The male children devoted maximum time upto 11 hours and female children upto 9 hours in productive work (Table 3). Analysis of household chores carried out on a daily basis for male and female children of the

| Table 3: Participation of children in household activities |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Members                         | Participation (%) | Household Activities | Mean ± SE       |
|                                 | HA   | PA   | CA   | HA (h/d) | PA (h/d) | CA (h/w) |
| Male Children                   | 72.1 | 63.3 | 80.3 | 3.41 ± 0.16 | 2.75 ± 0.17 | 11.23 ± 0.79 |
| Female Children                 | 89.1 | 70.6 | 63.6 | 5.34 ± 0.20 | 2.83 ± 0.17 | 13.39 ± 0.82 |

HA - Housework Activities; PA - Productive Activities; CA – Community Activities; h/d – Hours per day; h/w – Hours per week
household on the basis of their involvement in various households’ related activities. Eighty-nine percent female children and seventy percent male children participated in household activities with daily average spent time of 5.30 hours and 3.41 hours, respectively. Forty-eight percent of male children and sixty-three percent female children had participated in one or other way in the community work in recent past. The main community activities for them were either playing or enjoying by any means besides participation in some traditional, religious, social functions and celebration of festivals. The community role for developmental aspects was found to be of low priority for the children. This was mainly due to lack of awareness for importance of development as revealed.

From this, it is apparent that children made a substantial economic contribution to the household in terms of savings against their services. This also provided other family members with opportunities to pursue alternate or other activities for household welfare. In general, female children were engaged mostly in household’s chores, firewood collection and cattle tending; while male children are involved more in agriculture, forestry and livestock maintenance. This shows that female children were less likely to be in advantageous and participating less in recreational activities. This is probably due to their heavy involvement in domestic sphere. The economic contribution of children was very significant in this community in addition to their assistance in household chores. However, children who live in an area where water source and forest is situated at on more distance was more likely to do more work. Moreover, poverty, on the other hand, is associated with higher probability of a child involved in resource collection work due to free commodity but a lower probability for community or recreational work. Household compositions also affect the work status of the children. Children from households that have a larger number of infants and young children (1-5 years old) were less likely to involve in outside house activities. This could be due to other work burden of childcare, cleaning and cooking that such children impose on these grown up children (Nankhuni and Findeis, 2003). On the other hand, children from household with larger number of women were in advantageous situation due to women’s increased role in domestic work. This relieves the children of the household from resource collection participation as well as resource collection burdens. These sharing of work and reliving to the children from household chores was more likely to facilitate them for increased school attendance.

The above explorations clearly reveal that the children are an important
agent for household welfare particularly for production functions. Although they all are engaged at the cost of their own development, which in turn reduce their quality of life and deprive them from the acquiring of many intrinsic and extrinsic qualities. This in totality will be critical for long term growth of the region. Therefore, at this junction, the policy makers should try to regulate this youth power and streamline them through proper policy, which should not deal only the economic issues of the region rather, it should include the right choice and entitlement of these youth. This will ultimately reduce the pressure on the forest and help to conserve the natural resources.

**Heterogeneity in Household Attributes and Children’s Contributions**

Exploratory analysis was carried out keeping in view of time spent differential by the male and female children on housework, productive and communities’ activities to adjudge that whether the children belongings do matter with respect to their involvement in the respective activities. To address these issues, time use analysis was performed by making different possible existing categories for three important issues i.e. decision, social and economic capabilities of the household welfare. It was important to note that family size, requirement and problems of households was heterogeneous. Households were differentiated for decision making criteria by the sex of head of household (male and female); for social status by caste (SC and other than SC’s) and type of household (kaccha, semi pucca and pucca) and economic status by primary profession (agriculture and other than agriculture). More number of categories for these criteria was possible, but due to low proportion in the some of the categories, only those categories was considered, which may provide substantial information. However, it is important to note that the types and intensities of problems/concerns of household in each of these classes were also differed. Moreover, keeping in view of the requirements, resources and infrastructure in the region, the different activities by these children were assessed through their participation in household activities based on the time devoted for these activities. However, before exploring these, the important determinant or characteristics, which govern directly or indirectly the household activities were estimated for each category of all criteria.

The details about the each specified categories for the parameters, which govern the labour facilitation and requirements are reported in Table 4 for the various categories of all considered issues. These parameters are land asset
(cultivation), ACU (cattle population), collection of fuelwood and fodder from forest, which are main contributors for the increased labour time, were estimated for each category/issue besides the family size, which govern the labour force of the household. Table 4 clearly shows that the proportion of female headed households were too low in the region. However, the other labour governing parameters were not much differ except the land, which was nearly 22 bigha for male headed household in comparison to 17 bigha for female headed household. The reason is not so obvious for it. The similar situation prevails for caste, type of house and primary profession too. In this case the other than SC caste has much more land assets than SC community. The probable reason may be the better conditions of the upper caste people. It is generally accepted that the upper caste are well off than the others. The land asset increases with increase in the type of house from kachha to puckka. It is again probably due to well off condition of the household. The household with primary profession of agriculture has more land than the others. Moreover, analysis of these considered parameters shows that there was not much variation between the group characteristics for different issues except land and in cattle population. However, it is imperative that these two may affect the labor time of the children very adversely.

**Fuelwood and Fodder are the collected quantity from the forest in kg.**

The time devoted by the children under all three classified activities were compared between the categories of each issue. The t-test result shows that for decision issue i.e. sex of head of households there were difference in time spent by female children for productive activities and by the male children in housework at 16 % level of significance (Table 5). The less time devoted by the female children in productive activities with female head household was due to the balance of women between her job performance and accordingly allocation of job. This is probably decision making freedom, which women have, besides better understanding of the mechanism and requirements of these jobs. Moreover, female headed household has less resources i.e. land and cattle population. This supports intra household allocation studies that show the importance of women’s autonomy in directing household resources to the benefit of children in a household (Kennedy and Peters 1992; Thomas 1994). However, the higher contribution of male children in male headed household does not have apparent logic. But it may be due to variation in resources availability between the categories besides the non involvement of male head household in forest collections.
Table 4: Descriptive statistics of labor influential parameters for different category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue/Category</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Proportion of HH</th>
<th>Household Assets and Forest Dependency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ACU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision</td>
<td>Sex of HH</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>6.66 ± 0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.13 ± 0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caste</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.51 ± 0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>6.58 ± 0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Type of House</td>
<td>Kaccha</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>7.12 ± 0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Semi Pucca</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>5.78 ± 0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pucca</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>7.77 ± 0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Primary Profession</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>6.76 ± 0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>5.77 ± 0.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The livestock were measured as adult cattle units (ACUs). Weights assigned to different animals were: one cow = 1 ACU, one buffalo = 1.3 ACU, young stock of buffalo/cow = 0.75 ACU, and sheep or goat = 0.15 ACU (Yang, 1971). Horse and mules were assigned the same weight as buffaloes.
The social issue based on the caste factor does not show differences between the categories based on t-test for time devoted by the children except the higher involvement of male children of SC community under community activities (Table 5). This may be probably due to less availability of land, which required low input in terms of the labor for cultivation purposes. Moreover, due to this free time, the children of this community involve more into playing or roaming. The other social determinant i.e. type of house does not reveal any differences among the three classes based on F-test except the higher contribution of male children in household work with better condition household (Table 5). This was probably due to higher capability of these households in terms of cattle and land resources. Directly or indirectly these govern the housework too, particularly for water and cultivation requirements besides more cleaning requirements due to use of fuelwood, which makes the walls of the house dirty and blackish.

The economic issue, which was assessed through primary profession, was also nonsignificant for all activities except the housework by the male children, which was high with agriculture as primary profession. This was adjudged based on t-test (Table 5). This is apparent as the agriculture as profession required various inputs from housework too. This involves processing of seeds before sowing and cleaning & drying of harvested crops at home.

The analysis shows that more or less the time devoted by the male and female children are same for all activities under the various categories of social, economic and decision issues. The non-significance of these issues was mainly due to similar resource availability and homogeneous way of survival strategy, which revolves around joint living and joint agriculture (Sishaudhia, 1981; 1993). This can be concluded from the study that the intrinsic and extrinsic qualities of the children can not be attained within the present socio-economic and decision settings of the intra household environment of these forest dependent communities. Therefore, it is recommended for the developmental perspectives that the proper programs, which integrate the upliftment of the entire resources and conditions of the household including the infrastructure of the region is needed for effective development.

