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# UNIT 1 SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND PROBLEMS

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## 1.0 OBJECTIVES

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The objectives of this unit are to describe relationship between social transformation and social problems. After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- learn about the concept of ‘social transformation’, its two models of ‘modernisation’ and ‘revolution’ and their critical appraisal;
- understand the relationship between social transformation and social problems;
- describe the concept of ‘social problems’ and the related questions;

- elucidate definitions, characteristics and types of social problems;
- discuss the linkage between social problems, institutions and movements; and
- explain policy implications in relationship to transformation and problems.

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## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

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The subject matter of this unit is social transformation and social problems. Naturally, you have to understand the relationship between these two processes. Neither society nor social problems are static. Social problems are closely linked with social structure, ideologies, values, attitudes, institutions, power, authority and interests of society. The process of social transformation brings about change in these different aspects of social life and side by side generates new social problems.

First of all, let us try to understand the theoretical background of the concept of social transformation. In early sociology, concepts of ‘evolution’ and ‘progress’ were used to indicate the dynamic aspects of society. It was gradually realised that these were value-loaded concepts, and therefore, replaced by ‘social change’ which was considered to be more neutral and value-free.

After the Second World War, concepts of ‘development’ and ‘modernisation’ occupied a significant place in the terminology of social sciences. These two concepts represent ideologies of the developed, industrialised, capitalist and democratic Western societies. The term ‘revolution’ was preferred by radical social scientists interested in overhauling the capitalist social system and influenced by the Marxist ideology.

‘Social transformation’ is a broad concept used to indicate social dynamics. The ideas, conveying the meanings of evolution, progress and change on the one hand and the meanings of development, modernisation and revolution, on the other, are incorporated within the concept of transformation.

Social transformation and social problems are closely linked with each other. Society is not static but the dominant groups in society sometimes want to perpetuate their hold over society and protect their interests by repressive methods. Thus, in a negative manner, if the process of social transformation is suppressed, it generates new social problems. On the other hand, if the process of social transformation is taking a natural course, the society faces the problems of adjustment during the transitional phase of the decline of the old system and the emergence of a new system.

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## 1.2 THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

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The concept of ‘social transformation’ has occupied a significant place in social sciences after the Second World War. The literal meaning of the concept is ‘changing form or appearance or character or alter out of recognition’. This concept was specifically used by Karl Marx in his book ‘German Ideology’ (1846) to mean a facet of social change which arises out of contradictions in a society and leading to rapid change or revolution. Marx feels that at some stage

of social development, there is a conflict between the material forces of production with the existing rules of production. The conflict, based on these contradictions, leads to social revolution. This phase of social revolution has been termed by Marx as a period of rapid social transformation. Social transformation indicates the change in the form of society or the rise of new formations. Rajni Kothari (1988) is of that view the modernisation and revolution are two models of social transformation. They can be presented in the following manner.

**Social Transformation**

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Modernisation

Revolution

Let us discuss these two models of transformation one by one.

**1.2.1 Model of Modernisation**

Modernisation, as a concept, represents ideologies and values of the industrial, capitalist and democratic societies of the Western Europe and the North America. The opposite to modernised structure is agrarian, traditional, custom-based, technologically and economically backward social structures of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As pointed out by Daniel Lerner (1964) modernisation is represented by literacy, political participation, urbanisation, occupational mobility and empathy. The other characteristics of modernisation are free market, industrialisation, modern technology, democratic state and modern education. There are five major dimensions of modernisation i.e. technological, economic, political, social and psychological. Along with their components, they can be presented as follows:

<b>Modernisation</b>				
<b>Technological</b>	<b>Economic</b>	<b>Political</b>	<b>Social</b>	<b>Psychological</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• inanimate sources of energy</li> <li>• modern machines</li> <li>• heavy technology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• market</li> <li>• capital</li> <li>• commodity</li> <li>• consumerism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• freedom</li> <li>• individualism</li> <li>• democracy</li> <li>• political participation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mobility</li> <li>• occupational differentiation</li> <li>• universalism</li> <li>• specificity</li> <li>• urban-industrial culture</li> <li>• literacy and modern education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• cosmopolitan mind</li> <li>• achievement orientation</li> <li>• empathy</li> </ul>

In the model of modernisation, the transformation is supposed to be sustained, evolutionary, gradual and linear. In this gradual process, change is the result of a long duration. It is significant that the process of modernisation visualises a structural transformation in the society.

As pointed out, the modernisation model of development has a close relationship with the process of industrial and the industrial society. We are in the early part of the twentieth century. The industrial society has also undergone a phenomenal change over the last several decades.

**1.2.2 Marxian Revolution Model**

In this model, the change is brought about by men’s intervention. As indicated by Engels, man is the only animal who is capable of transformation in accordance with this requirements.

Apart from the French (1779) and the American (1789) revolutions, the revolutionary social transformation was experimented effectively in this century in Soviet Russia (1719) and China (1949). According to the exponents of this model, the industrial-capitalist system is afflicted by exploitation of man by man. It has produced unprecedented social inequality. Despite industrialisation, application of heavy technology and a large scale production, man has lost his dignity in the capitalist model or modernisation. According to the exponents of the revolutionary model, only a revolutionary transformation can eliminate poverty, inequality, exploitation, unemployment and dehumanisation.

The final goal of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the revolutionary transformation is the building of a classless and stateless society based on equality. After the revolution, in the phase of transition, a society based on revolutionary transformation is characterised by the points as given below:

<b>Society based on Revolutionary Model of Transformation (transitional phase)</b>		
Collective ownership of the means of production	Power Structure based on the dictatorship of the proletariat	Decision Making based on a single political party (Communist Party) and its politbureau

**Box 1.1**

**Sanskritisation and Westernisation**

In the Indian Context, a clear distinction should be made between the two processes of transformation known as Sanskritisation and Westernisation. Sanskritisation as used by Srinivas refers to the imitation of the manners and customs of the upper castes by the lower castes, whereas, Westernisation means the impact of Western culture, values and institutions on the Indian Society. The basic attributes of the ‘model of modernisation’ as discussed in this unit are similar to the attributes of Westernisation.

**Critical Appraisal of these Models**

The human society has experienced both modernisation and revolutionary models of transformation. As pointed out by Rajni Kothari, human society has seen keen competition between these two models—leading to the global problems of Cold War, deadly armaments, threats of nuclear weapons, division of World into two power blocks (before the collapse of the Soviet Union) and attempts to dominate over others. The 19<sup>th</sup> Century European mind was full of optimism; it has tremendous faith in progress. After the First World War, the voices of dissent against the Western civilisation, its patterns of development and material advancement were raised by Joseph J. Spengler in his ‘Decline of the West’ and P.A. Sorokin in his ‘Socio-Cultural Dynamics’. These writers stressed that Western civilisation represented by materialism, industrialisation and modern technology was moving towards decline. Perceptive Critical analysis of the industrial and capitalist pattern of modernisation was done by Karl Mannheim in his ‘Man and Society: In an Age of Reconstruction’, Erich Fromm in his ‘Sane Society’ and Petre L. Berger and others in their ‘Homeless Mind’. They were of the view that the industrialised capitalist societies of the West were moving towards —

- decline,
- disintegration and disorganisation,
- lack of moorings,
- weakening of institutions like family and religion,
- loss of autonomy of individuals, and
- emergence of mass society.

The functioning of communism, its system of production, economic organisation and power structure as a product of revolution were criticised by Kruschev, Djilas and Gorbachev. As a system, it created dictatorship, police-terror, executions, denial of human rights, decline in productions, collapse of economy and the creation of a ‘new class’ of party functionaries and the State officials. The social problems of violence, unequal distribution of resources, poverty, unemployment could not be solved by these two models of transformation. We have to keep in mind that when society starts moving from one formation to another formation, certain problems are bound to crop-up. The period, lying between the movements from one formation to another formation or from one stage of transformation to another stage of transformation, may be regarded as the stage of ‘transition’. The period of transition in any society creates problems of social and psychological adjustment, cultural accommodation and economic recasting. Societies move forward in the pattern of challenge and response. Whenever there is any challenge, society tries to meet it by its response. When the responses are effective, there is positive transformation and development. When the responses do not meet the challenges, there is decline in a situation when there are likely to be a large number of social problems. Simply stated, social transformation results in social problems. The effort to solve social problems can initiate social transformation.

**Check Your Progress 1**

i) Explain the meaning of social transformation in eight lines.

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ii) Mention models of social transformation and enumerate major problems created by them in eight lines.

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iii) Indicate the names of major critics of the Western materialistic, capitalist model of modernisation with titles of their books.

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- b) .....
- c) .....
- d) .....
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iv) Write a critique of the revolutionary model of transformation in five lines.

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### 1.3 TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

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In the process of transformation, society moves from the traditional to modern social structure. Scholars also point out that human societies are becoming more and more globalised in the wake of fast spread of information and communication technology, industrial development, physical communication networks and so on.

#### 1.3.1 Traditional and Modern Societies

The traditional Society is characterised by agriculture, villages, small scale undeveloped technology, customs and simple social structure. In traditional societies, there is said to be harmony in social relations and in social institutions. There is consistency between institutions, the accepted norms and patterns of behaviour. The mechanism of the social control operates through customs, folkways and mores. There tends to be a close correspondence between expectations and achievements in traditional societies.

The modern society is characterised by industry, cities, heavy technology, rule of law, democracy and complex social structure. The introduction of new social relations, new social roles as a result of transformation from the traditional society to modern society tends to make earlier behaviour ineffective to achieve new goals set as a result of the movement. This results in tensions and frustrations. To meet the changes, new patterns of behaviour emerge. The old established order changes and there is confusion. The changes in the various cultural items (e.g. acceptance of technology) would mean acceptance of scientific attitude to life, being punctual at the place of work, new forms of social organisation such as trade unions which are different from traditional values. It takes time for people to adjust to the emerging situations in the phase of transition when the 'old' is not fully rejected and the 'new' is not fully accepted.

### **1.3.2 Before and After Transformation**

Whenever, there is either a gradual or a revolutionary transformation, certain problems are bound to emerge in society. For the purpose of understanding, we may consider two stages of society i.e., before the transformation and after the transformation. In the pre-transformation phase, the people develop their own way of life, social relations, norms, values, productive system and consumption patterns. With the process of transformation, people are required to adjust themselves to the new requirements. In the transformation phase, they find difficulties in moving away from the age old habits.

This point can be explained by taking the example of the Indian Society. India attained her independence by following the path of struggles—sometimes by revolutionary methods (for example the revolts of 1857 and 1942) and by and large, though by peaceful means yet determined resistance to colonialism. India, being an ancient civilisation, is characterised by certain traditional institutions like caste, joint family and untouchability. Indian society is moving from the traditional social structure to the modern one. Apart from the age old traditional institutions, now, there are certain new structures based on constitutional provisions such as a modern State, parliamentary democracy and organisations for the planned development of society.

In the post-independence period, concerted effort has been made through the constitutional provisions for social transformation and planned development, elimination of untouchability and creation of a just and equal society in India. Despite these efforts, even today, in several parts of India, untouchability is practised in one or the other form.

### **1.3.3 Examples of Linkage**

Certain social problems are directly linked with social transformation. The process of rapid economic development and industrialisation are bound to take place in modern society. They are the indicators of modernisation but at the same time, they generate problems of regional imbalance, pollution, ecological degradation, slums linked with violence, crime and delinquency.

Democracy is supposed to provide equal opportunities to all citizens. It believes in legal and political equality. It is supposed to increase human dignity. But unfortunately, elections—an essential part of democracy—have encouraged regionalism, communalism and casteism in India.

Affluence and leisure are the indicators of a modern society. At the same time, they are creating problems of loneliness, alcoholism and drug addiction in highly industrialised societies as well as in the rich section of Indian society.

**Activity**

Write a two-page note on the impact of a factory on pollution as known to you.

## 1.4 CONCEPT OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

All societies have certain situations which affect them adversely. In a commonsense way, social problems are considered as conditions which are widespread and have harmful consequences for the society. However, it is not quite as simple. What may have been considered as not harmful, at one time, may be considered harmful at other times. Smoking was not considered a serious social problems for over a long time. In contemporary times because of growing awareness of health hazards, it has become matter of great concern. It seems easy to understand social problem but when an effort is made to deal with them the complexities to the social problems become evident.

What might be considered a social social problem in one society may be considered as such in another society. The perception is dependent on the norms and values in a society. In some societies divorce would be considered a social problem. In others, it may not be considered. So also with taking alcoholic drinks. Even within a society there might be differences of opinion when it is large and heterogeneous. There are certain behaviours which are considered as deviant and harmful in all societies viz. murder, rape, mental illness. There is no value-conflict in these conditions. Although, the approach to solutions to these problems may be different in different societies.

There are several issues involved in the conceptualisation of social problems which may be described as follows:

- at what stage, any specific condition is regarded as a social problem?
- how the gap between ‘what actually exists’ and ‘what ought to be’ is identified?
- what are the criteria to determine a social problem?

These questions are closely linked with the following points:

- a) perception of the public,
- b) social ideals and realities,
- c) recognition by a significant number.

Let us discuss these points one by one.

**Box 1.2**

**Crisis**

Crisis is a medical concept used to indicate a critical stage of illness of a patient. Several Sociologists, such as Karl Mannheim, Albort Salomon and Bernard Rosenberg etc. in the place of disorganisation or deviance, prefer to use the concept of crisis to indicate the illness of modern society.



### 1.4.1 Perception of the Public

Often a social condition which is not in the interest of the society may exist over a long period without being recognised as such. It becomes a problem only when it is perceived as a problem. Poverty has been with us for a very long time. It is only after independence that poverty removal programme became an important component of our planning process.

The perception of the public is dependent on how visible a problem is. Crime is easily recognised and the public perceives it as a problem. There are, as mentioned earlier, problems which may exist but are not recognised. There may be some who see that a particular condition may become a problem and try to make people aware of the situation. Social movements start this way. Women in many societies suffer from many disabilities, denial of ownership of property, widow remarriage, right to divorce, equal wages etc. Yet few societies considered such situations as problematic only a few decades back. Women's liberation movements are trying to make the public aware of their plight. There must be therefore significant number in the public who perceives a situation as problematic.

### 1.4.2 Social Ideals and Realities

Social problems indicate a gap between what actually exists as compared to what ought to be or what is considered as ideal. The ideal of any society is based on values in a society. Social problems are defined as undesirable conditions in a society. What is undesirable is defined by the values. Values determine what is good and what is bad. Earlier it was noted that different societies have different values. Hence, what might be considered as bad or undesirable in one society may not be so in another society.

Social values are dynamic—they keep changing. What was considered a problem a few years ago may not now be considered as undesirable. Some years ago, boys and girls studying together in schools and colleges was not approved by a large number of people. At present, there is little opposition to it. There was not much concern till recently about the pollution—smoke from the factories, dumping of waste in rivers, cutting down of forest etc. However, there is now an awakening and great desire to protect the environment. There is a gap between social reality of the ecology being disturbed and the ideal to have an environment which is balanced and beneficial to the people.

### 1.4.3 Recognition by Significant Number

A social condition does not become a problem until a sufficiently large number of people think of it as a problem. The opinion makers can influence the thinking of the people. To go back to the earlier example, few thought of pollution of deforestation as a matter of concern about which something had to be done. However, there is now a much greater awareness of the harm caused by this to the society. Efforts are being made to reduce the ill effects of the cutting down of trees. If there is only a small group of people who consider a particular condition as bad they have to educate people, so that, there is public awareness.

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## 1.5 DEFINITIONS

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In the light of the different approaches and theories of the social problems, it is a difficult task to arrive at its commonly accepted definition. As pointed out by

Merton and Nisbet (eds.) (1971) sometimes, it appears, as if there is only a chaos of conflicting theories, but in Sociology, there is a condition of theoretical pluralism with differing theories often complementing each other. As regards theories and approaches to the understanding of social problems, we have discussed them in details in the Unit 2 of this Block.

Nisbet defines social problems as behavioural patterns regarded by a large portion of society as being in violation of one or more generally accepted social norms (Merton and Nisbet eds.), (1971). Merton thinks that social problems are a deviation from the accepted social ideals and they are dysfunctional.

On the other hand, Spector and Kitsuse define social problems as activities of groups which make protests to organisations, institutions and agencies against conditions which they regard as grievable.

Two clear perspectives emerge out of these definitions:

- Social problems are violations of accepted norms and deviations from the accepted Social ideals.
- They are a protest against certain grievances.

### **1.5.1 Characteristics of Social Problems**

Now, let us try to understand the characteristics of social problems. They are as follows:

#### **i) A social problem is caused by many factors**

Earlier, it was indicated that there is a cause-effect relation with regard to a social problem. This does not however mean that a social problem can be explained or understood by one cause only. Illiteracy is caused by many factors, such as attitude of people to education, lack of schools in many areas, status of girl child, care of the younger children by older children, malnutrition and poverty to name a few. To solve the problem of illiteracy, all these problems have to be taken into consideration.

#### **ii) Social problems are interrelated**

Often there is a relation between various social problems. Ill-health is related to poverty, lack of education, attitude of sickness, unemployment, non-availability of medical care, status of women. It is not very difficult to see relations between all the 'causes' and the 'effects'.

#### **iii) Social problems affect individuals differently**

If there is inflation some people are affected by it more than others. People who are poor or who have fixed income will feel the problem more than those that are well-off and who have ways and means of increasing their income. Dowry is more a problem for the poor than for the rich. The family with a large number of daughters have a bigger problem in dowry than a family which has only sons. The problem of unemployment is more severe for those who are less educated and lack skills. It is also possible that some groups are affected more than others; for example—women, weaker sections, minorities, rural and urban poor.

iv) **Social problems affect all people**

The people in a society are interdependent. What affects one group will affect most members of the society also over time. Few persons are able to protect themselves fully against many of the social problems – violence, unemployment, inflation, communal riots and corruption etc.

Kenneth Henry (1978) rightly considers social problems as a Sociological process, as ideologically interpreted and as subject to different theoretical approaches.

**Check Your Progress 2**

i) Write in ten lines how and when a particular situation is considered to be harmful for society and is conceived as a social problem.

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ii) Define ‘Social Problem’ in eight lines.

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iii) Mention names of two books on social problems with names of their Writers/Editors.

a) .....  
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b) .....  
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iv) Enumerate characteristics of social problems.

- a) .....
- b) .....
- c) .....
- d) .....

### 1.5.2 Types of Social Problems

Merton classifies social problems in the following two categories:

- i) social disorganisation
- ii) deviant behaviour

In all social problems, some elements of disorganisation refers to two conditions:

i) **Social Disorganisation**

- inadequacies in the social system,
- ineffective working of status and roles.

There are certain sources of social disorganisation. In all societies, there are some consensus on values and interests. Whenever this degree of unanimity is disturbed by conflicting interests, we find trends of disorganisation in that particular society. Similar is the case with status and roles. Every individual occupies multiple statuses such as father, husband, member of a political party, practicing a profession and member of his professional organisation. He performs his roles accordingly. He decides his priorities of roles and acts accordingly in social life. But if there is a conflict between the different status and roles and a group of people are not in a position to decide their priorities or to reconcile between the conflicting roles, it is bound to lead to social disorganisation. The process of socialisation helps people to learn language, customs, traditions, culture and values of the group. If the process of Socialisation either at the level of family or school and the peer group is defective, it will adversely affect the personality of the member of a group and the organised functioning of the group itself. Society develops informal and formal mechanism of social control to regulate behaviours of its members. Whenever, these mechanisms do not work in a effective manner, the trends of disorganisation are visible in the society.

The social disorganisation is manifested in the breakdown in the effective institutional functioning, disorganisation of family, marital breakdown, poverty, collective violence, population explosion, community disorganisation and urban problems such as slums and inhuman living conditions.

ii) **Deviant Behaviour**

The concept of deviant behaviour is used by Sociologists to include serious crimes as well as the violation of moral codes. In every society, there is a commonly agreed idea of normal behaviour. Whenever someone moves away from the accepted norm and behaves differently that behaviour may be regarded as abnormal or deviant behaviour.

The crimes, juvenile delinquencies, mental disorders, drug addition and alcoholism are some of the examples of deviant behaviour.

**Box 1.3**

**Social Pathology**

Social Pathology is a sub-division of Sociology conceptually borrowed from the medical sciences. In Sociological literature, several books have been written under the titles of social disorganisation and social problems. The sub-division of Sociology concerned with these problems has often been called as the Sociology of Social problems or deviance. Some Sociologists who stress on the crisis aspect have preferred to call this sub-division as Social Pathology.

## 1.6 SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social problems, under several circumstances, are the products of outdated institutions. For example monarchy, as an institution, is mainly responsible for repressive measures against democratic aspirations, even today, in many countries of the world. Similarly, problem of untouchability is linked with the caste system in India. The system of arranged marriages is basically the cause of dowry and dowry death in our society. Apart from the institutional settings, sometimes, the programmes launched for development also result in social problems. The large scale requirements of timber for constructions, railways, furniture and fuels have caused deforestation. Industrialisation and the expansion of the factory system has led to the pollution of air, water and the earth. Construction of big dams, power projects, high ways etc. lead to large scale dis-placement of the local people.

Further, social problems are also a result of the gap between the social ideals and the actual practice. In spite of so much talks against corruption and slogans for the value-based politics by press, public leaders and intelligentsia in India from the platform and in the mass-media, corruption in public life and criminalisation of politics has increased in our society. As indicated by Feagin (1986) the protests and movements organised by people against social problems and for social change are very significant.

### 1.6.1 Obstacles in Implementation

It is not an easy task to organise movements against social problems. There are many vested interest groups who may want a particular situation to continue. The forest contractors would oppose the stopping of the felling of trees. The owners of liquor shops would not favour prohibition. Over a time, movements are able to make the government and other institutions recognise the situation and accept the legitimacy of the claim. As a result, policies could be formulated by the government to deal with the situation – rules against deforestation, various laws to improve the conditions of women (equal wages, laws against dowry, sati, inheritances etc.) The formulation of policies by itself is not sufficient. It is to be implemented. Often there is a delay or inadequate efforts. The movement then has to focus on getting the policy implemented. Many times there is no complete solution to a problem. Social movements indicate that collective action can get action from authorities.

## 1.6.2 Stages of Movements

The outmoded institutional settings, the ill-conceived programmes and the increasing gap between ideals and practice are often either not perceived or ignored by the silent majority in any society. Some people are able to see these problems. At first stage, there is the awareness about social problems in a few individuals or in a small group. At the second stage, they try to propagate their point of view among the people. At the third state, there is organised dissent, protest and agitation. Finally, it leads to the building of a movement. If we take the example of the *Sati Pratha* as practiced in India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the movement started by Raja Rammohan Roy against it then we find that the anti-sati movement passed through all the phases which are mentioned above. Now, all over the world in general and in India in particular, there is a powerful women movement to protect the rights and interest of women. The organisation of Indian women along with the enlightened citizens and mass-media are fighting against dowry and dowry deaths. Similarly, there is the movement of environmentalists against ecological degradation and pollution. The *Chipko* movement launched in the hills of Uttar Pradesh against deforestation has attracted world wide attention. The voluntary organisations and officials are trying to create awareness against drug addiction and alcoholism.

There is a close relationship between the remedial measures against the social problems and the social movements. Social movements arise when some people feel that a particular situation is not good for the society and that something should be done to change it.

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## 1.7 SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL POLICY

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Social policy refers to the view that a government has on a particular situation and how it will deal with it. In India, there is a social policy on education, women, environment, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, urbanisation, and drug addiction etc. There is intimate relationship between social movements, social problems and social policy.

Social movements pressurise governments to evolve remedial measures to control social problems. In this context, we have to keep in mind that only the acceptance of a policy and its announcement will not solve social problems. The *Sarada Act* was enacted in the late twenties to check child marriage but it has not fully succeeded in stopping child marriage. The social legislations against untouchability were passed in the mid fifties but even till today the practice of untouchability is not fully eradicated from our society. In spite of constitutional provisions, all children of the school going age do not attend schools.

Actually, strong social movements, public awareness and official policies—all the three must work together to combat against social problems. In this context, we have to keep in view that the State is the most powerful and significant institution in modern society. Its role is very important in combating against social problems. But state intervention has got its own limits and it can be more effective if there is the support of the people behind the actions of the state and policies adopted by it.

### 1.7.1 Policy, Ideology and Welfare

We have yet to understand the relationship between social policies and social welfare on the one hand and social policy and ideology on the other. It is difficult to differentiate between social policies and social welfare policies as some of the groups which are covered under social policy may also need welfare. All over the world, irrespective of ideologies, States are adopting welfare policies such as child-welfare, youth-welfare, women-welfare, welfare of aged, welfare of the weaker sections and policies related to employment, security, health scheme, education, ecology and rural-urban development. These policies have contributed very significantly in curbing the menace of the several social problems. The policy with regard to social problems is dependent on ideology. The capitalist point of view would be that open market and free economy would take care of the needs of society. The individuals can look after their own welfare. The socialists feel that the structure of the society should be changed through the State intervention. A government is therefore likely to formulate a policy according to its ideological commitment.

There cannot be an overall policy with regard to all social problems. Each problem has to be dealt with separately. The laws that are passed are often related to specific problems. For example—drug-addiction, dowry, prohibition, child labour etc. It would be obvious that each of these aspects needs to be dealt with in a special way.

#### Check Your Progress 3

i) Define Social disorganisation with suitable examples in five lines.

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ii) What is deviant behaviour? Write in four lines with suitable examples.

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iii) Mention the different stages of a social movement in four lines.

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iv) Define Social Policy.

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## 1.8 LET US SUM UP

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This unit began with the concept of transformation and its models of modernisation and revolution. The relationship between social transformation and social problems, concept definitions, characteristics and types of social problems are also discussed in this unit. The linkage between social problems, institutions and movements and finally the policy implications in terms of transformation and problems are also highlighted in this unit.

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## 1.9 KEY WORDS

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- Social Transformation** : It is a broad concept which incorporates the meaning of evolution, progress, change, on the one hand, and development, modernisation and revolution on the other. Its literal meaning is ‘changing form’ or ‘appearance’ or ‘character’.
- Modernisation** : Development of a society, from the traditional, agricultural, rural, custom based, particularistic structure to urban, industrial, technological and universalistic structure is called modernisation.
- Revolution** : The violent or non violent abrupt social change making reversal of condition, or bringing about fundamental change is called revolution.
- Social Problems** : Behavioural patterns – in violation of accepted social norms or protests against grievances are called social problems.
- Deviant Behaviour** : It is used by Sociologists to include serious crimes as well as violation of moral codes. Whenever commonly accepted idea of ‘normal’ is violated by someone’s behaviour that is termed as the deviant behaviour.

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## 1.10 FURTHER READINGS

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Merton K., Robert, Nisbet Robert, 1971 Contemporary Social Problems, Fourth Edition, Harcourt Brace and Co., New York.

Lerner Daniel, 1964 The passing of Traditional Society, The Free Press, London.



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## 1.11 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- i) Social transformation is a broad concept used to indicate social dynamics. The literal meaning of this concept is ‘changing form of appearance or character or alter out of recognition’. According to Marx, transformation is that facet of social change which indicates the rise of contradictions in a society leading to rapid change or revolution. Social transformation refers to the change in the form of society or the rise of new formulations.
- ii) a) **Modernisation**
- It represents economy, polity and values of the industrialised capitalist societies – representing extreme of affluence and extreme of distress. It is responsible for poverty, unemployment and deprivation in a vast section of mankind and over-abundance, over-production and over-consumption in another very small section
- b) **Revolution**
- The functioning of communism as a product of revolution has been criticised for its association with dictatorship, police terror, executions, denial of human rights, decline in productions, collapse of economy and creation of a new class of the part functionaries and the state officials.
- iii) a) Joseph J. Spengeer: The Decline of the West  
b) P.A. Sorokin: The Social and Cultural Dynamics  
c) Karl Mannheim: Man and Society: in an AGE of Recondstruction  
d) Erich From: The Same Society  
e) Pelne L. Berger and others: ‘Homeless Mind’

### Check Your Progress 2

- i) Social problems are widespread conditions which have harmful consequences for the society. The perception of being harmful is dependent on the norms and values of a society. Certain problems are directly linked with social transformation. Rapid industrialisation generates the problem of regional imbalance pollutions and slums. In the following condition, a situation is considered to be harmful and becomes a social problem:
- a) gap between social ideals and reality.  
b) recognition by a significant number.
- ii) Social problems are behavioural patterns regarded by a large protion of society as being in violation of the accepted social norms. They are also considered as a deviation from the accepted social ideals and thus they are dysfunctional. Another definition regards social problems as activities

## Social Framework

of groups which make protests against conditions which they regard as grievable.

- iii) a) Robert K. Merton and Robert Nisbet, Contemporary Social Problems
- b) Kenneth Henry, Social Problems, Institutional and Interpersonal Perspectives.
- iv) a) A social problem is caused by many factors,
- b) Social problems are interrelated,
- c) Social problems affect individuals differently,
- d) Social problems affect all people.

### Check Your Progress 3

- i) Social disorganisation refers to the breakdown in the effective institutional functioning. Whenever the balance in society is disturbed by conflicting values, lack of proper socialisation and weakening of the mechanism of social control that state of society is termed as disorganisation. Its examples are family disorganisation, marital breakdown and community disorganisation.
- ii) In every society, there is a commonly agreed idea of normal behaviour. Whenever, someone moves away from the accepted norms and behaves differently, that behaviour may be regarded as abnormal or deviant behaviour. The crimes, juvenile delinquencies, mental disorders etc. are the examples of the deviant behaviour.
- iii) a) awareness in a few individuals
- b) propagation of their point of view among the people
- c) organised dissent, protest and agitation
- d) finally, building of a movement
- iv) Social policy refers to the view that a government has on a particular situation and how it will deal with it.

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## UNIT 2 APPROACHES AND PARADIGMS

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### Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Early Approaches
  - 2.2.1 Beliefs and Superstitions
  - 2.2.2 The Classical Approach
  - 2.2.3 The Physical Constitutional Traits
  - 2.2.4 Critical Review
- 2.3 Contemporary Approaches
  - 2.3.1 The Functional Approach
  - 2.3.2 The Marxist Approach
  - 2.3.3 The Gandhian Approach
- 2.4 The Inadequacies of these Approaches
  - 2.4.1 Critical Review of the Functional Approach
  - 2.4.2 Critique of the Marxist Approach
  - 2.4.3 Review of the Gandhian Approach
- 2.5 The Contemporary Social Reality: Dysfunctional Aspects
  - 2.5.1 The Global Dysfunctions
  - 2.5.2 The Local Dysfunctions
- 2.6 The Paradigms of Transformation and Social Problems
  - 2.6.1 The Liberal-Capitalist Paradigm
  - 2.6.2 The Communist Paradigm
  - 2.6.3 The Paradigm of the Democratic Socialism
  - 2.6.4 The Indian Experiments and the Gandhian Paradigm
- 2.7 The Limitations of the State Intervention
  - 2.7.1 The Policy of the Laissez-Faire
  - 2.7.2 The Collectivist-Ideologies
  - 2.7.3 The Limitations
- 2.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.9 Key Words
- 2.10 Further Readings
- 2.11 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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In the Unit 1, we discussed about social transformation and problems. After going through the Unit 1, you must have understood these two concepts and their relationship.

Now, in the Unit 2, we are going to discuss the various approaches to the study of social problems and the paradigms of transformation. After reading this Unit, you will be able to:

- understand different approaches to the study of social problems;
- explain the basic formulations of the Functionalist, the Marxist and the Gandhian approaches;
- examine the inadequacies of these approaches;

- grasp the dysfunctional aspects of socio-economic development at the global, national and the local levels and the need for alternative approaches;
- describe the different paradigms of transformation; and
- elucidate the roles and limitation of the state intervention.

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## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

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In the Unit 1, the concept of transformation is already introduced to you. All Societies, in one or the other form, experience slow or rapid transformation. The Societies which experience slow process of transformation find little difficulties in adjusting to the changed conditions. By and large, the slow process of social transformation is visible in the tribal and agrarian structures, whereas, it is more rapid in the urban-industrial social structure characterised by cities, high technology, modern production, consumerism, rapid means of transport and communication, migration, mobility, anonymity, secondary groups and impersonal relationships.

The strains caused by the rapidity of social transformation and even a partial inability on the part of the society to recast its structural frame in accordance with the changed conditions either strengthen the existing challenges to the social order or generate new tensions and problems.

This point can be explained by taking the example of urbanisation. Urbanisation, as a process, is an important indicator of social transformation. At the same time, this process produces social problems such as poverty, unemployment, overcrowding in cities, shortage of housing, lack of civic amenities, impersonal relationship, slums and a social environment which leads to delinquency, crime and other anti-social activities. Man, as a social being, encounters rapid social transformation on the one hand and constantly endeavours to find out appropriate solution to social problems generated by social transformation on the other.

Social problems afflict societies and to understand their nature and find answer to them, it is relevant to discuss different sociological approaches which emerged in the course of the understanding of the nature and genesis of social problems. This point has to be kept in view that the society has concerns for the normal as well as the abnormal conditions of society. It is concerned with happy families as much as unhappy or problem families. A Student of Sociology studies social problems in order to arrive at a better understanding of the abnormal social conditions which adversely affect social functioning. There is a close relationship between social and personal problems. The problems which appear to be personal in nature such as sickness, personal violence, malnutrition etc. are linked with social conditions that afflict thousands in similar life situations.

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## 2.2 EARLY APPROACHES

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Historically, starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century upto the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century when law and order was the major concern of the state and the ruling elite, crime was the main social problem which attracted the attention of the early social thinkers. There were several exercises either in the form of beliefs and superstitions or in the form of serious and systematic understanding of

the problems of famine, epidemics and crimes. For the purpose of understanding, they may be classified as follows:

- beliefs and superstitions,
- classical approach,
- physical-constitutional approach.

### **2.2.1 Beliefs and Superstitions**

Starting from the primitive phase of human life till today, man has been facing famines scarcity, epidemic, violence, homicide and crimes. These problems, in many societies in the early periods or in some segments of human society even today, are considered to be the outcome of the influence of spirits, ghosts and witches. Such beliefs are based on the lack of proper understanding between the cause and effect relationship.

### **2.2.2 The Classical Approach**

Starting from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, some attempts were made to understand crime in a more systematic manner. Cesare Beccaria (1764) an Italian and Jeremy Bentham (1823) an Englishman were the pioneers who did serious exercise to explain the causation of crime as a social problem. Their formulations are known as the classical theory or approach which stressed on the hedonistic or the pleasure seeking nature of men which motivate them to violate accepted social norms and thus resulting in crimes. In other words, some men commit crimes in order to gain pleasure or crimes are utilitarian for them.