This clearly reflects that entitlement destitution of children is basically does not govern by the household social, economic and decision environment for these communities. Moreover, the differences in the work allocation inequality in intra
Table 5: Time allocation for household activities by the children of 5–15 years age under different categories for various household issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household work</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Statistic (sig.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex of Head of Household (Decision Environment)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive Work</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>2.75 ± 0.18</td>
<td>2.68 ± 0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/day)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>2.89 ± 0.18</td>
<td>1.89 ± 0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Work</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>11.16 ± 0.82</td>
<td>12.32 ± 2.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/week)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>13.36 ± 0.85</td>
<td>13.84 ± 3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housework</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>3.47 ± 0.16</td>
<td>2.53 ± 0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/day)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>5.40 ± 0.20</td>
<td>4.47 ± 0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Caste of Head of Household (Social Environment)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Other than SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive Work</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>2.70 ± 0.19</td>
<td>2.92 ± 0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/day)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>2.90 ± 0.20</td>
<td>2.57 ± 0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Work</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>12.12 ± 0.90</td>
<td>7.98 ± 1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/week)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>13.84 ± 0.94</td>
<td>11.72 ± 1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housework</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>3.48 ± 0.18</td>
<td>3.17 ± 0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/day)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>5.30 ± 0.23</td>
<td>5.49 ± 0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary Household Profession (Economic Environment)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Other than Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive Work</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>2.76 ± 0.19</td>
<td>2.69 ± 0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/day)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>2.82 ± 0.19</td>
<td>2.89 ± 0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Work</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>10.84 ± 0.86</td>
<td>12.77 ± 1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/week)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>13.64 ± 0.94</td>
<td>12.38 ± 1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housework</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>3.55 ± 0.18</td>
<td>2.89 ± 0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/day)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>5.39 ± 0.44</td>
<td>5.33 ± 0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of House (Social Environment)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kachcha</td>
<td>Semi Packcka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive Work</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>2.75 ± 0.41</td>
<td>2.73 ± 0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/day)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>2.85 ± 0.42</td>
<td>2.77 ± 0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Work</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>9.98 ± 1.80</td>
<td>12.47±1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/week)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>11.92 ± 1.84</td>
<td>13.82±1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housework</td>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>3.72 ± 0.37</td>
<td>2.91 ± 0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h/day)</td>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>5.87 ± 0.45</td>
<td>5.20 ± 0.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and inter gender among the children are not being regulated by the household attributes. It is against the well established belief and common understanding regarding the household status and labour allocations. However, the conclusion seems to be appropriate for the children of this community within the existing household status due to the lack of proper utilisation and actual contribution of available resources, poor infrastructural settings as well as non-integration of these into the developmental works. This destitution of entitlement of these children may only be shift, if the programs and policies will integrate all these in the developmental issues in such a way that it should uplift the existing conditions of the household with the infrastructural development of the region with sustainable utilisation of available resources.

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Discussion

Social Science in New Perspective

If we really re-enchant and empower social science and if we want to recover social science from its current role as looser in the science wars then we need to do three things as suggested by Bent Flyvbjerg (2001):

i. First, we must drop the fruitless effort to emulate natural science’s success in producing cumulative and predictive theory; this approach simply does not work in social science.

ii. Second, we must take up problems that matter to the local, national and global communities in which we live and we must focus on values and power like great social scientists have advocated, from Aristotle and Machiavelli to Max Weber and Pierre Bourdieu.

iii. Finally, we must effectively communicate the results of our research to fellow citizens.

If we do this, we may successfully transform social science from what is fast becoming a sterile academic activity which is undertaken mostly for its own sake and in increasing isolation from a society on which it has little effect and from which it gets little appreciation. We need to transform social science to an activity done in public for the public, sometimes to clarify, sometimes to intervene, sometimes to generate new perspectives, and always to serve as eyes and ears in our ongoing efforts at understanding the present and deliberating about the future. We may, in short, arrive at a social science that matters.

The development of social science seems to be constantly affected by conjunctures where we attempt to clarify to ourselves, and to others, what we can and can not do with this kind of science. Two scenarios for clarifications may be developed first, a perpetuation of science as usual and the second, an emergent ‘phronetic’ social science [Flyvbjerg 2001]. In the first scenario, scientism [here understood as the tendency to believe that science holds a reliable method of reaching the truth about the nature of things continues to dominate thinking in social and political science [Richard Rorty, 1991:65] Epistemic science and
predictive theory are regarded as the pinnacle of scientific endeavour in this scenario. The attempt to substitute theory and rules for phronesis will persist.

If this state of affairs continues, social and political research is likely to weaken further as a scientific activity. We are likely to continue to hear about the Crisis of social science. The ‘Science Wars’ will continue with the kind of attacks and counterattacks [Flyvbjerg 2001: 1-5], and with social science on the losing ride. University administrators will continue to see sociology, political science and other social science departments as appropriate and easy targets for cutbacks when cutbacks are on the agenda. And all with good reason: the social scientists’ era of glory in the 1960s and 1970s when they attempted to be architects in the development of the ‘Great Society’ and in other projects of the welfare state, has long since passed. These projects were built upon a natural science-inspired fallacy, which assumes a close association in social science between on the one hand theoretical, basic science (episteme) and, on the other, practical, applied science (techne).

The absence of this link between basic and applied social sciences does not mean that these sciences do not continue to play a role as techne. There remains a need for social sciences in the activities of the welfare society. These sciences help with registration, administration, control and redistribution of resources among various social groups. But in the first scenario, such a role will consist of a headless form of adhoc social engineering no longer given credence by a superstructure of social-science theory. It will instead be dictated by a functional means-rationally defined by the ruling relations of power. This kind of practical social-science activity does not require advanced graduate and post-graduate specialized institutions of higher learning. The type of social-engineering, we are speaking of here, primarily depends on midlevel generalists with an all-round Master’s or Bachelor’s degree: People who are flexible enough to administer and execute the kinds of measures dictated by whatever is considered instrumental at a given moment.

The second scenario replaces the view that the social sciences can be practised by episteme with their role as phronesis to quote Flyvbjerg. In this
scenario, the purpose of social science is not to develop theory, but to contribute to society, practical rationality in elucidating where we are, where we want to go, and what is desirable according to diverse sets of values and interests. The goal of the phronetic approach becomes one of contributing to society’s capacity for value-rational deliberation and action. The contribution may be a combination of concrete empirical analyses and practical philosophical considerations; fieldwork in philosophy’ as Bourdieu calls it.

A scenario of this kind will also involve the social sciences in their role as techne. However, when combined with the element of phronesis, it will be ‘techne’ with a ‘head on it’, i.e. a techne governed by value-rational deliberation. It can be dangerous for individuals, groups, and societies when their capacity for value-rational deliberation is eroded. Today, the erosion of such capacity seems to many to be rapidly taking place and coincides with the growing incursion of a narrow means-rationality into social and political life. Simultaneously, there is a marked need for discussion and reorientation of values and goals; for example, in relation to environment risks, work, health, international security and political stability. An evolution of the social sciences along the lines of this second scenario, i.e. as phronetic sciences could help counter the erosion of value-rationality and thereby help inhibit some of the destructive tendencies in society and in science.

Today, the dominant streak in social science continues to evolve along the lines of the first scenario, that of scientism. But scientism in social science is itself self-defeating because the reality of social science so evidently does not live up to the ideals of scientism and natural science. Therefore, it is the second scenario, that of phronesis which is more ‘fertile and work worthy for.

Note:

1. Phronesis in Aristotelian concept is a true state, reasoned, and capable of action with regard to things that are good or bad for man. It goes beyond both analytical scientific knowledge (episteme) and technical knowledge (techne) and involves judgments and decisions made in the manner of a virtuoso social and political action. It is commonly involved in social practice, and any attempt to reduce social
science and theory either to episteme or techne, or to comprehend in them in those terms are misguided.

Reference


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Review Article

Knowledge, Power and Culture: Towards a Critical Perspective

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It was Foucault, above all, who taught mutuality of knowledge and power and the extent to which all the ways of knowing are exercises of power. “Truth is a thing of this world; it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint” (Foucault, 1980:73)

This power is not reducible to interpersonal domination, but is constitution of social life and culture generally.

If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasures, forms knowledge, produces discourse (ibid: 61).

Power is, in this sense, “decentered”, not the property of any subject. Power is normalized, rendered into discipline, practiced routinely by subjects upon themselves in so far as they re-enact the premises of their culture. This seems to grasp a dimension of the modern experience of power, but at the same time it obscures the specifically modern increase in occasions and resources for people to distinguish between what power is and ought to be. As Habermas points out, Foucault shares with Horkeimer and Adorno failure “to do justice to the rational content of cultural modernity that was captured in bourgeois ideals” (Habermas, 1987: 113). One of the central problematics of power disappears in this formulation: there is no criteria for distinguishing legitimate from illegitimate power. Foucault’s theory, indeed, may actually make such critique internally impossible.