### **2.2.3 The Physical Constitutional Traits**

Later on, some empirical or positivist efforts were made to explain the occurrence or crimes as a social problem. Cesar Lombroso (1836-1909) an Italian viewed crimes in relation to physical-constitutive traits, therefore, this approach is known as physical constitutional approach or the Italian School of the theory of crimes. Since, he tried to verify his assumptions by empirical methods, this is also known as the Positivist approach to the explanation of crimes. According to Lombroso:

- criminals are born with certain physical traits,
- the physical traits of criminals are different from the normal persons.

### **2.2.4 Critical Review**

A critical review of these approaches reveal their limitations which are as follows:

- the first approach was based only on superstitions and ignorance,
- the latter two approaches are only of historical importance today,
- they are not based on the scientific analysis of crimes,
- the focus of the classical and the physical constitutional approaches is on individuals,
- they have not kept in view the social, economic and cultural factors.

**Check Your Progress 1**

- i) Describe major characteristics of the Urban-industrial social structure in three lines.

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- ii) Mention the names of the two main propounders of the classical approach to crime with countries of their origin.

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- iii) Indicate the name of one main propounder of the Physical-Constitutional approach to crime as a social problem with country of his origin.

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- iv) Discuss the limitations of the early approaches in eight lines.

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**2.3 CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES**

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The 19<sup>th</sup> Century European Society experienced a great social transformation which is characterised by the decline of the hold of church, monarchy, feudalism and the rise of secular ideology state and the industrial revolution. Accordingly, there was a shift in ideas, methods of analysis and conceptualisation.

The distinct intellectual trends were visible during this century in the field of social sciences:

- in the first trend, the major emphasis was on the centrality of ‘social order’ with major components of preservation, solidarity, cohesion and integration,
- in the second trend, the central theme was social dynamics with its components of contradictions and conflict.

Out of the two intellectual trends there was the emergence of the functionalist and the Marxist approaches.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the Indian society was fully subjugated by the British power. The Gandhian approach to eradicate problems of subjugation, colonial cultural domination, decline of village-industries, hold of superstitions, fear and untouchability can be grasped in the light of this socio-political background.

In contemporary period, a definite shift is visible in the analysis of social problems. Briefly, this shift in analysis can be explained in the following manner:

- earlier social problems and their causation were explained in terms of individuals. Now, the emphasis is on the social, economic, political, cultural or on structural factors.
- earlier emphasis was on the maintenance of social order and preservation of equilibrium which used to make social change a suspect phenomenon. Now, it is accepted that strains and social problems emerge due to contradictions existing in the social system which can be sorted out by removing these contradictions.

There are different perspectives to explain in the nature and genesis of social problems in contemporary sociology. These perspectives have given birth to two major theoretical approaches which are as follows:

- the Functional approach,
- the Marxist approach.

In the Indian context, out of his experiments on political movements and social reconstruction, Gandhi tried to develop a framework to eradicate social problems and to reorganize Indian society. Thus, the third approach which we have to explain is:

- the Gandhian approach.

### **2.3.1 The Functional Approach**

The functional approach views society as a system, that is, as a set of inter-connected parts which together form a whole. The basic unit of analysis in society and its various parts are understood in terms of their relationship to the whole. Thus, social institutions, such as family and religion, are analysed by functionalists as a part of the social system rather than as isolated units. As parts, they contribute to the integration and maintenance of the system as a whole.

Thus, parts of society are functional insofar as they maintain the system and contribute to its healthy survival. The functional approach also employs the concept of dysfunction to refer to the effects of any social institution which detracts from the maintenance of society. The concept of dysfunction is of vital significance in the modern study of social problems.

The functionalist point of view is reflected in the works of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer—two of the founding fathers of Sociology. Later, it was developed by Emile Durkheim. It was further refined by Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton. The early functionalists drew analogy between society and an organism such as the human body. Just as an organism has certain basic need which must be satisfied if it is to survive, similarly, society has certain

basic needs which must be met if it is to continue to exist. The basic emphasis of the early functionalists is on the following points:

- well-knit relationship between parts (individuals, family, religion, education, law etc.) and the whole (society),
- smooth functioning of the system,
- maintenance of order,
- cohesiveness, and
- social solidarity.

i) **The Functional Pre-requisites**

In this approach certain functional pre-requisites (necessary conditions of social existence ) are identified. They are considered to strengthen the processes of integration, adaptation and maintenance and to help in the smooth functioning of society. The major pre-requisites are as follows:

- role differentiation,
- communication,
- normative regulation,
- socialisation, and
- social control.

If there is a breakdown in the functional pre-requisites, society will face social problems and social disorganisation.

ii) **The Concept of Role**

In the functional analysis, the concept of 'role' occupies an important place. It refers to the work which an individual or an institution is expected to perform. The roles are assigned to individuals on the basis of their personal motivations and the social need. People performing on type of role belong to one position, strata or class. In all societies, there are role differentiation of individuals and institutions. As groups of individuals perform different roles, similarly, social institutions like family and religion also perform their assigned and expected role which are different from each other.

According to the functional analysis, if the role differentiation or the role performance is not in accordance with the prescribed norms, the functioning of society is affected and different social problems crop up.

After explaining the general formulations, now, let us consider the views of some major functionalist thinkers in more specific terms.

iii) **Social Facts and Anomie**

In the functionalist analysis, the way the relationship between 'parts' and the 'whole' has been explained, it gives an impression that the 'whole' is simply of the sum total of 'parts'. However, Durkheim in clear terms rejects this formulation in his studies on division of labour, religion and suicide. The major points of Durkheim's analysis are as follows:

- Sui generis nature of society.



- Social facts, and
- anomie

The Society is a self-emergent reality (termed by Durkheim as reality ‘sui generis’) which is out of and above the individuals. The members of a society are constrained by social facts which are defined by Durkheim as ways of acting, thinking and feeling. These are external to the individual and endowed with a power of coercion by reason of which individuals are bound to obey social facts.

In Durkheim’s analysis, social facts may be divided into normal and pathological types. The division of labour, religion, law and morality are normal social facts, whereas, anomie (normlessness) is a pathological condition of society. The extreme form of ‘division of labour’ is characterised by cut-throat competition, interest orientation and the lack of societal consciousness in individual. In such a situation, anomie trends emerge. In Durkheim’s concept, ‘anomie’ is a major social problem. Durkheim feels that the ‘intensity’ of the ‘collective conscience’ decreases with over differentiation and the extreme form of the division of labour. The actions of members of a group cannot be regulated by common social ideals in such a situation. The extreme form of differentiation, lack of common beliefs, morals and ideals create normlessness which has been called by Durkheim as ‘anomie’.

#### Activity 1

On the basis of personal understanding of your village/locality/office, write a note of two pages and the actual functioning of the division of labour in any one of these three fields.

#### iv) Social Order and the Value Consensus

As Durkheim’s major concern is ‘social solidarity’, similarly, the emphasis of Parsons is on social order which he has developed in his book ‘Social System’. He observes that social life is characterised by ‘mutual advantage and peaceful co-operation rather than mutual hostility and destruction’. Parsons believes that only commitment to common value provides a basis for order in society.

According to Parsons, ‘value’ – consensus forms the fundamental integrating principle in society. Common goals, unity and cooperation are derived from the shared values. The social values provide a general conception of what is desirable and worthwhile. The goals provide direction in specific situations. The roles provide the means whereby values and goals are translated into action.

According to Parsons, there are two main ways in which social equilibrium (the various parts of the system being in a state of balance) is maintained:

- The first involves socialisation by means of which values are transmitted from one generation to the next and internalised to form an integral of individual personalities. The family and education system in the Western Society are the major institutions concerned with this function.
- Secondly, it is also maintained by the various mechanism of social control which discourage deviance and so maintain order in the system. Thus, the processes of socialisation and social control are fundamental to the equilibrium of the system and therefore to the order in society.

Thus, socialisation and social control inculcate the spirit of 'value-consensus' and help in the maintenance of the order.

According to Parsons, adaptation, goal attainment, integration and pattern maintenance are the functional pre-requisites. These are essential preconditions for the survival of society.

It may be summed up that social problems are indicated by the lack of order and value-consensus which are the result of the lack of socialisation, social control, adaptation, goal attainment, and pattern maintenance.

The weakening or absence of these conditions ultimately disturb the 'social equilibrium' leading to disorganisation, crime, delinquency and other social problems.

**Activity 2**

Prepare a two-page note on the nature of social integration in India of the people belonging to the different religions, languages and regions.

v) **The Social Dysfunction, Anomie and Structure**

The social problems have both objective and subjective aspects. They have been termed as 'manifest' and 'latent' respectively by Merton. It is, essential to study not only manifest social problems which are clearly identified in society but also latent social problems which refer to conditions that are also at odds with current interest and values but are not generally recognised as being so. The manifest problems are apparent and objective, whereas, the latent problems remain suppressed and are subjective.

Both, manifest as well as latent aspects of social problems, are linked with dysfunctions.

In Merton's analysis the study of social problems require a focus on the dysfunctions of patterns of behaviour, belief and organisation rather than stressing simply on their functions only. A social dysfunction, according to Merton, is any process that undermines the stability or survival of a social system. This concept curbs any tendency towards the doctrine that everything in society works for 'harmony' and integration.

A social dysfunction is a specific inadequacy of a particular part of the system for meeting a functional requirement. Dysfunction provides a set of consequences which interfere with the requirements of functions in a social system. For example, large scale migration from villages to cities is dysfunctional for maintaining social solidarity, demographic composition and cultural ethos of the rural life. At the same time, it is dysfunctional for urban life also since, it increases overcrowding and decreases basic civic amenities. The same social pattern can be dysfunctional for some and functional for others in a social system. The accumulation of dysfunctions disturbs social stability and creates new social problems.

Merton suggested that certain phases of social structure generate the circumstances in which infringement of social codes constitutes a normal response. Among the elements of social and cultural structure, two are important for the purpose of approaching social problems. In this context, two aspects of social structure must be kept in view:

- The *first* consist of culturally defined goals. It comprises as frame of aspirational references. Some of these cultural aspirations are related to the original drives of man, but they are not determined by them.
- The *second* of the structure is socially approved means.

Every social group couples its cultural objectives with regulations rooted in institutions of approved procedures for moving toward these objectives.

With varying differential emphasis upon goals and institutionalised means, the society becomes unstable and there develops anomie or normlessness.

In this way the theory of anomie and opportunity – structure, set forth by Merton states that the rates of various kinds of deviant behaviour are highest where people have little access to socially legitimate means for achieving culturally induced goals. For example, the culture affirms that all members of society have a right to improve their social status but they are excluded from acceptable means for doing so. This denial of opportunity directs us to the structural sources of social problems.

**Check Your Progress 2**

- i) What is dysfunction? Describe its importance in the study of social problems in about eight lines.

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- ii) Define latent functions and show their significance in the functional approach in about four lines.

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**2.3.2 The Marxist Approach**

Marx begins with the simple observation that in order to survive man must produce food and material objects. In doing so he enters into relationship with other men. From the simple hunting stage to the complex industrial stage, production is a social enterprise.

Except the societies of pre-history, all societies contain basic contradictions which means that they cannot survive in their existing form. These

contradictions involve the exploitation of the poor by the rich. For example, in the feudal society, lords exploited their serfs. In capitalist system, capitalists exploit their workers. This creates fundamental conflict of interest between these two classes since, one gains at the expense of the other. Thus social problems in society represent contradictions inherent in it.

According to Marx, the capitalist system is beset by a number of social problems such as:

- exploitation of man by man,
- inequality and poverty,
- alienation of workers from their own products,
- dehumanisation.

In this context, we would specially like to discuss inequality and poverty, in the light of the Marxian theoretical frame. These two problems are specially concerned with Indian Society.

### i) **Inequality**

According to Marx inequality occurs in all societies because of unequal distribution of means of production.

From the Marxian perspective, the key pre-requisite of a society based on equality is 'each one according to his need', whereas, in the capitalist system and in the functional analysis the emphasis is on 'each one according to his capacity'.

The functionalists and the Marxists disagree on the sources of inequality. Both agree that inequality is linked to the division of labour in society. Marx stressed that social inequality was ultimately the result of economic disparity and deprivation. According to functionalists, stratification is functional for society and stratified. Societies are bound to have social inequality. The merit, ability, performance and achievements of all men are not equal. Thus, in the functionalist analysis, social inequality also appears to be functional.

### ii) **Poverty**

Poverty in capitalist society, according to Marx, can only be understood in terms of the system of inequality generated by the capitalist economy. Wealth is concentrated in the hands of those who own the means of production. Members of the working class own only their labour which they are bound to sell in return for wages in the labour market.

From a Marxian perspective, the state in capitalist society reflects interests of the ruling class, the Government measures, therefore, can be expected to do little except reduce the harsher effects of poverty.

Even in the capitalist societies, the measure of Social Welfare and Social Securities have been adopted to minimise the hardships of the poor and socially deprived people. These measures have helped the needy but they have not resulted in the redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor. Excess of poverty and the excess of wealth in the hands of a few are inevitable consequences of the capitalist system. The solution to poverty does not involve reforms in the social security measures. Instead, like other social problems under capitalism, it requires a radical change in the structure of society.

### 2.3.3 The Gandhian Approach Related to Social Problems

For the proper understanding of the Gandhian approach, a clear distinction must be made between his basic perspectives and the immediate social and political concerns. As regards his basic perspectives, Gandhi wanted to create a moral order based on truth, non-violence, brotherhood, *swadeshi*, *swaraj*, decentralisation of power and economy, austerity and resistance to injustice by determined peaceful means known as *Satyagraha*.

There were several social problems of long and short ranges faced by Indian Society such as low position of women, untouchability, poverty, illiteracy, colonial education, village reconstruction and day to day political problems. When Gandhi appeared on the Indian political scene as a political leader and as a social thinker, he was deeply concerned with them.

#### i) Means and Ends

Gandhian approach to social problems regards means and ends as parts of a whole which has transcendental reference, unlike, Marx who places emphasis on ends. Gandhi stood steadfastly for a non-exploitative social order for he understood well that violence is built into an exploitative system. Gandhi's major goal in life was to achieve *swaraj* for India. His socio-political philosophy was based on truth, non-violence and the unity of means and ends.

For Gandhi, means are more than instrumental. They are creative. His quest for creative means derived from a positive spiritual decision has armed men with a gallant ethical arsenal to resist all oppressions. Exerted either from within the social system or from outside. Gandhi has preferred to call this instrument as *Satyagraha*. To him, not only the end but means to achieve them should also be equally pure.

#### ii) The New Economic System

Gandhi said, you cannot build a non-violent society on factory civilisation but it can be built on self-contained villages. The violence that prevails to day has its roots mainly in economic factors and the only remedy for it lies in doing away with concentration of wealth in the society. The productive system should be based on the idea of progressive and regulated minimisation of needs and not on that of multiplication of wants. The economy should be life-centred and not one that is oriented to commodity production. This means that the socio-economic system should operate on the principle of a metaphysically grounded optimum and not on the principle of maximisation. Consequently, it is to be a non-exploitative economy based on simple and limited technology. Social and economic organisation should be decentralised—based on the principle of optimum autonomy. The social and economic systems should be non-competitive and non-acquisitive, based on the principle of 'trusteeship'.

#### iii) Inequality

Gandhian approach envisages that the goal of economic equality is equality of wages for an honest day's work, be it that of a lawyer, a doctor, a teacher or a scavenger. It requires much advanced training to reach that state of equality.

So, economic equality of Gandhian conception does not mean that everybody would literally have the same amount or would possess an equal amount of

worldly goods. It is possible to reduce the difference between the rich and the poor. There must be a general leveling down of the few rich in whose hands the bulk of the national's wealth is concentrated and a levelling up of the dumb millions. Further, everyone must be assured a balanced diet, a decent house to live in, sufficient cloth to cover himself, facilities to educate his children and adequate medical relief. So, the real meaning of economic equality is 'to each according to his need'. Gandhi did not want to produce a dead equality where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost possible extent for such a society carries with it the seeds of ultimate destruction.

He wanted the rich to hold their wealth in trust for the poor to give it up for them. A state of economic equality cannot be brought about by dispossessing the wealthy of their possession through resort to violence. Violent action does not benefit society for it stands to lose the gifts of a man who may know how a produce can add to the wealth.

iv) **The Caste System and the Untouchability**

In his early writing, Gandhi appeared to favour *Varnashram* which implied to him self-restraint, conservation and economy of energy. Arrogation of superior status by any of the *varna* over another is the denial of the human dignity and particularly so in the case of the section of society which was considered untouchables in an unjust manner. Untouchability is a curse that has come to us. So long as Hindus willfully regard untouchability as part of their religion, *Swaraj* cannot be attained.

v) **Constructive Programmes**

Gandhi coined a new term known as '*Harijan*' for the so called untouchable. He was so much concerned with the eradication of untouchability that in 1934 he resigned from the ordinary membership of the Indian National Congress and vowed to devote his full time for the eradication of untouchability.

Besides removal of untouchability and the development of *Khadi*, Gandhian constructive programme consisted of communal unity, prohibition, village sanitation, health and hygiene, basic education, adult education and literacy, uplift of women, spread of *Hindustani*, work for economic equality, service of the aboriginal's and organisation of students, peasants and labourers.

The communication order aimed in Gandhian approach depended upon a life on non-exploitation which was in consonance with the eleven vows advocated by Gandhi. These vows are truth, non-violence, control of the passions, non-stealing, non-possession, fearlessness, *Swadeshi*, removal of untouchability, labour, tolerance, and equality of religions.

**Check Your Progress 3**

- i) Write a note on the social problems in the capitalist society as perceived by Karl Marx. Use seven lines to answer.

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- ii) What are the significant points in Gandhian approach? Answer in eight lines.

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## **2.4 INADEQUACIES OF THESE APPROACHES**

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The Functional, Marxian and the Gandhian approaches have tried to understand social problems from their own perspectives. No approach can be regarded as final. We have to keep in mind that these approaches emerged according to the requirements of their time and the place of origin. The classical functionalist like Comte, Spencer and Durkheim were concerned with the problems of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century European society which was experiencing new challenges with the process of transformation, i.e., moving from rural to urban, agricultural to industrial, feudal to capitalist system. Naturally, they were concerned with reorganisation of society, functional integration and social solidarity. On the other hand, Karl Marx was more concerned with historical development of human society and problems generated by industrialisation and capitalism such as alienation, exploitation of man by man, dehumanisation and inhuman working conditions in the emerging industrial and urban centres. Gandhi was primarily concerned with the problems of Indian society such as colonialism, imperialist exploitation, untouchability, status of women, alcoholism, weakening of rural communities and the destruction of cottage industries etc.

These approaches have been questioned for their inadequacies. In a brief manner, we would like to discuss the inadequacies of these approaches one by one.

### **2.4.1 Critical Review of the Functional Approach**

The basic premises of the functional approach have been questioned by P.A. Sorokin in his book, 'Sociological Theories Today', 1966. According to Sorokin, the shared orientations and goals of slaves and masters and of the conquered and their conquerors are not the same, inspite of the fact they are the part of the same society. As regards the dysfunctional aspects, Sorokin raises the question whether the activities of Socrates, Jesus and Marx may be

regarded as functional or dysfunctional, whether the emphasis of the early Christian communities or the civil rights workers are the emphasis of adaptation or non adaptation. The answer to these questions will depend upon with which side we identify ourselves in respective societies.

The functional approach treats an effect as a cause. It explains that parts of a system exist because of their beneficial consequences for the system as a whole. Further, it gives a deterministic view of human action because human behaviour has been portrayed as determined by the system. Man is pictured as an automation, programmed, directed and controlled by the system.

Alvin Gouldner states that while stressing the importance of ends and values that men pursue, Parsons never asks whose ends and values these are. Few functionalists accept the possibility that some groups in society, acting in terms of their own interests, dominate others. From this point of view social order is imposed by the powerful and value consensus is merely a legitimization of the position of the dominant group.

Functionalists, thus fail to recognise the conflict of interests which tend to produce instability and disorder. Conflict is also an integral part of the system, hence is equally relevant to the sociological analysis of social problems. In the functionalist approach, historical explanations find little place in understanding society and its problems.

## **2.4.2 Critique of the Marxist Approach**

Both, the Functionalist and the Marxian approaches are deterministic in nature. In the first, the deterministic factor is social system, whereas, in the second it is the mode of production and economy.

While making a critical review of the Marxian approach, we must keep in view the following two aspects of Marxism:

- Marxism as a theory,
- Marxism as a practice.

As regards the first aspect, Marxian approach has over emphasised the role of material forces and conflict. It has over-simplified the class structure of the capitalist society—ignoring the importance of new occupation, professions, and the middle class.

In practice, the Marxist utopia could not be achieved by the Communist States in the former Soviet Union and the Eastern Europe. The social inequality and exploitation remained in communist States also. The Communist States were characterised by dictatorship, police state, inefficiency and corruption. As a result not only the Communist States collapsed but even the dream of Marxism was shattered in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Europe.

Marx predicted that finally the intermediate strata, i.e., the middle class would disappear and there would be only two classes, i.e., capitalist and the working class. But a reverse process is visible whereby increasing numbers of affluent manual workers were entering the middle stratum and becoming middle-class. A middle mass society is emerging where the mass of the population is middle rather than the working class. This process is visible in both capitalist and communist societies.



In the Communist States as indicated by Djilas—a new class—consisting of communist leaders have emerged. The political power and higher opportunities are concentrated in this class. The class, structure and the domination of a new over the majority could not be eliminated in the communist states.

With an increasing emphasis upon multi-casual explanation of social problems, it has become difficult to provide an analysis by one cause alone, the economic, as Marx propounded in his economic determinism. Further, too much weight on ‘ends’ alone does not seem to be logical in a wholesome approach to various aspects of culture and social structure.

Societies under transformation are undergoing various processes of fission and fusion, cohesion and conflict which yield new consciousness and in consequence a different nature of social problems than found earlier. The consideration of time and space has now become significant in any integrated approach to social problems.

### 2.4.3 Review of the Gandhian Approach

Gandhian approach offers a critique of the existing order, propounds certain basic elements of a new society and provides a methodology for solving social problems. Critics have argued that Gandhian approach lacks originality and is a combination of the traditional Indian thinking, welfare policies and liberalism. It is idealistic and divorced from the rough nature of the social reality. An ideal State based on truth and non-violence with practice of austerity, sacrifice and moral standards seems to be utopian. The Gandhian method of ‘Satyagraha’ to fight against injustice has gradually found favour allover the world. It has been applied successfully by blacks in the USA and in South Africa and even by the people in the Eastern Europe to fight against communalism.

#### Activity 3

Write a note of one page on the functioning of any Gandhian Constructive Programme (such as Gandhi Ashram, the *Harijan Sewak Sangh* or the *Adim Jati Sewak Sangh* etc.)

## 2.5 THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL REALITY: DYSFUNCTIONAL ASPECTS

The activities and conditions which adversely affect the smooth functioning of society are termed as dysfunctional. In Sociology, this term was used by Merton. In all societies crime, delinquency, alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, poverty and socio economic inequalities are regarded as ‘dysfunctional’.

In contemporary society, there are several dysfunctional activities and conditions which operate at the global, national and local levels. These three levels of the dysfunctional aspects are closely linked with each other.

### 2.5.1 The Global Dysfunctions

There are several institutions which operate at the global level. After the First World War, the League of Nations was set-up to prevent future wars and to develop better understanding between the nations. It could not perform its functions effectively. Ultimately, the Second World War broke out in 1939. The First and the Second World Wars created a great deal of misery and

destruction. The threat of the cold war and the fear of the nuclear weapons were felt at the global level till the dismantling of the USSR. In the recent decades, the emergence of religious fundamentalism, increasing rate of unemployment, slow growth of economy, manifestation of global terrorism have been the prominent global challenges.

In a globalised world it is very difficult to assure that social problems are confined to the national boundaries. However, there are certain problems which are specific to certain nations predominantly. In this context, we may pinpoint some of the dysfunctions and problems which are visible in India at the national level. The religion as an institution is supposed to spread brotherhood and amity among the human beings. Unfortunately, in India, religious divisions have led to the dysfunctional aspects of communalism. Consequently it has become a victim of religious fundamentalism and terrorism.

Similarly, there are certain specific problems of Indian society such as poverty, untouchability, casteism and corruption, which at times changes the foundation of Indian democracy.

### **2.5.2 The Local Dysfunctions**

There are certain dysfunctional conditions of Indian society confined to certain localities, regions and the States. For example, terrorist activities are concentrated in Kashmir and the North-east. Similarly there are other forms of ethnic violence, gender based social discrimination, conservatism etc. as the localised forms of dysfunctional activities.

The moot question is how and why such dysfunctional conditions emerge in Society. The different societies have their specific contextual problems. There is a difference in the socio-economic conditions of India, Western Europe and North America and thus there is a difference in social problems faced by these societies.

The dysfunctions in a society are closely linked with the socio-economic and political transformations. The Western industrial capitalist societies which receive their ideological support for the functional theory are facing the challenge of the rising curves of crimes, delinquency, alcoholism, loneliness, sex offences, mental breakdown, increasing rate of divorce and economic inequality. Similarly, in the former Soviet Russia and in the Eastern Europe, where during the last seven decades, a concerted effort was made to transform and the free society from exploitation, dehumanisation, alienation and socio-economic inequality, these dreams have been shattered. The Indian Society, where Gandhi made his experiments of truth, non-violence and moral order, is also facing the challenges of rising violence, terrorism, crime and corruption.

In the light of these facts, there is a need to examine alternative paradigms which claim to transform and to reorganise society to make it free from tensions, conflicts, social problems and disorganisation.

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## **2.6 THE PARADIGMS OF TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS**

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Of late, the concept of paradigm is often used in social science. The literal meaning of this word is 'inflexions of word tabulated as an example' or 'to

express grammatical relationship between different words' or 'bend' or 'curves'. Thus the concept of paradigm has come in social sciences from grammar. For the first time, in social sciences, the theoretical and philosophical formulation of the concept of 'paradigm' was made by Thomas S. Kuhn in his book the 'Structure of Scientific Revolution', 1962. In Social Sciences, this concept is used to mean a major shift or revolution in ideas or the emergence of new traditions of thought in the place of the old one after vigorous discussions and debates. Thus paradigm indicates towards the radical transformation of ideas.

During the last two hundred years, a great deal of debate has been going on about the patterns of social, economic, and political development and transformation. In this process, there were shifts in idea, replacement of one ideology by the other. In modern terminology, it may be regarded as paradigm-shifts or in the place of the old paradigms, the emergence of new paradigms of development. We can divide these paradigms of transformation and development in the following categories:

- the liberal capitalist,
- the communist,
- the democratic socialist, and
- the Indian experiments and the Gandhian Paradigm

### **2.6.1 The Liberal - Capitalist Paradigm**

The Liberal industrial democracy generated new thought patterns which were completely different from the ideas of the earlier periods. The major emphasis of this paradigm was on democracy, political freedom, free enterprise, industrialisation, modern technology and mass production. The social economic and political consequences of the application of these ideas were democratic state, large scale industrialisation, migration from villages to cities, unprecedented urbanisation in Europe and North America followed by anonymity, impersonal relationship and the decline of the traditional mechanism of social control.

The democratic capitalist societies have succeeded in providing a minimum standard of living to their citizens and a good deal of political freedom. At the same time, the developed and industrialised societies are suffering from crime, white collar criminality, fear of war, juvenile delinquency, anomie, mental health problems, discrimination based on race and growing apathy. They have not succeeded in solving the problem of poverty and gender discrimination. The race riots in the USA in 1992 are some of the examples of the growing racial hatred. The similar trends of manifest or latent racial hatred are visible in England, Germany and France also.

### **2.6.2 The Communist Paradigm**

The Communist Paradigm of the social and economic transformation is primarily based on the theories of Marx and Lenin. The ideology of communism is opposed to the ideology of capitalism. Its major emphasis is on collectivity, control over the means of production by the Communist State, dictatorship of the proletariat and the utilisation of the means of production and resources for benefit of the working class. In his classical analysis, Marx was of the view

that the capitalist system of production has generated problems of class conflict, exploitation, social and economic inequality, suppression of the working class their alienation from the ownership of the means of the production.

Communism claimed to offer an alternative social, political and economic system. It was supposed to eliminate the social problems produced by the capitalist system. The Communism as an alternative paradigm was practiced in the Soviet Russia from the year 1917 to 1991, in China, since 1949, in most of the countries of the Eastern Europe from 1945 to 1991, in Vietnam since 1945 and in Cuba since 1955. The communist societies suffered from a number of socio-political problems such as dictatorship, lack of freedom, large scale corruption, inefficiency, growing divorce, alarming rate of abortions, loneliness and fear psychosis. The Communist system could not fully solve the problems of poverty, lack of a minimum level of quality of life etc. As a result, communism has collapsed not only in soviet Russia but in the whole of Eastern Europe, also.

### **2.6.3 The Paradigm of the Democratic Socialism**

A group of perceptive thinkers, particularly Fabians in England and some others in Germany and France had a critical view on the claims of communism, since the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. They thought that the capitalism and communism, were equally incapable of meeting the challenges posed by the industrial, technological revolution. Capitalism cannot provide economic freedom and communism cannot offer political freedom. Both systems equally degrade human dignity. The new society can be created only when men are free from social economic and political inequalities.

In several Western European countries, the socialists and the labour parties were in power after the First World War. The Labour party in Britain and the social democrats in Sweden and Germany tried to apply the ideals of the democratic socialism in their countries. In concrete terms, their social, political and economic ideals took the shape of a number of social security measures such as the nationalisation of major industries in Britain, France, Sweden, and Germany, security of jobs, *employment*, minimum wages, health scheme to provide medical facilities and educational reforms to protect the interests of the working class.

In spite of the policy of the intervention by the State, the problems of crime, delinquency, racial discrimination, gender discrimination, drug addiction, sex crimes, unemployment, alcoholism, growing divorce and prostitution etc. could not be solved in Sweden, Britain, France and Germany where democratic socialist were in power at one or the other period.

### **2.6.4 The Indian Experiments and Gandhian Paradigm**

The policy of democratic socialism along with mixed economy and the Gandhian ideology was followed by the independent India State after 1947.

In the ideal Gandhian paradigm of social transformation, there is a little scope for the State, since, it represents brute force. The Gandhian paradigm plans to make a society based on the decentralisation of power and economy, self-sufficient village community and a moral order rooted in truth and non-violence. In independent India, the Gandhian emphasis on the Village Panchayats,

reconstruction of villages, the legal measures against untouchability and the revitalisation of the cottage industries were adopted. India adopted the path of social and economic transformation with emphasis on community development, removal of poverty, planned agricultural and industrial development, protective discrimination in favour of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the upliftment of the socially and educationally backward classes. The concerted effort was made to improve health, education, and social security measures for the benefit of the underprivileged people.

The problems of poverty, ill health, slum conditions in the urban centres, illiteracy, increasing drug addiction, alcoholism, untouchability, growing terrorism and violence have not been solved as yet in India. In this context, we have to keep in mind that these problems cannot be solved only by the intervention of the State. The machinery of the State has got its own limitations.

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## **2.7 LIMITATIONS OF STATE INTERVENTION**

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In the modern period, State has emerged as a powerful institution. This process started in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century with a gradual decline in the power of the Church and separation between the powers of the Church and the State. This process has passed through the following two phases:

- the policy of the Laissez-Faire,
- the rise of the Collectivist Ideologies.

### **2.7.1 The Policy of the Laissez-Faire**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, there was more emphasis on the policy of 'laissez-faire' which refers to the minimum interference by the State in day to day affairs of its citizen. The major concern of the State should be only the enforcement of law and order and State should not involve itself with welfare measures to protect the interests of its citizens. Every person understands his or her own interests.

### **2.7.2 The Collectivist Ideologies**

Under the impact of the Collectivist ideologies – propagated by Communists, Socialists and the Fascists, there was growing emphasis on the role of the State in combating social problems and in promoting social welfare measures. After the great depression of 1929, even the capitalist State like the USA, the U.K. and France intervened to regulate economy and market. Certain special measures were taken by these States to control unemployment and the closures of factories.

The State is the most powerful institution and undoubtedly its roles are very significant in controlling violence, communalism, social discrimination and in promoting social security and welfare.

### **2.7.3 Limitations**

The policy of the laissez-faire has been discarded even by the capitalist States. The State has tried to intervene in many areas particularly after 1919. Similarly, the Collectivist ideologies of the State intervention has also not succeeded.

There are limitations of the State intervention. The social problems can be more effectively checked by social consciousness, sense of participation, on the part of citizens and the sense of responsibility on the part of the public. The efforts of State will not be effective unless welfare measures are accepted by society. Thus, we have to keep in mind that the measures initiated by states have their limits. Society and State combined together can effectively sort out challenges posed by social problems, trends of disorganisation and pathological conditions.

**Check Your Progress 4**

1) Describe the major inadequacies of (a) the functional, and (b) the Marxist approaches in four lines each.

a) .....

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b) .....

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2) What is the meaning of Paradigm?

a) .....

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**2.8 LET US SUM UP**

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This unit starts with an introductory remark showing the relationship between social transformation and social problems. The early and the modern approaches to the understanding of social problems and their differences are mentioned in this unit. You have also learnt, in somewhat details, about the Functional, the Marxist and the Gandhian approaches and their inadequacies. The paradigms of transformation and problems generated by them have also been described. Finally, we have thrown some light in this unit on limitations of State intervention in finding solution to social problems.

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## 2.9 KEY WORDS

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- Anomie** : For the first time this term was used by Emile Durkheim to indicate normlessness in a society and the lack of society in individuals. In such a situation, an individual or a group is not in a position to decide what should be done or what should not be done.
- Dysfunction** : The consequences of an event or action which adversely affects the functioning, unity and stability of a society.
- Satyagraha** : Peaceful and truthful resistance to injustice.
- Paradigm** : The literal meaning of this term is 'inflections of a word' or a grammatical relationship between different words. It was used for the first time in Social Science by Thomas S. Kuhn in 1962 to mean major shifts in ideas.
- Collective Consciousness** : The French counterpart of this term 'La Conscience Collective' was used by Emile Durkheim to mean common beliefs and accepted norms of a society which promote social solidarity.
- Alienation** : Means estrangement, separation or to find oneself as a stranger in a situation. This term was used by Hegel but was developed as a sociological concept by Karl Marx.
- Capitalism** : An economic system characterised by private ownership of the means of production, competition, free market and a strong profit motive.
- Communism** : A social philosophy represented by the public ownership of the economic services and the material resources of production. It believes in strong state control and the dictatorship of the proletariat class.
- Disorganisation** : A break in the social order or in its activities.

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## 2.10 FURTHER READINGS

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Jonathan H. Turner, 1987; *The Structure of Sociological Theory*, Fourth Edition, Rawat Publications, Jaipur.

Kenneth Henry, 1978; *Social Problems: Institutional and Interpersonal Perspectives*, Scott, Foresman and Company, Illinois, London.

Robert K. Merton, Robert Nisbet, 1976; *Contemporary Social Problems*, Hercourt Brace Iovanovich, International Editing, New York, Chicago.

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## 2.11 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- i) Urban Industrial Social Structure is characterised by rapid social transformation, cities, high technology, modern productions, consumerism, rapid means of transport and communication, migration, mobility and anonymity, a secondary groups and impersonal relationships.
- ii) a) Cesar Becaris (1786), Italy  
b) Jereme Bentham (1823), U.K.
- iii) Cesane Lambroso (1836-1909), Italy
- iv) ● Earlier understanding of crime and other social problems was based on superstitions and ignorance.
  - the Classical and the Physical — Constitutional approaches are only of historical importance, today, their focus is on individuals.
  - they have not made adequate emphasis on the social, economic and cultural factors.

### Check Your Progress 2

- i) Dysfunction is the consequence of an even or action which adversely affects the functioning, unity and stability of a society. This concept curbs this tendency towards the doctrine that everything in a society works for harmony and integration. A social dysfunction is a specific inadequacy of particular part of the system for meeting a functional requirement.
- ii) To Merton, functions and social problems have both subjective as well as objective aspects. Manifest functions are apparent and objective, whereas, the latent functions are hidden and subjective. Latent social problems refer to conditions which are at odds with current interests and values but are not generally recognised as being so.

### Check Your Progress 3

- i) According to Marx, the Capitalist System is beset by a number of social problems, such as:
  - inherent contradictions,
  - exploitation of many by man,
  - alienation of workers from their own products,
  - dehumanisation, poverty and inequality.

According to Marx, socio-economic inequality is a major problem of the capitalist system where the emphasis is not on the human need but on the human capacity.



- ii) Gandhian ideology emphasised on the creation of a moral order – based on truth and non-violent. In this order, there is a little scope for the State. Gandhi strongly believes in the decentralisation of power and economy. His main instrument to fight against injustice is *Satyagrah*. Gandhi mobilised relentlessly against untouchability and alcoholism in India.

#### Check Your Progress 4

- i) a) The functional approach does not keep in view the contradictions existing in society and the clash of interests between the different groups and classes. It treats an effect as a cause. It provides a deterministic view of human action. The functionalists portray social system as an active agent, whereas in reality, only human beings act.
- b) Marxism as a theory has over-emphasised the role of material forces and conflict. It has over-simplified the class structure of the capitalist society. In practice, the Marxist Utopia could not be achieved by the Communist State.
- ii) The literal meaning of this term is the ‘inflections of words or ‘a grammatical relationship between different words’. It was used for the first time in social Sciences by Thomas Kuhn in 1962 to mean major shift or revolution in ideas after a great deal of debates and discussions.
- iii) a) the liberal Capitalist,  
 b) the communist,  
 c) the democratic Socialist,  
 d) the Gandhian.

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## UNIT 3 SOCIAL PROBLEMS: THE INDIAN CONTEXT

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### Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Transformation and Social Problems  
(Ancient, Medieval, Modern)
  - 3.2.1 Social Problems: Historical Phases
  - 3.2.2 Social Problems: Contemporary Phase
  - 3.2.3 Structural Transformation and Social Problems
  - 3.2.4 Structural Breakdown and Inconsistencies
  - 3.2.5 The Soft State
- 3.3 Social Factors and Social Problems
  - 3.3.1 Major Social Factors
- 3.4 Heterogeneity of Indian Society
  - 3.4.1 Religion
  - 3.4.2 Caste
  - 3.4.3 Language
  - 3.4.4 Tribes
  - 3.4.5 Minorities
  - 3.4.6 Population Explosion
- 3.5 Cultural Elements
  - 3.5.1 Fatalism
  - 3.5.2 Particularism
  - 3.5.3 Attitude to Public Property
  - 3.5.4 Patriarchal System
- 3.6 Economy, Poverty, Education
  - 3.6.1 Child Labour
  - 3.6.2 Illiteracy and Education
  - 3.6.3 Educational System
  - 3.6.4 Industrialisation and Urbanisation
- 3.7 State and Polity
  - 3.7.1 Electoral Process
- 3.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.9 Key Words
- 3.10 Further Readings
- 3.11 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 3.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the relationship between social transformation and social problems in the Indian context from a historical point of view;
- describe the linkage between the structural transformation and social problems;
- explain the relationship between social factors and social problems; and
- point out the nature of the State intervention to deal with these problems in India.

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## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

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In this unit, we propose to discuss ‘Social Problems: The Indian Context’. There are certain unique features of the Indian Society. Indian Society, even today, maintains continuity with her remote past. The Social institutions such as *Varnashram*, Caste, joint family system and village communities emerged in the early phase of India society which are also responsible for several of the social problems in the modern period. India has been a multi-religious, multi-linguistic, multi-cultural and multi-regional society, since time immemorial. These diversities of Indian society have made significant cultural contributions and certainly they are a source of strength to the rich cultural heritage of India. But at the same time, they have often posed a number of problems to the social, cultural and political cohesiveness of Indian society.

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## 3.2 TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

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We have discussed the theoretical relationship between social transformation and social problems in the Unit-1 of this course. The present unit provides an opportunity to understand this relationship with special reference to India.

In this context, we have to keep in mind the following aspects of transformation and their relationship with social problems:

- historical, and
- structural.

The historical understanding of transformation and its relationship with social problems may be divided in the following two parts:

- understanding social problems through different historical phases, i.e., ancient, medieval and modern (upto the 19<sup>th</sup> century) periods,
- social problems in the contemporary period.

### 3.2.1 Social Problems: Historical Phases

The Indian society, being part of an ancient civilisation, has passed through different historical phases. The *Vedic* period in India sowed the seeds of a

civilisation – characterised by the emergence of sophisticated philosophy, religion, astrology, science and medicine. Its institutional base centered around *Varnashram* and caste, emphasis on rituals, higher position of ritual performers over others and the sacrifice of animals. The following were the major social problems in the early phase of the Indian civilisation.

- conflict between the two major social groups, i.e., the Aryans and the *Dasas Dasyu* as mentioned in the Vedic texts.
- increasing rigidity of social hierarchy,
- emphasis on the observance of rituals,
- sacrifice of animals.

Jainism and Buddhism emerged as a protest against these practices. It is to be noted that during the Vedic and the post-Vedic periods, the social position of Women was quite high. The child marriages were not common in this period.

India's contact with Islam has passed through the phases of conflict, gradual accommodation, increasing synthesis and the revival of communal antagonism. With the advent of the Muslim rule in India, two major trends were visible in the Indian Society:

- i) The first was the trend of the growing insularity and attitude of avoidance towards others.

This strengthened the notion of the purity – pollution and practice of untouchability. The rigid restrictions on the sea - voyage were imposed on the people in this period. As a consequence, firstly, it reduced the spirit of enterprise and adventure among the Indians. Secondly, it minimised contacts of Indians with the outside world.

- ii) During the early phase of invasions and conflicts, the practice of *Sati* and the child-marriage developed as a defense mechanism among the Hindus. Only a small section of the Muslim population immigrated to India from Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and the Arab countries. The rest of them were local people who accepted Islam. Due to contacts with Hinduism and conversion, the Muslim in India were also influenced by caste-system. Thus, the social hierarchies were introduced even among the Muslims in India.

- iii) The second trend was in the form of the emulation of the customs of the Muslim rulers by the elite and section of the upper caste Hindus. This encouraged the adoption of the practice of *Pardah* (veil to cover the face) by the upper caste women in north India.

In the medieval period, the *Bhakti* movement, reassert the humanist elements of the Indian civilisation by preaching equality, speaking against rituals, the caste rigidity and untouchability. The practices of untouchability, child marriage, *sati*, infanticide, organised *thagi* (cheating) increased in the Indian Society particularly during the declining phase of the Mughal empire. Even the religious beliefs encouraged the addiction of tobacco, hashish and opium.

By the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the colonial administration in India was fully established. After 1820, it adopted a reformist zeal. There were several

social reform programmes to eradicate the practices of *Sati* and the *Thagi* – widely prevalent during this period.

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the questions related to the social problems of *sati*, remarriage of widows, spread of modern education, evils of child marriage and of untouchability were raised by social reformers.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were four major reform movements:

- Brahmosamaj–led by Raja Rammohan Roy,
- Aryasamaj–led by Swami Dayanand Sarawati,
- Prarthana Samaj–led by Mahadeva Govind Ranade,
- Ramakrishna Mission–inspired by Ramkrishna Paramhansa and led by Swami Vivekanand.

These reform movements opposed the practice of untouchability, *Sati*, infanticide and propagated in favour of the remarriage of widows and the modern education. Due to the tireless efforts of Raja Rammohan Roy, the practice of *Sati* was legally abolished in 1829. The *Arya Samaj* contributed significantly in weakening the caste-rigidity and reducing the practice of untouchability in the Punjab, Haryana and the Western Uttar Pradesh. The activities of the *Prarthana Samaj* were mainly confined to the Bombay Presidency. The Ram Krishna Mission contributed significantly in the field of educations and health services..

### 3.2.2 Social Problems: Contemporary Phase

In contemporary India, there are several social problems. Though, they are called as social problems, yet, in some problems socio-cultural overtones are more prominent, whereas, in some others, the economic and legal overtones are conspicuous. Thus, the contemporary social problems may be classified in the following categories:

- i) socio-cultural problems: communalism, untouchability, population explosion, child-abuse, problems of the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes, the backward classes, women, alcoholism and drug addiction,
- ii) economic problems: poverty, unemployment, black money;
- iii) Legal problems: crime, delinquency, violence, terrorism.

These classifications are only the purpose of narration. They are closely interrelated with each other. Poverty is an economic as well as a social problem. Similarly, communalism is closely linked with economic factors. The crime and delinquency are having legal overtones but they are closely related to the social and economic factors.

As there were organised social movements against social problems in the previous phases of the Indian society, similarly, concerted social and political movements were launched in the contemporary period against communalism, casteism, untouchability, illiteracy, alcoholism and drug addiction. Gandhi–as the leader of the national movement after 1919, devoted a considerable part of his action-programme for the uplift of *Harijans*, *Adivasis* and Women. He

tried to reorganise education and village industries. He fought relentlessly against communalism, untouchability and alcoholism.

In the contemporary period, there are organised movements of women, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, backwards castes and labour to protect their interests. There are voluntary organisations working against ecological degradation, drug addiction and child abuse in India.

### 3.2.3 Structural Transformation and Social Problems

Several attempts have been made to understand Indian social problems in terms of structural transformation. In the Indian context, the following three patterns of transformation are visible:

- Sanskritisation,
- Westernisation,
- Modernisation.

*Sanskritisation* is a process through which lower castes achieved upward social mobility either by adventure or by emulating the customs and rituals of the upper castes. It is a cultural process but changes in social status and occupations as a consequence of the upward mobility brought about by sanskritisation makes it also a structural process.

The contact with the West, particularly with England, set in motion another process of transformation in India known as Westernisation. It is characterised by Western patterns of administration, legal system and education through the medium of the English language. Under the impact of the Western way of life, a sizeable section of educated and urbanised Indian adopted Western style of dress, food, drink, speech and manners. The emulation of the West inculcated the values of Western democracy, industrialisation and capitalism. There are cultural as well as structural aspects of Westernisation. It brought about structural changes by the growth of modern occupations related with modern education, economy and industry, emergence of urban centres with the introduction of colonial administration and the rise of urban middle class under the impact of education, administration, judiciary and press. As explained earlier, modernisation and westernisation are closely related in the Indian context. The major components of modernisation such as education, political participation, urbanisation, migration, mobility, money, market, modern technology, communication-network and industrialisation were introduced by the colonial administration. They received an impetus in the post-independence period. The independent India adopted a modern constitution, founded a secular democratic state and followed the policy of planned socio-economic development, democratic decentralisation and the policy of protective discrimination for the weaker sections.

The real question is how these patterns of structural transformation have generated social problems in India? In spite of several contradictions existing in Indian society, revolution, as defined by Marxists and as explained in Unit 1, did not take place in India. The processes of transformation—represented by sanskritisation, westernisation and modernisation have been, by and large, smooth and gradual in the Indian context.

### 3.2.4 Structural Breakdown and Inconsistencies

The following two concepts may help us in understanding the relationship between structural transformation and social problems:

- structural breakdown, and
- structural inconsistencies.

The concept of the 'structural breakdown' has been used by Talcott Parsons to mean the systemic rigidity which tries to resist or retard social transformation and thus leads to the breakdown of the system or the social disorganisation. In the Third World Countries, there is a growing urge for modernisation in the post-independence period. These countries borrowed parliamentary democracy, adult franchise, modern constitution without the supporting structural base of economy, industrialisation, modern technology, literacy and normative base of rationality, civic culture and secular values. As a result, in several of the ex-colonial societies – democracy could not function successfully. The ethnic, communal, tribal, caste and regional aspirations have become so strong that they are eroding even the basic structures of democracy, modern state and civic society. This is so obvious in the case of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and in many countries of Africa. The impact of social transformation on the Indian society is visible in the following manner.

- on the one hand, three patterns of transformation as mentioned earlier, has created new problems of adjustment,
- on the other hand, occasionally, the process of social transformation has been resisted. In this context, we may cite the examples of the resistance of the urge of the upward social mobility of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, denial of the rightful claims of women, and obstructing land reforms by hook or crook.

In the Indian context, structural inconsistencies are also visible. They are symptoms as well as the cause of social disorganisation and social problems. By structural inconsistencies is meant the existence of two opposite sub-structures within the same structure which are not consistent with each other. In India, on the one hand, there are highly sophisticated modern metropolitan upper and upper middle classes influenced by consumerism. On the other hand, there is a large number of the Indian people who live in inaccessible tribal and rural areas and who might have not seen even a train. A small section of the Indian society belongs to the jet age, whereas, a large Indian population even today depend on the bullock-cart. This situation is the clear indicator of the gap between the rich and the poor, the rural and the urban creating a gulf between the different groups and strata. These structural inconsistencies are the indicators of poverty, inequality, inaccessibility and deprivation existing in Indian society.

### 3.2.5 The Soft State

Gunnar Myrdal in his book '*Asian Drama*' discusses the problems posed by modernisation in several Asian countries – including India. He feels that strong states, effective governments with their capacity to take hard decisions and strict enforcement of the rule of law are the major features of modern European

society but in South Asian countries in general and in India in particular, an approach is being followed by the ruling elite in the post-independence period which has been termed as the policy of ‘soft-state’ by Myrdal. The democratisation of polity has further strengthened this policy. It has weakened the capacity of state in enforcing the rule of law. As a result, there is an increasing rate of crime, violence, terrorism, violation of law, corruption in the public life and the criminalisation of politics.

**Check Your Progress 1**

- i) Describe the major social problems in the following historical phases in India.
  - a) ancient  
.....  
.....
  - b) medieval  
.....  
.....
  - c) modern  
.....  
.....
  - d) contemporary  
.....  
.....
- ii) Name the four major reform movements of the 19th century.
  - a) .....
  - b) .....
  - c) .....
  - d) .....
- iii) Mention three major forms of transformations in India.
  - a) .....
  - b) .....
  - c) .....

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### **3.3 SOCIAL FACTORS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS**

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Social problem is a situation that objectively exists in particular society and is subjectively accepted as undesirable by that society. Social problem therefore, is relative to society or has a social context. Hence, study of social problems requires understanding of their social contexts.

The social context may be discussed in a historical or structural perspective. Earlier, we have explained how in various historical phases in India, the different



types of social problems emerged. Now, let us try to understand the major social factors which are associated with various problems.

### 3.3.1 Major Social Factors

Study of Indian social problems – their emergence and persistence in Indian society – requires understanding of the Indian social situation in which the problems exist. One has to analyse the social factors that are relevant to the understanding of social problems in India. Some of the major factors that constitute the social context in India, as far as social problems are concerned, are as follows:

- heterogeneity of Indian population,
- cultural elements,
- economy, poverty and education,
- state and polity,
- urbanisation and industrialisation.

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## 3.4 HETEROGENEITY OF INDIAN POPULATION

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India is a heterogeneous society – where there are several religions, castes, linguistic and tribal groups. The heterogeneous nature of the Indian population has been the cause of a number of social problems in India.

### 3.4.1 Religion

The multi-religious nature of society and conflict among the different religions has given rise to the problem of communalism in India. The phenomenon of communalism, as a vitiated form of inter-religious group relationship, particularly between Hindus and Muslims is a grave problem in India. It has its historical linkage with the Muslim invasions in India, early conflicts between Hindus and Muslims, British rule and policy of encouraging communal-divide, competition for political power, service and resources.

Gradually, the problem of communalism has affected the Hindu-Sikh relationship also. There is a sizeable group of Sikhs in India. They are concentrated in a relatively developed region (Punjab) of the country. Their existence as a powerful community in the region and as a minority in the larger nation is to be taken into consideration in understanding the emergence of communal politics followed by terrorism in Punjab. In this context it must be noted that by and large both Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab have shown a great deal of understanding and amity even in the midst of terrorism. The Indian concept of secularism accepts all religions as equal and does not discriminate one religion against another. As indicated by Myrdal, the policy of a ‘soft state’ and not taking hard decisions against communal organisations has also aggravated problems of communalism in India. The considerations of electoral gains by using religions have also contributed in the growth of communalism in the post-independent period of India.

### 3.4.2 Caste

Another element of Indian social structure is the caste system. The Caste system has been divided Indian population into numerous groups that enter into relationships of various types and degrees among them. It has been the root cause of various social problems in India. The Casteism as a problem refers to both the discrimination of one caste against another and the particularistic tendency of favouring one's caste group in violation of the principle of universalism. The practice of mobilisation on the basis of caste and favour or disfavour shown in education and employment on caste considerations are the major features of casteism. One may justify caste criterion for welfare programmes in favour of the weaker sections in India social situation. At the same time, such welfare measures have generated tensions and conflicts that exhibit casteist tendencies.

The caste system has had its adverse impact on education in India. Traditionally, caste determined the eligibility of the people for education. In the traditional system, education was considered to be the prerogative of the upper castes. Steeped in this tradition of reserving pursuit of knowledge to the upper castes, the masses did not receive education. This is one of the reasons for the problem of widespread illiteracy in India.

### 3.4.3 Language

Another aspect of Indian society is that of the existence of several languages which often leads to conflicts between the different linguistic groups. India has recognised the socio-political reality of language by reorganising the states on the basis of language which has encouraged the assertion of linguistic identities. It may also be noted that as a nation, India has not been able to have a national language that is acceptable to all and that effectively serves as the link language. For historical reasons, English continues to be the link language for the purpose of higher education, administration and diplomacy. In this context, there is a two-fold relationship:

- at the national level, there is the question of the relationship between English and Hindi.
- at the State level, there is the question of the relationship between English, Hindi and the regional languages.

The situation arising out of this peculiar linguistic configuration has created the problems of linguistic minorities in several states, border dispute between states, and the question of the medium of instruction in educational institutions. All these issues have repercussions on national integration. They have generated tensions and conflicts.

### 3.4.4 Tribes

India is a country with large population of tribals. Tribals in India are not a homogeneous group. They differ in terms of their ways of life, exposure to the outside world and adoption of the programmes of welfare and development. The tribals have been isolated from the mainstream of the Indian society for several years which accounted for their backwardness. In addition, they have

been subjected to various types of exploitation by the non-tribals with whom they have come into contact. While the non-tribals exploited the tribals for economic gains, the tribals are facing the phenomenon of detribalisation which refers to the loss or degeneration of the tribal culture and way of life. In this context, the main problems of Indian tribes are backwardness, exploitation, detribalisation, ethnic tensions, various kinds of tribal movements and tribal insurgency in certain parts of India.

### **3.4.5 Minorities**

The heterogeneity of the Indian population has given rise to the problem of minorities in India. The major minority groups that have been identified in India are religious and linguistic. While religious minorities can be considered to exist at the national level, linguistic minorities have their relevance at the state level. Apart from religious and linguistic minority, caste and tribal groups may assume the status of minorities group in the context of inter-group relationships in particular situations.

### **3.4.6 Population Explosion**

Another social factor that has implications of social problems in India is the phenomenon of population explosion. The population in India has been growing phenomenally during this century. Development and welfare programmes for the masses have not been able to catch up with the increasing population. Consequently, the benefits of the developmental programmes gained by the masses whose number is ever increasing, have been far below the expectation.

With the increase in population, the problems of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy has been accentuated in India. In absolute terms the number of people who are affected by these problems have been increasing. The sheer size of the population is also a factor that affects the increasing ethnic problem of various kinds. The larger the size of the caste or the tribe, the greater is the tendency to assert their parochial or ethnic identities at the cost of national integration.

In the population of India, there is a considerable number of the physically handicapped also. They are dependent on society at large for their survival. The country does not have enough institutions to take care of the various needs of the physically handicapped. Many of them turn to streets as beggars which is another social problem.

The increasing population of India is making increasing demands on the resources of the land, capital and forest. With the growing population, the hunger for land in both rural and urban areas is increasing. With the growing burden on the national finance, the welfare programmes and social services like education, health, employment, rural development, welfare of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, backward castes, youth and women etc. are adversely affected. The needs of fuel, timbers and the hunger of land for cultivation and habitation are steadily depleting the forest resources. The increasing denudation of the forest areas is creating various kinds of environmental problems in the country. The adverse consequences of the ecological imbalance created by deforestation are visible in the changing pattern of rains, increasing soil erosion, floods, scarcity of fodder for animals and firewood for poor people.

<b>Box 3.01. Socio-demographic Profile of States in India</b>							
State/UT	Persons	Growth rate	Sex ratio	Density	Literacy Rate		
					1991-01	T	M
India	1,027,015,247	21.34	933	324	65.37	75.85	54.16
J & K	10,069,917	29.04	900	99	54.46	65.75	41.82
Himachal	6,007,248	17.53	970	103	77.13	86.02	68.8
Punjab	24,289,296	19.76	874	482	69.95	75.63	63.55
Chandigarh	900,914	40.33	773	7903	81.76	85.65	76.65
Uttarachal	8,479,562	19.20	964	159	72.28	84.01	60.26
Haryana	21,082,989	28.06	861	477	68.59	79.25	56.31
Delhi	13,782,957	46.31	821	9294	81.82	87.37	75.0
Rajasthan	56,473,112	28.33	922	165	61.03	76.46	44.34
Uttar Pradesh	166,052,859	25.80	898	389	57.36	70.23	42.9
Bihar	82,878,796	28.43	921	880	47.53	60.32	33.6
Sikkim	540,493	32.98	875	76	69.68	76.73	61.49
Arunachal	1,091,117	26.21	901	13	54.74	64.07	44.24
Nagaland	1,988,636	64.41	909	120	67.11	71.77	61.92
Manipur	2,388,634	30.02	978	107	68.87	77.87	59.7
Mizoram	981,058	29.18	938	42	88.49	90.6	86.0
Meghyalaya	2,306,069	29.94	975	103	63.31	66.14	60.41
Assam	26,638,407	18.85	932	340	64.28	71.9	56.30
West Bengal	80,221,171	17.84	934	904	69.22	77.58	60.22
Jharkhand	26,909,428	23.19	941	338	54.13	67.9	39.4
Orissa	36,706,920	15.94	972	236	63.61	76.0	51.0
Chhatisgarh	20,795,956	18.06	990	154	65.2	77.8	52.4
Madhya Pradesh	60,385,118	24.34	620	158	64.09	76.7	50.3
Gujrat	50,596,992	22.48	921	258	69.97	80.50	58.60
Daman & Diu	158,059	55.59	709	1411	81.1	88.4	70.4
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	220,451	59.20	811	449	60.3	76.3	43.0
Maharastra	96,752,247	22.57	922	314	77.27	86.27	67.5
Andhra Pradesh	75,727,541	13.86	978	275	61.11	70.85	51.17
Karnataka	52,733,958	17.25	964	275	67.04	76.3	57.49
Goa	1,343,998	14.89	960	363	82.32	88.9	75.5
Lakshadweep	60,595	17.19	947	1894	87.52	93.1	81.5
Kerala	31,838,619	9.42	1058	819	91.0	94.2	87.8
Tamil Nadu	62,110,839	11.19	986	478	73.5	82.3	64.5
Pondicherry	973,829	20.56	1001	2029	81.5	89.0	74.0
A&N Islands	356,265	26.94	846	43	81.2	86.0	75.3
Tripura	3,191,168	15.74	950	304	73.66	81.47	65.4
Source: <i>Census of India 2001</i>							

**Check Your Progress 3**

- i) Write in four lines on religion and politics.  
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.....  
.....  
.....
- ii) Describe the relationship between caste and education in four lines.  
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.....  
.....
- iii) Discuss the problem of language at the Centre and the State levels in four lines.  
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.....  
.....  
.....
- iv) Mention problems of (a) tribes, and (b) minorities in three lines each.
  - a) .....  
.....  
.....
  - b) .....  
.....  
.....
- v) Mention five major consequences of population pressure.
  - a) .....
  - b) .....
  - c) .....
  - d) .....
  - e) .....

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**3.5 CULTURAL ELEMENTS**

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There are certain cultural elements that have had their own contribution to the persistence of the certain social problems in India. The following cultural traits can be particularly identified in this context.

- Fatalism,

- Particularism,
- Lack of regard for public property,
- Patriarchal system.

### **3.5.1 Fatalism**

A cultural element that has been relevant to social problems in India is fatalism. The Hindu doctrines of “karma” and rebirth contain strong elements of fatalistic attitude to life—an attitude of acceptance of and resignation to the vicissitudes and failures in life. It has proved to be a one of the mechanisms for checking the resistance of the masses against of injustice and exploitation. Social practices such as untouchability, discrimination, bonded labour persisted in India for a long time almost unchallenged by those affected by them. It happened so because the affected people considered these practices as the result of their ‘Karma’ (action) of the previous birth and luck. The welfare and developmental programmes themselves get a setback on account of the apathy and indifference of the masses who are under the spell of religious fatalism.

### **3.5.2 Particularism**

Another cultural trait widespread in Indian society is particularism as against universalism. This reflected in the excessive consideration for one’s own people, kingroup, caste or religion. Often universalistic standards are set aside in one’s decisions and actions. Corruption – involving favouritism or discrimination that is prevalent in our society is the result of such disregard for the norms of universalism. Some of the intergroup conflicts on the basis of caste, tribe, religion, language or region can also be attributed to the mobilisation based on sectional identities and particularism.

### **3.5.3 Attitude of Public Property**

Another trait of the Indian society that has implications for corruption is the disregard for public property and money. There is a belief that Indians have inherited it as a legacy of the colonial rule. Unfortunately, this attitude seems to have continued to exist in India even after independence. This lack of respect for public property is one of the root causes of corruption, black money, tax-evasion, misappropriation of public goods and use of substandard material in public constructions.

### **3.5.4 Patriarchal System**

As elsewhere in the world, the Indian society, by and large, has been patriarchal where woman is subjected to man. The role of woman in the Indian society has been conceived as that of wife and mother. The woman in India possesses a inferior social status to that of man.

The problem is further accentuated by the cultural need to have male offspring for perpetuating the family performing the rituals after one’s death. It has contributed to the cultural preference for a male child and imposition of inferior status to the female. This had led to the subjugation of women and discrimination against them in various spheres of social life. The problems such as dowry, ill-treatment of the daughter-in-law, wife-beating , illiteracy,

occupational discrimination, social isolation, and psychological dependence, etc. faced by women have roots in this cultural preference for the male.

### 3.6 ECONOMY, POVERTY, EDUCATION

Economically, India remains predominantly an agricultural society. Naturally, there is an excessive dependence of labour force on agriculture. This over-dependence of the labour force on the underdeveloped agriculture is the major cause of many of the social problems in India. It directly leads to poverty which is one of the basic causes of many other social problems in India. The malnutrition, ill-health, beggary, prostitution, etc. are rooted in the large-scale poverty in India.

Indian society is characterised by the unequal distribution of wealth. One observes affluence amidst pervasive poverty in both the rural and urban area of India. On account of this disparity, benefits of development and welfare services also accrue unequally to the different sections of the society. The benefits that the poor gain are comparatively low. Consequently, the lot of the poor and the backward sections of the society has not improved as expected. There is a close linkage between economy, poverty and education. The illiteracy and education. The unplanned growth of higher education has created the problem of educated unemployment.

#### Some Aspects of Human Development in India

India is one of those countries who occupies a low rank in the Human Development Index. Some aspects of the Human Development Index (2000 view) of India is given below:

Box 3.02 Human Development Index			
1.	Life expectancy	63.3 yrs	2. Adult Literacy rate (15 years and above) 57.2%
3.	Combined enrolment ratio	55%	4. % of Population not using improved drinking water sources 12%
5.	Underweight children under age 5	47%	6. % of people living below National Poverty Line 35.0%
7.	Annual Population growth rate	1.9%	8. % of urban population 27.7%
9.	Population not using adequate sanitation facilities	69%	10. Children underweight for age [under 5 years] 47%
11	People Living with HIV/AIDS (2001)	0.79%	

Source: UNDP, 2003

#### 3.6.1 Child Labour

Child labour, a manifestation of poverty in the country has become a social problem in India. A large number of families belonging to the poor section of the society are forced to depend upon their children's contribution to the family income. They are not in a position to spare their children for full-time or even part-time schooling. Thus children who are expected to be in schools are found working as labourers.

Apart from the economic constraints of the families of the working children, the owners of some of the small-scale enterprises also prefer to employ child labour. For them, child labour is cheap. It reduces the cost of production and maximise their profit. Thus, child labour gets encouragement from both - the parents of the children and the owners of the enterprise. Therefore, despite the appalling conditions under which children work and the low wages they earn, child labour thrives in India.

**Activity 1**

Please prepare a report of two pages based on the monthly income and its sources of ten families living in your locality.

### 3.6.2 Illiteracy and Education

Widespread poverty has its own repercussions on education in India. The problem of mass-illiteracy in the country is largely by the result of the situation of poverty under which the masses live. The poor are so preoccupied with the concern for their survival that they do not have the inclination or time for education. It is ridiculous to convince a poor man about the value of education when he is struggling to make both ends meet. Most of the people belonging to the poor section are not inclined for schooling of their children. Many of those who enroll their children in schools withdraw them before they acquire any meaningful standard of literacy. The result is that India is faced with the problem of mass-illiteracy. Nearly 50 per cent of the country's population capable of acquiring literacy skills are still illiterate.

### 3.6.3 Educational System

The educational system affects the society at large in various ways. Education at the higher level in India has expanded indiscriminately in response to social demands and political pressures. Some of the major features of the educational system in India are as follows:

- widespread illiteracy,
- unachieved targets of the universalisation of education,
- lack of proper emphasis on the primary education,
- misplaced emphasis on higher education which is, by and large, poor in quality excepting institutes of technology, management, medicine and few colleges and universities in the metropolitan centres.

Consequently, there has been no attempt to see that the educational system at the higher level produced the manpower in quality and quantity that the economic system of the country could absorb. The net result of this unplanned expansion has been increased in the educated unemployment and underemployment. Here it is obviously the situation of the producing manpower in excess of the demand of the economic system or mismatch between educational and economy.

There is another kind of mismatch between education and economy in India. It is the situation wherein some of the highly qualified manpower produced by some of the educational institutions in India do not find the placement in the country rewarding enough. The result is the brain drain in which India loses what cream of its highly qualified manpower produced at a very heavy cost of public resources.



### 3.6.4 Industrialisation and Urbanisation

The process of industrialisation and urbanisation has been slow in India. Industrialisation has been concentrated in certain pockets in the country. The result is the inordinate growth of population in a few urban centres. This overgrowth of population in a few urban centres has created various problems of – urban poverty, unemployment, congestion, pollution, slum, etc.

Rural poverty and unemployment have had their own contribution to the urban problem in so far as people migrated from the rural areas to the urban centres in numbers larger than the urban areas can absorb. As a large section of the rural migrants are illiterate and unskilled, they are unable to adjust themselves into the urban economic situation and thereby suffer from unemployment and poverty. Many of them resort to begging and some of these helpless people belonging to the female sex are forced to adopt prostitution for their living. Thus, while urbanisation and industrialisation are processes of development, they have their own adverse by-products in India in the form of various social problems.

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## 3.7 STATE AND POLITY

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The intervention of the State has been very significant either in the checking or in finding solution to the social problems in India. In the early colonial period, several steps were taken by the State to abolish the practice of *Sati* (1829) and to control *thagi*. In the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century steps were taken to provide legal opportunities for inter-community and inter-caste marriage. In 1929, the *Sarada Act* was passed to check child marriages. In the post-independence period, India resolved to constitute a democratic, sovereign, secular and socialist society. In the constitution, special provisions were made to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward classes, women and children.

The practice of untouchability was declared as an offence. Some special measures—such as the *Hindu Marriage Act and Succession Act* were adopted to reform the Hindu Society in general and the Hindu marriage system in particular. The welfare programmes have been launched for the uplift of youth, children, and physically handicapped. The Five Year Plans were launched for the socio-economic transformation of Indian Society. After 1970, special attention was paid towards the removal of poverty, rural development and generation of employment in the rural areas.

The impact of these programmes is visible on the socio-economic life of India. Despite considerable achievements, India is still beset with so many problems such as poverty, unemployment and sub-standard life conditions for a large section of Indian society. The turn taken by Indian polity and electoral process during the post-independence period is also responsible for several of our social problems.

### 3.7.1 Electoral Process

Politically, India has a multi-party parliamentary form of democracy. Ideally, political parties are to be organised on universalistic ideologies and the citizens are expected to choose their representatives on universalistic principles. In fact, particularistic tendencies play an important role in the electoral process of the country. One can find political parties formed on communal or parochial lines and political mobilisation undertaken by political parties and individuals on the basis of caste, religion, language and region. The political activities of

this sort are negation of the healthy democratic polity. They are also leading to sectional conflicts, atrocities against weaker sections, linguistic and religious minorities. Thus, the political functioning and the electoral process, as they exist today, are fomenting problems of communalism, casteism and conflicts between the different sections of society.

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### 3.8 LET US SUM UP

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In this Unit, first of all the relationship between social transformation and social problems has been discussed. The process of transformation has been explained in terms of historical as well as structural aspects in the Indian context. It has been followed by examining the relationship between social factors and social problems, cultural elements and social problems, economy, polity and social problems. Finally, we have discussed the role of the State in dealing with these problems, and the problems being generated by the actual functioning of the Indian polity.