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A fundamental challenge for most postmodernist theories is to offer bases for making critical judgments. Such bases need ideally to be grounded in strong recognition of their cultural and historical specificity, and preferably to stand in an immanent relationship to the context of their development (Calhoun, 1990). Nonetheless, to be meaningful—both politically and theoretically—such bases need to allow for critical judgments to be arguable, defensible, in discourse across lines of cultural ideological or other differences. A position which cannot give reasons for why it should be persuasive to those who are not already a part of its ‘tradition’ is a severely problematic political as well as scientific tool. Agreement must then be arbitrary or imposed; if people are moved, there is no internal account of why. At the same time as discourse among people different from each other is vital to democracy and public life, so it is crucial that people within any one tradition (and for that matter individuals within their own lives) be able to give accounts simultaneously of how they have come to be who they are and how they want to become better in the future. That is, a critical historical consciousness implies an ability to express and defend not only one’s interests but the project of developing better interests, wanting to have better desires (Tylor, 1985). Foucault does offer social criticism, pervasively through his tone and choices of descriptive content, but also sometimes explicitly. It is not clear, however, that he—any more than Derrida or Lyotard—could ground such criticism without performative contradiction. The potential for doing so within his theory is weakened especially when it loses its historical specificity.

In his early and middle works (up through ‘Discipline and Punish’, originally published in 1975), Foucault emphasizes deep ruptures between historical echoes and focuses his attention on the birth of modern power in the reformation of institutions of carceral control in the 17th and 18th centuries. But in his later work on sexuality and some interviews and essays, he implies that the mutuality of power and knowledge is universal, not distinctive to modernity, and their similar analyses can be developed for all cultures and historical periods. Foucault does enunciate something of the distinctiveness of power/knowledge implication in modernity, even as late as the 1970s.

It is not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power (which would be a chimera, for truth is already power), but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural within which it operates at the present time (Foucault, 1980: 75).
Foucault holds out the option of specific criticisms of the modern forms of hegemony, but he does not suggest any specific direction in which criticism should move. Like most of the postmodernists who claim him (though he did not explicitly identify with that label), he advocates only resistance not emancipation. At extremes, he seems to imply that anything would be better than what he obtains now. But this sort of account is in an odd tension with the historical approach he developed earlier. There he argued for recognizing the centrality of epochal transformations which made sense of many small changes (but made historically specific sense, within the context of a specific epochal transformation, not the sense which comes from imposing a single transhistorical narrative or set of categories on historically specific events):

In order to analyze such events (e.g. the introduction of a new form of positivity or other epochal shifts in consciousness), it is not enough simply to indicate changes, and to relate them immediately to the theological, aesthetic model of creation…. or to the psychological model of the act of consciousness... or to the biological model of evolution. We must define precisely what these changes consist of: that is, substitute for an undifferentiated reference to change—which is both a general container for all events and the abstract principle of their succession- the analysis of transformations (Foucault, 1972: 172)

It is curious that the advice informing the history and genealogy (though less so, perhaps, Foucault’s earlier formulation, the archeology) of forms of power/knowledge should not provide a different outlook, one with a normative direction, for the analysis of contemporary questions. Indeed, it is arguable that Foucault’s whole enterprise was undertaken “to make politics possible”. It may be that its politics is obscure because what had seemed before to block politics were great and rigid teleologies of history—Hegel’s or Stalin’s. But such a normative direction need not involve a ‘metanarrative’ of history, a single moral to all stories. It could consist, rather, of suggestions of the direction which we should move from where we are, recognizing that new consideration will inform decisions about the appropriate directions to be followed thereafter.

It seems to me that the nature of practical involvement in the world, especially political involvement, calls necessarily for confronting such questions of directionality. Our knowledge is always situated, but also framed in relation to action-starting even with projects of understanding – that orient us beyond our initial situations. Moreover, seeking understanding across lines of important cultural
differences necessarily involves confronting contrasting normative directions because these produce incommensurable practices of the sort that cannot coexist without posing competing claims for adherence. Foucault’s approach to incommensurability did not confront such problems of action. Influenced by Bachelard and Canguilheim, Foucault sought to eliminate ‘humanistic’ emphasis on the subject in favour of studying abstract structures of knowledge. The famous ‘epistemological break’ that, according to Bachelard, enabled the physical sciences to achieve true objectivity or scientificity was rooted in a similar overcoming of subject–centered thought. Foucault’s emphasis remained epistemological, though his understanding of the breaks in knowledge–producing structures of thought no longer was linked to the notion of a historical progress towards scientificity as was Bachelard’s or Althusser’s.

At this point, where it cannot achieve historical specificity and confront the incommensurable practices of different cultures, Foucault’s analysis of power loses its potential critical edge. Ironically enough, fashionable anthropologists have followed the lead of the later Foucault and begun to unravel ubiquitous subjectless power in all settings, while combining this with a self-declared critical orientation and affirmation of cultural difference. It seems a widespread anthropological neurosis at present to combine despite their logical incompatibility, a highly critical stance towards ‘first world’ depredations and often towards the play of power in all settings with a radical relativism and cultural survivalism (Calhoun, 1995). It seems that the postmodernist claim to historical grounding—indeed, even to historicity— is in important aspects spurious. The history which is introduced is often remarkably unsystematic. It is worth noting however (since sociologists are often confused on this issue), that though Foucault was firmly anti-positivist, he was very much an empiricist, and one able to command a masterful range of sources, even if his deployment of data was disturbingly decontextualized, his willingness to generalize on the basis of highly particular evidence something misleading, and his manner of citing sources some time cavalier. Like postmodernist architecture, its historical side consists of incomplete and decontextualized borrowings. Even in the hands of an extraordinary historical scholar like Foucault, this sort of historical writing is often a bit like an orientalism of the past. In appropriation of history for purposes of debating the contemporary condition directly, not an inquiry into the fullest possible understanding of another way of life which might indirectly or in later comparison shed light on our own. It
is partly for this reason that Foucault, the great theorist of historical ruptures, in his later work began to find the same mechanisms of power/knowledge at work in ancient Greece, China and modern France and everywhere else he looked. Most importantly of all, the postmodernist position is not historically and culturally specific, either in grounding or in analytic purchase.

Foucault, of course, did emphasize the poststructuralist, postmodernist theme of difference: what is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity (Foucault, 1977: 76-100). This is the meaning of the ‘death of the author’, an explicit echo of Nietzsche’s death of god sounded by both Foucault and Derrida, but without a faith comparable to Nietzsche’s in salvation through will. This theme, however, is especially associated with Derrida, for whom it has remained enduringly central. Derrida’s ‘difference’ is a ‘primordial non-self-presence’ (Derrida, 1973: 81). It’s transcendental, even prior to presence and the transcendental reduction; it is not something which occurs to a transcendental subject. It is what produces it (ibid: 86). The structuralist and poststructuralist displacement of the subject from modernity’s and philosophy’s center is thus the basic to Derrida; it is not the self that we presuppose in all thought of action, but difference. In Dew’s words, in the majority of his work, Derrida bases his analyses on the concept of absolute difference: of an essential logical priority of non-identity over identity (Dews, 1987:27).

Here Dews in fact argues that despite all appearances, difference is itself a powerful principle of unity, an absolute (p.43). Here we note the similarities to Adorno. It is this which orients the deconstructionist project to the discovery of internal incoherencies within texts, rather than reading them more conventionally by ‘constructing’ from them a meaningful whole (Derrida, 1978; 1982).

Not only the unity of a text, but subjectivity itself, the originating unity of consciousness, is for Derrida merely a thought, a fiction (Dews, 1987: 31). This is the basis of viewing the world as a textual or discursive structure to be deconstructed, its incoherencies exposed. Derrida’s opposition is to the notion of speech as transparent, self sufficient presentation of truth. Knowledge starts with writing, with attempt to fix transitory, its textuality always embodies tension and hence makes deconstruction possible. Thus Derrida challenges the ‘logocentrism of western thought’. But left to itself this offers only a critical moment.
It is a very problematic basis for social and political analysis. Even Derrida is unwilling to regard social institutions as merely textual or discursive structures. Derrida insists on retaining the option of social and political criticism, but falls back on Heideggerian grounds for it. He is forced to make ontological statements about the nature of life and what the world is really like. His own theory cannot ground a critical account of political antagonisms insofar as these cannot be reduced to logical antagonisms. Deconstruction can offer a certain sort of constant vigilance and attempt to escape mere positivity, but as theory or method, it cannot in itself offer a political or ethical programme, or a properly explanatory analysis.

Similarly, though Derrida attempts to avoid the radical relativism some of his followers embrace, he does not succeed in explaining theoretically why he should do so. His very attempt to absolutize difference produces incoherencies in his theory. Moreover, theory offers no openings to sociality or to material factors in history and social relations. It severs cultural from social and political-economic analysis. The deconstruction of a text plays infinitely on its internal capacities for dissemination; it neither needs nor addresses other sources of meaning. Unlike some other approaches influenced by phenomenology or hermeneutics and despite (or perhaps because of) its idealization of difference, deconstruction offers no approach to historical or even cultural specificity. All texts have a life free from specific contexts, they cannot be grounded within them. There is, thus, no satisfactory basis for comparison. This, by the way, is part of the attraction of Derrida for those who regard all canons as mere exercises of power, rather combinations of power with more satisfactorily grounded judgments.