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### 3.9 KEY WORDS

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- Structural Breakdown** : This concept was used by Talcott Parsons to mean the system of rigidity which tries to resist or retard social transformation and thus leads to breakdown of the social structure. The steps taken by the people against systematic rigidity in the form of collective mobilisation has been called by Marxists as revolution.
- Structural Inconsistencies** : This concept indicates the existence of two opposite sub-structures within the same structure which are not consistent with each other.
- Soft-State** : This concept has been used by Gunnar Myrdal in his book “The Asian Drama: An Enquiry into the Poverty of Nations”. By this concept he means the functioning of newly Independent Asian States which find difficulties in taking hard decisions to enforce the rule of law.

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### 3.10 FURTHER READINGS

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Singh, Yogendra, 1988. *Modernisation of Indian Tradition*, Reprint, Rawat Publication, Jaipur.

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### 3.11 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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#### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) a) Caste distinctions, overemphasis on rituals over knowledge, rigid hierarchy, higher position of ritual performers, sacrifice of animals.
- b) Attitudes of avoidance, superstition, increased notion of purity and pollution, untouchability, child marriage, lower position of women, strict observance of widowhood.
- c) *Sati*, Widowhood, Child marriage, illiteracy, untouchability, *thagi*, superstitions.

- d) Communalism, untouchability, population explosion, problems of weaker section alcoholism, drug addiction poverty, unemployment, black money, crime, delinquency and violence.
- 2) Arya Samaj, Brahmasamaj, Prarthan Samaj and Ramakrishna Mission.
- 3) Sanskritisation,  
Westernisation,  
Modernisation

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) The Indian Society is multi-religious in nature, During the colonial period, the relationship between different religious communities particularly between Hindus and Muslims was politicised. It encouraged a tendency known as communalism which has been strengthened by mutual suspicious ideologies, competition for power, service and resources.
- 2) The education in the traditional Indian system was primarily confined to the upper castes. It has its adverse impact on the spread of mass education. This is one of the reasons for the widespread illiteracy in India.
- 3) English continues to be the link language in India for the purpose of higher education, administration and diplomacy. At the level of the centre, there is the question of the relationship between English and Hindi for the purpose of the medium of instructions and administration and at the State level between English, Hindi and the regional languages.
- 4)
  - a) There are several tribes in India and they comprise around seven per cent of India's population. They are not homogeneous in their customs. They are isolated and exploited and facing the problem of detribalisation.
  - b) There are religious and linguistic minorities in India. Sometimes, castes and tribes may also be considered as minorities within specific areas.
- 5)
  - a) Adverse effects on development and welfare programmes,
  - b) Poverty,
  - c) Illiteracy,
  - d) Increased pressures on land, capital, forest and other resources.

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1)
  - a) Excessive consideration for one's own kin group, caste, tribe or religion,
  - b) corruption-involving favouritism,
  - c) discrimination,
  - d) inter-group conflicts
- 2) This lack of respect for public property is one of the root-causes of corruption, black money, tax-evasion, misappropriation of fund and use of sub-standard materials in public constructions.
- 3) There is a close linkage between economy, poverty and education. The illiteracy in India is directly linked with poverty. There is a mis-match between economy and education in the Indian context.
- 4) In fact, particularistic tendencies play an important role in the electoral process of the country. Several political parties have been formed on communal and parochial lines. At the time elections, castes, religion, language and region play significant roles. This type of mobilisation is also responsible for many socio-economic problems in India.

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## UNIT 4 SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHY

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### Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Size and Growth of Population of India
  - 4.2.1 Size and Growth of Population
  - 4.2.2 Determinants of Population Change
  - 4.2.3 Implications of the Size and Growth of Population
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  - 4.3.2 Levels and Trends of Fertility in India
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- 4.10 Further Readings
- 4.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 4.0 OBJECTIVES

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In this Unit, we have discussed various aspects of social demography in India as a social problem. After going through this Unit, you should be able to:

- describe various aspects of the demographic situation in India, like the size and growth of the population, the fertility, mortality, age and sex structure of the population;

- explain the determinants and implications of these aspects of the demographic situation in India;
- examine the concept of family planning and family welfare and the barriers to the acceptance of family planning;
- state and describe the current status of the population policy of India; and
- describe the future prospects of family welfare programme in the light of the current achievements.

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## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

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The term ‘demography’ is derived from the Latin word ‘demos’ meaning people. Hence, demography is the science of population. On the one hand, demography is concerned with a quantitative study of the size, structure, characteristics and territorial distribution of human populations and the changes occurring in them. On the other hand, demography is also concerned with the study of the underlying causes or determinants of the population phenomena. It attempts to explain population phenomena and situations as well as the changes in them in the context of the biological, social, economic and political settings. Social demography looks at the population phenomena mainly at the social level.

Keeping these perspectives in mind, Section 4.2 of this unit describes the size and growth of the population of India and their implications. Section 4.3 is devoted to fertility in India, its determinants and implications of high fertility. A detailed discussion of mortality in India, its determinants and implications of declining mortality and high infant and child mortality is undertaken in Section 4.4. The age and sex structure of the Indian population is described in Section 4.5, which also examines the determinants and implications of the age structure and the determinants of the sex structure. Section 4.6 is on family planning and family welfare and the barriers to family planning. Finally, section 4.7 is focused on the Population Policy of India, its evolution and components, achievements, achievements of the family welfare programme and its future prospects.

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## 4.2 SIZE AND GROWTH OF POPULATION IN INDIA

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The size and growth of population are two important components of the demographic phenomena in a developing country like India. These have severe implications on the social and economic spheres of our life. Hence, let us begin with a discussion on the size and growth of the population and its socio-economic implications.

### 4.2.1 Size and Growth of Population

India is the second most populous country in the world, ranking only after China. In the last Census, taken in 2001, the population of India is found to be 103 crores; 18 crores of people were added to the population since the last Census taken in 1991. This means that more than around 1.8 crores of persons are added to India every year. This is more than the population of Australia.

India’s population has more than doubled since Independence. In the first post-Independence Census, taken in 1951, the population stood at 36 crores, with an average annual growth rate of 1.25 per cent for the decade 1941-51. However, the average annual growth rate for 1991-2001 was 2.1 per cent and the decadal growth rate was 21.32 per cent.

### 4.2.2 Determinants of Population Change

Three factors determine the change in the size of the population of any country: how many persons are born, how many persons die, and how many persons are added to the population after considering the number of persons leaving the country and the number of persons coming into the country. The last of these factors, that is, migration does not play a large role in determining population growth in the Indian context. It, therefore, becomes necessary to consider in greater detail the other two factors, that is, fertility and mortality.

### 4.2.3 Implications of the Size and Growth of Population

The size of the population of India is itself staggering, and it is growing at a high rate. Despite intensive efforts through development programmes, the achievements have not been able to keep pace with the needs of the growing population.

The per capita production of food grains has increased over the years, but the per capita increase has been only marginal because of the high growth rate of the populations. The housing shortage has also been increasing over the years. The norms for the health and medical services have not been met. The upward trend in the gross and net national products is not reflected in the per capita income to the same extent. The situation related to unemployment and underemployment reflects the inability of the employment market to absorb the pressures of increasingly large labour force.

The growth rate of the population may not appear to be too high. Yet when applied to a large base population, the addition to the population is quite staggering.

#### Check Your Progress 1

1) Mark the correct answer.

According to the 2001 Census, India’s population was:

- a) 65 crores
- b) 85 crores
- c) 103 crores
- d) 113 crores

2) What are the implications of the large size and high growth rate of India’s population? Answer in about seven lines.

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## 4.3 FERTILITY

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As you know, fertility is an important determinant of population growth. In this section, we shall discuss the measurement, levels and trends and implications of high fertility.

### 4.3.1 Measurement of Fertility

At the outset, it is necessary to differentiate between fecundity and fertility. Fecundity refers to the physiological capacity to reproduce. Fertility, on the other hand, refers to the actual reproductive performance of an individual or a group.

While there is no direct measurement of fecundity, fertility can be studied from the statistics of births. The crude birth rate is an important measure of fertility for which only live births, that is, children born alive are taken into account. The crude birth rate is calculated by dividing the number of live births occurring during a calendar year in a specified area by the midyear population of that year. The crude birth rate is generally expressed per thousand of population. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{Total number of live births during a year}}{\text{Total population in the middle of that year}} \times 1000$$

The crude birth rate directly points to the contribution of fertility to the growth rate of the population. It suffers from certain limitations mainly because it has in the denominator the total population which includes males as well as very young and very old women who are biologically not capable of having babies. There are other more refined fertility measures like the general fertility rate, the age-specific fertility rates, etc., that overcome these limitations, but these do not concern us here.

### 4.3.2 Levels and Trends of Fertility in India

As in other developing countries, the crude birth rate has been quite high in India. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the estimated birth rate for India was as high as 49.2 per thousand population. In the decade 1951-61, that is, the decade immediately following Independence, the birth rate declined by only four points, and was around 45 per thousand population. Since 1961, however, the birth rate has been progressively declining, though not at a very fast pace. According to the estimates of the sample registration system, the birth rate in India, in 1988, stood at 31.3 per thousand population. For the same year, while it was 32.8 per thousand population for the rural areas, it was 26.0 per thousand population for the urban areas. According to the Sample Registration System, the birth rate in India in 2002 was 25.8 per thousand population. Significantly there have been much regional variations among the states.

### 4.3.3 Determinants of High Fertility

Several factors contribute to the high fertility of Indian women. Let us examine some of these factors:

- i) All the religions of the world, except Buddhism, contain injunctions to their followers to breed and multiply. It is, therefore, not surprising that belief in high fertility has been strongly supported by religions and social institutions in India, leading to appropriate norms about family size.
- ii) Another factor contributing to high fertility is the universality of the institution of marriage. Amongst the Hindus, a man is expected to go through the various stages of his life (Ashramas), performing the duties attached to each stage. Marriage is considered one such duty. For the



Hindu woman, marriage is considered essential, because it is the only sacrament she is entitled to, though the Hindu man goes through several sacraments throughout his life.

- iii) Till recently, the custom in India required the Hindu girls to be married off before they entered puberty. Even today, despite legislation forbidding the marriage of girls before they are 18 years of age, many girls are married off before they attain that age. In India, traditionally women start childbearing at an early age, and continue to do so till they cross the age at which they are no longer biologically capable of bearing children.
- iv) As in all traditional societies, in India too, great emphasis is laid on bearing children. A woman, who does not bear children, is looked down upon in society. In fact, the new daughter-in-law attains her rightful status in the family only after she produces a child, preferably a son.
- v) The preference for sons is deeply ingrained in the Indian culture. Sons are required for extending the family line and for looking after the parents in their old age. Among the Hindus, a son is desired not only for the continuation of the family line and for providing security in old age, but also for ceremoniously kindling the funeral pyre and, thus, effecting the salvation of his father's soul. The preference for sons is so high in the Indian society that a couple may continue to have several daughters and still not stop childbearing in the hope of having at least one son.
- vi) In Indian society, a fatalistic attitude is ingrained and fostered from childhood. Such an attitude acts as a strong influence against any action that calls for the exercise of the right of self-determination with reference to reproduction. Children are considered to be gifts of God, and people believe that it is not upto them to decide on the number of children. High infant and child mortality rates also contribute to a large family size. A couple may have a large number of children in the hope that at least a few of them will survive upto adulthood. The low status of women is also a contributing factor to high fertility. Women, unquestioningly, accept excessive childbearing without any alternative avenues for self-expression.
- vii) Children in the Indian society have a great economic, social, cultural as well as religious value. Fertility of Indian women is, therefore, high. Often, there is no economic motivation for restricting the number of children, because the biological parents may not necessarily be called upon to provide for the basic needs of their own children since the extended family is jointly responsible for all the children born into it.
- viii) Again in the absence of widespread adoption of methods of conception control, the fertility of Indian women continues to remain high.

It is important that none of these factors is to be seen in isolation. Indeed, it is the combination of several factors, that contribute towards the high fertility rate in India. While considering the factors contributing to high fertility, it is necessary also to consider traditional Indian norms which regulate the reproductive behaviour of couples. Breast-feeding is universally practiced in Indian sub-continent and this has an inhibiting influence on conception. Certain taboos are also practiced during the postpartum period when the couple is expected to abstain from sexual activity. The practice of going to the parental home for delivery, specially the first one, common in some parts of the country

also ensures abstinence after childbirth leading to postponement of the next pregnancy. Cohabitation is also prohibited on certain specified days in the month. It is also common knowledge that a woman would be ridiculed if she continued to bear children after she had become a grandmother.

### 4.3.4 Implications of High Fertility

Apart from contributing in a big way to the population problem of the country, high fertility affects the family and, in turn, society in many ways.

Women are tied down to child-bearing and child-rearing for the best years of their productive lives. They are, therefore, denied the opportunity to explore other avenues for self-expression and self-development. This could lead to frustration. Excessive child-bearing affects their own health and that of their children. Looking after a large number of children puts a further strain on the slender physical and emotional resources of such women.

The burden of providing for a large family sits heavily on the bread-winner of the family. The constant struggle to maintain a subsistence level is exhausting. To escape from the problems of everyday life, he may take to drinking. This would lead to further deterioration of the economic and emotional well-being of the family.

The children, often unwanted, unloved and neglected, are left to their own devices to make life bearable. Indulgence in delinquency is sometimes the result. The children in large families often have to start working at a very early age to supplement the slender financial resources of the family. They are, therefore,



denied the opportunity to go to school and get educated. The girl child is the worst sufferer. She is often not sent to school at all, or is withdrawn from school at an early age to help her mother in carrying out domestic chores and to look after her younger siblings when the mother is at work. Early marriage pushes her into child-bearing, and the vicious cycle continues. The children, both boys and girls, in a large family are thus often denied the joys of childhood, and are pushed into adult roles at a very early age.

Happy and healthy families are the very foundation on which a healthy society is built. Excessive fertility, as one of the factors leading to family unhappiness and ill health, needs to be curbed in order to build up a healthy society.

**Check Your Progress 2**

- 1) Write down the formula for computing the crude birth rate. Use about two lines.

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- 2) List the determinants of high fertility in India. Use about five lines to answer.

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- 3) What are the implications of high fertility for the family and society? Use about ten lines to answer.

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**4.4 MORTALITY**

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Mortality is an important determinant of population. Let us examine a few important aspects of mortality.

#### 4.4.1 Measurement of Mortality

Various measures of mortality are employed in the analysis of mortality. For a general understanding of the process of mortality, it is sufficient to describe three basic measures of mortality: the crude death rate, the expectation of life at birth, and the infant mortality rate.

##### i) Crude Death Rate

The Crude death rate is the ratio of the total registered deaths occurring in a specified calendar year to the total mid-year population of that year, multiplied by 1000. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{No. of registered deaths during a year}}{\text{Total population in the middle of that year}} \times 1000$$

As in the case of the crude birth rate, the crude death rate also suffers from several limitations, mainly because it considers the mortality experience of different groups in the population together. The age and sex structure is not taken into account. For instance, a country having a very large proportion of elderly people may have the same crude death rate as that in another country where this proportion is very low. The mortality conditions of these countries cannot be considered to be similar. It is, therefore, customary to calculate age specific death rates, and report them separately for the males and the females.

##### ii) Expectation of Life at Birth

The average expectation of life at birth is a good measure of the level of mortality because it is not affected by the age structure of the population. The term “average expectation of life” or life expectancy represents the average number of years of life which a cohort of new-born babies (that is, those born in the same year) may be expected to live if they are subjected to the risks of death at each year, according to the age-specific mortality rates prevailing in the country at the time to which the measure refers. This measure is complicated to calculate but easy to understand.

##### iii) Infant Mortality Rate

Infants are defined in demography as all those children in the first year of life who have not yet reached age one, that is, those who have not celebrated their first birthday. Infants are studied separately, as mortality during the first year of life is invariably high. In countries like India, where health conditions are poor, infant deaths account for a substantial number of all deaths. The infant mortality rate is, therefore, often used as an indicator for determining the socio-economic status of a country and the quality of life in it.

#### **Box 1 Measurement of Infant Mortality**

The infant mortality rate is generally computed as a ratio of infant deaths (that is, deaths of children under one year of age) registered in a calendar year to the total number of live births (children born alive) registered in the same year. It is computed in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{Number of deaths below one year registered during the calendar year}}{\text{Number of live births registered during the same year}} \times 1000$$

It needs to be noted that this rate is only an approximate measure of infant mortality, for no adjustment is made for the fact that some of the infants dying in the year considered were born in the preceding year.

## 4.4.2 Levels and Trends of Mortality in India

Up to 1921, the crude death rate in India was quite high (between 40 and 50 per thousand population), the highest being for the decade 1911-21, mainly because of the influenza epidemic in 1918, when more than 15 million persons died. Since 1921, the death rate has been declining. From 1911-21 to 1971-81, that is, in a period of 60 years, the average annual death rate declined from 48.6 per thousand population to 14.9 per thousand population – a reduction of more than 69 per cent. The estimates of the Sample Registration System indicate that for the year 1988, the crude death rate was 11.0 per thousand population. In 2000 the crude death rate has declined to 8.5 per thousand population.

The average expectation of life at birth has also increased over the years. During 1911-21, it was 19.4 years for the males, 20.9 years for the females, and 20.1 years when both sexes were considered together. These figures may be considered to be the lowest for the country, and one of the lowest anywhere in the world. For the 1941-51 decade, these figures were 32.5 years for the males, 31.7 years for the females, and 32.1 years when both sexes were considered together. During the period 1981-86, life expectancy was 55.6 years for the males, 56.4 years for the females, and 56.0 years when both sexes were considered together. The latest statistics indicates that the average life expectancy in India is 63.3 years. While the female life expectancy is 63.8 years, for male it is 62.8 years.

## 4.4.3 Determinants of Declining Mortality

The decline in mortality in India has been mainly due to public health and disease-control measures, which were mostly imported from the developed countries. These include DDT spraying, the use of antibiotics like penicillin and vaccines against many communicable diseases like tuberculosis, polio, typhoid, cholera and several childhood diseases. Dreaded “killer diseases” like plague and smallpox have been completely eradicated. The extension of health and medical services to different parts of the country and the application of advances in the medical sciences have contributed in a big way to the decline in mortality in India. The effect of severe famines have also been considerably reduced by preventive and relief measures. Much still remains to be achieved for bringing about further decline in mortality.

## 4.4.4 Implications of Declining Mortality

The decline in the death rate and high birth rate have been the main factor responsible for the rapid growth of population, as the declining death rates have not been accompanied by corresponding declines in the birth rates.

The increased average expectation of life at birth has resulted in a higher proportion of persons in the older age group, that is, those above the age of 60. At present, the percentage of the aged in India (6.49 in 1981) is not as high as that in the developed countries (for example, 16.47 in the United States, in 1984). The absolute numbers are, however, quite high.

In our country aged persons, do not necessarily contribute to the national income or the family income. They have to be looked after, and the expenditure on their health and medical needs has to be met. When strong supports are not

provided by the joint family, the burden falls on society. Old-age homes or foster care homes for the aged have to be provided through the State funds, when the aged are not in a position to incur the expenditure involved. Many of the state governments have introduced the scheme of pensions for the aged in a limited scale. However, for a poor country like India, all such success of such measures needs a political commitment.

#### 4.4.5 Levels and Trends of Infant Mortality in India

In India, the infant mortality rate was as high as 140 per thousand live births in 1969. In 1989, the infant mortality rate was less than 100 per thousand live births.

India has still a long way to go for achieving the goal of an infant mortality rate of below 60 per thousand live births by the year 2000 A.D.—one of the goals to be reached for securing ‘Health for All’ by 2000 A.D. However in 2002 the infant mortality rate of India was 68 per thousand live births.

<b>Box 2. Variation in the Estimated Death Rates of the Children Aged 0-4 years by Sex and residence in India and in its Major States, 1998.</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>
India	22.5	21.0	24.1
Andhra	18.1	17.8	18.4
Assam	27.5	29.2	25.6
Bihar	22.9	21.2	24.8
Gujarat	19.6	18.5	20.9
Haryana	22.4	19.4	26.2
Himachal	16.7	14.1	19.7
Karnataka	16.7	16.5	16.8
Kerala	3.6	4.2	3.0
Madhya Pradesh	32.6	31.6	33.7
Maharashtra	12.7	11.2	14.3
Orissa	29.0	28.7	29.4
Punjab	16.8	15.9	17.9
Rajasthan	27.7	27.3	28.1
Tamil Nadu	13.0	12.3	13.8
Uttar Pradesh	29.6	25.3	34.5
West Bengal	15.0	16.2	13.8

Source : Registrar General of India, Sample Registration System

All India : Rural

Total	M	F
24.8	23.2	26.6

All India : Urban

Total	M	F
12.8	12.0	13.6

#### 4.4.6 Determinants of Infant and Child Mortality

The determinants of mortality during the neonatal period (that is, the first four weeks of the baby's life) on the one hand, and the post-neonatal period (that is, the period between one and 11 months) together with the childhood period (that is, the period between one and four years) on the other, are quite different.

##### i) Neonatal Mortality

Biological factors play a dominant role in determining the level of neonatal mortality. These factors are also known as endogenous factors.

- a) It is known that neonatal mortality rates are higher when the mother is below the age of 18 or above 35, when the parity is above 4, and when the interval between two births is less than one year. These conditions are fairly common in our country, leading to high infant mortality.
- b) While the standards laid down by the World Health Organisation specify that babies with a birth weight of less than 2,500 grams should be considered as "high risk" babies, needing special care, 24 to 37 per cent of Indian babies have a birth weight below 2,500 grams without the possibility of receiving any special care.
- c) Ante-natal care, which is generally concerned with the pregnant woman's well-being is lacking in our country. It is, therefore, not possible to identify high risk cases requiring special care, to administer tetanus toxoid injections for immunising the unborn child against tetanus, and to provide iron and folic acid tablets to prevent anaemia among pregnant women. An anemic mother gives birth to a low-weight baby with slender chances of survival.
- d) Proper hygienic conditions and medical care during delivery are not ensured, specially in the rural areas. The delivery is generally conducted by an untrained traditional birth attendant (*dai*) or an elderly relative. The scheme of providing dais with training has not yet reached all parts of the country.
- e) Fortunately, the practice of breast-feeding is widespread in our country. This protects the baby from exposure to several infections. Breast-feeding is, however, initiated only after 48 to 72 hours of birth, and is absolutely prohibited during the first 24 hours. If the baby is put to the breast soon after birth, it acquires several immunities which are passed on by the mother through colostrum (the first flow of breast milk).

This opportunity to acquire immunity against several diseases is denied to the baby, exposing it to the risk of neonatal mortality.

## ii) **Post-neonatal and Child Mortality**

The factors contributing to the post-neonatal and child mortality are generally not biological, but arise out of the environment and the behavioural response to it. These factors are also known as exogenous factors.

- a) Common childhood diseases, such as, diphtheria, pertussis (whooping cough), measles and polio as well as tuberculosis contribute substantially to the post-neonatal and child mortality. Deaths due to these diseases can be prevented, but immunisation services are either not available or easily accessible in the rural areas, or may not be accepted by the rural population either because of ignorance and superstition or sheer apathy.
- b) Diarrhoea and its consequence, and dehydration, is another factor contributing heavily to post-natal and child mortality. It has been estimated that every year about 1.5 million children under the age of five years die due to diarrhoea, of which 60 to 70 per cent die of dehydration.

The oral rehydration therapy introduced in recent years does not involve heavy expenditure or undue efforts on the part of those who look after the affected child. The oral rehydration solution can be prepared at home with a tablespoon of sugar, a pinch of salt and a glass of boiled water. The material for preparing the solution can also be obtained from the government health workers or the local Health Guide. The obstacle, however, is in the form of the age-old traditional belief that a child should not be given milk or any kind of food during an attack of diarrhoea. The dehydration that sets in due to diarrhoea can be so severe that the slightest delay in treatment can cost the child its life. On the other hand, the oral rehydration solution, which can be considered a household remedy, not only prevents dehydration, but also controls diarrhoea.

- c) Nutritional deficiency is another factor contributing to child mortality. The National Institute of Nutrition found in a study conducted in 1981 that around 85 per cent of the children under four years were malnourished, of whom almost 6 per cent were severely malnourished.

These malnourished children are also more prone to contract diarrhoea and other debilitating diseases, exposing them to the risk of dying during childhood. Malnourishment itself could also be a result of attacks of childhood diseases. This vicious circle, unless broken effectively through an educational and service programme, will continue to result in high infant and child mortality rates.

### **4.4.7 Implications of High Infant and Child Mortality**

It has been observed that wherever infant and child mortality is high, fertility is also high and vice-versa. A couple is interested in the number of surviving children and not in the number of children born. Because of the high levels of infant and child mortality, a couple may go in for a large number of children in the hope that at least a few would survive to adulthood. Also, when a child dies, the parents are keen to replace it as soon as possible by another. It is also known that when a child dies in infancy, the mother is denied the natural protection from pregnancy provided through breast-feeding. She is then likely to conceive early, leading to high fertility.



Thus, apart from the emotional trauma caused to parents, high infant and child mortality rates result in high fertility rates leading to a population problem. Looking after these children, who die before they can start contributing to the country’s well being, also places a heavy burden on the country’s meager resources. It needs to be reiterated that the level of the infant mortality rate of a country is considered as an important indicator of the socio-economic status of that country and the quality of life in it.

**Check Your Progress 3**

- 1) Define “average expectation of life” or “life expectancy”. Use five lines to answer.

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- 2) What is meant by neo mortality? Use three lines to answer.

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- 3) What are the factors contributing to high neo natal mortality in India? Mention at least seven factors. Use three lines to answer.

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- 4) List three factors contributing to high infant and child mortality in India. Use two lines to answer.

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**4.5 AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE**

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Age and sex are the basic characteristics or the biological attributes of any population. These characteristics or attributes affect not only the demographic structure, but also the social, economic and political structure of the population.

Age and sex are also important factors, because they are indicators of social status. Each individual is ascribed a certain status in society on the basis of sex and age. Status and roles are culturally determined, and vary from one culture to another. Even within the same culture, status and roles may undergo changes over a period of time. While in traditional societies, age demands respect, modern societies may be more youth-oriented. While the age structure of a

population may have implications for the status and roles of older persons, the sex structure may be a reflection of the social reality.

The age-sex structure of a population is both the determinant and consequence of birth and death rates, internal and international migration, marital status composition, manpower, and the gross national product. Planning regarding educational and health services, housing, etc., is done on the basis of the age structure of the population.

### 4.5.1 Age Structure

#### i) Measurement of the Age Structure

It is customary to classify age data in five year age groups, such as 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, and so on.

The simplest measure to study the age structure of any population is the percentage distribution of the population based on the absolute numbers in various five-year age groups. This percentage distribution indicates the number of persons in an age group, if the total number of persons considered is 100. This measure is useful for understanding and describing the age structure of any population. It can also be used to compare the age structure of two or more populations at a point of time, or to compare the age structure of the same population at different points of time. Age-sex pyramids can also be constructed with the help of age-sex histograms.

#### **Box 3. Dependency Ratio**

An important measure to study the structure of the population is the dependency ratio. This measure indicates the number of dependents per 100 workers. Three age groups are considered for this purpose. The population in the age group 15-50 or 15-64 is considered to be the working population, the population below 15 is considered as young dependents and the population above either 60 or 65 is considered to be old dependents. The dependency ratio is computed by using the following formula.

$$\text{Dependency Ratio} = \frac{\text{Population in the age group 0-14} + \text{Population in the age group 60 + or 65} + \text{Population in the age group 15-59 or 15-64}}{\text{Population in the age group 15-59 or 15-64}}$$

The dependency ratio gives us only a broad idea of economic dependency in any population, and it is not a full measure for assessing the dependency burden. It needs to be noted that not all persons in the working age group (15-59 or 15-64) are employed and not all those in the dependent age groups (0-14 and 60+ or 65+) are economic dependents. In a country like India, children start working at a very early age as helping hands to the parents among craftsmen, poor agriculturalists or newspaper hawkers or as hotel boys. In rural areas, old people continue to engage themselves in some kind of economic activity, as there is no retirement age in an agricultural economy. Then there are activities like those of doctors, lawyers, traders and other self-employed persons for whom the age factor does not lead to retirement from economic activity.

#### ii) Age Structure in India

##### **Determinants and Implications**

India is an old country with a large young population belonging to the age group of 0-14 years and a growing number of aged population in the age group of above 50 years.

According to the 1991 Census, the young dependency ratio in India was 67.2, meaning that 100 persons in the working age group (15-59) had to support 67.2 children in the age group of 0-14 years. Similarly old dependences in India is to the extent of 12.2.

The age structure of any population is determined by the levels of fertility, mortality and migration. Of these three factors, migration can affect the age structure of any population only when the migrants are concentrated in any one age group and the volume of migration is large.

India has a large “young” population because the birth rates are high and the number of children born is large. The sustained high level of birth rates has resulted in a large proportion of children and a small proportion of old population. On the other hand, in economically developed countries, the birth rates are low and less children are born. The low birth rates result in a higher proportion of old people. Compared to the role of fertility, the role of mortality in determining the age structure of a population is limited, specially when mortality is high. Rapid reductions in mortality and lengthening of the life-span result in a “younger” population. This is mainly because the improvement is first experienced by the infants and children. More infants and children survive, leading to an increase in the proportion of the young persons in the population as in the case of India. On the other hand, when the mortality level is very low, there is no further scope for any large increases in survivorship during infancy and early childhood, and any improvement in mortality conditions would affect the older age group and lead to a further aging of the population, that is, increase in the proportion of older persons in the population. Such a situation prevails in developed countries like Sweden, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, France and Australia.

A young population implies a heavy burden on the economy of the country as they have to be educated, clothed and provided shelter, while they themselves are not expected to contribute immediately to the family or national economy.

One other implication of the young age structure of the Indian population is that it also has the potential of the high growth rates of the population in further years. Within a few years, these children will grow up, get married and start reproducing. When the number of couples in the reproductive age group (wife in the age group 15-44) is high, the birth rate can also be expected to be high, even with moderate fertility. This, in turn, leads to a high population growth rate.

#### **4.5.2 Sex Structure**

In this section we shall discuss the measurement of sex structure, sex ratio and its determinants in India.

##### **i) Measurement of Sex Structure**

Two measures are generally used for studying the age structure of any population—(1) the percentage of males in the population or the masculinity proportion, and (2) the sex ratio. Of these two measures, the sex ratio is more frequently used in the study of the population.

The sex ratio of a population may be expressed either as the number of males per 100 females or the number of females per 100 males. The Indian Census

has preferred to define the sex ratio as the number of females per 1000 males, though the definition of the sex ratio followed the world over is the number of the males per 100 females.

**ii) Sex Ratio in India and its Determinants**

Generally, in most countries, the overall sex ratio of the population is favourable to the females, that is, there are more females than males in the population. When the situation is different, that is, when there are more males than females in the population, this is considered unusual. The population statistics available through the Census indicate that the sex ratio in India has always been adverse to the females, that is, the number of the females per 1,000 males has always been less than 1,000. In fact, the sex ratio has been declining from 972 in 1901 to 930 in 1971. A slight improvement was registered in the 1951 Census, and again during the 1981 Census, but the 1991 Census registered a fall by five points—from 934 in 1981 to 929 in 1991. In 2001, female sex ratio was 933, which was an improvement over the 1991 figure.

The following three factors are responsible for determining the sex ratio of any population: (1) the sex ratio at birth, (2) the sex ratio of the deceased persons and (3) the sex ratio of the net migrants. In a developing country like India, another factor could be added to this list. There is always a possibility that women are under-enumerated because they are not reported as members of the household by the head of the household, when the Census enumerator collects the information.

Of all these factors, high mortality of the females appears to be the most plausible explanation for the sex ratio in India, which is adverse to the females. Though biologically stronger than the male, the female in India is in a socially and culturally disadvantaged position, and has been accorded an inferior status over the centuries. The death rates for the females in most age groups are higher than those for the males. Of the other factors, the sex ratio of new born babies is not much different from that in other countries. Hence, a sex ratio that is adverse to the females, a peculiarity of the Indian demographic picture, need not be attributed to this factor. As for international migration of men, it is quite insignificant and is, therefore, not found to affect the sex ratio in India. Under-enumeration of the females cannot explain more than a very small part of the numerical imbalance between the males and the females in India.

**Check Your Progress 4**

- 1) Why is India known as an old country with a large young population? Use four lines to answer.

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- 2) Why is the sex ratio not favourable to women in India? Use three lines to answer.

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## 4.6 FAMILY PLANNING AND FAMILY WELFARE

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In India, the concepts of family planning and family welfare are very important. Let us know the meanings of the concepts.

### 4.6.1 Concept of Family Planning and Family Welfare

At the level of the family, family planning implies having only the desired number of children. Thus family planning implies both limitation of the family to a number considered appropriate to the resources of the family as well as proper spacing between the children. The adoption of family planning, obviously, requires conscious efforts made by the couple to control conception.

As a social movement, family planning implies an organised effort by a group of people to initiate change in the child-bearing practices of the people by creating a favourable atmosphere. The birth control movement, as it was initially called, aimed at relieving women of excessive child-bearing, and was seen as a way of achieving the emancipation of women through the right of self-determination.

A family planning programme involves a co-ordinated group of activities, maintained over a period of time, and aimed at fostering a change in the child-bearing behaviour of the females. The aim of the family planning programme may either be to improve the health status of women and their children and/or of reducing the birth rate, and thus reducing the population growth rate of the country. Most countries with a population control policy also emphasise the health aspects of family planning. The various components of the family planning programme are : (1) Information, Education and Communication Activities, (2) Contraceptives: Supplies and Services, (3) Training of Personnel, (4) Research, and (5) Administrative Infrastructure.

When the government concerns itself with promoting the total welfare of the family and the community, through family planning, the programme consists of a wide range of activities, covering education, health, maternity and child care, family planning and nutrition. Since 1977, the Indian family planning programme is known as the family welfare programme with greater emphasis on the welfare approach to the problem.

### 4.6.2 Barriers to Family Planning

Most of the reasons mentioned in Sub-section 4.3.3, under Determinants of High Fertility, act as barriers to the acceptance of family planning, which implies controlling fertility. These barriers include fatalism, and emphasis placed on having children in the Indian culture and religious beliefs.

In addition, the use of various methods of family planning also pose certain difficulties. The methods are not always acceptable because of the possible side-effects, perceived unaesthetic attributes or the discipline their use demands. All methods are not equally effective. While sterilisation, male and female, can be considered one hundred per cent effective, a method like the IUD is considered to be 95 per cent effective, and the conventional contraceptive like the condom is considered to be only 50 per cent effective. Oral pills are almost

one hundred per cent effective, but their effectiveness depends on taking them regularly and on following a certain regime. The easy availability of supplies and services is a necessary condition for the practice or adoption of family planning. When supplies and services are not easily available, it becomes difficult for people to practise or adopt family planning, even when they are inclined to do so.