Postmodernist reasoning makes it hard to justify any collective response, any attempt at agency, in the face of centralization of power and global capital accumulation accomplished through exploitation. Most postmodernist discourse is normatively incapacitating, even where it is profoundly in tone or motivation. Because process of power and exploitation are increasingly systematic and removed from the everyday discursive grasp of the life-world, however, it is all the more important that a critical theory be developed through which to understand them. It is not enough to rely on play, intuition and ordinary experience.

Postmodernist thought has generally been presented in a radical challenging mode and rhetoric, as though it were a critical theory with clear implications for
collective struggle. Indeed, the postmodernist movement has without question informed and in some cases invigorated popular struggles. But it is not equally clear that postmodernist thought can stand very clearly the tests which must be demanded of a critical theory.

Ideally, a critical theory ought to provide for an account of the historical and cultural conditions of its own production, to offer an address to competing theories which explains not just identifies their weaknesses and appropriates their achievement, to engage in a continuing critical reflections on the categories used in its own construction, and to develop a critical account of existing social conditions with positive implications for social action and power. Postmodernism contributes to some of these desiderata, but also falls short of them in varying degree. Most notably, the vagueness with which many postmodernists conceptualize what it might mean to transcend the modern epoch trivializes a basic concern. How, we want to know, can existing social and cultural conditions be critically engaged and transformed? Postmodernism does not tell us.

The postmodernist attention to difference raises the issue of cultural particularity, but difference is often made so absolutely prior to commonality that no basis for mutual engagement or even respect is provided. By overstatement, the theory thus undercuts one of its own greatest contributions. Likewise, the postmodernist ‘decentering’ of the subject poses a challenge for a theory desiring to address, agency and moral responsibility. Though postmodernist accounts here offer a needed counterpoint to typical individualism, they too often become nearly as much its mirror image as Durkheim. If a theory on knowledge and power is to hold meaningful implications for action, it must grant actor a more significant place and this should be in consonance with Pierre Bourdieu’s approach to practical action, but without giving up the concern for historical specificity and cultural difference.

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Dr. Fareed Zakaria, author of The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad (2003) is again with his new work The Post-American World (2008). The author floats a thesis that the great transformation is taking around the world, consequently commencing of the new era what he prefers to call the post-American world. This does not depict the ‘decline of America’ but the ‘rise of every one else’. ‘At the politico-military level, we remain in a single –superpower world. But in every other dimension-industrial, financial, educational, social, cultural- the distribution of power is shifting away from American dominance. That does not mean that we are entering an anti-American world but into a post-American world’. He unravels primarily three inquiries:

One: What kinds of opportunities and challenges do these changes present? Two: What do they portend for the US and its dominant position? And, three: What will this new era look like in terms of war and peace, economics and business, ideas and culture?

Unipolarity is slowly waning because of the broader diffusion of power across the world. Nomenclature “uni-multipolarity” given by Samuel P. Huntington or description given by Chinese scholars “many powers and one superpower” seems more appropriate to describe the international life. Though the US occupies top position, Brazil, India, China, Russia are also emerging. Similarly European Union is a leading trade bloc and Mexico, Singapore and South Africa are also taking off. ‘As rest of the world rises in economic realm, America will experience relative decline. As others grow faster, its share of the pie will be smaller’. In addition, the new non-governmental forces which are increasingly active will constrain Washington consistently.

Zakaria extrapolates that rise of identity in the midst of economic growth is a template phenomena. Desire for recognition and respect is emanating all through the globe. Globalization and economic modernization facilitate economic fortunes.
and country may grow to become more visible in international sphere. Thus globalization and economic modernization are generating nationalism. Simultaneously in democratic set up core-identities and sub-nationalism are also manifesting on account of same causality. However, Zakaria does not detail this submission. He demystifies that organized violence has not increased in present times yet becomes more visible now; thus ‘there is a mismatch between reality and our sense of it’. Every bomb that explodes is a Breaking News with tremendous media generated ripple effect. This is the era of information technology revolution; TV channels are drooling to grab any news that is sensational. Although numbers alone do not speak the truth, as impending terror, insecurity and danger of becoming victim of the organized violence have been pervasive phenomena encompassing numerous parts of the world.

Zakaria also elaborates on “Islamic terror” that feeds on the ‘dysfunction of Muslim world, the sense of humiliation (real or imagined) at the hands of West, and easy access to the technology of terror’. West and its allies have been able to hamstrung and dismantle the organizational infrastructure of terror groups. He demystifies that ‘many varieties of Islam undermine its ability to coalesce into a single monolithic foe’, therefore lumping them together to imagine a unified Islamic threat is implausible. Scholars are too occupied with Jihad that they fail to see the visible frustration in the eyes of even Islamic fundamentalists and their desire for modernization (with a sense of pride and protection of culture). But Zakaria misses the fact that despite apparent distinctions various Islamic terror groups have been collaborating to facilitate organized violence against west and its allies. Despite distinctions, a sense of unity of identity prevails (may be at functional level for expediency).

He takes cognizance of globalization based on increased interdependence and interconnectedness facilitated by technological transformation in transportation and information, shaping increased opportunity for market economy to expand, all through the world, as capital and labor are “mobile” now. But Zakaria slips the fact that there exists the reality of categorization within the subaltern economies and they are poorly hit by financial recession and struggling to maintain a stable growth rate, though BRIC economies are marching ahead.

While explaining the correlation between economic growth and culture milieu (in a society) Zakaria points out that culture follows power and is molded by
political causalities. It is politics not culture that writes the success story of the society. That is why once critiqued Hindu mind-set and Confucianism for slow rate of economic growth are now recognized cultural structures underpinning “emerging markets”. In next few decades, three of the world’s four biggest economies will be non-western while the fourth one America will be shaped by its growing non-European people. The author argues that if wealth could not westernize Japan, it will not westernize the rest. Portending the impending scenario, he says it will be the world of ‘enormous cultural diversity and exoticism’. Envisaging a modern world without a western impact is implausible, though the modernization and westernization are two different phenomena. Modernization pertains to industrialization, urbanization, and rising literacy, education and wealth while Westernization connotes classical legacy, Christianity, separation of church and state, rule of law and civil society. The impact of West is so vivid and vast that even when Asians critique western values, the instrument and language are predominantly western. Therefore, the world we are entering, will be a ‘cultural mongrel’, modern yet powerfully shaped by West with retention of important elements of local culture. ‘Today people around the world becoming more comfortable putting their own indigenous imprint on modernity…. local and modern are growing side by side with global and western’. Zakaria conveniently dissociates himself with the indispensable discourse of multiculturalism and cultural impact of globalization.

Zakaria, further takes up China as a major challenger that dwarfs America in many spheres. He recalls Napoleon’s famous apocrypha ‘let China sleep, for when China wakes, she will shake the world’, and Jeffery Sachs inscription: ‘China is the most successful development story in the world’. The watershed in Chinese history was the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Party in 1978 when Deng pronounced the famous aphorism ‘it does not matter if it is black cat or white cat, the cat is good so long it can catch the mice’. He urged that the regime focuses on economic development and let facts, not ideology, guide its path. Deng was highly pragmatic and results have been brilliant. ‘China has grown over nine percent a year for almost thirty years’. The growth of the economy has doubled every eight years in thirty years. However, China’s rise is determining economic and political landscape of international life, in turn it is also conjured by the factors that shape the world. To put it other way round, Beijing has to cope up with two forces: globalization and nationalism.
The robust economy has siphoned Yuan (RMB) to defend preparedness and China has second largest military budget after America but a distant second. Author portends ‘China would not replace US as the world’s superpower. It is unlikely to surpass it on any dimension- military, political, or economic- for decades. But on issues after issues it has become second-most-important country in the world’. China embraces market economy more frankly and aptly, for China, best solution to rural poverty is market economy that draws people from farms and agriculture to the industry. Instead of accepting “Washington consensus”- a program of simultaneous reforms in all sectors China pursued the path of “grow-the-denominator”, that is development of overall economy that will turn the grey areas of economy gradually smaller. The central planning did not work in China. ‘Beijing has much less knowledge and control of rest of China than it would like and than outsiders recognize’. Decentralized development is now the defining reality of economic and increasingly political life of China. To some extent, this decentralization is planned as China encourages blossoming of the free market in many areas. It has used WTO membership to expedite reforms in trade and foreign direct investment. Chinese government does not have to respond to the public- an awkward but a plus point. Others, for example, Indian government would see this enviously as they have to see things considering voters’ interests in the country like India has to provide reservation to certain sections of population in government jobs and educational institutions even after six decades of independence.