**Activity 1**

Read Sub-section 4.3.3 (Determinants of High Fertility) and Sub-Section 4.6.2. (Barriers to Family Planning) very carefully. Then write an essay comparing the factors mentioned in these sections with the situation prevailing in your society. Exchange your note, if possible, with your co-learners at the Study Centre.

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## **4.7 POPULATION POLICY OF INDIA**

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India has the distinction of being the first country in the world to have a fully government-supported family planning programme. This is not an overnight development. The foundations were laid in the early part of the twentieth century.

Even during the pre-independence period, the intellectual elite among the Indians showed some concern about the population issue, and supported the cause of birth control. Their British rulers, however, kept aloof from this controversial issue.

Support for birth control was evident when the Health Survey and Development Committee set up by the Government of India, in 1945, under chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bhore, recommended that birth control services should be provided for the promotion of the health of mothers and children. The pressure from the intellectuals that the government formulate a policy for disseminating information on birth control and for encouraging its practice was mounting during the pre-independence period.

### **4.7.1 Components of the Current Population Policy**

With the advent of Independence, family planning as a measure of population control has been given top priority in the development plans of the country, starting with the First Five Year Plan (1951-56). The increasing financial allocations for the family planning programme in each successive plan are also indicative of the growing emphasis accorded to the family planning programme.

#### **a) National Population Policy 1976 and 1977**

Though implied in the family planning programme undertaken by the government, the population policy of the country was not explicitly stated, and it remained unarticulated in the formal sense. It was on April 16, 1976 that the National Population Policy was declared. It underwent some modifications in June, 1977.

Till the National Population Policy was first declared in April, 1976, the Population Policy of India was generally equated with the family planning policy. One of the grounds on which India was criticised in international circles was that other solutions to the population policy were ignored. The statement of the population policy took into account some of the complex relationships

between the social, economic and political aspects of the population problem. It included appropriate measures to tackle the population problem, many of which went “beyond family planning”. The policy statement also contained several approaches to the improvement of the family planning programme.

The statement of policy regarding the Family Welfare Programme issued on June 29, 1977, eliminates all measures which have the slightest element of compulsion or coercion, and emphasis on the welfare approach to the problem. The name of the family planning programme, has also been changed to the family welfare programme to reflect the government’s anxiety to promote through the programme the total welfare of the family and the community.

Many of the measures outlined in the National Population Policy, declared in 1976, have been retained. These include the following: (1) raising the minimum legal age at marriage for girls to 18 and for boys to 21, (2) taking the population figure of 1971 till the year 2001, in all cases where population is a factor in the sharing of the Central resources with the States, as in allocation of the Central assistance to the State Plans, devolution of taxes and duties and grants-in-aid, (3) accepting the principle of linking 8 per cent of the central assistance to the State Plans with their performance and success in the family welfare programme, (4) including population education in the formal school education system, (5) plans to popularise the family welfare programme and use of all media for this purpose, (6) participation of voluntary organisations in the implementation of the programme, (7) improvement of women’s educational level, both through formal and non-formal channels. The Policy Statement also declared that the government would give special attention to the necessary research inputs in the field of reproductive biology and contraception.

#### b) **National Population Policy 2000**

India has framed a new National Population Policy in 2000. It enumerates certain socio-demographic goals to be achieved by 2010 which will lead to achieving population stabilisation by 2045. The policy has identified the immediate objectives as meeting the unmet needs for contraception, health care infrastructure and trained health personnel and to provide integrated service delivery with the following interventions:

- i) Strengthen community health centres, primary health centres and sub-centres,
- ii) Augment skills of health personnel and health care providers
- iii) Bring about convergence in the implementation of related social sector programme to make Family Welfare Programme people centered.
- iv) Integrate package of essential services at village and household levels by extending basic reproductive and child health care through mobile health clinics and counselling services; and explore the possibility of accrediting private medical practitioners and assigning them to defined beneficiary groups to provide these services (Govt. of India 2003)

#### **4.7.2 Achievements of the Family Welfare Programme**

As of March, 1989, the number of couples protected through some method of family planning was estimated to be 64.79 million, forming 46.7 per cent of the estimated 138.9 million eligible couples (with wife in the reproductive age

group 15-44) in the country. Taking into account the use-effectiveness of various methods, which is assumed to be 100 per cent for sterilisation and oral pills, 95 per cent for IUD and 50 per cent for conventional contraceptives like the condom, the number of couples effectively protected as of March, 1989, was 58.14 million, forming 41.9 per cent of the total eligible couples.

Sterilisation is the most widely accepted method, effectively protecting 29.8 per cent of the eligible couples. Of the total eligible couples, 5.9 per cent are effectively protected by IUD, 4.5 per cent by conventional contraceptives, 1.7 per cent by oral pills.

While terminal methods, like the male and female sterilisation, continue to be the major share, it is worth noting that the female sterilisation is more highly favoured than the male sterilisation; 86.8 per cent of the total sterilisations done in 1988-89 were female sterilisations.

The statistics for 1987-88 indicate that, on an average, the age of the wife for vasectomy acceptors is 32.4 years, for tubectomy acceptors it is 30.2 years and for IUD it is 27.4 years. These couples have, on an average, 3.6, 3.3. and 2.3 living children at the time of the acceptance of vasectomy, tubectomy and IUD respectively.

During 2001-2002, 47.27 lakh sterilisations were performed in the country. The number of Intra-Uterine Device (IUD) insertions during the same period was 62.02 lakhs. Besides, there were 145.69 lakhs of condom users and 74.75 lakhs of Oral Pill (OP) users. The use of contraceptives has been increased from 40.06% in 1992-93 to 48.2% in 1998-1999. (Govt. of India 2003)

It can be observed that family planning is accepted generally after the most fertile period in a woman's life (up to 29 years) is over, and when the couple has exceeded the norm of two children advocated by the government.

Inter-State variations in family planning performance are also observed. States like Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Union Territories like Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Delhi and Pondicherry have a higher percentage of effectively protected couples than the all-India average. All the other States have recorded a lower percentage of effectively protected couples than the all-India average, except for Andhra Pradesh, where this percentage is identical to the all-India average.

### **4.7.3 The Changing Trends**

It is obvious that the family welfare programme slowly recovering from the setback it received after the Emergency, during which some coercive methods were used for achieving spectacular results.

The long-term goal to be achieved for the country is to reach a replacement level of unity (net reproduction rate of one, when each woman will be replaced by only one daughter). The demographic goals laid down as part of the National Health Policy are to achieve by 2000 A.D., a birth rate of 21 per thousand population and an effective protection rate of 60 per cent. The corresponding mid-term goals to be reached by the end of the Seventh Plan (1990) are: crude birth rate of 29.1 and effective couple protection rate of 42 per cent.

The Changing Trend in the population in India is shown in the table below.



Growth of Population in India				
Census Year	Decadal Growth (per cent)		Average Exponential Growth (per cent)	
1971	24.80		2.20	
1981	24.66		2.22	
1991	23.86		2.14	
2001	21.34		1.93	
Parameter	1951	1981	1991	Current Level
Crude Birth Rate (per 1,000 population)	40.8	33.9 (SRS)	29.5* (SRS)	25.8 (SRS 2000)
Crude Death Rate (per 10,000 population)	25.1	12.5 (SRS)	9.8* (SRS)	8.5 (SRS 2000)
Total Fertility Rate (per woman on average)	6.0 (SRS)	4.5 (SRS)	3.6* (NFHS-II)	2.8
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 1,00,000 live birth)	437 (1992-93)	N.A.	N.A. (1998)	407
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)	146 (1951-61)	110 (SRS)	80* (SRS)	68 (SRS 2000)
Couple Protection Rate (per cent)	10.4 (1971)	22.8	44.1	48.2 (NFHS-II)
Life Expectancy at birth years (M)	37.2	54.1	60.6	63.87# (2001-02)
Life Expectancy at birth years (F)	36.2	54.7	61.7 (1991-96)	66.9# (2001-02)

\*Excludes Jammu and Kashmir # Projected

SRS = Sample Registration System of Office of Registrar General India.

**Check Your Progress 5**

1) What are the major “Beyond Family Planning” measures included in the National Population Policy of India? Use seven lines to answer.

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2) On what factors does the future of India’s family welfare programme depend? Use six lines to answer.

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## 4.8 LET US SUM UP

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This unit begins with defining demography and examines its scope: mortality, fertility, composition of population and migration. Techniques of measurement are mentioned and the need for highlighting their social and cultural aspects stressed. Then we described the size and growth of the population of India and examined their implications. The determinants and consequences of fertility and mortality in India are explained. The age and sex structure of the Indian population, their determinants and implications are classified. The concept of family planning and family welfare and the barriers to family planning are discussed. The Population Policy of India, its evolution and components, achievements of the family welfare programme and its future prospects enable us to see how social problems at the demographic level could be solved.

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## 4.9 KEY WORDS

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|---|--|
| <b>Fertility</b>  | : Fertility refers to the actual reproductive performance, whether applied to an individual or to a group, measured in terms of the number of children born alive.   |
| <b>Life Expectancy/Average Expectation of Life at Birth</b> | : The average number of years of life which a cohort of new born babies (that is, those born in the same year) may be expected to live if they are subjected to the risks of death at each year according to the age specific mortality rates prevailing in the country at the time to which the measures refer. |
| <b>Neonatal and Post-neonatal Mortality</b>                 | : When a baby dies within the first four weeks of life, it is known as neo natal mortality. When a baby dies after it has survived beyond four weeks, but before the first year is completed, it is known as post-neonatal mortality.  |
| <b>Population Growth Rate</b>                               | : One way of measuring population growth is to calculate the rate at which population grows. This is done by first finding out the difference in the population size of a  |

specified area at two points of time, and then by dividing the absolute change by the population at the earlier point of the time.

- Sex Ratio** : The sex ratio of a population may either be expressed as the number of males per 100 females or the number of females per 100 males. The Indian Census has preferred to define the sex ratio as the number of females per 1000 males.

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## 4.10 FURTHER READINGS

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Bhende, Asha A. and Kanitkar, Tara, 1992. *Principles of Population Studies*. Himalaya Publishing House: Bombay (Fifth Edition), (Chapters 7,8, 9 and 15).

Misra, Bhaskar D., 1981. *An Introduction to the Study of Population*. South Asian Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi: (Chapters 3 and 11).

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## 4.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) b) 844 million
- 2) The development programmes are not able to keep pace with the needs of the growing population. The country is facing shortages in housing, health and medical services and employment opportunities. The increase in the per capita production of food grain is only marginal, and the per capita income is low. These problems have arisen because of the large size of the population and the high rate of the population growth.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) 
$$\frac{\text{Total No. of live births during a year}}{\text{Total population in the middle of the year}} \times 1000$$
- 2) i) Most religions encourage high fertility, ii) Universality of marriage, iii) Low age at marriage, iv) Emphasis on bearing children, v) Preference for sons, vi) Fatalistic attitude, vii) High infant and child mortality, viii) Low status of women, ix) Joint family.
- 3) Women are tied down to childbearing and childbearing for the best years of their productive lives. Excessive childbearing affects their health. The bread-winner is unable to provide for a large family and becomes frustrated. The children are often neglected. They may indulge in delinquent behaviour. They are often required to drop out of school, and to start working at an early age. The girl child is denied education and pushed into early marriage and early child-bearing.

### Check Your Progress 3

- i) The term “average expectation of life” or “life expectancy” represents the average number of years of life which babies born in the same year (cohort) may be expected to live according to the mortality conditions prevailing at that time.

- ii) Neonatal mortality refers to deaths occurring in the first four weeks of the babies life.
- iii) a) Mother below 18. b) Parity above 4. c) Interval between births less than one year. d) Low birth weight. e) Lack of ante-natal care. f) Home deliveries conducted in unhygienic conditions g) Colostrum (first flow of breast milk) not given to the baby.
- iv) a) Common childhood diseases not prevented through immunisation.  
b) Diarrhoea and dehydration c) Nutritional deficiency.

#### Check Your Progress 4

- i) India is an old country because its history goes back to several centuries. It has a young population in the sense that about 40 per cent of the population is below the age of 15. In a developed country like the United States of America this percentage is only about 22.
- ii) The sex ratio in India is not favourable to women mainly because of the low status of women leading to their neglect. The death rates are higher for women than for men in most age groups.

#### Check Your Progress 5

- i) a) Raising the minimum age at marriage. b) Population education in schools. c) Improving the status of women, specially through education. d) Freezing the population figure of 1971 till 2001 in all cases where population is a factor in the sharing of the Central resources with the States. e) Linking Central assistance to the State Plans with the performance of the family welfare programme.
- ii) a) Widespread acceptance of family planning. b) Improved performance of the family welfare programme in low performing States, such as, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh etc.
- iii) Acceptance of family planning at a lower age and limitation of the family size to two children, whatever the sex composition.

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## UNIT 5 MIGRATION

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### Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Migration : Significance, Concept, Forms and Characteristics
  - 5.2.1 Sociological Significance
  - 5.2.2 Concept
  - 5.2.3 Forms
  - 5.2.4 Characteristics
- 5.3 Reasons for Migration
  - 5.3.1 Economic Factors
  - 5.3.2 Socio-Cultural and Political Factors
- 5.4 Consequences of Migration
  - 5.4.1 Economic
  - 5.4.2 Demographic
  - 5.4.3 Social and Psychological
- 5.5 Problems of Refugees and Displaced Persons
- 5.6 Migration Policy
- 5.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 5.8 Key Words
- 5.9 Further Readings
- 5.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 5.0 OBJECTIVES

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In this unit our emphasis is on migration as a demographic process and as an agent of social change in society. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- describe what migration is;
- examine the importance of migration as an agent of social change;
- explain the various reasons of migration;
- discuss the consequences of such migration in the national and international situation; and
- analyse the migration policy.

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## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

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Migration is usually defined as a geographical movement of people involving a change from their usual place of residence. But it is distinguished from temporary and very short distance moves. Migration can be internal (within the national boundaries) or international (across the international borders). After discussing the sociological significance and the definition and concepts of migration in Section 5.4, we discuss the major determinants of migration in terms of social,

economic, psychological, political and religious factors. Types of migration, like rural and urban, as well as voluntary or involuntary migration are explained in Section 5.5. What consequences follow when people move to different places within the national boundaries or across the national boundaries are discussed in Section 5.6. Section 5.7 highlights the problems of the refugees and displaced persons in national and international situations. Section 5.8 of the unit deals with national and international policy on migration and future trends in migration.

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## **5.2 MIGRATION : SIGNIFICANCE, CONCEPT, FORMS AND CHARACTERISTICS**

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In this section, we shall be introducing to you the various aspects of sociological significance and characteristics of migration. Let us begin with its significance.

### **5.2.1 Sociological Significance**

Migration is the third component of population change, the other two being mortality and fertility, studied in Unit 4 of this block. However, migration is different from the other two processes, namely, mortality and fertility in the sense that it is not a biological factor like the other two, which operate in a biological framework, though influenced by social, cultural and economic factors. Migration is influenced by the wishes of persons involved. Usually each migratory movement is deliberately made, though in exceptional cases this may not hold true. Thus migration is a response of human organisms to economic, social and demographic forces in the environment.

The study of migration occupies an important place in population studies, because, along with fertility and mortality, it determines the size and rate of population growth as well as its structure and characteristics. Migration also plays an important role in the distribution of the population of any country, and determines the growth of labour force in any area. Migration is thus an important symptom of social change in society.

### **5.2.2 Concepts**

In a layman's language, the word 'migration' refers to the movements of the people from one place to another. According to Demographic Dictionary, "migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival." Such migration is called permanent migration, and should be distinguished from other forms of movement, which do not involve a permanent change of residence. Everett Lee, a well known demographer, defines migration broadly "as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary and involuntary nature of the act. Migration, according to Eisenstadt, refers to "the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social-setting and entering another and different one." Mangalam also stresses the permanent shifting of people in his definition and considers migration as a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called the migrants, from one geographical location to another.

It is preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants. They weigh and consider sets of values in two comparative situations, resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants. Holiday trips or sailor's occupations are not included in it. Mehta, in his study of Rajasthan, treats migration as an act of movement or spatial mobility.

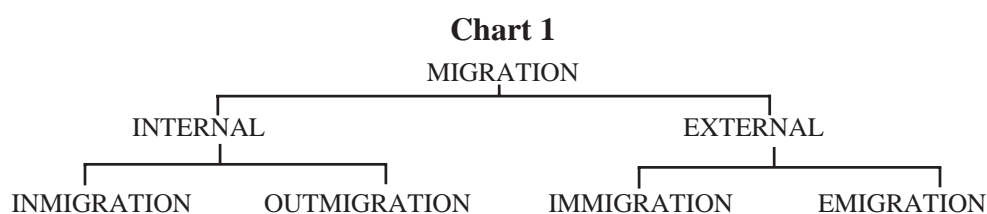
A perusal of all these definitions indicates that almost all scholars emphasise time and space, and define migration as a movement from one place to another, permanently or semi-permanently. In brief, when a person leaves his native place or village, comes to an urban area, takes up a job, and starts living there, he is known as a migrant and his move is referred to as migration.

### 5.2.3 Forms

People may move within a country between different states or between different districts of the same state or they may move between different countries. Therefore, different terms are used for internal and external migration. Internal migration refers to migration from one place to another within a country, while external migration or international migration refers to migration from one country to another.

- a) **Immigration and Emigration** : 'Immigration' refers to migration into a country from another country and 'emigration' refers to migration out of the country. These terms are used only in connection with international migration. For example migrants leaving India to settle down in the United States or Canada are immigrants to the United States or Canada and emigrants from India.
- b) **Inmigration and Outmigration** : These are used only in connection with internal migration. 'Inmigration' refers to migration into a particular area while 'outmigration' refers to movements out of a particular area. Thus, migrants who come from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh to Punjab are considered to be immigrants for Punjab and outmigrants for Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The term 'inmigration' is used with reference to the area of destination of the migrants and the term 'outmigration' is used with reference to the area of origin or place of departure of the migrant.

The main forms of migration can be summarised in a chart.



There are three important sources of information on internal migration in a country. These are national census, population registers and sample surveys. In India, the most important sources of data on internal migration are national census and sample surveys.

- c) **Forms of Internal Migration in India** : Information on migration for India, as a whole, and its different parts is obtained through the use of the Census. Better and more detailed questions have been asked in recent census counts. They show improvements in the studies on migration.

Indian census gives information regarding migration streams made from 'birth place' statistics from 1872 onwards. However, in 1961, the birth place was classified as rural or urban, and put into four categories of space migration (i) within the district of enumeration, (ii) outside the district but within the state of enumeration, (iii) outside the state of enumeration, i.e., inter-state, and (iv) outside India. The 1971 Census defined these statistics by including a question on place of last residence, and 1981 Census included a question on reasons for migration.

In India, the migrants are classified into four migration streams, namely, **rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural**. Rural to rural migration has formed the dominant migration stream since 1961. There have been substantial increases in the proportion of rural to urban, and urban to urban migration with the passage of time. Another important point is that the proportion of the females is much higher in rural to rural migration, while in the other three streams the proportion of the males is comparatively much higher. This is simply because the females change their residence on getting married, and new places could be in the neighbouring districts.

Researchers have, from time to time, suggested various types of migration while taking into account space, time, volume and direction. On the basis of space, there are four important streams of internal migration. These are:

- i) Rural to rural
- ii) Rural to urban
- iii) Urban to urban
- iv) Urban to rural

Indian census gives this fourfold typology. However, in some developed and highly urbanised countries there have also been migrations from cities to the suburbs.

The relative size and importance of these migration streams may vary from country to country. In some countries, rural to rural migration is the dominant type of migration, while in others it is rural to urban and yet in many others the highest proportion of migrants are found in urban to urban migration. In India, as stated earlier, rural to rural migration formed the dominant migration stream in the 1961, 1971, 1991 and 2001 Census. However, there have been substantial increases in the proportion of rural to urban and urban to urban migration with the passage of time, the increase being much more during the decades of 1970s, 1980s and 1990s than of the 1960s. However the dominant form of internal migration in the country is rural to rural. In all other streams (rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural) there is dominance of rural to urban migration among the males could be due to better developed agriculture in certain states and districts, which may attract migrants from other parts of the country. Development of industries in certain states or cities may be another important factor in rural to urban migration. Rural to rural migration is mostly dominated by the females. The female migration is largely sequential to marriage, because it is a Hindu custom to take brides from another village (village exogamy). According to the National Sample Survey, more than 46 per cent migration to urban areas is also caused by marriage. The custom of women returning to urban areas is also caused by marriage. The custom of women returning to her



parents to deliver her first child also accounts for significant internal migration.

Typology based on time classified migration into long range migration and short range or seasonal migration. When a move is made for a longer period, it is called long range migration. However, when there is permanent shift of population from one region to another, it is known as permanent migration. But when people shift to the sites of temporary work and residence for some or several months, it is known as periodic or seasonal migration. For example, during peak agricultural season excess labour is required, and people from the neighbouring areas is also caused by marriage. The custom of women returning to her parents to deliver her first child also accounts for significant internal migration.

Typology based on time classifies migration into long range migration and short range or seasonal migration. When a move is made for a longer period, it is called long range migration. However, when there is permanent shift of population from one region to another, it is known as permanent migration. But when people shift to the sites of temporary work and residence for some or several months, it is known as periodic or seasonal migration. For example, during peak agricultural season excess labour is required, and people from the neighbouring areas go to these places for seasonal work.

Apart from these two important types, migration could be voluntary or involuntary or forced, brain drain (migration of young skilled persons) and migration of refugees and displaced persons.

#### 5.2.4 Characteristics

There are some important characteristics of the migrants and migration. An important characteristic is the age selectivity of the migrants. Generally, young people are more mobile. Most migration studies, especially in developing countries, have found that rural-urban migrants are predominantly young adults and relatively better educated than those who remain at the place of origin. It is obvious that migration for employment takes place mostly at the young adult ages. Also a major part of the female migration consequential to marriage occurs at the young adult ages. Thus people have a tendency to move when they are between their teens and their mid-thirties (15-35 years) than at other ages.

Another important characteristic is that the migrants have a tendency to move to those places where they have contacts and where the previous migrants serve as links for the new migrants, and this chain is thus formed in the process, and is usually called chain migration. Various studies show that people do not blindly go to a new place. They usually have kinship chains and networks of relatives and friends who help them in different ways. In some cases, the migrants not only tend to have the same destination but also tend to have the same occupation. For example, research reveals that in certain hotels in Jaipur almost all the workers belong to one particular sub-region of Kumaon. The agricultural labourers in Punjab and Haryana are mainly from Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

#### Check Your Progress 1

- i) What is the sociological significance of migration? Use six lines to answer.

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ii) What are the important variables taken into consideration in defining migration? Use four lines to answer.

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iii) Classify the following types of migration:

- a) From Kerala to the Gulf-countries.
- b) From Kerala to Delhi.
- c) From Bihar to the West Indies.
- d) Arrival of people from Bangladesh to India
- e) Arrival of people to Rajasthan from Karnataka.

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### 5.3 REASONS FOR MIGRATION

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It is important to know why some migrate while others do not. The important factors, therefore, which cause migration or which motivate people to move may broadly be classified into four categories: economic factors, demographic factors, socio-cultural factors, and political factors.

#### 5.3.1 Economic Factors

The major reason of voluntary migration is economic. In most of the developing countries, low agricultural income, agricultural unemployment and underemployment are the major factors pushing the migrants towards areas with greater job opportunities. Even the pressure of population resulting in a high man-land ratio has been widely recognised as one of the important causes of poverty and rural outmigration. Thus, almost all studies indicate that most of the migrants have moved in search of better economic opportunities. This is true of both internal as well as international migration.

The most important economic factors that motivate migration may be termed as ‘Push Factors’ and ‘Pull Factors’. In other words it is to see whether people migrate because of the compelling circumstances at the place of origin which pushed them out, or whether they are lured by the attractive conditions in the new place. Now we shall discuss these factors.

**i) Push Factors**

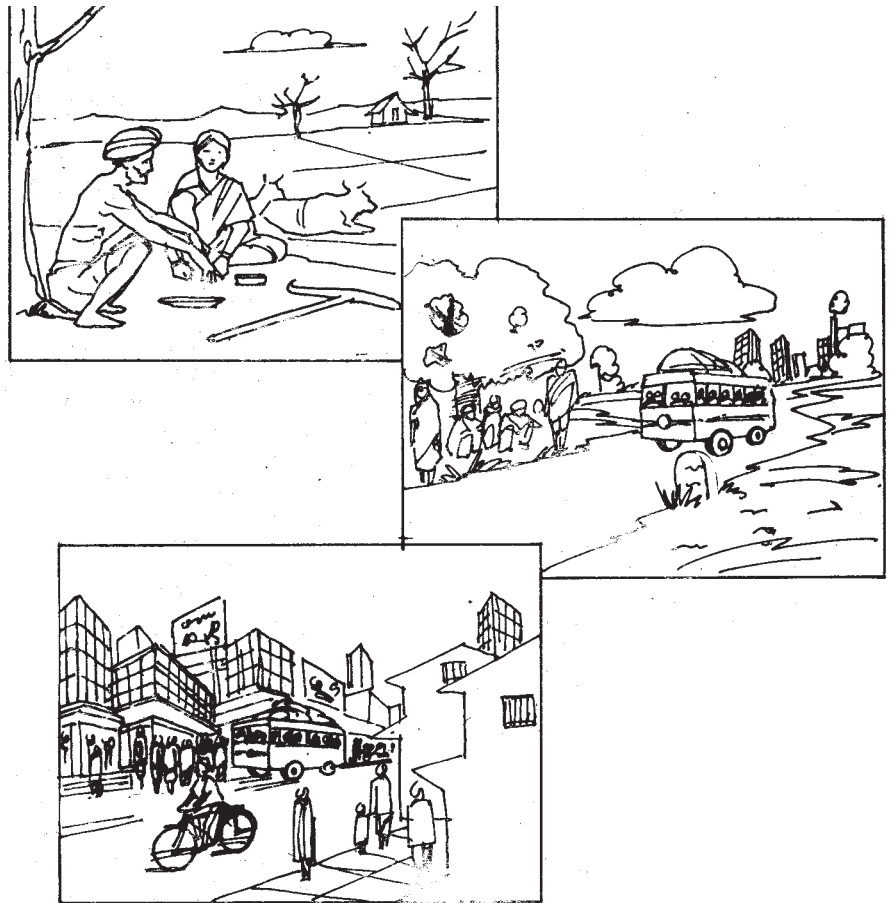
The push factors are those that compel or force a person, due to various reasons, to leave that place and go to some other place. For example, adverse economic conditions caused by poverty, low productivity, unemployment, exhaustion of natural resources and natural calamities may compel people to leave their native place in search of better economic opportunities. An ILO study reveals that the main push factor causing the worker to leave agriculture is the lower levels of income, as income in agriculture is generally lower than the other sectors of the economy. According to the estimates of the Planning Commission over one-third of the rural population is below the poverty line. Due to rapid increase in population, the per capita availability of cultivable land has declined, and the numbers of the unemployed and the underemployed in the rural areas have significantly increased with the result that the rural people are being pushed to the urban areas. The non-availability of alternative sources of income in the rural area is also another factor for migration. In addition to this, the existence of the joint family system and laws of inheritance, which do not permit the division of property, may also cause many young men to migrate to cities in search of jobs. Even sub division of holdings leads to migration, as the holdings become too small to support a family.

**ii) Pull Factors**

Pull factors refer to those factors which attract the migrants to an area, such as, opportunities for better employment, higher wages, better working conditions and better amenities of life, etc. There is generally cityward migration, when rapid expansion of industry, commerce and business takes place. In recent years, the high rate of movement of people from India as well as from other developing countries to the USA, Canada and now to the Middle-East is due to the better employment opportunities, higher wages and better amenities of life, variety of occupations to choose from and the possibility of attaining higher standard of living. Sometimes the migrants are also attracted to cities in search of better cultural and entertainment activities or bright city lights. However, pull factors operate not only in the rural-urban migration, but also in other types of internal as well as international migration.

Sometimes a question is asked which factors are more important, push or pull? Some argue that the push factor is stronger than the pull factor as they feel that it is the rural problems rather than the urban attractions that play a crucial role in the shift of the population. On the other hand, those who consider the pull factors as more important emphasise high rates of investment in urban areas leading to more employment and business opportunities and greater attraction for the city way of life.

This classification of motives for migration into push and pull factors is very useful in analysing determinants of migration, but all migratory movements cannot be explained by these factors alone. Moreover, sometimes migration may occur not by push or pull factors alone but as a result of the combined effect of both.



iv) **Push Back Factors**

In India, and in some other developing countries also, another important factor which plays crucial role in migration is ‘push back factor’. In India, according to Asish Bose, the urban labour force is sizeable, and the urban unemployment rates are high, and there also exist pools of underemployed persons. All these factors acts in combination as deterrents to the fresh flow of migration from the rural to urban areas. He calls this as a ‘push back factor’. He further adds that if new employment opportunities are created in the urban areas, the first persons to offer themselves for employment are the marginally employed already residing in those areas, unless of course special skills are required.

**5.3.2 Socio-Cultural and Political Factors**

Besides these push and pull factors, social and cultural factors also play an important role in migration. Sometimes family conflicts also cause migration. Improved communication facilities, such as, transportation, impact of the radio and the television, the cinema, the urban-oriented education and resultant change in attitudes and values also promote migration.

Sometimes even political factors encourage or discourage migration. For instance, in our country, the adoption of the jobs for ‘sons of the soil policy’ by the State governments will certainly affect the migration from other states. The rise of Shiv Sena in Bombay, with its hatred for the migrants and the occasional eruption of violence in the name of local parochial patriotism, is a significant phenomena. Even in Calcutta, the Bengali-Marwari conflict will have far-reaching implications. And now Assam and Tamil Nadu are other such examples. Thus the political attitudes and outlook of the people also influence migration

to a great extent. There have also been migrations from Kashmir and Punjab because of the terrorist activities.

### Box 1. Reasons of Migration

#### An Analysis of Census Data

In the Indian Census, data on reasons for migration were collected for the first time in the 1981 Census. These reasons are given in the following table.

**Table 1 : Per cent distribution of life-time migrants of each sex by reasons for migration, India 1981**

Sex	Reasons for migration	Total	Rural to Rural	Rural to Urban	Rural to Urban	Rural to Urban
Male	Employment	30.79	19.49	47.49	41.12	27.00
	Education	5.15	4.18	8.07	6.20	3.17
	Associational	30.57	33.74	23.54	31.52	31.89
	Marriage	3.05	5.46	1.17	0.99	2.23
	Others	30.44	37.12	19.73	21.18	35.73
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Female	Employment	1.92	1.13	4.20	4.46	3.34
	Education	0.88	0.43	2.58	2.21	1.00
	Associational	14.72	8.64	29.27	35.89	21.23
	Marriage	72.34	81.73	51.53	43.56	59.33
	Others	10.14	8.07	12.42	13.88	15.10
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

It is clear from the data that among the male migrants from rural to urban and urban to urban, employment was the most important reason. Education accounted only for about 3 to 8 per cent of migration according to these migration streams. Among women, as expected, marriage was the most important reason for migration, followed by associational migration. Employment and education accounted for a very small proportion of the females.

Besides economic factors, sometimes lack of educational opportunities, medical facilities and many other facilities including the desire to break away from the traditional constraints of rural social structure may push people out of the rural areas. However, all migration caused by push factors are not confined to the rural areas only as there are also migration flows between rural areas and urban areas, indicating movement of people out of comparatively poor areas to areas with relatively better opportunities.

#### Activity 1

Find out if any of the members in two neighbouring families were born outside your city, when they come, and what reasons they had in mind for coming there? Then try to illustrate the types of migration and causes of migration from these cases. Compare your note if possible with other students of the study centre.

#### Check Your Progress 2

Tick mark the correct answer :

- i) One of the important reasons for the out migration of the rural people is:
  - a) growing pressure of population,
  - b) rural poverty

- c) rural unemployment
  - d) all of the above.
- ii) Factors which attract the migrants for migration are known as:
- a) Push factors,
  - b) Pull factors,
  - c) Push back factors,
  - d) All of the above.
- iii) Which one of the following is not a type of migration:
- a) Rural to Rural.
  - b) Rural to Urban
  - c) Urban to urban
  - d) None of the above.

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## 5.4 CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

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The consequences of migration are diverse. However, some of the important consequences discussed in this unit are economic, demographic, social and psychological. These consequences are both positive as well as negative. Some of these affect the place of departure while others influence the place of destination.

### 5.4.1 Economic

Migration from a region characterised by labour surplus helps to increase the average productivity of labour in that region, as this encourages labour-saving devices and/or greater work participation by the remaining family workers. On the other hand, there is a view that migration negatively affects the emigrating region and favours the immigrating region, and that migration would widen the development disparity between the regions, because of the drain of the resourceful persons from the relatively underdeveloped region to the more developed region. But the exodus of the more enterprising members of a community cannot be considered a loss, if there is lack of alternative opportunities in the rural areas. As long as migration draws upon the surplus labour, it would help the emigrating region. It will have adverse effects only if human resources are drained away at the cost of the development of the region. Another important point is that when migration draws away the unemployed or underemployed, it would enable the remaining population of the region to improve their living conditions as this would enable the remaining population to increase the per capita consumption, since the total number of mouths to be fed into is reduced as a result of emigration.

However, the labour-sending regions may gain economically by the money brought in by the emigrants. In India, the influx of the rural migrants to cities and towns has resulted in a steady outflow of cash from the urban to rural areas. Most migrants are single males, who after securing urban employment generally send a portion of their income to their village homes to supplement the meagre incomes of their families. At the same time, it also affects the savings of the family as sometimes the migrants take money (family savings) with them, which is necessary for their travel and stay in a new place. In recent

times, a sudden increase in migration to the Middle East has resulted in steep rise in the remittances of foreign money in our country. In 1979, it was found that the annual remittances to the tiny state of Kerala were estimated to Rs.4000 million.

The rising inflow of money from the Gulf countries has resulted in the building of houses and buying of agricultural land, and even investments in business and industry. This has also resulted in the rise in the levels of consumption in the family. Money is also being spent on children’s education. On the other hand, the outflow of men has caused labour shortages and has pushed wages upwards.

### 5.4.2 Demographic

Migration has a direct impact on age, sex and occupational composition of the sending and receiving regions. Migration of the unmarried males of young working age results in imbalances in sex ratio. The absence of many young men from the villages increases the proportion of other groups, such as, women, children and old people. This tends to reduce the birth rate in the rural areas. Further the separation of the rural male migrants from their wives for long durations also tends to reduce the birth rate.