However corruption is rampant and together with regional disparities and economic inequalities create formidable problem for Chinese government. The Communist party of China which is an elite organization has to consider whether it would be able to match the aspiration of the people who are becoming restless and assertive? China wants to grow peacefully and except for Taiwan it has never been assertive in its foreign policy disposition and never vetoed America supported resolution in Security Council on Iraq and Afghanistan. Though author slips the fact that the US stand on Myanmar on human rights has been contested by the China and its relations with India have not been very cordial. But by and large, China has been able to hide itself, Deng puts it ‘to hide its light under a bushel’. China has been successful in diplomatically engaging with Africa and countries of Asia in its strategic calculation. Sudan, Zimbabwe, Australia, Thailand and other ASEAN countries and Nepal have close ties with Beijing. But a Roman aphorism ‘if you want peace, prepare for war’ is also true in case of China.
The relationship between the Dragon and eagle is foremost in shaping future world. Some quarters in America believe that China is a potential threat and relationship with China is going to be problematic, yet cooperation and competition has been a hallmark of dragon-eagle relationship. ‘China needs American market to sell its goods and America needs China to finance its debts’. Bush administration has repeatedly sided with China on Taiwan issue. The goal of China is to concentrate on its economic evolution and avoidance of conflict. ‘China’s challenge, accordingly, will not look like another Soviet Union, with Beijing straining to keep pace in military terms. China is more likely to remain an asymmetrical superpower’. Author speculates, were China to push its weight around, anger its neighbor and frighten the world, Washington would be able to respond with a set of effective tools but if China slowly pushes America to the sidelines in Asia- the answer is - contain China by geeing up another rising power- India.

Author later in the book, delineates on India as America’s ally. Extolling India, Zakaria recalls a large billboard in Davos during World Economic Forum depicting India as- ‘world’s fastest growing free market democracy’, the country that will transcend shackles of poor planning very soon. Indian economy grew at 6.9 percent over entire decade and 8.5 percent in the second in half of it. If this continues, the average Indian will double his income in a decade. The cumulative effect has already felt that a large section of people have moved out of poverty in last decade than in preceding fifty years. Demographically, India is a young country and will continue to have lots of young people. While China faces youth gap due to its one child policy, India has simultaneously several Silicon valleys and slumps, mass poverty persists but new economic vigor stimulates development everywhere. India’s growth is not supported by powerful government like China which can displace people for cause of foreign direct investment and New Delhi and Mumbai do not have a gleaming infrastructure of Beijing and Shanghai. Zakaria points out ‘India’s growth is taking place not because of government but despite it. It is not top-down but bottom-up- messy, chaotic and largely unplanned. The country’s key advantages are a genuine private sector, established rights of property and contract, independent courts and rule of law’. India’s human capital is growing very fast English speaking entrepreneurs, managers, and business-savy individuals are backbone of India’s domination in service sector. However, Zakaria expatiates, India may not look like China in near future as democracy may bring certain long
term advantages in development planning, but autocratic governments are able to plan and execute major infrastructure projects with unrivalled efficiency. Some scholars like Yasheng Huang points out that ‘Indian companies use their capital far more efficiently than Chinese companies in part as they may not have unlimited supplies of it’. Indian businessmen, fashion designers, writers, artists and journalists are busting with confidence and exited about what they can do. But Indian democracy propels populism, pandering and delays yet provides long term stability. Though political and civic institutions have evolved but pervasive corruption, poor HDI credentials, poor governance, illiteracy and weak women empowerment along with hesitant and conservative leadership beset India’s prospects.

In recent years, India, very pragmatically, has been able to build good relationship with the US. Indians are comfortable with Americans and Indian Americans have already bridged the gap between two cultures and wear considerable stature in US. Both enjoy relations at societal level and not simply at governmental level, being liberal democracy, market economy, similar world view and recently a civic nuclear accord foment the friendship band. However, India may shy to be called as America’s chief ally in Asia to contain China but it is a power politics game that does not speak its name.

Actually nuclear deal is a big issue that will change strategic landscape bringing India firmly into global stage as a major player and long term strategic partner of America. The deal puts India at par with members of the nuclear club. After all ‘India spent thirty years under American sanctions without budging—even when India was a much poorer country’. However, the accord may have limited economic implications and ramifications, there have been countries like Japan and Germany that have grown besetting nuclear temptation. Zakaria criticizes weak Indian government but appreciates strong and vibrant Indian society.

The discussion further pertains to American power rendition depicting US economy as twice the size of Chinese in 2025 and American military dominating at every level-air, surface and sea-along with the robust expenditure on defense research and development allowing America to have technological and scientific edge over its rivals. However, robust defense is only a consequence of sound economy backed by power of ‘energy’ and ‘ideas’, two significant factors of production in recent times. America’s excellent clench in domains of nanotechnology, biotechnology and brand names have yielded rich benefits.
Higher education is another area where America is doing superbly, though their interest in pure and basic mathematics and science have declined but quality of teaching and research opportunity in American institute bring them on top and in contrast with the poor quality of higher education in India and China. American state is demographically vibrant, however, because of its immigrant population. ‘America’s edge in innovation is overwhelmingly a product of immigration. Foreign researchers and immigrants account 50 percent of science researchers in country and in 2006, received 40 percent of the doctorate in science and engineering’. Same is true about Silicon Valley but if immigrants travel from America innovations would also travel with them.

Real test for America is political. Zakaria appears to be recurrently disturbed with the questions-can America adjust and adapt with the world in which others have also moved up? ‘Can Washington truly embrace a world with diversity of voices and viewpoints? Can it thrive in a world it can not dominate?’

In the end, Zakaria focuses on ‘American Purpose’. He substantiates that till 9/11 American supremacy and unipolarity was unrivalled but it (9/11) generated both sympathy and the idea that superpower can be humbled. America reciprocated enhancing its military budget by 50 billion US$ and attacking, occupying Afghanistan, popularly known as “war on terror”. A serious challenge to America and unipolarity was impending, writes Zakaria, ‘America remains the global superpower today, but it is an enfeebled one. Its economy has troubles…..Anti-American sentiment is at all time high everywhere from Britain to Malaysia’, on Afghanistan and Iraq. Despite America’s crusade towards socio-economic transformation of Afghanistan, contact remains at governmental level only with least society to society contact. The requirement is- American power has to be coupled with generosity of spirit, involving consultation, cooperation and even compromise with other rising power. However, rise of the rest is gradual and slow process. Many of the rising countries have points of tensions among themselves. This provides US an opportunity to play a significant and constructive role in post-American world.

Zakaria suggests that America should make its priorities determined with regard to Iran, China and North Korea and good relations with all great powers be established. America should not search a super power solution to every problem. ‘Smaller work around may be just effective’. America must pursue
consultations and cooperation while doing what to be done. This will provide it legitimacy in its action that Clinton enjoyed while acting on Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo but George Bush totally missed in absence of attentive diplomacy, people to people contact and persuasion.

Zakaria takes up an ambitious canvas encompassing various aspects of international life, thus, able to provide only a kaleidoscopic account with macro level of analysis. He demystifies and attempts to figure out the distinction in many similar looking phenomena occurring in international life, thus, dispels “created consistencies” and transcends overarching nomenclatures assigned to these similar looking but distinct phenomena. However, he, himself fails to resist the temptation of creating new terms, nomenclatures and sweeping remarks on impending global scenario without profoundly establishing them and also ignores various ongoing academic debates and discourses on the issue. His approach is journalistic and misses the sync with language of international relations. However, to his credit Zakaria has been able to portend and project plausibly impending truths of international life.


Notes
1. Dr. Fareed Zakaria is an Indian American now stationed in New York and currently editor of *News Week*. He is also known for anchoring a TV show on CNN, *The Fareed Zakaria GPS (Global Public Square)*. Fareed Zakaria holds a Ph.D degree in Political Science from Harvard University.

The 2008 India Social Development Report has a special thematic section on Development and Displacement. This section is edited by Hari Mohan Mathur and contains a number of papers dealing with different aspects of the subject. With the numerous protests in parts of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and West Bengal and other parts of the country, there can be no doubt that the issue of displacement and its proper handling is critical not just for the development of those affected by displacement, but also for the development of the Indian economy as a whole. In the above-mentioned states, many lakh crores of investment have been held up by the failure to resolve the issue of displacement.

Two papers in this report, those by Michael Cernea and Mathur himself are of relevance in working out schemes for handling this issue. The same, however, cannot be said of many of the other papers. Some of the papers do not enter into a discussion on the dimensions of rehabilitation; while others start out from premises that do not allow for any discussion of rehabilitation.