### 5.4.3 Social and Psychological

Urban life usually brings about certain social changes in the migrants. Those migrants who return occasionally or remain in direct or indirect contact with the households of their origin are also likely to transmit some new ideas back to the areas of origin. Several studies attribute technological change to the dynamism of the return migrants, who bring money as well as knowledge and experience of different production techniques, and this may lead to mechanisation and commercialisation of agricultural activity. A number of ex-servicemen, on retirement go back to their native areas and promote such practices in the villages. Contact with the urban and different cultures also brings attitudinal change in the migrants, and helps them to develop more modern orientation, including even the consumerist culture in their own areas.

On the other hand, migration which results in the absence of the adult males for long periods of time may cause dislocation of the family, and, under such circumstances, women and children often have to take over more and different types of work and other more important roles in household decision-making. Studies have revealed very disturbing effects of the male migration from Kerala. Neurosis, hysteria and depression are said to be on the increase among the emigrant workers’ wives in Kerala. The gulf boom has also taken a toll of mental health of the families.

#### Check Your Progress 3

- i) How is the labour-sending region benefited by the process of migration?  
Answer in about seven lines.

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ii) Write in about seven lines the socio-psychological consequences of migration.

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iii) Tick mark the correct answer.

Large exodus of refugees may\_\_\_\_\_.

- a) create no problem for the countries of destination,
- b) create only economic problems for the countries of destination,
- c) create only health and ecological problems for the countries of destination,
- d) create social, economic and political problems depending on the dimensions of the exodus of refugees.

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## 5.5 PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS

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Sometimes forced movements of people take place due to political and religious disturbances or wars. Such movements shift people to the neighbouring countries as refugees. The United Nations defines “a refugee as every person, who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” (U.N. 1984)

Thus many international movements of population involving very large numbers have occurred due to compelling reasons of political, religious or racial character. Perhaps the largest movement of people in this century has occurred in the Indian sub-continent. The partition of the country in 1947 into the Indian Union and Pakistan led to large exodus of the refugees into each nation from the other. Estimates indicate that not less than 7 million persons went to Pakistan from India and more than 8 million people came to India from Pakistan. Indo-Pakistan war in 1971 also caused a large number of people from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) to move into the north-eastern states of India as refugees, and this became a permanent problem for the region, as much as “Bihari” Muslims continue to be problematic for Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Some of the largest forced international migrations in history have occurred in



recent times in Asia. For example, in the 12 years following 1975 more than 1.7 million refugees have left Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, in 1979, produced a flow of refugees which has led to some 2.7 million being temporarily settled in Pakistan and 1.5 million in Iran. Most of these refugees are still in the camps in the neighbouring countries. Recently, due to political disturbances in Sri Lanka, large numbers of Tamilians have entered India, and are staying in Tamil Nadu.

It is found that on humanitarian grounds the refugees are often given shelter by the governments of various countries. However, the sudden influx of the refugees creates enormous pressure on the native society. It leads to short supply of essential commodities, ecological imbalances and health hazards in the countries of asylum. The large magnitude and the various economic, political and social dimensions of the exodus of the refugees create many problems, particularly for the countries of destination. Sometimes they cause political complications in the receiving countries. They organise themselves by forming groups, and pressurise the governments for some concessions. For example the United Kingdom, Canada and Sri Lanka are facing political and racial crises due to migration. Sometimes this causes clashes between the natives and migrants. Sri Lanka is a recent example of this.

But, in some instances, the refugees do make a positive contribution to the development of the host country, when settled in sparsely populated areas, by clearing and cultivating land.

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## 5.6 MIGRATION POLICY

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In India, little attention has been paid at the policy level to control the pattern of either international or internal migration. At the international level, the country does not have even up to date statistics of the immigrants and the emigrants although most of the international migration is controlled by passports and visa permits, etc. Questions have been raised about the brain drain from India in various forums, but nothing has been done to stop it as there are considerable numbers of educated unemployment in the country. It is only recently that the ministry of labour established a cell to protect the interests of the Indian emigrants, who are working as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers in other countries, especially in the Middle East.

At the national level, the government has not shown any concern for the problems relating to internal migration, and has, therefore, not formulated any policy. Although rural to rural migration, as indicated earlier, constituted the dominant migration stream among both the males and the females, very little is known about the factors that govern this migration except through the 1981 Census. Since major part of rural to rural migration is associational or for unspecified reasons, it is necessary to understand it more clearly.

There has been significant seasonal migration of agricultural labourers in different parts of the country, especially those parts which are experiencing the green revolution. Not much information is available about the volume of this stream of the migrants or their duration of stay.

As rural to urban migration is next only to rural to rural migration, and is quite sizeable, it is influenced by the urbanisation policies and programmes. In the Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans, the need for a balanced spatial distribution

of economic activities was emphasised, and stress was laid on the need to prevent the unrestricted growth of big cities.

Recognising the problems associated with the rapid growth of big cities (million plus), the government is now trying to adopt policies which would help in controlling migration to big cities and metropolises. During the 1980s, emphasis was on the provision of adequate infrastructural and other facilities in the small, medium and intermediate towns so that they could serve as growth and service centers for the rural region. The Planning Commission emphasised the needs for positive inducements to establish new industries and other commercial and professional establishments in small and medium towns. In the next unit (Unit 6) of this block, we shall take note of these problems in a detailed manner.

Thus, in the absence of any specific migration policy, it is difficult to predict the major directions of future migration flows. However, considering government's emphasis on developing small, medium and intermediate cities, it is expected that intermediate cities and medium towns will attract more migrants in the future. Although industrial cities, with expanding industries, will continue to attract new migrants, the young educated males and females may have a greater tendency to seek white collar employment in small towns and cities.

#### Check Your Progress 4

Tick mark the correct answer.

- i) In recent years, the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, has established a cell to protect the interest of the Indian emigrants who are working \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a) only as skilled workers in other countries,
  - b) only as unskilled workers in other countries,
  - c) only as semi-skilled workers in other countries,
  - d) All of the above are correct.
  
- ii) Considering the government's emphasis on developing small, medium and intermediate cities, it is expected that
  - a) intermediate cities will attract more migrants in future and big cities will reduce their importance.
  - b) Although big cities will continue to attract the migrants, the young educated migrants may have greater tendency to seek white collar employment in small towns and cities.
  - c) Rural to urban migration will stop in future.
  - d) All are correct.

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### 5.7 LET US SUM UP

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In this unit, we have explained that migration, which refers to the movements of people from one place to another, is an important demographic process, which affects the spatial distribution of the population in a country. Then we have highlighted the factors which motivate people to move from one area to another. Related to this are the types of moves which people make in terms of

direction and duration of move, and whether the move are voluntary or involuntary. Then we came to the consequences of migration. In other words, what happens to the place from where the migrants move and to the place where they arrive. We have discussed the problems created by the refugees and displaced persons. Lastly, we have highlighted the Migration Policy.

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## 5.8 KEY WORDS

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<b>Fertility</b>	: Biological potentiality of reproduction.
<b>Migration</b>	: A process of movement of the population from one place to another for a considerable period of time.
<b>Mortality</b>	: It is the proportion of death to the total population of the country in a particular period of time.

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## 5.9 FURTHER READINGS

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Sinha and Ataullah, 1987. *Migration: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Seema Publishers, Delhi.

Premi, M.K. 1980. *Urban Out-Migration : A Study of its Nature, Causes and Consequences*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

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## 5.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- i) Migration is a response of the human beings to the economic, social and political and demographic forces operating in the environment. It determines the size and rate of population growth of the labour force in that area. It is an important symptom of social change.
- ii) Scholars emphasise time and space as the important variables, and define migration as a movement from one place to another permanently or semi-permanently.
- iii)
  - a) Emigration
  - b) Out-migration
  - c) Emigration
  - d) Immigration
  - e) Inmigration

### Check Your Progress 2

- i) d)
- ii) b)
- iii) d)

### Check Your Progress 3

- i) It helps increase the average productivity of the labour in that region, since migration encourages the labour-saving devices and greater work participation by the remaining labourers. This region also gains

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economically by the money brought in by the emigrants. It results in the level of rise in the levels of consumption, education, technology of production as well.

- ii) Many times migration results in the absence of the adult males for long periods of time. This causes dislocation of the family. Under these circumstances, women and children often have to undertake more responsibility. They may have to work harder than before. Studies show that neurosis, hysteria and depression have increased among the migrant workers' wives in Kerala.

iii) d)

**Check Your Progress 4**

i) d)

ii) b)

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## UNIT 6 URBANISATION

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### Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Demographic and Social Dimensions
  - 6.2.1 Demographic Dimensions
  - 6.2.2 Social Dimensions
- 6.3 Problems of Urban Areas
  - 6.3.1 Over-urbanisation
  - 6.3.2 Inadequate Housing
  - 6.3.3 Unsafe and Insufficient Water Supply
  - 6.3.4 Inefficient and Inadequate Transport
  - 6.3.5 Pollution
  - 6.3.6 Environmental Decay
- 6.4 Problems of Slums
  - 6.4.1 Slum Population
  - 6.4.2 Emergence of Slums
- 6.5 Social Consequences of Urbanisation
  - 6.5.1 Crime
  - 6.5.2 Isolation
  - 6.5.3 Maladjustment
  - 6.5.4 Efforts to Curb Undesirable Consequences
- 6.6 State Policy on Urban Problems
  - 6.6.1 Social Legislation Relating to Urban Land and Housing
  - 6.6.2 Programmes of Slum Clearance and Construction of New Houses
  - 6.6.3 The Five Year Plans
- 6.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 6.8 Key Words
- 6.9 Further Readings
- 6.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

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### 6.0 OBJECTIVES

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The objectives of this unit are to explain the meaning of urbanisation and point out some of the major problems which have assumed a massive proportion due to unprecedented rate of urban growth in India. To be more specific, after reading this unit, you should be able to :

- explain the meaning and social dimensions of urbanisation,
- describe “over-urbanisation” and its problems with special reference to the question whether India is really over-urbanised,
- discuss the problems of housing, water supply, transport and environment pollution in urban India,
- examine problem of slums in Indian cities,

- analyse the major social consequences of urbanisation in relation to the life and activities of urban dwellers, and
- discuss the state policy on urban housing, water supply, sanitation, etc.

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## 6.1 INTRODUCTION

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In the earlier two units of this block we discussed the social demography and migration in the context of social problems in India. In this unit we shall deal with the important facets of the social problems of the urban areas.

This unit begins with a discussion on the various dimensions of urbanisation, viz., demographic and social. The demographic aspects cover the growth of urban population and cities and metropolitan towns and their recent trends. In the social aspects, we discuss urbanism as a way of life, the primary and secondary urbanisation and the changing social and economic institutions. The social problems of urban areas are discussed in great length in this unit with special reference to the problems of over-urbanisation, housing, water supply, transport, pollution and environmental decay. Problems of slums are also dealt with in this unit. There are various negative social consequences of urbanisation, viz., crime, isolation, maladjustment, etc. These undesirable consequences and measures undertaken to curb these consequences are discussed in this unit. Lastly, we discuss the state policy on urban housing, water supply and sanitation. In this section, we discuss social legislation relating to urban land and housing programmes of slum clearance and urban development in the Five Year Plans.

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## 6.2 URBANISATION : DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

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In Unit No.4, Block 1, of ESO-02, we introduced you to the patterns of urbanisation in India. In this unit we shall discuss the social problems associated with the process of urbanisation in contemporary India. Before discussing these problems, let us have an overview of the demographic and social dimensions of urbanisation in India.

### 6.2.1 Demographic Dimensions

In simple words, the process of urbanisation denotes population growth of the cities and towns. Sociologically, it also denotes the spread of urban way of life to the country-side. Thus, the process of urbanisation has demographic as well as social dimensions. In present times, with the spread of industrialisation, the process of urbanisation has received unprecedented momentum all over the world and more specifically in the third world countries. It is predicated, on the basis of the current rates of urbanisation, that within a few decades the urban population of the third world countries will grow twice that of the present industrialised societies.

#### i) Growth of Urban Population and Metropolitan Cities

Though India is known as a country of villages the size of her urban population is second largest in the world with 307 million (30.7 crores) of population living in the urban areas. According to 2001 census 30.5% of Indian population

live in the urban areas. Over the years there have been a steady increase in the urban population in India from 17.29% in 1951 to 30.05% in 2001. However, there have been variations in the decennial growth rate of urban population caused by various socio-economic and political factors. The broad picture of urbanisation in India is given in table 1 below:

**Table 1**  
**Total Population and Urban Population in India**

Year	Towns (No.)	Cities (UAs with million+ population)	Urban population (million)	Urban population (%of total)	Decennial growth rate of urban population (%)	UA population (million)	Decennial growth rate(%)
1901	1827	-	228.9	10.84	-	-	-
1911	1815	1	252.1	10.29	0.17	-	-
1921	1949	2	251.3	11.18	8.30	-	-
1931	2072	2	279.0	11.99	19.07	-	-
1941	2250	2	318.7	13.86	32.04	-	-
1951	2843	5	361.1	17.29	41.34	28.10	
1961	2365	7	437.2	17.97	25.84	40.07	42.61
1971	2590	9	548.2	19.91	38.93	62.21	55.27
1981	3378	12	683.3	23.34	46.12	95.69	53.81
1991	3768	23	844.3	25.72	36.16	141.15	47.51
2001	NA	40	1027.0	30.5	44.25	213.00	50.90

Source : *Census of India* (2001)

In ESO-2, Block 1, you have studied in details the patterns of urbanisation in India. However, for further clarification you would be interested to know that: (a) more than two-third of the urban population live in Urban- Agglomerations (UA), i.e., cities having a population greater than one million (see table 2); (b) the patterns of urbanisation have been very uneven in India (see table 3); (c) though there are several positive sides of urbanisation, the process has been accompanied by several urban problems.

**Table 2**

<b>Distribution of Urban Population, 2001</b>			
India/State/Union Territory	Total	Urban	% of Urban
Delhi	13	12	92.31
Chandigarh	0.9	0.8	88.89
Pondicherry	0.97	0.6	61.86
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.23	0.12	52.17
Goa	1.3	0.67	51.54
Mizoram	0.8	0.4	50.00
Tamil Nadu	62.1	27.2	43.80
Lakshadweep	0.06	0.026	43.33
Maharashtra	96	41	42.71
Daman & Diu	0.15	0.057	38.00
Gujarat	50.5	18.9	37.43
Punjab	24	8.2	34.17
Karnataka	52.7	17.9	33.97
Haryana	21	6	28.57

Structure in Transition – I

West Bengal	80	22.5	28.13
Manipur	2	0.56	28.00
Andhra Pradesh	75	20.5	27.33
Madhya Pradesh	60.4	16.1	26.66
Kerala	31.8	8.3	26.10
Jammu & Kashmir	10	2.5	25.00
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.2	0.05	25.00
Uttaranchal	8.5	2.1	24.71
Rajasthan	56	13	23.21
Arunachal Pradesh	0.87	0.2	22.99
Jharkand	26.9	6	22.30
Uttar Pradesh	166	34.4	20.72
Chhatisgarh	20.8	4.2	20.19
Meghalaya	2	0.4	20.00
Tripura	3.2	0.5	15.63
Orissa	36.7	5.5	14.99
Assam	26.6	3.4	1278.00
Sikkim	0.5	0.06	12.00
Himachal Pradesh	5.4	0.6	11.11
Bihar	82	8.7	10.61
Nagaland	1.9	0.2	10.53
<b>India</b>	<b>1027</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>27.75</b>

Source : *Census of India*, Government of India Press, New Delhi.

**Table 3**

Name	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	Decennial growth rate in 50s(%)	Decennial growth rate in 60(%)	Decennial growth rate in 70s(%)	Decennial growth rate in 80s(%)	Decennial growth rate in 90s(%)
Kolkata	4.67	5.98	7.42	9.19	10.86	13.2	28.1	24.1	23.9	18.2	21.5
Greater Mumbai	2.97	4.15	5.97	8.23	12.56	16.4	39.7	43.9	37.9	52.6	30.6
Delhi	1.43	2.36	3.65	5.71	8.37	12.8	65.0	54.7	56.4	46.6	52.9
Chennai	1.54	1.95	3.17	4.28	5.36	6.4	26.6	62.6	35.0	25.2	19.4
Hyderabad	1.13	1.25	1.8	2.53	4.27	5.5	10.6	44.0	40.6	68.8	28.8
Bangalore		1.2	1.65	2.91	4.11	5.7		37.5	76.4	41.2	38.7
Ahmedabad		1.21	1.74	2.51	3.27	4.5		43.8	44.3	30.3	37.6
Pune			1.14	1.68	2.44	3.8			47.4	45.2	55.7
Kanpur			1.28	1.69	2.1	2.7			32.0	24.3	28.6
Lucknow				1.01	1.66	2.3				64.4	38.6
Nagpur				1.3	1.65	2.1				26.9	27.3
Jaipur M. Corp.				1.00	1.51	2.3				51.0	52.3
Surat					1.51	2.8					85.4
Coimbatore					1.51	2.8					85.4
Cochin					1.13	1.4					23.9
Vadodara					1.11	1.5					35.1
Indore					1.1	1.6					45.5
Madurai					1.09	1.2					10.1
Bhopal					1.06	1.5					41.5
Vishakhapatnam					1.04	1.3					25.0
Varanasi					1.01	1.2					18.8
Ludhiana M. Corp.					1.01	1.4					38.6
Patna					1.09	1.7					56.0
Agra					1.01	1.3					28.7
Meerut					1	1.2					20.0

Note : Data refers to the entire urban agglomeration around each city except for Jaipur, Ludhiana, Agra and Meerut.

Source : *Census of India, 2001*, Government of India Press, New Delhi.



Visakhapatnam has shown the highest rate of growth, i.e., 73.9 per cent followed by Hyderabad (67.9 per cent), Ludhiana (66.7 per cent), Surat (66.0 per cent), Lucknow (65.7 per cent) and Bhopal (55.8 per cent) during 1981-91.

### iii) Recent Trends

In brief, the demographic trends reveal that although the proportion of urban population in India is relatively less, yet in terms of absolute numbers, India's urban population is more than the total population of several developed countries. It is projected that at the beginning of the twenty-first century as many as 32 crores of people will be living in urban centres in India.

The rapid growth of urban population in the third world countries has led to the availability of public utilities becoming scarce. In India, such a situation in big cities has made it very difficult for the local administration to cope with the increasing population and arrive at any enduring solution. In social science, this has led to formulation of the controversial notion of *over-urbanisation*. In order to ameliorate the fast deteriorating conditions of urban living systematic urban policy and effective measures, urban renewal have become inevitable in India and all other third world countries.

## 6.2.2 Social Dimensions

The process of urbanisation has to be explained both in demographic and social contexts. In demographic sense, the term "urbanisation" is largely used to explain the process of urban growth. In this sense, it refers to the proportion of a total population living in cities and towns at a given point of time. In sociology, the term urbanisation is also used to denote a distinct way of life, which emerges in cities due to their large, dense and heterogeneous population. Such a life is distinct from the life and activities of the people living in villages. In this section, we shall discuss the social aspects of urbanisation. Let us begin with the formulation of Louis Wirth.

### i) Urbanism as a Way of Life

Louis Wirth's formulation of 'urbanism as a way of life' explains that the city, characterised by a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals, gives rise to various kinds of social relationships and patterns of behaviour among the city-dwellers. Further, Louis Wirth also argues that the city effects are wider than city itself. Thus, the city draws the surrounding villages and even remote communities into its orbit. In other words, urbanism as a way of life is not peculiar to city-dwellers alone as the influences of the city (i.e., impact of urbanisation) stretch far behind its administrative boundaries. In brief, urbanisation in its demographic sense refers to the trends of growth of the urban population. In societal context and in its sociological sense it also denotes a distinct way of life typically associated with living in the city and the process of transforming rural ways of life into urban ones.

### ii) Primary and Secondary Urbanisation

Robert Redfield and Milton Singer elaborate the role of cities in the light of the impact of urban growth and urbanisation on a culture. They describe the city as a centre of cultural innovation, diffusion and progress. They have classified the process of urbanisation into two categories:

- a) Primary urbanisation, and
- b) Secondary urbanisation.

According to them, “the trend of primary urbanisation is to coordinate political, economic, educational, intellectual and aesthetic activities to the norms provided by Great Tradition. The process of secondary urbanisation works in the industrial phase of the city, and is characterised by heterogenetic development. Thus, the effects of secondary urbanisation are those of disintegration. They opine that: “the general consequence of secondary urbanisation is the weakening of suppression of the local and traditional cultures by states of mind that are incongruent with those local cultures.” The first type carries forward the regional tradition, and the city becomes its epi-centre, the second type bring external elements to the city.

**iii) Changing Social and Economic Institutions**

Urbanisation has its bearing on social relationships in community living. The relationships of community-living tend to become impersonal, formal, goal-oriented, contractual and transitory. With urbanisation, transformation of economic activities from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector takes place, and the proportion of population engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors of activities increases with division of labour and specialisation of work. Further, the process of urbanisation also leads to breakdown in the functioning of traditional institutions and patterns of behaviour and of social control. It leads to a situation of continuity and change in the sense that the traditional forms often continue to persist, but their functions undergo major re-adaptations in the face of urbanisation. As pointed out by Yogendra Singh, “many new roles, often rational and modern in orientation, are added on to the traditional institutional forms.” In India, the traditional institutions like caste, joint family and neighbourhood, etc., offer ample evidence of such continuity and change in cities.

Urban growth coupled with industrial development induces rural-urban migration whereby the cities of bigger size, offering opportunities of improving life, tend to overflow with the rural migrants. On the one hand, such migration accelerates the pace of urbanisation and, on the other, it creates excessive population pressure on the existing public utilities with the result that cities suffer from the problems of slums, crime, unemployment, urban poverty, pollution, congestion, ill-health and several deviant social activities. In this context, it is essential to know the various facets of over-urbanisation and urban problems in India.

**Check Your Progress 1**

- i) According to the 2001 Census, what percentage of the total population live in the urban areas?
  - a) 17%
  - b) 27%
  - c) 30.5%
  - d) 47%

- ii) Who among the following sociologists formulated the concept of 'urbanism as a way of life'?
- a) Emile Durkheim
  - b) Karl Marx
  - c) Max Weber
  - d) Louis Wirth
- iii) In the process of urbanisation, the relationships of community living tend to become .....
- a) personalised
  - b) informalised
  - c) goal-oriented
  - d) casual

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## 6.3 PROBLEMS OF URBAN AREAS

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Many scholars have tried to explain the social problems of urban India in terms of over-urbanisation. It would be interesting to know the meaning and dimensions of urbanisation and their applicability in the Indian context.

### 6.3.1 Over-urbanisation

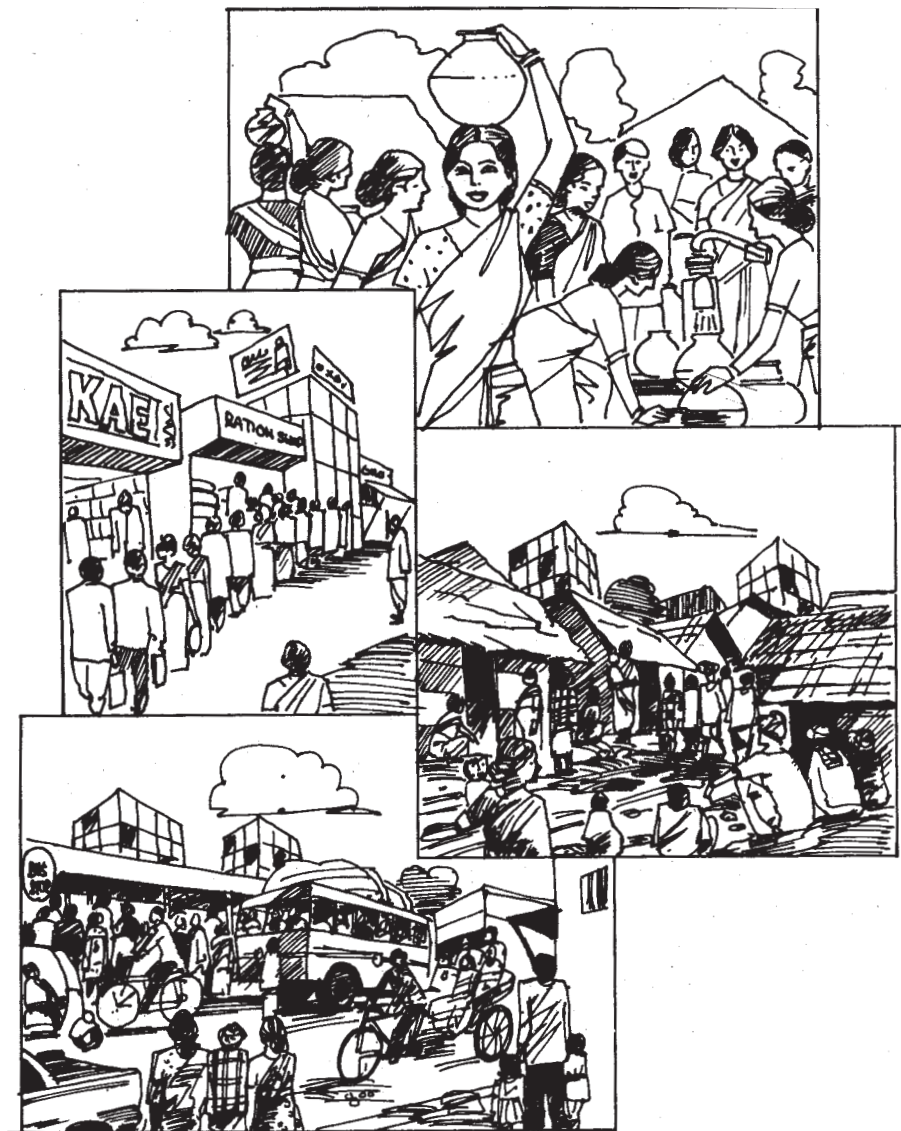
Over-urbanisation in one sense implies excessive urbanisation in relation to employment growth. It also means that the urban population has grown to such a large size that the cities fail to ensure a decent way of life to the urban-dwellers on account of excessive population pressure on civic amenities, housing, etc. In the Indian context, the idea of over-urbanisation has been advanced on the grounds that (a) there is an imbalance between the levels of industrialisation and urbanisation in India, (b) the process of urbanisation takes away a lion's share of resources and, thus, impinges upon the rate of economic growth of society, (c) the availability of civic amenities and facilities is so poor that these have now reached a point of break-down and become almost incapable of bearing further growing urban pressures.

Contrary to the idea of over-urbanisation, several scholars have stressed that India does not suffer from the problem of over-urbanisation. In order to support this argument, it has been pointed out that the trends of industrial-urban growth in India conform to similar trends in as many as 80 per cent of the developing societies. Secondly, it has also been argued that with the rise of urbanisation in India diversification of economy providing for new opportunities of employment have also considerably increased. This has also led to a rise in the levels of the income of the urban-dwellers.

The analysis offered by the Institute of Urban Affairs does not support the idea that rapid urbanisation in India is causing a distortion in the allocation of resources between urban and rural areas, and thereby negatively affecting the pace of economic development. In other words, the urban problems in India are not a result of over-urbanisation but are largely due to lack of effective urban policy governing the patterns of urbanisation. Let us now turn to some of the major problems of urbanisation in India.

### 6.3.2 Inadequate Housing

The rapid growth of population in cities has given rise to numerous social problems among which the problem of housing is the most distressing. In fact, a vast majority of urban population live under conditions of poor shelter and in highly congested spaces. It is estimated that nearly 70 per cent of population in big cities live in sub-standard houses, which they call their homes. Special mention may be made here of the old houses, which are deteriorating in the sense that they are unserved, overcrowded and dilapidated. Usually, such decaying houses are found in the middle of most of the cities. Similarly, there are hundreds of such people who are living in cities as pavement-dwellers, without any kind of shelter at all.



#### Problems of Urbanisation

The available statistics show that in India more than half of the urban households occupy a single room, with an average occupancy per room of 4.4 persons. In Greater Bombay, as many as 77 per cent of the households with an average of 5.3 persons live in one room, and many others are forced to sleep on the pavements at night. The conditions of other big cities and others are forced to sleep on the pavements at night. The conditions of other big cities and

industrially growing towns are believed to be equally disturbing. It is estimated that more than 3 lakh persons in Delhi are without a shelter of their own.

In order to solve the problem of urban housing, systematic efforts are being made through various programmes of urban development. Among these efforts, special mention may be made of the schemes of subsidised housing for economically weaker sections and the schemes of slum-clearance and improvement. These schemes are relevant and beneficial to the urban poor.

### **6.3.3 Unsafe and Insufficient Water Supply**

Availability of water for domestic use constitutes one of the basic civic amenities. Unfortunately, in the cities of the third world countries including India there are only a few urban dwellers, who enjoy this amenity on a regular and satisfactory basis. Nearly 30 per cent of the urban population in India is deprived of safe drinking water facility. Largely, the municipal pipes and handpumps are the major sources of procuring water in towns and cities. But in most of the cities, specially the rapidly growing ones, the slum-dwellers have to suffer acute problems in procuring water for domestic use. Several systematic studies have brought out the plight of the slum-dwellers in this regard. Not only have they to wait for long hours at the water-tap but many a times fights and unpleasant disputes for the sake of drinking water arise owing to the heavy rush of the slum-dwellers to procure water before it stops running through the water tap every day. In some cases, it was found that more than a hundred families depended exclusively on one water tap. The problem of regular water supply in smaller cities and towns too is assuming an acute form with rapid and unmanageable stream of urbanisation.

### **6.3.4 Inefficient and Inadequate Transport**

The lack of efficient transport facility is yet another major problem which has become, almost in all big cities, a headache for the local authorities. In fact, an efficient and well-knit network of transport facilities is essentially required for the movements of the city-dwellers between their residence and place of work and to the central business area. It also facilitates the movements of the daily commuters, who depend upon the city for their earning without living there permanently. The narrow roads and streets, their poor conditions, on the one hand, and, on the other, numerous vehicles, public-buses, rickshaws, two-wheelers, cars, bullock-carts, trucks and bicycles, all plying together create a unique scene of traffic congestion and traffic jams practically in every part of the city, more so in the central business area and other important zones of the city. The problem of transport in the wake of rapid urbanisation has become so serious that any effort to check it hardly yields a permanent solution. In the old and pre-industrial areas of the city, narrow roads and still narrower residential streets hardly offer any scope for efficient transport facilities. Moreover, whatever little transport network is seen in the cities, that too has become a major source of environmental pollution due to traffic jams and poor conditions of vehicles.

### **6.3.5 Pollution**

The recent trends of industrial urban growth in India and several third world countries have created a very serious problem of pollution threatening the health and happiness of human beings. The problem of pollution is so different from many other problems that common people hardly comprehend its seriousness although everyone slowly and continuously becomes the victim of ill-effects.

Margaret Mead observed that pollution is one of the greatest problems by modern industrial urban civilisation.

The problem of pollution is becoming increasingly acute with the rise of urbanisation on account of the following reasons:

- a) Indiscriminate growth of industrial and chemical plants in spite of the efforts through legal measures to check such growth.
- b) Pre-industrial structure of cities with narrow streets and roads, which have become defective and inefficient in regulating traffic.
- c) High-rise buildings, representing vertical growth of cities, ultimately causing high density of population, congestion on roads and pollution.
- d) Lack of effective and systematic use pattern on account of scarce land and its commercial speculation.

Today, in India, Bombay (now Mumbai) and Calcutta (now Kolkata) belong to the category of world's very densely populated cities. The situation of other class I cities is also equally worse. Some years ago, R.S.Kamat carried out a study in Bombay with a view to compare the health of 4000 persons living in the Chembur and Lalbaugh areas of pollution with posh areas of Khar. He found that the inhabitants of the Chembur and Lalbaugh areas had shown high incidence of diseases like asthma, allergy, T.B., burning of eyes and cancer, etc., whereas the inhabitants of the Khar area showed much less. Similarly, under the auspices of K.E.M. Hospital, Bombay, a study was conducted a few years ago. It revealed that nearly 16 per cent of the textile workers in Bombay were suffering from respiratory diseases. In Calcutta, it was found that almost 60 per cent of the population was suffering from respiratory problems due to polluted environment. One of the studies on slums in Kanpur has revealed that more than 55 per cent children were suffering from T.B., because of dirt, filth and pollution in and around slums. Laster Brown, Cristopher Flavin and their colleagues in the World Watch Institute, based in Washington D.C. and engaged in environmental research, have recently said that air pollution has assumed such alarming proportions in several cities and rural areas around the world that merely breathing the air in Bombay is now equivalent to smoking ten cigarettes a day.

One of the greatest sources of pollution in cities is ever-increasing traffic. The vehicles plying on the congested roads release smoke, carbondioxide, nitrogen oxide, hydrocarbon, aldehydes and leadoxide, etc. J.N. Dae of Jawaharlal Nehru University conducted a study in Bombay and Delhi, and found that the means of transportation plying in these metropolises released 70 per cent carbon monoxide, 40 per cent hydrocarbon and 30 to 40 per cent other pollutants along with smoke and fumes, causing serious environmental pollution affecting the health of the city-dwellers. According to the report of the National Policy Committee of the Planning Commission (1978), there were more than nine lakhs and 50 thousand vehicles in the four metropolises – Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras (now Chennai). This figure has possibly reached to over 20 lakh vehicles by now. In addition to all these vehicles, the industries, factories, slums, and the high density of population are equally responsible sources is also found as a major source of pollution. The availability of liquid petroleum gas has not yet reached a large section of the population, hence, a majority of people still depend upon traditional fuel for cooking purposes. It is estimated that till the end of 1988 the facility of LPG become available only in 805 urban centres covering about 11 million households.

**Do You Know 1****Availability of Electricity, Safe Drinking Water, Sanitation and Health Infrastructure (1997-98)**

Type of facility	<u>Percentage of households</u>		
	Total	Rural	Urban
Electricity	52.4	36.5	86.2
Safe drinking water	32.9	14	73
Electricity and safe drinking water	42.4	29.2	73.2
Safe drinking water and toilet	30.8	15.3	64.1
Electricity and toilet	29.7	11.1	69.3
All the three facilities	28.0	12.3	61.2
None of the three facilities	16.4	22.5	3.5
Beds per 10,000 population in Public hospitals	10.1	2.4	26.3

Source : *World Development Indicators*, World Bank, 2001.

**Do You Know 2****Air Pollution Levels in various Cities 1998**

City	Total suspended Particulates (Micro-grammes per cubic metre)	Sulfur dioxide (micro-grammes per cubic metre)	Nitrogen dioxide (micro-grammes per cubic metre)
Ahmedabad	299	30	21
Bangalore	123	-	-
Kolkata	375	49	34
Chennai	130	15	17
Delhi	415	24	41
Hyderabad	152	12	17
Kanpur	459	15	14
Lucknow	463	26	25
Mumbai	240	33	39
Nagpur	185	6	13
Pune	208	-	-

Source : *World Development Indicators*, 2001, World Bank, 2001.

### Do You Know 3

#### Delhi Slums - the Reality

Delhi has seen a swelling of its population from 2 million in 1947 to over 13 million today. The government has been unable to meet the infrastructure and social challenges that have arisen from this growth, and shanty towns have emerged as a response. For those living in shanties the outlook is bleak.

Record show:

1. 1500 shanty colonies in Delhi over 3 million people.
2. The average population density in a shanty town is 300,000 people per square kilometer.
3. An average dwelling houses 6-8 people, yet measures 6ft (2mt) 8ft (2.5 mt).
4. The under-five mortality rate is 149 per 1000 live births.
5. 1 water pump on average serves 1000 people.
6. Many slums have no facilities. Where latrines are provided, the average is 1 latrine per 27 households.
7. 40 per cent of children are severely malnourished in Delhi, about 40,000 children are labourers, 30,000 assist in shops, another 30,000 work in teashops and 20,000 in auto repair shops.
8. 100,000 children are part-time or full-time domestic helps.
9. 75 per cent of men and 90 per cent of women living in shanties are illiterate.

Source : <http://www.asha-india.org/slumsreality.asp>

### 6.3.6 Environmental Decay

Added to all these demographic and technological sources of pollution, the human factor involved in causing environmental decay needs attention. The apathy of the city-dwellers and industrialists towards cleanliness of the environment, lack of seriousness on the part of local civic authorities in maintaining environmental standards, stronghold of the vested interest groups on available land, poor maintenance of public utilities, such as, latrines, drainage, dustbins, water-taps and bathrooms, etc., contribute to the environmental pollution so much that many parts of the city become the living examples of dirt and filth. At times, it is seen that even the hospitals and gardens are also very poorly maintained from the standpoint of cleanliness. With the ever-increasing pace of urbanisation and resultant population pressure on the available land and public utilities the environmental pollution in cities has now become a great challenge to the health and happiness of the urban people. The fast deteriorating conditions of urban living can only be ameliorated through systematic programmes flowing from a well-conceived and effective rational policy on environment as well as emergence of a serious awareness among the city dwellers and commuters for pollution control.



**Check Your Progress 3**

i) What are the major features of over-urbanisation in India? Answer in about six lines.

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ii) Write a short note, in about six lines, on the housing problems in the Indian urban areas.

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iii) What are the main reasons for the increase in the pollution problems in urban areas?

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**6.4 PROBLEMS OF SLUMS**

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In the wake of rapid urbanisation, slums in cities have become an almost inevitable and necessary evil.

**6.4.1 Slum Population**

The figures relating to urban population living in slums are not accurately available, nevertheless it is commonly accepted that nearly one-fifth of the total urban population in India lies in slums. According to the statistics provided by the Seventh Plan document, nearly 10 per cent (or 3 crore of the total 16 crore) of the urban population in India live in slums. The Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, appointed by the Planning Commission of India, estimated nearly 23 per cent or over 3 crore 60 lakh persons as the urban slum-

dwellers in India. The proportion of the slum-dwellers increase with the size of the urban population. Cities with less than one lakh population have 17.5 per cent; cities with the population between one lakh and ten lakhs have 21.5 per cent, and cities having more than ten lakhs of population have 35.5 per cent slum-dwellers in the total population. In the case of Calcutta and Bombay, it is estimated that 43.86 lakhs and 41.26 lakhs, respectively lived in slums, in the year 1990. The four metropolitan centres, Calcutta, Bombay Delhi and Madras, have around 50 per cent of the total population living in slums by now. A similar situation prevails in African and Latin American countries.

### 6.4.2 Emergence of Slums

The National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, has recorded that the emergence of slums is essentially the product of three forces:

- a) demographic dynamism of a city attracting more people from the rural areas offering greater potential for employment;
- b) its incapacity to meet the rising demand for housing; and
- c) the existing urban land policies, which prohibit the access of the poor to the urban land market.

It is further observed that the urban poor are left with no choice but to make or take shelter illegally on any available piece of land. Sometimes a slum is the consequence of blight in the old parts of the city. At times, a slum is inherited in the form of an old village or a haphazardly growing locality within the extended territorial limits of a town.

The magnitude of the problem of slums is alarming. The Government of India, for purposes of the implementation of various schemes relating to urban development, has defined a slum area as follows: “A slum area means any area where such dwellings predominate, which by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of buildings, narrowness and faulty arrangement of street, lack of ventilation, lack of sanitation facilities, inadequacy of open spaces and community facilities or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morale.” These slum areas are also referred to as the ‘blighted area’; ‘renewal area’; ‘deteriorated area’, ‘gray area’; ‘lower class neighbourhood’; ‘lower income area’; etc. In India, these areas are also known as ‘Jeropadpatti’; ‘Juggi Jhounpadi’; ‘Bastee’; ‘Akatas’ and ‘Cherri’, in regional vocabularies.

Michael Harington says that in the face of rapid industrial-urban growth in the technologically advanced and capitalistic country like the United States of America also there are such slums, which at times are referred to as the ‘other America’.

<p><b>Box 1 : Characteristics of Slums</b></p> <p>The physical aspects and general conditions of the slums are by and large the same everywhere. The foremost characteristics of slums can be briefly enumerated in the following manner:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) Dilapidated and poor houses in slums are made of poor design and scrap materials. These are often raised on unauthorised land.</li></ul>
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- 2) High density of population and housing leads to over-crowding and congestion; one room is often used for all practical purposes of domesticating living. In Bombay and in many other big cities, it can be seen that in the slum areas one room tenement with 100 sq.f. to 150 sq.f. of space is occupied by more than 10 persons.
- 3) Lack of public utilities and facilities, such as, drainage, sanitation, water taps, electric light, health centres, common latrines and public parks, etc., are widely observable characteristics of slums.
- 4) The slum-dwellers are functionally integrated with the mainstream of the city life, yet the high incidence of deviant behaviour such as crime, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drug use, beggary, illegitimacy, illicit distilling of liquor, gambling and other social evils are associated with slum areas. It does not mean that all those residing in slums are necessarily associated with such deviant behaviour. The slum areas, socially and physically provide greater opportunity for such kinds of deviant behaviour.
- 5) Slums have a culture of their own, which Marshall Clinard has termed as 'a way of life'. It is said to be largely a synthesis of the culture of the lower class and of that which Lewis has referred to as the 'culture of poverty'.
- 6) Though the slum-dwellers are functionally integrated to the city life, apathy and social isolation characterise a slum. It means that largely slums are subject to neglect and apathy of the larger community. These areas are looked down upon and considered inferior. Such a reaction from the larger community renders slums into social isolation, detached from the city as a whole. Under these circumstances, the slum-dwellers find it almost impossible to improve these conditions through their own efforts.

Slums are dilapidated and overcrowded areas with lack of adequate public utilities, yet their existence in the city does serve a purpose, especially for the urban poor and migrants coming for some job opportunities in the city. It is in slums that poor people like industrial workers, casual labourers, hawkers, petty shopkeepers, vegetable-sellers and several others offering useful services to the city find a place to stay. These poor people belonging to different castes, religions, regions and languages live together even amidst extreme poor conditions. At times, these slums play a very vital role in orienting the new migrants to the city environment. In other words, the slum-dwellers, by providing social comfort and support to the new migrants, help them to adjust to the conditions of city-living and finally integrate themselves with the mainstream of city life.

In India, the slums are usually classified into the following three categories: (1) the old building which have become dilapidated and deteriorated in course of time; (2) the slums which are characterised by poor and inadequate housing conditions, constructed legally around mills and factories, (3) the slums which illegally come up in different parts of the city through unauthorised occupation of open land.

#### Activity 1

Visit a slum area, preferably of your home town. Try to find out, either through observation or through interaction, the major problems faced by these slum-dwellers. After the collection of information is over, try to develop a note on the '**Problems of Slum-dwellers in My Home Town**' in about two pages. If possible, discuss your note with the coordinator and the co-learners of your Study Centre.

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## 6.5 SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES – CRIME, ISOLATION AND MALADJUSTMENT

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The rapid urbanisation over the last few decades in India (and elsewhere in the third world countries) has latently led to rise in several problems. In fact, in the modern developed societies, these problems came into existence since the emergence of industrialisation during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Today, the developing societies are acquiring the characteristics of the developed societies even in crime, juvenile delinquency, rape, murder, prostitution, gambling, suicide and alcoholism. Moreover, the unprecedented pace of urbanization, causing high density of population and conditions of urban anonymity, have given rise to socio-psychological problems of adjustment, especially in the case of the migrants to the city of their destination. Here, we shall briefly look into the problems of crime, isolation and maladjustment.

### 6.5.1 Crime

The metropolises and the big cities provide greater environmental opportunities for committing crimes and acts of juvenile delinquency. The rate of crime is very high in cities compared to the rural and tribal areas. With the rise of urbanisation, the rate of crime gets further accentuated as the opportunities of success through socially legitimate means remain scarce as against the number of aspirants. Moreover, urban anonymity in a way encourages resorting to unlawful activities, as the traditional agencies of social control and law and order become noticeably weak. Under these conditions of urban living, crimes such as theft, burglary, kidnapping and abduction, murder, rape, cheating, criminal breach of trust, gambling, prostitution, alcoholism and counterfeiting, etc., have become almost routine affairs in most cities, especially the “million” cities. Further, in all big cities the criminal gangs indulging in organised crimes have become a grave social problem. These criminal gangs have their network stretching beyond a given city, spread over more than one city. At times, these gangs are so resourceful that, even when caught by the police, they easily succeed in escaping punishment.

Modern research points out that the great amount of crime in modern urban centers reflects the inability of the urban community to integrate all its members and to control those who resist integration. Crime and city are thus casually connected. Scholars pointed out that the urbanisation of rural areas and an increase in crime go hand in hand. Several years ago it was found that among the rural inmates in an Iowa reformatory in the USA characteristics associated with an urban way of life played a significant role in their criminal behaviour.

Compared to western societies, the rate of crime in urban India is low; nevertheless, the problem of crime is becoming grave in all big cities in India. The most significant reasons for this deteriorating situation lie in an unprecedented rate of population growth of these cities, widespread economic insecurities, and decline in the management of law and order. In 1974, out of the total crimes reported all over the country, more than 12 per cent crimes were committed in eight big cities – Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and Bangalore. The accompanying table shows some

details about the crimes reported under the Indian Penal Code in the eight major cities, in 1979.

**The Crime reported in eight Indian cities under IPC in 1979**

City	Number of Crimes	Rate of crime per lakh & population
Ahmedabad	7,178	345.1
Bangalore	24,693	1240.9
Bombay	36,417	447.9
Calcutta	13,103	391.1
Delhi	41,516	784.8
Hyderabad	7,359	336.0
Kanpur	7,192	496.0
Madras	8,843	264.8
Total	1,46,301	526.1

Source: Drawn from *Hand Book on Social Welfare Statistics 1981*, Govt. of India, Ministry of Social Welfare, New Delhi.

The national capital, Delhi, continued to be the crime capital of the country, recording a crime rate that is more than double the national average among the metropolitan cities. During 2002, Delhi's crime rate was put at 385.8 per lakh of population, much higher than the national average of 172.3.

While the crime rate of Chennai stood at 113.5 per lakh of population, Kolkata reported at an even lower rate of 90.6 and Mumbai at 177 was slightly above the national average.

The highest crime rate among large urban centres was reported in Bhopal (740.9), followed by Vijayawada at 666, Indore 626 and Jaipur 524.

**Activity 2**

Read any national daily for at least 30 days to classify the crimes reported from various cities in India.

In Western societies, the unskilled labour is identified with the 'blue collar' shirts and the office-going people with the 'white collar'. Generally, people think that the 'blue collar' has close links with crime. It has, however, been found that wrong behaviour is not limited to this group, and even persons associated with clean dress commit objectionable behaviour that at times goes unnoticed. The white-collar crimes, which are committed largely by violating the rules and regulations of trade, business or profession during the conduct of these activities also become widespread, especially in cities which are the victims of rapid urbanisation. Usually, individuals and groups resorting to the white-collar crimes enjoy power, prestige and clandestine relations with the authorities due to their professional or business activities. On account of such social connections, many among them find it easier to escape punishment even if the consequences of their unlawful activities are grave in the larger interests of society.

## 6.5.2 Isolation

Social interaction with others is a basis of all forms of social relationships and social groupings. It plays a very vital and meaningful role in all forms of social life: rural, urban or tribal. In smaller communities, such interactions in different aspects of life provide for personal and intimate social relationships, whereas in the cities due to the large, and heterogeneous population, the possibilities of such relationships are considerably minimised. With the rise of urbanisation, a city-dweller, while living amidst a sea of fellow city-dwellers, is detached from them socially. In other words, a city-dweller is physically in proximity with others in different walks of life, but socially he is under conditions of relative isolation, if not absolute isolation. Socially, isolated persons are rarely found in village communities. In the city, people are usually unable to make intimate and emotionally strong relationships. This tendency goes on increasing as the city grows in the face of rapid population growth. Older people, the migrants who are still strangers in the city, people who are unable to get along with others, socially rejected persons and persons who do not find people of their liking often feel acute isolation even amidst thousands of the urban-dwellers.

The rapid growth of urban population leads to greater divisions of labour and specialisation of work which, in turn, creates interdependence among individuals participating in a given economic activity. Such an interdependence is partial and restricted only up to the fulfillment of a given fraction or a portion of the total activity. Thus, there is extremely limited scope for sharing a totality of experiences and social life. The heterogeneity of population, especially in matters of social status, caste, class, religion, income, occupation, etc., creates partial isolation under which, as K. Dais says, integrity of particular groups is reinforced by maintaining social distance (avoidance) toward other groups. Residential segregation is one of the manifestations of partial isolation in cities.

In a broad perspective, Kingsley Davis observes that partial isolation, whatever its specific form, tends to be associated with the individuals positions and to be expressed in the rights and duties of these positions. It implies that between individuals of different status there is a difference of ends. It is, therefore, one of the means by which societies are organised. Some mutual avoidance, social distance, and ethnocentrism emerge. A similar, by and large, prevails in the face of rapid urbanisation.

## 6.5.3 Maladjustment

The process of urbanisation adds to the complexities of city - life. It generates and strengthens the forces of social change, leading to new social reality and inevitable pressures of conformity. As the process of urbanisation accelerates, the city life tends to be rapidly characterised by cultural diversities, socio-economic inequalities, competition, conflict and several other manifestations of complexities of social reality. The fact of social mobility also affects the life of the city-dwellers. In a way, all these social forces impose a functional adjustment on the part of the city-dwellers to lead a peaceful and fuller life. However, all the city-dwellers are not fortunate enough to satisfactorily adjust to the diverse challenges of a growing city. For example, in the field of economic activities, even in a rapidly growing city, the number of opportunities for successful adjustment are smaller than the number of competitors. In such a

situation, several among those, who are the losers, fail to suitably adjust to the reality, and become victims of frustration, inferiority complex and loss of a meaningful integration with the totality of city-life. All such failures give rise to the problem of maladjustment. Similarly, even among the successful ones, many fail to conform to the new situations, and become maladjusted.

The problem of maladjustment becomes all the more acute in the case of those city-dwellers, who are relatively recent migrants. They, in fact, present cases of “Marginal Man”—a concept developed by Robert E. Park and later elaborated upon by Everett V. Stonequist. The marginal-man, in simple words, is said to be one who is in the process of changing from one culture to another. Some scholars have also used the term “transitional man” in the sense that the individual in question is in the process of assimilation with the culture of the place of his destination. Further, a marginal man suffers from the problems of maladjustment precisely because he feels lost amidst the pressures of two cultures, as he cannot completely change from one cultural system to another. On the one hand, he tends to retain some traits of his cultural past and, at the same time, he is forced to acquire the traits of new culture. In such a situation, he experiences internal conflicts, intense anxiety and socio-psychological tensions, which often tend to enhance the incidence of maladjustment.

Apart from these adverse consequences of urbanisation, it is also found that various forms of social disorganisation are associated with the rapid growth of cities. Special mention may be made here of family, kinship and community disorganisation endangering the cohesive and integrated social life. These forms of social disorganisation are reflected through the disruption of mutually expected roles and obligations in the wake of unequal rates of social change in different aspects of city-life. In the case of the family, the increasing rate of divorce and break down of jointness in the joint-family are indicative of dissociative implications of urbanisation. The withering away of kinship obligations provide similar examples. In like manner, the enormous expansion of the city area and the increasing pressure of its heterogeneous population raise several problems and lessens the normative integration of the city. The net result, as observed by William Foot Whyte, is that a large, heterogeneous, and widely dispersed population faces many new problems for which solutions do not exist in the culture of that society.

#### **6.5.4 Efforts to Curb Undesirable Consequences**

The increasing proportion of these evil consequences of urbanisation has led to some systematic efforts for effectively curbing their incidence. These efforts include legislative measures for the removal of urban poverty and unemployment as well as measures of slum clearance and urban community development programmes. From the Sixth Five Year Plan onwards, special attention is being paid to the socio-economic development of small towns and cities to divert the flow of the rural migrants. It is hoped that, with the rise of new opportunities of employment in towns and small cities, the metropolitan centres will be relieved of further increase in the pressure of excessive population, which has by now made it almost impossible for the civic authorities to ensure efficient and adequate supply of public utilities to the citizens.

In addition to these planned efforts, social legislation relating to suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls, prevention of beggary, prevention of

alcoholism and drug abuses, correctional programmes for criminals and juvenile delinquents, and rehabilitation schemes for deviant persons under the programmes of social defence are equally significant steps taken towards the amelioration of these problems of urban living. In Section 6.7, you will come to know about the policy of the State specifically addressed to the solution of several urban problems so as to make urban living a decent way of life.

### Check Your Progress 3

Tick the correct answer.

- i) Crime is usually
  - a) Higher in rural than in urban areas
  - b) Higher in big cities than in rural areas
  - c) Similar in rural and urban areas
  - d) Lower in metropolitan cities than in small towns
- ii) Compared to the Western societies, the crime rate in urban India is
  - a) high
  - b) low
  - c) no different
- iii) Tick the correct statements
  - a) A city-dweller is usually socially far detached from his fellow city-dwellers while living in the sea of humanity.
  - b) Socially isolated persons are often found in villages.
  - c) A city-dweller is usually unable to make intimate and emotionally strong relationship with his fellow dwellers.
  - d) Rapid growth of urban population leads to greater division of labour.
- iv) The concept of the marginal-man is developed by
  - a) Robert E.Park
  - b) Robert Redfield.
  - c) Louis Wirth.
  - d) Louis Dumont

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## 6.6 STATE POLICY ON URBAN PROBLEMS

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In India, it is now recognised that urbanisation is not a trivial aspect of the processes of economic development and social change. This has led to a demand that there ought to be a national policy statement on urbanisation, as it is true in matters of industrial development, population growth, and education. Several reasons account for the lack of national policy on urbanisation, foremost among which have been the issues of overwhelming concern for self-sufficiency of villages and the inclusion of urbanisation in the state subjects of our Constitution. However, in our efforts of planned development, the five year plans do reflect the general policies being followed for the management of the urban problems, which are assuming massive proportion due to unprecedented rise in the rate of urbanisation. It should be noted here that, by and large, the



emphasis of these efforts has been towards the amelioration of the conditions of the poor and the lower income groups. A brief appraisal of the efforts to solve the problem of housing, sanitation and water supply, along with several other problems of urban development, is presented here.

We have seen that one of the grave problems of urbanisation has been acute shortage of housing facilities in cities. This problem has reached almost a breaking point in the case of the metropolitan cities. In order to meet this problem, planned efforts are made in the following two directions:

- a) Social legislations relating to urban land and housing;
- b) Programmes of slum clearance and construction of new houses.

Let us see what has been done under these heads to solve the problem of urban housing.

### **6.6.1 Social Legislation Relating to Urban Land and Housing**

The Constitution gives the fundamental right of the freedom of movement to every citizen of India, but does not guarantee the right of housing to either the urban-dwellers or the village people. In our Constitution the responsibility of urban development and related welfare programmes has been assigned to the state governments. The social legislation governing rent and sale of land and houses include the following two important enactments:

- 1) Rent Control Act (RCA), 1948, and
- 2) Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA) 1976.

#### **i) The Rent Control Act, 1948**

The Rent Control Act was enacted with a view to control and regulate the rent of the houses. It was first enacted in the then Bombay State, in 1948, and later on in several other states. The Rent Control Act also protects the tenants from the atrocities of the house-owner, especially in the sense that the owner of a house can neither force the tenant to vacate house, nor can he raise the rent of the house at his own will. Further, the Rent Control Act also imposes the responsibility of repairs of the house on the owner rather than on the tenant living in it.

Systematic studies evaluating the impact of the Rent Control Act have revealed that the Act has not been able to bring about a solution to the problem of urban housing in the desired direction. Kiran Wadhava's study reveals that the said Act has hardly been able to make any noticeable progress in solving the problem of urban housing, and its need continues to be equally significant even today. In fact, there have been some latent consequences of this Act, adding to the already acute problem of housing. The owners are now not eager to rent out the house, as it will never come back in their possession due to the conditions of the Rent Control Act. Similarly, now people do not like to build houses with a view to earn rent. All such calculations ultimately add to the scarcity of houses. It is also observed that the owners hardly show any interest in the repair of houses, which have already been rented out, simply because all such expenses are finally going to be a burden on them alone, without any possibility of raising the rent. Owing to such apathetic attitude of the owners towards

timely repairs, a large number of buildings in cities have deteriorated and become dangerous for living.

The ill-effects of the Rent Control Act are not systematically recognised and in order to put a curb on such effects the Ministry of Urban Development has taken some serious steps. In 1987, The National Commission on Urbanisation was appointed under the auspices of the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. The Commission also went into the details of the Rent Control Act, and recognised the seriousness of the adverse effects of the Act. In its interim report, the National Commission on Urbanisation made several recommendations relating to the amendments in the terms and conditions of the existing Rent Control Act relating (1) the continuation of the protection of the interests of the existing tenants, (2) the inclusion of the possibility of raising rent, (3) the separation of the rules the regulations of renting houses for commercial purposes from houses to be rented for residential purposes, (4) the provisions of providing incentives to build new houses, etc. It is believed that the inclusion of these amendments, while not necessarily solving the acute problem that has been growing over the years, will certainly lessen the adverse effects of the existing Rent Control Act.

#### ii) **Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act , 1976**

The second important step relating to the management of urban land is the enactment of the Urban Land Ceiling Act of 1976. This Act has the following three fundamental objectives:

- a) Redistribution of land,
- b) Prevention of speculation in land, and
- c) Regulation of construction on vacant land.

Under the provisions of this Act, the excess land, i.e., land excluding the prescribed size of the available plot, can be procured by the local authorities or the state government for wider public interests. Usually, the excess land under this Act is procured for the construction of houses for the urban poor and the low income groups. Moreover, this Act imposes restrictions on the sale of excess land so as to curb speculation in urban land.

Critics have pointed out that despite the existence of this Act the prices of land in every city have reached far beyond the capacity of common-man and speculation in land is flourishing almost unchecked. Moreover, the land procured for construction of houses for the urban poor and other public utilities is also negligible in size. In several cases, the owners of excess land have been successful in escaping the demands of the Land Ceiling Act through corrupt practices and use of their political connections.

### **6.6.2 Programmes of Slum Clearance and Construction of New Houses**

We have seen that, in the face of rapid urban growth, a large section of urban population is living in slums and suffering from acute shortage of houses, water-supply, sanitation and other public facilities. These urban problems have assumed massive proportion, warranting social legislation and special attention in our national planning. Following from these efforts, one of significant

programmes is the slum clearance scheme and programme of construction of new houses for the urban poor and the low income groups. Under this scheme, low cost houses, equipped with latrine, bathroom, water-tap, sanitation and drainage facilities, are made available to the poor people, who can afford to pay a token amount as rent from their meagre earnings. Moreover, under the scheme of slum clearance an entire area inhabited by economically and socially weaker sections is provided with these common utilities to be shared by all. These programmes under the slum clearance scheme are subsidised to provide assistance to the state governments for construction of one crore and 40 lakh new houses at the rate of Rs.5000 per house for the benefit of the urban poor and the low and middle income groups. In addition, the state governments and the local bodies of the cities also provide necessary funds for execution of such projects. It should, however, be noted that the voluntary agencies have still lagged behind in taking up the activities of slum clearance and construction of houses for the poor people.

The following schemes have been executed in several cities with financial and other support from the state governments and local bodies for the construction of new houses:

- a) In 1952, a scheme for the construction of houses for the industrial workers came into existence.
- b) A scheme was introduced, in 1954, for the construction of houses for the low income groups.
- c) Since the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan (1956), the scheme of slum clearance and improvement came into existence on a regular basis.
- d) The Life Insurance Corporation of India started giving loans since the Second Five Year Plan to the middle-income groups for the construction of houses.
- e) Since the Fifth Five Year Plan, the programme of building houses for the higher-income groups were taken on hand with the objective that profit earned through such projects will be diverted for the construction of houses for the urban poor and the low-income groups. Special instructions were issued to the Housing Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) in this respect.

However, systematic studies have revealed that most of the advantages of these schemes have been taken away by the middle and high income groups. The plight of the urban-poor has more or less remained the same.

One of the greatest obstacles in effective implementation of the slum-clearance programme has been lack of adequate funds. The issue received significant attention in the Seventh Five Year Plan. It led to the establishment of a National Housing Bank (NHB) with an assistance of Rs.100 crores from the Central government. It is proposed that the following shall be the objective of the National Housing Bank:

- 1) To provide a national body for financing the programmes only for the construction of houses.
- 2) To raise the sources for procuring finance for the construction of houses and make effective use of all such sources.

- 3) To raise financial institutions at local and regional levels for advancing loans for construction of houses and institutions giving loans for other purposes.
- 4) To establish meaningful links between financial institutions advancing loans for construction of houses and institutions giving loans for other purposes.

All these efforts are made with a hope that conditions of the slum-dwellers and the urban poor can be suitably improved so that they can also lead a fuller urban life free from dirt, disease and pollution.

### **6.6.3 The Five-Year Plans**

The policy of decentralisation in our national planning has lately been found useful in matters of urban development also. In the First Five Year Plan no special attention was paid to the solution of urban problems. Yet, it did recognise the acute shortage of housing and steep rise in land prices in big cities. By the end of the First Five Year Plan several institutional set-ups to ease this problem came into existence. For example, a new ministry of works and housing was first established and later renamed as the Ministry of Urban Affairs. The National Building Organisation was established to design low cost housing. Steps were taken to train personnel in town planning. The Second Five Year Plan emphasised the need for planned development of cities and towns, and advocated an integrated approach to rural and urban planning in a regional framework. During this plan, The Urban Development Authority came into existence, and a master plan was prepared for the first time for the development of Delhi. This was a major step in urban planning and its implementation, which was later followed in the case of other big cities in several states.

The Third and Fourth Five Year Plans laid emphasis on town planning for which the responsibility was shifted from the Centre to the states. A model town-planning Act was prepared in 1957 by the Town and Country Planning Organisation in Delhi, and this led to the enactment of laws in other states. The Third Five Year Plan extended financial support for the preparation of master plans for the development of cities and towns in the states. As a result of such efforts, nearly 400 master plans were prepared. Moreover, the Third Plan also initiated urban community development schemes in selected cities as an experimental scheme to solve social and human problems associated with urban slums. The Fourth Plan recognised the need of financing urban development schemes. It was during this plan period that an agency – Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) – came into existence to provide funds for the metropolitan authorities, State Housing Boards and other urban institutions for the construction of houses in urban areas. The Fifth Plan document, in a separate chapter on urban and regional planning, laid down the following objectives of its urbanisation policy: (a) to augment civic services in the urban centres, (b) to tackle the problems of the metropolitan cities on a regional basis, (c) to promote the development of small towns and new urban centres, (d) to assist inter-state projects for the metropolitan projects, and (e) to support industrial townships under government undertakings.

The Sixth Plan also had a special chapter on urban problems but greater emphasis was given to the problem of housing both urban and rural areas. In this plan, necessary attention was drawn, for the first time, to regional variations

in the levels of urban development. It should also be mentioned here that, during the Sixth Plan, provisions were made to develop adequate infrastructural and other facilities at the small, medium and intermediate towns so as to make them 'growth centres' in promoting rural development. Further, 200 towns were to be identified for integrated development of water supply schemes in 550 towns, and sewerage projects in 110 towns in the country.

Thus, the Sixth Plan recognised the problems of basic needs of the urban-dwellers and took some concrete steps towards amelioration of their conditions.

The Seventh Plan, on the one hand, stressed the need for integrated development of small and medium towns and, on the other, minimising the growth of the metropolitan cities. To attain this objective, special incentives are offered for the establishment of industries in small and medium towns. It also advocates for greater financial support to local bodies by the state governments. In terms of institutional set up, the Seventh Plan recommended the establishment of the National Urban Infrastructure Development Finance Corporation, to provide capital for the development of infrastructure in small and medium towns. Apart from these steps, the emphasis on housing for the urban poor and the low income groups, integrated development and provisions for promotion of basic amenities for the urban-dwellers are continued in the Seventh Plan and proposed draft of the Eighth Five Year Plan.

In brief, although the Five Year Plans do not as yet exhibit any comprehensive policy on India's urbanisation and urban problem, there are obviously certain aspects which have received greater attention to ameliorate the conditions of the urban-dwellers. Special mention may be made of (a) finance for housing, (b) slum clearance and improvement, (c) town water supply and sewerage, (d) urban transportation, and (e) the preparation of master plans for the development of cities, especially bigger ones.

**Check Your Progress 4**

i) What are the major objectives of the Rent Control Act, 1948? Answer in about five lines.

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ii) Write a short note on the social legislation on the urban land in India. Use about six lines to answer.

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iv) What are the major features of the Slum Clearance Programme in India? Answer in about seven lines.

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## 6.7 LET US SUM UP

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Urbanisation refers to a social process. In demographic sense, it exhibits the proportion of the urban population to the total population of a society. In sociological sense, it also refers to a way of life typically associated with the city. The haphazard and steep rise in the population of big cities has led to the notion of over-urbanisation in India, which, in the societal context, is not true. Even today only less than one-third of the total population of India lives in towns and cities.

The industrial-urban India has given birth to several social problems among which the problems of slums, crimes, housing, pollution and inadequate public utilities have become grave. In the absence of a national policy on urbanisation, the matters of urban planning and development remain largely confined to the efforts of the state governments. The schemes of slum clearance and housing for the urban poor and the low-income groups are in a way addressed to the solution of these problems. The five year plans have also made significant efforts through making provisions of financial support to several programmes of urban renewal.

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## 6.8 KEY WORDS

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- Marginal man** : A marginal man is one, who has not been able to give up the traits of his cultural past, nor has been able to assimilate with the new culture. Thus, he is a man in transition, placed between two cultures.
- Million city** : A city with a population over ten lakhs.
- Over-urbanisation** : A term describing the process of excessive growth population in cities (mainly through migration) in relation to employment and other facilities available in them.
- Primary urbanisation** : A process of coordinating the activities of local tradition to the norms provided by the Great Tradition.

- Slum** : Broadly speaking, it is a locality characterised by inadequate and deteriorated housing, deficient public utilities, overcrowding and congestion and usually inhabited by the poor and socially heterogeneous people.
- Urbanisation** : A process in demographic sense, which refers to the proportion of a total population living in towns and cities. In sociological sense, it refers to a way of life associated with living in the city.
- White-collar crime** : It refers to malpractices employed during the conduct of any profession, business or trade.
- Secondary urbanisation** : A process of heterogenetic development associated with the industrial phase of the city.

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## 6.9 FURTHER READINGS

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Institute of Urban Affairs. 1988. *State of India's Urbanisation*, Institute of Urban Affairs : New Delhi.

Rao, M.S.A (ed.) 1974. *Urban Sociology in India*. Orient Longman : New Delhi.

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## 6.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- i) b)
- ii) d)
- iii) c)

### Check Your Progress 2

- i) The main features of over-urbanisation in India are as follows:
  - a) There is a seeming imbalance between the levels of industrialisation and urbanisation in India. (b) The process of urbanisation takes away a large share of national resources and, thus, impinges upon the rate of economic growth in society. (c) There has been excessive population pressure on the civic amenities and housing.
- ii) It is estimated that nearly 70% of the urban population in India live in sub-standard houses. Here, more than half of the urban households occupy only a single room with an average occupancy per room of 4.4 persons. Besides, there are a large number of homeless persons. Only in Delhi there are more than three lakh homeless persons.
- iii) (a) Indiscriminate growth of industrial and chemical plants. (b) Pre-industrial structure of cities with narrow streets of roads. (c) High-rise of buildings with high density of population, congestion on roads and pollution. (d) Lack of effective measure for systematic use of land.

### Check Your Progress 3

- i) b)
- ii) b)
- iii) a), c), d)
- iv) a)

### Check Your Progress 4

- i) The main objectives of this law are to (a) regulate the rent of the house, (b) protect the tenant from the atrocities of the houseowners, (c) make the landowner responsible to undertake the repair of the house regularly.
- ii) The Urban Land Ceiling Act, 1976, covers on broad aspect of urban land management. This Act has three fundamental objectives : (a) distribution of surplus land, (b) prevention of speculation in land, (c) Regulation of construction on vacant land. However, despite the provisions of this Act, the price of urban land has gone beyond the reach of the common man, and speculation in land is also flourishing without being checked.
- iii) Under this scheme, low cost houses equipped with latrine, bathroom, water tap, sanitation and drainage facilities are made available to the poor people, who can pay a token amount as rent from their income. These schemes are subsidised by the government. However, one of the greatest obstacles for the speedy implementation of this programme has been that of adequate funds. The Seventh Five Year Plan has given emphasis on the issue of slum clearance.



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## **UNIT 7 CHANGING FAMILY STRUCTURE**

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### **Structure**

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Family : Definition and Types
  - 7.2.1 Definition
  - 7.2.2 Types
- 7.3 Social Processes Affecting Family Structure
  - 7.3.1 Industrialisation
  - 7.3.2 Urbanisation
  - 7.3.3 Modernisation
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- 7.4 Change in the Joint Family System
- 7.5 Change in the Rural Family System
  - 7.5.1 Factors Responsible for Change
  - 7.5.2 Impact of the Breakdown of the Joint Family
- 7.6 Change in the Urban Family System
  - 7.6.1 Family in the Urban Setting
  - 7.6.2 Direction of Change
  - 7.6.3 Some Emerging Trends
- 7.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.8 Key Words
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- 7.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

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### **7.0 OBJECTIVES**

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In this Unit, we shall discuss the changing family patterns in India. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- describe a family;
- discuss its various types;
- explain the factors responsible for change in the family system;
- examine the changes in the traditional joint family system; and
- analyse the changes in the rural and urban family system in India.