Cernea, as is well known from his various writings on the subject, has been concerned to develop schemes for supplementing compensation with investment and benefit sharing. Such schemes, as the paper points out, have been implemented in a number of countries, such as Bolivia, Brazil, China, Canada, and Norway. In India, instead of attempting to work out such schemes that would “provide(s) an opportunity to improve the lives of displaced peoples” (Mathur, p. 5), the most-often taken position is that of a straightforward refusal to discuss any scheme or policy at all.

This refusal to discuss any scheme or policy for rehabilitation is based on premises that, as mentioned earlier, do not allow for any manner of movement of peoples or changes in livelihoods. For instance, Felix Paudel and Samarendra Das write, “Tribal culture and social structure are inseparably linked to traditional economy of growing their own food and spiritual relationship with the land…Losing the land where they have always grown their own food destroys their food security once and for all” (p.110, emphasis added). There is a combination of an
essentialism that cannot understand the changes in indigenous or tribal society, along with a mythologizing of ‘growing their own food’ as the only way to food security for households.

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the Bawm community, who were till recently swidden cultivators have, wherever they are on the roadside, given up rice cultivation in favour of horticulture. Explaining this shift, they say, “by growing and selling fruits, we can buy more rice than we could earlier grow.” There are two points here. One is that, contrary to what Paudel and Das write it is possible to have food security, and improve one’s well-being, even without growing any of one’s food. Two is that, the Bawm, by changing their mode of livelihood, have not, therefore, shed their tribal or indigenous identity. Tribal identity does not have to adhere only to certain types of activity. If that were required for tribal identity, then it would amount to a demand for them to be frozen in certain activities or sets of activities, when the indigenous people themselves are very much in a process of change. Acknowledging such change means that the question that needs to be posed is: how can the values that indigenous or tribal peoples have upheld and would like to continue to uphold, for instance, a manner of collectivism in economic affairs, participatory democracy and participatory art, forms of balance with nature, be maintained in the new context of a market economy? Posing the question of identity in this manner would carry forward the debate, something that the essentialism represented by Paudel and Das does not allow.

At the same time, acknowledging the processes of change in indigenous societies does not mean that one should acquiesce in the expropriation of their lands, forests and other resources for the development of others. The destitution of indigenous peoples through appropriation for mines and industries is undoubted. Monetary compensation schemes are clearly inadequate to enable the displaced to recreate their livelihoods. What then is the way forward? This is where the proposals discussed in the Cernea and Mathur papers make a contribution to the debate.

Part of the solution lies in acknowledging the ownership rights of indigenous peoples over the lands and forests they have managed as their resources. The recent Forest Rights Act (FRA) is a beginning in this direction, acknowledging not only individual agricultural land holdings, but also Village Common Forests
(VCF). But one needs to move even further away from ‘eminent domain’ to accepting the rights of communities in all the resources on or in their lands, as, for instance, is the case with the Khasis of Meghalaya.

More important, however, is the issue of building new livelihoods. Through displacement the indigenous peoples have lost their livelihoods and are forced into the bottom rungs of the working class. Schemes of investment, however, can be developed to enable new livelihoods to be created. Given the generally low educational levels of the displaced, the new livelihoods would have to be of the low-skill type, as for instance, in labour-intensive manufacturing, garments, etc. Investments in such manufacturing or agricultural sectors could be made complementary to the mineral-based industrialization that requires tribal lands. Unfortunately, as this India Social Development Report reflects, too much of the discussion on displacement starts and ends with a simple ‘No’ and does not try to fashion ways of improving livelihoods and well-being.

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Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner (eds.) The State of India’s Democracy, Oxford University Press, 2009, New Delhi, XXVII + 231 pp. Rs. 675/-

At a time when India’s democracy has successfully been through the 15th Lok Sabha election resulting into the formation of UPA led Government for the second term with new allies, it would be prudent to assess the challenges and opportunities that India’s democratic polity represents. The book under review by Sumit Ganguly and others is a collection of 12 well thought out reflective essays by a group of outstanding scholars. The co-editor of the book Sumit Ganguly deserves praise for identifying the subjects and authors from diverse field whose thoughts appeared in April 2007 issue of the Journal of Democracy. The introductory remarks of Ganguly situates the legacy of nationalist movement and tries to analyse the political, economic, social and institutional development
of Indian democracy. The apt phrase to sum up the strength of India’s democracy, argued Ganguly, “have been the fruits of both structure and contingency”. By structure, he meant the roots of democracy that were nurtured by committed leadership in spearheading nationalist movement, adopting a constitution keeping in tune with the spirit of democratic structure and political elites that shunned the authoritarian temptations (p. x)

It is the strength of federal structure of constitution that saw the dangerous decades pass through the re-organisation of state along linguistic lines in mid 50s and 60s and more recently in 2000 when three new states were carved out. Its pursuance of innovative embrace of the market since 1991 in tune with the spirit of Globalisation and keeping away the fratricidal conflicts with Pakistan that led to the 1971 breakup of Pakistan.

How Government’s affirmative action had brought into the main stream those who were socially and politically and economically marginalized into the active participatory role. No denying the fact that the diversity of India’s culture and tradition has also brought into the mainstream the regional political parties threatening to undermine the secular idiom of politics. All those political parties that tried to deviate from the fundamental tenet of democratic structure did not receive popular mandate. The Modi mantra in the form of saffronising Indian polity got its lesson in 2004 and even in May 2009 election despite their diluting the aggressive Hindutva component. Earlier Indira Gandhi’s authoritarian experiment in 1974 – 76 had been met with people’s disapproval. According to Ganguly, the future course of Indian democracy would rest on three areas viz human rights, institutional efficacy (i.e. Judiciary) and secularism (i.e. preserving the multi-religious character).

The essays selected in the book carry different facets of democratic polity. Ganguly has listed them under four parts of Indian democracy viz politics, state, society and the economy. The first part carries 4 essays written by Rajiv Gowda and Sridharan on parties and party system, second by Steven. I. Wilkinson on analyzing election results, third by Rajat Ganguly dealing with democracy and ethnic conflict and the fourth by Christopher Jafferlot on caste and the rise of marginalized groups. The running theme of all the four essays point out the gradual erosion of single party dominance in after two decades of India’s independence and rise of regional political parties as the strength of democratic system.
Steven I. Wilkinson’s essay entitled reading the election results could be of interest to those who take keen interest in analyzing results of electoral politics. Commenting on the election results of April – May 2004 he wrote, “The election was in no sense a repudiation of BJP, despite what that party’s opponents would like to believe”. The ponderous comments on 2004 election has to be viewed in the light of near clear mandate the congress led UPA government secured. The May 2009 election results in fact is a clear pointer of the fact that what people want is not rhetoric, empty and hate campaign. They want to Judge party’s performance – they are not interested in BJP, BSP, LEFT or 125 years old Congress party. What they are interested in is the development oriented programme and dynamic leadership that can perform and deliver. It is indeed the silent revolution that would make the BJP and Left do a bit of soul searching and that speaks volumes about the strength of India’s democratic polity.

Three other essays by Subrata K. Mitra, Pratap Bhanu Mehta and Arvind Verma touch that upon the saliency of federal structure, Judicial activism and precaution the state still harbours the colonial legacy of state’s functioning (as repressive apparatus). These authors deal with three diverse facets of democratic institutions to highlight the strength of democracy. The third part of the book deals with society where essays by Niraja Jayal on civil society, Rob Jenkins on civil society and corruption and Praveen Swami’s essay on the media in their own style provides a robust picture of civil society that may evolve in India. The strength of democratic polity lies in the functioning of the institutional structures and these essays reflect upon its functioning. And finally the chapters on India economic performance by Aseema Sinha and Sunila Kale’s paper on economic success analyze the durability of India’s democratic institutions and practices. The co-editor of the book Sunil Ganguly has highlighted the summary of reflective essays on diverse sub system of democratic polity in his introductory note which gives full thrust to the argument presented in the book.

It is a meticulous collection of thought provoking essays that gives an insight into the functioning of India’s democracy and hence a compulsory reading for those interested in political sociology. However, if the co-editors would have included certain vital statistics on India’s economic development and performance of electoral politics with a comprehensive list of bibliography related to the four parts in which all the essay have been listed, it would have enriched the quality of the book for the students and researchers as well. The absence of these minor
shortcoming, in no way underscore the strength of the book. The book deserves to be read by all those who are interested in understanding the functioning and dynamics of Indian politics in contemporary times.

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Books on Kashmir are in plenty, but hardly any account goes beyond contemporary political discourse of nation building process. Travelogues reveal its fascinating charm and scenic beauties, while, political history accounts it, as a source of animosity between India and Pakistan. Sociologists, sofar have attempted only micro level studies on common tradition and shared culture. However, no in-depth discursive narrative has come out in a holistic manner to reveal the subjectivity of its estrangement phenomenon. This book is first of its nature connecting history in a dialectical relationship from its point of continuity. It is a complete narrative unfolding discourse from the assemblage social capital through the structuration of Lal Ded and trite philosophy in fourteenth century to the ailment and disillusionments of present times.

The concise eleven chapters are in logical deductive continuation. The social capital that was gathered after the weakening of kingdoms in the early fourteenth century gave birth to a common shared Kashmiri language and kashmiriyat. Subsequently NunReshi and establishment of Rishi tradition consolidated it substantially. This was lost due to the tricky banishment of native king through the invasion of Mughal King Akbar. The native queen, Habba Khatoon during the times represented the estranged masses. She was poet of lyrics and sung pathos of separation. It was the period when the comprehension of the other was conceived by the Kashmiris. The exile of the native king and his death out side Kashmir was a collective common tragedy of Kashmir. It transmitted to collective memory through the poetry of Habba Khatoon, carried from one generation to another generation in an oral tradition,
“There is no doubt that her verses black and white might not be able to catch the attention of a literary critic. Who is unfamiliar with the history of Kashmir, but her songs in melodious tunes relate its capturing capacity to its audience. The whole body and mind in a compressed time and space produce the aura of adore and estrangement. The Mughals hardly could be able to release themselves from their culpability” (p.113).

This estrangement thickened with the subsequent history of invasions from Pathans, Sikhs and then monarchy rule by Dogras Kashmir experienced parallel power structures of non-natives, its language unfamiliar to Kashmiri and Kashmiri language was disempowered right after Akbar’s annexation to Kashmir to the end of Dogra rule. It is sad saga of loot and exploitation. The book emphasises on the interlink ages of political economy caused by the history of invasion, which generated faith deficit between the ruling elites and common people, “the intricate linkages of exploitations had woven political economy and elite domination to formation that class consciousness was subordinate to elite ideology. They could not protest but expressed their solidarity, humiliation for the non-natives in language they only could understand” (p.133).

Quit Kashmir movement prompted by the National Movement was a dialectics of this decadent Kashmir. Nehru, who was a native whose father left for plains, instead of facing conversion was eager to retain that nativity and Abdullah, whose grand great father Raghav Kaul could not move out from the valley preferred conversion wanted to overcome that loss of nativity. Therefore, both of them fought together against the monarchy. Abdullah’s rejection to two-nation theory was to retain nativity in the company of Nehru’s democratic plural India. Nehru introduced Abdullah to the entire world and Abdullah took his masses out of the slumber of subjugation.

The book relates the developments in Kashmir in post independent India to the dynamics of the Cold war politics and fragility of nationhood of Pakistan. It never allowed Kashmir to come out from the phenomenon of estrangement. Since the cold war era the borders were tight and closed, the religious mystification had a purchase easily, while Kashmir became a strategic depth for the western countries in order to use Pakistan against the communist expansion. Once the Cold war was over, religious movement converted Kashmir nativity into resurgence against India. Kashmir first time armed militancy with the direct support from
religious and terrorist groups from across the country. Their emphasis was on the conversion of symbolic core of nativity. It caused exodus of minority community and inflicted huge suffering, death and destruction to the people of valley. The process of mystification ended with the beginning of disillusionments after September 11, US declares war against terrorism. Kashmir has come back to squares, but with its nativity fractured. Since nativity is fractured Kashmir has become an ailing society, however, ”the lessons of failed experiment have produced enough space for a regenerative politics. (p.386).

The book is discursive discourse with case studies and rich bibliography drawing upon to the theories of nationalism and international debates of order making. Its conclusion chapter of ‘Discursive Reflections’ is condensed summary of the book with open possibilities.

The limitations of the book is that it has taken a large convas, dealing assemblage of social capital to loss of cultural values, its mystification to disillusionment process with international debates. The explanations are restricted to the searchlights and consensual objectivity. The book deserves better treatment from the publisher. The publisher has put it as it was given to him without any editing or arrangement of publishing order. Otherwise, it is a unique book unfolding subjectivity of estrangement in the realm of political economy and the Cold war politics. It goes beyond the agenda of politics of identity. A must read book for researchers and students on Kashmir studies.

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D.N. Reddy and Srijit Mishra (eds.) Agrarian Crisis in India, Oxford University Press, 2009, Rs. 695/-

Currently India is facing agrarian crisis as well as agricultural crisis. While agrarian crisis is structural and institutional in nature as could be seen in growing marginalization and failure of support systems, agricultural crisis may be seen in terms of lower factor productivity and profitability, resource degradation, inappropriate technology, technology fatigue etc. However, both are interrelated.

The book clearly brings out that public investment in agriculture has declined overtime, affecting the externalities that induce private investment and conducive environment for the farmers. Low growth of farm productivity, low agricultural prices, slow down of demand for agricultural products due to stagnation of per-capita food consumption and inadequate employment opportunities outside agriculture are the proximate causes that underlie the current slow pace of agricultural growth. The central message of the book is that revival of agriculture would require tackling of two dimensions of the agricultural distress, reflected in slow growth and declining profit and agrarian crisis, reflected in growing landlessness and casualisation of labour in agriculture, proliferation of small and fragmented holdings and widening gap between rural and urban areas. However, given the poor quality of public institutions, absence of institutions for managing risks, increasing pressure on land and water resources and adverse macro environment, the prospect of overcoming farmers distress is more challenging than is realized. Radhakrishna in his foreword, rightly points out that there is less appreciation in the policy making circles of the fact that tackling the agrarian crisis is far more difficult than reviving agricultural growth.

Moreover, the book has discussed the issues relating to farmers’ distress
and suicides in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Punjab quite exhaustively. I am sure, the book will make an interesting and useful reading not only for research scholars and teachers, but also India’s planners and policy makers.

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Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Development in India: From Socialism to Pro-Business*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2009, x+447 pp., Rs. 850/-

Kohli’s *Democracy and Development in India: From Socialism to Pro-Business* is a collection of his writings over the years on democracy, development and its regional variations in India. These essays reflect on transforming nature of Indian politics, society and economy in a state society framework that is informed by Marxian and Weberian interpretation, different from that of methodological individualism, of social and political changes. In other words, social reality has its independent existence, different from that of, or some total of its constituents, i.e., individuals.

Essays in this book have been organised around three central issues. These issues can be posed as follows:

a) While roots of democracy in India have deepened amidst socio-economic odds like poverty, inequality, low human development, regional disparity, etc., the capacity of the state to deliver in terms of governance and development has not increased, if not declined. Though to Kohli, it has certainly declined in the post-Indira’s phase.

The answer to this paradox lies in the nature of transformation itself (Huntington, 1968)\(^1\). Kohli, however, relates it more to the decline of institutions, in particular the Congress party that ruled most part of the post-Independence period and civil services, the steel frame of Indian state. The problem lies in the

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centralisation of power that happened in the era of political democratisation that, in fact, demanded corresponding decentralisation in other spheres.

b) While socialism continues to be a goal of the Indian state a la Preamble and Directive Principles of the Constitution, the influence of the business class on the state and its policies has increased disproportionately in the reform phase. Moreover, the importance of the rural segment is going to decline further with demographic and economic changes. This may disturb the social composition of the collegiate of interests — rural landed class, big business, and service (middle) and professional classes — (Bardhan, 1984) that has been the dominant influence on Indian State since Independence.2

c) In the post-reform phase, India has been able to break the logjam of ‘Hindu’ growth rate, average annual growth rate in GDP of 3.5 percent between 1950 and 1980. However, the potentialities of high growth rate in reducing poverty have not been realized to the extent it should have been. The percentage of the poor in total population has declined, but the absolute number of poor continues to be awesome. Moreover, income inequality and regional disparities have widened in the reform phase. But more worrisome is the new (economic) policy regime that has limited capacity to address income and regional inequality.

In the first section, i.e., political change, the nature of political transformation in the post-Indira phase has been analysed with reference to a contradictory development: deepening of democratic roots in the society, on the one hand and decline in the capacity of the state to meet the expectations of the democratically awakened society, on the other hand. Kohli termed it as the ‘crisis of governability’3, though he is no longer comfortable with his 1990 position. As a corrective to his rather bleak portraying of Indian democracy, he edited *The Success of India’s Democracy*4 in 2001 and proclaimed India a successful

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democracy, relying mainly on two arguments. One, a fine balance has been maintained between the forces of centralization and decentralization. In addition, the interests of the powerful in the society have been served without excluding those of the weaker sections. He also attributes this success to the ability of Indian democracy to manage various ethnic and even secessionist demands within the federal model of constitutional arrangement. In the other two chapters of this section, he has explained the rise of the Bhartiya Janata Party in north and west, and Bahujan Samaj Party in north India and its implications for the Indian democracy.

Next section consists of five chapters that explain changes in the Indian political economy. Kohli takes a position that the high growth rate in the post-reform period is a result of state capital alliance that was initiated by Indira Gandhi in the early 1980s and it was encouraged and matured by the new economic policy in the 1990s. He also explains it as a transition in the nature of Indian State (political economy) from reluctant capitalist to pro-socialist to pro-business. Kohli’s main concern is widening income and regional inequality in this phase and a dim possibility of getting it rectified in the near future. This has implications for ‘India’s successful democracy’.

In the final section, six essays on politics and development in states (Bihar, Gujarat, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka) analyse political and institutional roots of development at the state level. Kohli argues that state level variations lie in the nature of ruling regime (broad social base), ideological orientation and commitment of the state level elite, apart from other factors. Interestingly, he finds that the left ruled states of Kerala and West Bengal have greater ability to reduce poverty with per unit of growth than the states ruled by the parties, left of centre. Even the state like Gujarat has increased its growth by forging a state capital alliance under the rightist BJP government in the recent past.

There may not be much disagreement with the main formulations of Kohli. Also, the importance of the issues, raised in these essays, continues to be of contemporary relevance. However, it seems that the process of economic reforms, even though it has been slowed down, appears to be irreversible. Parties of the left, right and centre have shared power at the Centre, which has hardly any significant effect on the continuity of the policy since 1991. As a corrective measure and to make the reform politically acceptable, the United Progressive Alliance Government led by the Congress at the Centre has launched a number of schemes like the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA), National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), Rajiv Gandhi Gramin Vidyutikaran Yojana (RGGVY) to reach the rural and poor masses. Nevertheless, efficacy of these programmes to address the fundamental problem of income and regional inequalities is limited. Moreover, these programmes are not geared to correct the structural causes of the problem. Rather, they are short-term palliative measures to absorb political shock of new economic policy.

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Reality revealed is not the same for all. Similarly, the way of perception and conception too vary from one individual to another. Our (academic) perception is shaped by the process of socialisation in which individuals around us consisting of family and peer group, and also institutions attended are crucial. All three authors of the present book though currently based and working in the United Kingdom have a direct relationship with at least one part of the developing areas of the world: Glyn Williams have lived and worked in Kolkata for his doctoral research; similarly, Paula Meth grew up as a child in Apartheid-era Durban; and,
Katie Willis have an exposure to Mexico where she did her Master’s fieldwork. It gave me a reason to start reading the present book with an optimism to find altogether a different approach of looking at the Global South; and, this optimism consciously speaking is also for the fact that the global reality of the 21st century is entirely different from what it used to be before the 1990s. Naturally, a reader from the Global South, of a book authored by scholars based in the Global North, will be anxious to know how her/his part of the world is seen and presented by the ‘others’. At least, Said’s Orientalism well informs that the Orient as painted and projected by the Europe was not the same in true sense.

The book, running into four hundred fifty plus total pages, is organised into four parts which include twelve chapters. It begins with an introductory chapter that discusses definitional problems [of North-South], power of representation, role of the Global South in globalisation, how it is necessary to be engaged with the Global South instead of taking it too simply, and finally it challenges common sense and academic conception of the Global South wherein concerns do not go beyond the study of development and poverty. This chapter ends with a section on the structure of the book and a prescriptive note on how to use the book.

The first part “Representing the South” consists of only second chapter. It conceptualises ‘representation’ which is important to understand as it reflects the diverse ways of representing which underpins image as well as interaction with others.

The current form of the Global South has changed from what it used to be in the past. The second part “The South in the global world”, comprising of three chapters (three, four and five), addresses the issue of Global South’s position in the changing structures—political, economic and socio-cultural change, respectively, at macro-level.

In the following third part “Living in the South”, next three chapters focus on the local scale and people’s lives. The readers may find experiences of globalization, how local experiences determine global flows, temporal change in local processes and experiences, people’s resistance to the process of globalization, and possible limits to individual’s agency discussed in this part overlapping the included chapter on political lives (6), making a living (7), and ways of living (8), respectively.
There has been a continuous and concerted effort by the countries of the Global South, especially those who attained independence around the mid-20th century, to ‘develop’ and catch up with the development levels attained by the Global North represented by the so-called ‘developed’ countries. Consequently, several desirable changes have taken place. This journey towards development apparently became possible due to constantly evolving government policies. The fourth part “Making a difference”, through the included three chapters—governing development (9); market-led development (10); and grassroots development (11), analyses the ideas and strategies which made the change(s) happen.

At the end, chapter twelve summarises conclusions.

A reader may find the present book distinctive in more than one ways: in terms of contents and also the way the issues of the developing world have been approached and presented. Clear influence of post-modernism is discernable throughout. The conventional view of the Global South is considerably deconstructed and ‘mega’ narratives have been replaced successfully by multiple and local realities. That naturally reveals the great degree of diversity, of regions within the Global South, which is the symbol of richness and not poverty. I am sure this book is going to interest students and teachers alike. Students can find it easier to use as the language and presentation of ideas and concepts are easier to understand as supported by not only conventional tables and figures but also boxes. Separate concept boxes can further aid students as well as other readers not familiar with main contemporary concepts which are inevitable while explaining the world realities and processes shaping them. Focus on socio-cultural processes is quite crucial as economic issues can not be explained independently and in isolation. After all, people’s aspirations which have direct relationship with the socio-cultural milieu in which they live; and, without understanding them how can we properly analyse economic forces and processes which are everyone’s concern! Authors have rightly oriented their focus in this context.

It must be admitted that the issues brought into the fore here are generally not addressed in a text book dealing with developing areas. In a way, it is an innovative book which handles the world regional geography distinctly different from previous attempts. Good number of well designed maps, simple yet comprehensible and informative, provides support to understand the global realities.
geographically. Similarly, the plates can help readers see a few important landscapes and facets of life in Global South which is undergoing considerable change. Frankly speaking, to me, it is a complete reading on developing world. Of course, it is going to be landmark text book. And, it should inspire a course on developing areas of the world wherever colleagues are yet to start one.

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Sanjiv Baruah (ed.) Beyond Counter Insurgency: Breaking the Impasse in North East India, Oxford University Press, 2009, 383 pp, Rs. 825/-

The Political and ethnic conflagration, inter state disputes, hostilities between the tribes and the migrants and the unending insurgencies and violent secessionist movements have engulfed almost all the seven states of North East India.

The book under review has been written in the backdrop of abysmal underdevelopment due to the above mentioned scenario. The book consists of fifteen essays and the contributors are from diverse fields of academia. The essays in the book present varied perspectives on policies and programmes and the inherent contradictions in the policies, of countering insurgencies in Assam as well as her neighborhood. The editor of the book, Professor Baruah feels in the line of Dasgupta’s argument that the national security centric discourse about the north east, shaped mostly by former bureaucrats and retired army, police and intelligence officials, is heavily pro-state and insensitive to the vulnerabilities of the common man and dismissive of the frequent transgression of rights of its own citizens by the state. In fact, the official strategies of the government have only lead to an impasse in spite of the initiatives of the government such as Look East policy or such other innumerable projects.

The 15 essays provide us an analysis of the ongoing situations and of conflicts from three different lenses such as the structural causes (socio, political, cultural and economical), the nature and policies of post colonial states and the
nature and the diverse motives of multiple actors located in and outside the region.

In her essay, Ananya Vajpayee reflects the meaning of the Meira Paibi’s (women torch bearer’s) protest against the Indian security forces in Manipur. She forcefully argues that the state ‘neither wins nor looses’ in North East but ‘the people are defeated daily’.

Boddhisatva Kar in his essay draws attention to the question, ‘when was the post colonial?’ and reflects his thoughts on the issue of an ‘inner line permit system’ in some of the North Eastern states (Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram) that regulates the access of ‘citizens and foreigners alike’.

Dolly Kikon on the other hand discusses the tension between ‘unity and disunity’ and how the nations are formed amidst such tension. She has depicted how North East figures in such tensions.

Rakhee Kalita and Nandana Dutta have analyzed the Assamese writings and narratives to understand the existing conflicts.

Pradip Phanjoubam and Bhagat Oinam have discussed the ongoing conflict in the context of Manipur and reiterates for a new conflict transformation strategy.

Makiko Kimura on the other hand, analyses the ‘discursive construction’ of the enemy at the village level during the massacre at Nellie in Assam in the year 1983 in the backdrop of immigration to the North eastern states from the rest of the subcontinent.

M Sajjad Hasan, Samir Das and Kham Suan in their essays have discussed the peace building process in the North Eastern states.

Subir Bhaumik, Betsy Taylor and Bethany Lacina, however, have dealt with the problem of impasse and devised an alternative to break the deadlock. The authors have argued that neither development nor a military fixedness can usher peace in this region. A dedicated effort to address the structural causes of conflict along with good governance and accountability can break the vicious cycle of underdevelopment and insurgency and in the long run, the impasse.

To conclude, the book under review makes an interesting reading. The reader never gets bored as the essays and the contents and the treatment by the authors
on various burning issues have been striking throughout. For the present reviewer, this book is a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject and useful to all those interested in many facets of North East India.

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