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### **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

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In the previous Units of this Block, we introduced you the various dimensions of social demography, migration and urbanisation in India. In this Unit, we shall discuss the changing family structure in India. This Unit begins with a short discussion on the definition and types of the family. Industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation are the important social forces affecting the traditional family structure in India. We discuss these factors briefly and

describe a perspective to understand the change in the family structure in Section 7.3. In Section 7.4, we discuss the change taking place in the traditional joint family system in India. The change in the rural family and the impact of the breakdown of the rural joint family are discussed in this Section. Change in the urban family system and its various facets are examined in section 7.6

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## 7.2 FAMILY : DEFINITION AND TYPES

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In Unit No. 6. Block 2 of ESO-02, we discussed in detail the institution of the family in India. There we discussed the continuum between the nuclear and the joint family. In this Unit, we shall discuss the form and direction of changes in the family system in India. To begin with, let us study the definition and types of family.

### 7.2.1 Definition

Ordinarily, a family, particularly an elementary family, can be defined as a social group consisting of father, mother and their children. But in view of the variety as found in the constituents of a family, this definition is rather inadequate. Bohannan (1963), in his definition of the family, emphasised the functional as well as the structural roles of family. According to him, “a family, contains people who are linked by sexual and affinal relationships as well as those linked by descent who are linked by secondary relationships, that is, by chains of primary relationships”.

#### Box 1. Characteristics of Family

For a comprehensive understanding of what the family stands for today, William J. Goode (1989) suggests the following characteristics:

- a) At least two adult persons of opposite sex reside together.
- b) They engage in some kind of division of labour i.e., they both do not perform exactly the same tasks.
- c) They engage in many types of economic and social exchanges, i.e., they do things for one another.
- d) They share many things in common, such as food, sex, residence, and both goods and social activities.
- e) The adults have parental relations with their children, as their children have filial relations with them; the parents have some authority over their children and both share with one another, while also assuming some obligation for protection, cooperation, and nurturance.
- f) There are sibling relations among the children themselves, with a range of obligations to share, protect, and help one another.

Individuals are likely to create various kinds of relations with each other but, if their continuing social relations exhibit some or all of the role patterns noted here, in all probability they would be viewed as the family.

### 7.2.2 Types of Family

On the basis of the composition of the family, three distinct types of family organisation emerge.

### a) **Nuclear Family**

The most basic among the families is called natal or nuclear or elementary, or simple family, which consists of a married man and woman and their offspring. In specific cases, sometimes one or more additional persons are found to reside with them. Over a period of time, the structure of a family changes. Often additional members, viz., an aged parent or parents or unmarried brother or sisters may come to live with the members of a nuclear family. It may lead to the development of varieties of nuclear families. While discussing the nature of the joint family in India, Pauline Kolenda (1987) has discussed additions/modifications in the nuclear family structure. She gives the following compositional categories :

- i) **Nuclear family** refers to a couple with or without children.
- ii) **Supplemented nuclear family** indicates a nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated, or widowed relatives of the parents other than their unmarried children.
- iii) **Sub nuclear family** is identified as a fragment of a former nuclear family, for instance, a widow/widower with his/her unmarried children or siblings (unmarried) or widowed or separated or divorced) living together.
- iv) **Single person household**
- v) **Supplemented sub nuclear family** refers to a group of relatives, members of a formerly complete nuclear family along with some other unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives who were not member of the nuclear family. For instance, a widow and her unmarried children may be living together with her widowed mother-in-law.

In the Indian context, it is easy to find all these types of family. However, in terms of societal norms and values, these types relate to the joint family system (cf. ESO-02, Unit 6)

Nuclear families are often combined, like atoms in a molecule, into larger aggregates. Although such families are generally referred to as composite forms of family, on the basis of their structural characteristics they can be differentiated into two distinct types; like i) polygamous family and ii) family.

### b) **Polygamous Family**

A polygamous family ordinarily consists of two or more nuclear families conjoined by plural marriage. These types of families are statistically very few in number in general. There are basically two types of polygamous family based on the forms of marriage, viz., polygyny, i.e., one husband with more than one wife at a time, and polyandry, i.e., one wife with more than one husband at the same time.

### c) **Extended Family**

An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through the extension of parent-child relationship and relationship of married siblings. The former can be designated as a vertically extended family, whereas the latter would be referred to as a horizontally extended family. In a typical patriarchal extended family, there lives an elderly person with his son and

wife and their unmarried children. You may be interested to know what constitutes the jointness in the joint family. Usually, the jointness is depicted in a number of factors, viz., commensality (eating together from the same kitchen), common residence, joint ownership of property, cooperation and common sentiments, common ritual bonds, etc. You may also be interested to know who constitute the joint family. It is the kin relationships. Hence Pauline Kolenda (1987) points out the following types of the joint family in India:

- i) **Collateral Joint Family** comprises two or more married couples between whom there is a sibling bond.
- ii) **Supplemented Collateral Joint Family** is a collateral joint family along with unmarried, divorced and widowed relatives.
- iii) **Lineal Joint Family** consists of two couples, between whom there is a lineal link, like between a parent and her married sons or between a parent and his married daughter.
- iv) **Supplemented Lineal Joint Family** is a lineal joint family together with unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives, who do not belong to either of the lineally linked nuclear families.
- v) **Lineal Collateral Joint Family** consists of three or more couples linked lineally and collaterally. For example, a family consisting of the parents and their two or more married sons together with unmarried children of the couples.
- vi) **Supplemented Lineal – Collateral Joint Family** consists of the members of a lineal collateral joint family plus unmarried, widowed, separated relatives who belong to none of the nuclear families (lineally and collaterally linked), for example, the father's widowed sister or brother or an unmarried nephew of the father.

This discussion should have given you a broad picture of the existing family structure in India. In this Unit, we shall discuss the changing family structure. Before we introduce ourselves to this discussion, let us know the social factors that affect the family structure. In the following section, we shall discuss these factors. Before that you must complete this 'check your progress' exercise.

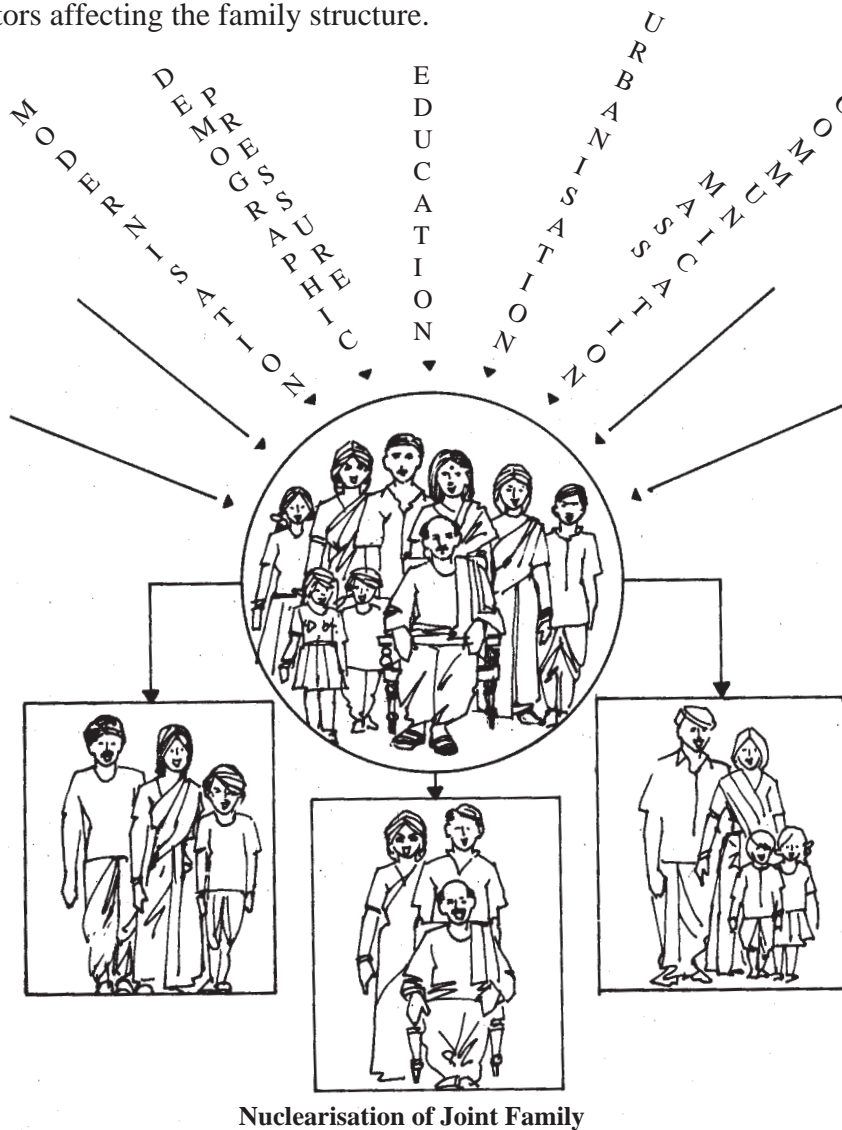
### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Which one of the following is not a characteristic of the family?
  - a) At least two adult persons of opposite sex reside together.
  - b) These persons engage in some kind of division of labour.
  - c) They engage in many types of economic and social exchanges.
  - d) None of the above.
- 2) In a polyandrous family there.....
  - a) is a wife with more than one husband at the same time.
  - b) is a husband with more than one wife at the same time.
  - c) is one husband and one wife at the same time.
  - d) is a married couple without children.

- 3) An extended family can be .....
- a) only vertically extended.
  - b) only horizontally extended.
  - c) both vertically and horizontally extended
  - d) none of the above.

## 7.3 SOCIAL PROCESSES AFFECTING FAMILY STRUCTURE

A host of inter-related factors, viz., economic, educational, legal and demographic like population growth, migration and urbanisation, etc., have been affecting the structure of the family in India. We shall take care of these factors while discussing the changes, in the following sections. Here, let us discuss the broad processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation as factors affecting the family structure.



### 7.3.1 Industrialisation

There are innumerable published accounts demonstrating that changes have taken place in the structure of the family due to exposures to the forces of industrialisation. Nuclearisation of the family is considered as the outcome of its impact. Such an interpretation presupposes existence of non-nuclear family

structure in such societies. Empirical evidence sometimes does not support this position. Further, industrial establishments have their own requirements of human groups for their efficient functioning. As a result, people are migrating to industrial areas, and various kinds of family units have been formed adding extra-ordinary variety to the overall situation. It is, nevertheless, important to note down in this context that despite definite visible trends in the changing structure of the family due to industrialisation, it is not yet possible to establish any one-to-one relationship.

### **7.3.2 Urbanisation**

In most of the discussions on impact of urbanisation on the family structure, one specific observation is fairly common: that, due to the influence of urbanisation, the joint family structure is under severe stress, and in many cases it has developed a tendency toward nuclearisation. When there is no disagreement on the authenticity of such a tendency, the traditional ideal joint family was perhaps not the exclusive type before such influence came into existence. Nevertheless, various accounts demonstrate how both nuclear and joint structures have evolved innumerable varieties due to the influence of urbanisation.

### **7.3.3 Modernisation**

Both industrialisation and urbanisation are considered as the major contributing factors toward modernisation. In fact, modernisation as a social-psychological attribute can be in operation independent of industrialisation and urbanisation.

With the passage of time, through exposures to the forces of modernisation, family structure underwent multiple changes almost leading to an endless variety. There are instances too, where family structure has become simpler due to its impact. There are also contrary instances indicating consequent complexity in family structure.

### **7.3.4 Change in the Family Structure : A Perspective**

One of the important features of the family studies in India has been concerned with the question of whether the joint family system is disintegrating, and a new nuclear type of family pattern is emerging. "It seems almost unrealistic", Augustine points out, "that we think of a dichotomy between the joint and nuclear family. This is especially true given the rapidity of social change, which has swept our country." In the context of industrialisation, urbanisation and social change, it is very difficult to think of a dichotomy between the joint and the nuclear family in India. In the present contexts, these typologies are not mutually exclusive. Social change is an inevitable social process, which can be defined as observable transformations in social relationships. This transformation is most evident in the family system. However, because of structures of our traditionality, these transformations are not easily observable (Augustine 1982:2).

Against this backdrop, to understand the dimensions of changes taking place in Indian family system, the concept of transitionality may be used. This concept, according to Augustine, has two dimensions : retrospective and prospective. The retrospective dimension implies the traditional past of our family and social system, while the prospective one denotes the direction in

which change is taking place in our family system. Transitionality is thus an attempt to discern the crux of the emergent forms of family (Augustine 1982:3).

Keeping in mind this perspective, we shall examine the emerging trends of change in the family system in contemporary India. However, at the outset, we are to make it explicit that, within the given space, it would not be possible for us to document the changes individually taking place in the family system of various castes or ethnic groups spread over diversified socio-cultural regions of this country. Hence for your broad understanding, we shall concentrate on three broad areas of our enquiry : change in the traditional extended family, rural family and urban family. Let us begin with change in the traditional extended family. Before that complete this activity.

#### Activity 1

Try to know the past 40 years' history of your family from some elderly member. It may have undergone significant changes over the years. List down the factors responsible for changes in your family. Write a note on these changes of about 2 pages. If possible, discuss your findings with the Counsellor and the students at your Study Centre. You should find it sociologically interesting.

## 7.4 CHANGE IN THE JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM

The extended family in India is known as joint family. The ideals of the joint family are highly valued throughout the country, especially among the Hindus. However, studies conducted in several parts of the country show that the joint family system in India is undergoing a process of structural transformation due to the process of modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation. But the fact remains that the values and attitudes of the Indian society have favoured the joint family tradition for centuries, and these are still favoured. Many scholars have viewed the transformation in the joint family system in terms of the concept of the family cycle.

A nuclear family develops into a joint family after the marriage of a son; that is with the coming in of a daughter-in-law. Hence the process of fission and fusion take place in the family system due to various reasons. In most parts of India, where patriarchal families exist, sons are expected to stay together with the parents till the siblings of the family are married. After this they tend to separate. Thus the process of fission takes place, and the joint family is broken into relatively smaller number of units - sometimes into nuclear units. Nicholas, on the basis of his study in rural West Bengal, concludes that if a joint family between a father and his married sons divides, a joint family among brothers rarely survives. The father seems to be the keystone of the joint family structure. Despite the solidarity among the male siblings, after the father's death, many forces tend to break the joint family into separate hearths, even though at times the property may be held in common (Cf. Ishwaran, 1982 : 8).

I.P. Desai, in his famous work, *Some Aspects of Family in Mahuva* (1964), points out that in Gujarat 'a residentially nuclear group is embedded in social, cultural and other non-social environments, which are not the same as those in the societies of the West'. He defines the structure of a family in terms of one's orientation to action. When action is oriented towards the husband, wife and children, the family can be categorised as a nuclear unit; and when the action is oriented towards a wider group, it is defined as a joint family. To

him, through the nuclear family does exist in India, it is, however, not the prevalent pattern. In his sampling, only 7% of the households considered nuclear family as desirable, while around 60% considered jointness as desirable.

Significantly, elements of jointness were found among all religious groups. Their greater degree was available among the business and the agricultural castes. It is important to note that property was an important factor behind the jointness. Kapadia also found that though most families are nuclear, they are actually 'joint' in operation. These families maintain their connections through mutual cooperation and rights and obligations other than those of property. To him, not the common hearth, but mutual ties, obligations and rights, etc., have been the major elements of jointness in the contemporary functionally joint family in India (Kapadia 1959 : 250).

In his study of a village in South India, Ishwaran (1982) found that 43.76% nuclear (elementary) families and 56.24% were extended (joint) families. The villagers attach a wealth of meaning to the term 'jointness' and in their opinion one either belongs to the joint family or depends upon the extended kin. In fact, the isolated independent elementary family does not exist for them, and indeed its actual existence is largely superficial due to heavy reliance upon the extended kin group. The extended family is the ideal family, reinforced by religious, social, economic and other ideological forces. He concludes that even though the nuclear families are on the increase, perhaps because of the greater geographical and social mobility found in a society being modernised, these families cannot live in isolation without active cooperation and contact with the extended kin (Ishwaran 1982 : 20)

There is no denying the fact that the trend of modernisation has been dominant in India. However, the physical separation does not speak for the departure from the spirit of jointness of the family structure. The sense of effective cooperation in need, and obligation to each other, have remained prevalent among the family members in spite of being separated from the erstwhile joint family. Hence, we are required to understand not only the manifestation of nuclearisation of the family structure in India, but also the latent spirit of cooperation and prevalence of common values and sentiments among the family members. The extent of cooperation and the prevalence of common values and sentiments may vary in the rural and urban areas. We shall discuss the patterns of change in the rural and urban family structure, separately, in the following sections.

**Check Your Progress 2**

- i) Write a note, in about six lines, on the fission in the traditional joint family system in India.

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ii) How can you define the structure of a family in terms of one’s orientation towards action. Answer in about five lines.

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## **7.5 CHANGE IN THE RURAL FAMILY SYSTEM**

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Scholars have identified the joint family as typical of rural India. These families are exposed to various forces, viz., land reforms, education, mass media, new technology, new development strategies, urbanisation, industrialisation, modernisation, and so on. These above-mentioned forces are found to exercise tremendous influence on the contemporary family systems in rural India. Let us examine these forces in detail.

### **7.5.1 Factors Responsible for Change**

There are various factors affecting the family structure in rural India. We shall discuss some of these factors here.

#### **i) Land Reforms**

Earlier, the members of the joint family normally lived together due to common ancestral property, which was vast in size. Land reforms imposed ceiling restriction on the landholdings. In many cases, the heads of the family resorted to theoretical partition of the family by dividing the land among the sons in order to avoid the law of the land ceiling. During their life-time the sons live under his tutelage, if he was powerful; otherwise, sons gradually began to live separately during their parents life-time. Thus the theoretical partition hastens formal partition, and sows the seeds for separate living (Lakshminarayana, 1982 : 44). Again, in many cases, real partition has taken place in the joint family, immediately after the implementation of the land ceiling laws.

#### **ii) Education and Gainful Employment**

Education, industrialisation and urbanisation have opened the scope for gainful employment to the villagers outside the village. Initially, a few members of the joint family move to the city for education. After successful completion of education, most of them join service or opt for other avenues of employment in the urban areas. They get married and start living with their wives and children. Gradually, such separate units become the nuclear families. However, the members of these nuclear units keep on cooperating with the other members of their natal family on most occasions.

#### **iii) Economic Difficulties in Rural Areas**

The rural development strategies in India, aimed to eradicate poverty and unemployment, enhance a higher standard of life and economic development with social justice to the rural people. However, in reality these have generated

regional imbalances, sharpened class inequality, and have adversely economic and social life of the lower strata of the rural people. In the backward areas, people face enormous hardship to earn a livelihood. Hence, people of these areas are pushed to migrate to the urban areas. This migration has affected the family structure. Initially men alone migrate. Then they bring their family and gradually become residentially separated from their natal home.

#### iv) **Growing Individuals**

A high sense of individualism is also growing among section of the villagers. Penetration of the mass media (viz., the newspapers, the T.V., the radio), formal education, consumerist culture and market forces have helped individualism grow at a faster rate than ever. The rural people and the members of the rural joint family have started believing more in their individuality. In the past, the size of the family was relatively big. The kinship network was large and obligations were more. It was imperative that relatives were given shelter. Today, every individual strives to improve his/her standard of living and enhance his/her status in the community outside the purview of the family and the kinship. This is possible if the individual has lesser commitments and fewer obligations (Lakshminarayan 1982 : 46). This situation grows at a faster rate immediately after the marriage of the sons and coming of the daughters-in-law. Many times value conflicts between an educated individualistic daughter-in-law and old mother-in-law lead to the break down in the joint family system.

### **7.5.2 Impact of the Breakdown of the Joint Family**

The transition in the rural family structure has certain significant impacts on the status and role of the family members. One impact is that of the diminishing authority of the patriarch of the joint family. In a joint family, traditionally, authority rests on the eldest male member of the family. Once the family splits into several units, new authority centres emerge there, with the respective eldest male member as the head of each nuclear unit. Authority is also challenged frequently by the educated and the individualistic young generations. Youngmen exposed to modern ideas of freedom and individualism show resentment to the traditional authority (Ibid.).

After the split in a joint family, women, who earlier had no say in the family affairs, also emerge as mistresses of the nuclear households with enormous responsibility. In this process of transition, the oldest woman also tend to lose their authority. Many of young women also challenge the dominating attitudes of the mothers-in-law. Similarly, many of the traditional mothers-in-law also face an uneasy situation due to growing disproportionate individualism among the daughters-in-law.

With the breakdown of the joint family system, the aged, widow, widower and other dependents in the family face severe problems. The joint family system provides security to these people. After the breakdown of this family system, they are left to themselves. In the rural area, the day care centres for the old or the children's home for the orphan are not available. Hence, their position becomes very critical. Many widows, widowers, children, and even old couple become beggars. Many leave for old people centres around pilgrim centres as the last resort of their social security and mental peace.

**Check Your Progress 3**

- 1) Describe the impact of land reforms on the joint family system in India. Use five lines to answer.

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- 2) What has been the impact of the mass media on the joint family?

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**7.6 CHANGE IN URBAN FAMILY SYSTEM**

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Significant numbers of studies have been conducted on the urban family structure in India. T.K. Oommen (1982), after surveying all these studies, points out that most of these studies have been obsessed with a single question; Is the joint family in India breaking down and undergoing a process of nuclearisation due to urbanisation? A group of sociologists postulated this assumption that the joint family system is breaking down and the trend is toward the formation of nuclear units in the urban areas. While another group is of the opinion that joint family ethic and the kinship orientation still exist even after the residential separation.

**7.6.1 Family in the Urban Setting**

Scholars point out that industrial urbanisation has not brought disintegration in the joint family structure. Milton Singer (1968) studies the structure of the joint family among the Industrialists of Madras City. He finds that joint family system has not been a blockade for entrepreneurship development. Rather, it has facilitated and adapted to industrialisation. Orensten, in his study on the *Recent History of Extended Family in India* analyses the census data from 1811 to 1951. He finds that joint and large families in India are not disappearing by the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. However, the prevalence of the joint family structure has not been of uniform one across society. Ramakrishna Mukherjee finds that (a) the joint family is over-represented in the trade and commerce sector of national economy and in the high and middle grade occupations; (b) nuclear family is over-represented in the rural rather than in the urban areas. Based on his study on the family structure in West Bengal, he concludes that the central tendency in the Indian society is to pursue the joint family organisation (cf. Oommen 1982: 60). Joint family sentiments

widely prevail over nuclearisation of family units in spite of residential separation, etc.

### 7.6.2 Direction of Change

T.K. Oommen is of the opinion that so far urban family has been viewed from within as a little society. To him, for a proper understanding, the urban family should be placed in a broad social context. For this purpose, the urban families are to be distinguished through the mode of earning a livelihood and sources of income, structure of authority, urban social milieu and social ecology and the emerging value patterns. He points out that the type of family postulated in the Indian Constitution is an egalitarian, conjugal and nuclear family. Besides the Constitutionality, the socio-ecological factors, like the settlement patterns, native cultural environments of the urban migrants, and associations to various occupational, political, ideological, cultural-recreational, economic groups influence and reorient the style and pattern of the urban familial life. He mentions that urban centres have been the melting pots of traditional and modern values. Individualism is growing at a significant speed in the urban areas. It admits freedom of individuals in the decision-making process in the family, choice of mates, acquisition and management of personal property, establishment of separate households after marriage, etc. Individualism is, however, against the spirit of the joint family and questions the established authority of the elder male. There may be contradictory emphasis on the value hierarchies and individualism. This is also likely to influence the urban family life. However, the influence of the above-mentioned factors may be of a diverse nature, based on the typology (metropolis, city, town, etc.) of the urban areas and the extent of industrialisation as well. Along with these, the traditional cultural patterns of the family also continue. To him, there are three broad categories of urban families on the basis of their income. These families have distinct socio-cultural and ecological milieu, patterns of familial authority and value. Forces of urbanisation have affected these families diversely. Let us examine these families.

- i) **Families of Proprietary Class.** Their basic resource is the family of capital. The elder males in the family have substantial authority, as they own and control property. These are mostly the joint-households. Socially, they are the local people or the old migrants from the same region and same cultural milieu. In these families, traditional hierarchies are accepted and individualism is incipient.
- ii) **Families of the Entrepreneurial-cum-Professional Category.** The basic resources of these families are capital and expertise/skill and their simultaneous investment for generating income. Small commercial/trade/industrial establishments owned and managed by the family, practitioners of professions, etc., belong to this category. The adult males have less authority. Though these families are joint in nature, there is a tendency of breaking up as adult sons marry. Socially, they are mostly the local and the old migrants. However, new migrants are also there. In these households, hierarchy and traditional authority is questioned and individualism is visible.
- iii) **Families of Service Category.** These families generate income exclusively through selling their expertise skill or labour power in the service sector. This category is again divided into three sub-categories.

- a) **Families in the service sector.** The major source of their income is professional/managerial or administrative expertise. In these families, the domination of the male and the old members are not sustained. Neolocal nuclear households are the dominant patterns. Socially, they are mostly the new migrants from diversified socio-cultural regions. In these families, hierarchy erodes and individualism is strong.
- b) **Families in the service sector.** The main source of their income is administrative skill and semi-professional expertise. There are decentralisation of authority because of women's contribution in the family income, retirement from work, dependency on sons or daughters, etc. These are neolocal households with dependent kins. Socially, they are a mixture of locals, old and new migrants and come substantially from various regions. Traditional authority and hierarchy are questioned, and individualism slowly emerges there.
- c) **The labour families in the service sector.** The only source of their income is the labour power. These are essentially the nuclear households. However, due to poverty, they share housing with kins. There have been the sharing and decentralisation of authority among the family members, based on the extent of their economic contribution. They are a mixture of locals, old and new migrants from same cultural regions. In these families, hierarchy breaks down with the growth of individualism.

An analysis of the changes in the above-mentioned families shows that the forces of change have diversely affected these families. The old migrants and the local people, who earn absolutely from their household investment, have accepted the traditional authority. Individualism has not penetrated there. The tendency toward nuclearisation is more among the new migrants and among the families in the servicing sector. Individualism has also grown because of diverse socio-economic conditions. T.K. Oommen, however, points out the possibility of overlapping between these types of urban families.

### 7.6.3 Some Emerging Trends

In the context of rapid technological transformation, economic development and social change, the pattern of family living has been diverse in urban India. Today, life has been much more complex both in the rural and in the urban areas than what it was few decades ago. In the urban areas, even in the rural areas as well, many couples are in gainful employment. These working couples are to depend on others for child care, etc., facilities. With the structural break down of the joint family, working couple face a lot of problem. For employment, many rural males come out of the village, leaving behind their wives and children in their natal homes. The rural migrants are not always welcome to the educated westernised urban family for a longer stay. Their stay many times creates tension among the family members. In the lower strata of the urban society, however, the rural migrants are largely accommodated. Many times, they become the members of these families also. The 1991 Census has revealed an important trend of the changing family pattern in India. Data suggested that though nuclearisation of the family has been the dominant phenomenon the extent of joint living is also increasing, especially in the urban areas. Experts point out that the increase in the joint living is mostly because of the migration

of the rural people to the urban areas, and their sharing of common shelter and hearth with other migrants from the same region.

In the process of structural transformation, the old structure of authority and value have been challenged. The growing individualism questions the legitimacy of the age old hierarchic authority. The old value system also changes significantly. However this system of transformation has minimised the importance of mutual respect, love and affection among the family members belonging to various generations. Penetration of consumerist culture has aggravated the situation further. In a situation of generation gap, many of the aged feel frustrated, dejected and neglected in society. Since the emotional bondage has been weakened; many young members feel a sense of identity crisis in the family. The lack of emotional support in the family often leads the youth to the path of alcoholism and drug addiction. The aspect of joint family sentiments, which has been so emphasised by the sociologists, has not been always operational and effective in the changing context of the society.

#### Check Your Progress 4

Tick Mark the correct answers

- i) According to Milton Singer, the joint family system
  - a) has not been a blockade for entrepreneurship development.
  - b) Has been a blockade for entrepreneurship development.
  - c) Is breaking down among the business community.
  - d) Is the dominant pattern among the servicing poor.
- ii) According to Ramakrishna Mukherjee the nuclear family is over represented in the .....
  - a) rural areas.
  - b) urban areas
  - c) both of these areas
  - d) none of these areas.
- iii) T.K. Oommen distinguishes urban families through
  - a) mode of earning and changing value pattern.
  - b) structure of authority
  - c) urban social milieu and social ecology.
  - d) all of the above.

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### 7.7 LET US SUM UP

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In this Unit, we have defined and discussed various types of family. We have also discussed various factors, viz., urbanisation, industrialisation and modernisation affecting family structure in India. Changes in the traditional joint family system are also explained. Families of the urban and rural India are affected diversely by the forces of development and change. We have discussed changes in the rural and urban families separately. Among the rural families, we discussed the factors responsible for the change, and the impact

of the breakdown of the joint family are also discussed. Lastly, the change in the urban family structure, the direction of its change and some emerging trends are also discussed.

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## 7.8 KEY WORDS

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<b>Family Cycle</b>	: It denotes that the elements of family life take shape in a certain direction. It relates essentially to the process of fission in the residential and compositional aspects of the family.
<b>Neolocal Residence</b>	: The custom for a married couple to reside apart from either spouse's parent or other relatives.
<b>Patriarchal Family</b>	: A family in which the eldest male is dominant.
<b>Patrilocal</b>	: The custom for a married couple to reside in the household or community of the husband's parents.
<b>Polyandry</b>	: A form of marriage in which a wife has more than one husband at the same time.
<b>Polygamy</b>	: Marriage involving more than one woman at the same time.
<b>Polygyny</b>	: A form of polygamy in which a husband has more than one wife at the same time.

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## 7.9 FURTHER READINGS

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## 7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) d)
- 2) a)
- 3) d)

### Check Your Progress 2

- i) In traditional patriarchal–patrilocal families in India, sons are expected to stay with the parents till the marriages of the siblings are over. The sons tend to separate after this. Hence, the process of fission takes place, and the joint family breaks down into relatively smaller units-sometimes into nuclear households.

- ii) According to I.P.Desai, when action is oriented towards husband, wife and children, the family can be categorised as a nuclear unit; and when the action is oriented towards wider group it is defined as joint family.

**Check Your Progress 3**

- 1) Land reforms put ceiling restriction on landholdings. In many cases, the heads of respective family made theoretical partition of the family to avoid the land ceiling. However, the sons gradually began to live separately hastening the formal partition.
- 2) Penetration of the mass media helped individualism grow at a faster rate in the rural areas. The rural people started believing more in their individuality. Today, the individual strives to improve his/her standard of living. It is possible if the individual has lesser commitments and fewer obligations.

**Check Your Progress 4**

- i) a)
- ii) a)
- iii) d)



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# UNIT 8 UNEMPLOYMENT

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## Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Unemployment: Socio-economic Contexts and Dimensions
  - 8.2.1 The Socio-economic Context
  - 8.2.2 Problems of Identifying Unemployment
  - 8.2.3 Estimating Unemployment
- 8.3 Types of Unemployment
  - 8.3.1 Seasonal Unemployment
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- 8.8 Key Words
- 8.9 Further Readings
- 8.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 8.0 OBJECTIVES

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This unit deals with the problems of unemployment in India. After reading this unit you should be able to:

- examine the problems in creating employment;
- discuss and define unemployment;
- analyse the nature and extent of unemployment among the educated and its social consequences;
- explain the schemes introduced for tackling unemployment problems in India; and
- narrate the constitutional provisions of right to work and its implications.

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## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

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This is the first unit of this Block. In this unit we shall be discussing the various aspects of unemployment problems in India. This unit begins with a discussion on the socio-economic context of the problem of unemployment, problems of identifying unemployment and present an estimate of this problem in India. The various types of unemployment viz. the seasonal, disguised etc. are discussed here. The problems of educated unemployment are discussed in great

length in this unit. Various government policies related to unemployment are also discussed in this unit. Lastly we discussed the concept of right to work and its implications. Now let us begin with the socio-economic context of this problem in India.

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## **8.2 UNEMPLOYMENT: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXTS AND DIMENSIONS**

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The problem of finding employment for all able-bodied persons willing to work is common to all countries, developed as well as developing. Every country wants to provide employment to all its citizens. However, this is not always possible. Even developed countries like England and the USA face problems of unemployment. There are a large number of people who want to work but are unable to get jobs. In developing countries the problem is more serious because the number of unemployed are usually very large. Hence it may not be possible for the state to provide employment for these people in a short period of time. Moreover, a developing nation, being poorer than the developed countries, may not be in a position to give employment to a large number of people within the given economic infrastructure.

### **8.2.1 The Socio-economic Context**

In India unemployment is a major problem. There are already a large number of unemployed people in the country. At the same time, because of the high rate of population growth, there are more and more people seeking employment. Therefore we find all major programmes to provide for employment for all fall short of expectations.

Employment basically means work. If more people work there will be greater production of goods and services in society. Similarly, in a society where there are a large section of people ready to work, but only few people get the opportunity to work, there will be less production. Greater production of goods and services ensures that these are available to a larger number of people. Hence more and more people are able to improve their standard of living. Employment, therefore should not be viewed merely as a means of livelihood for people. It also means that if more people are employed in a country, the more prosperous it is: because it is able to produce more and provide more goods and services to the people as a whole.

Therefore we can argue that the best way for a country to develop is to provide employment for all. Only then can there be economic advancement. This is of course true but it is easier said than done. Developing countries face several constraints and the most important is the lack of resources. For example, a person can work either in agriculture or in industry. For work in agriculture you require land. But this is not enough. You also require implements (plough, bullocks, tractor etc.). Therefore, for work on land you require all these investments, which we call capital. Similarly for work in industry factories have to be set up. Most developing countries do not have the resources to invest in creating employment in this manner. They have either to get loans or aid from developed countries or they have to plan their resources in such a way that the maximum number of people get the benefits with minimum investment. We shall discuss these problems in a later section in this unit.

Unemployment has several dimensions. The most evident is that a person who does not have work has no income and he is unable to support himself/herself and his/her family. Moreover, as we have discussed earlier, unemployment means that the country is unable to use the labour power of a large number of people and this results in low production. These are mainly economic consequences of unemployment. There are also serious social consequences of unemployment which makes it not only an economic problem but a social problem. For a person unemployment means that he is unable to meet his basic needs. He has to depend on others for these. This makes him insecure or frustrated. Such people can take resort to anti-social activities in order to get some income. We will discuss these issues in another section of this unit. However, before we proceed any further let us first try to understand what do we mean by unemployment. We will see that there are various types of unemployment and it is not easy to identify them.

### **8.2.2 Problems of Identifying Unemployment**

For many of us the notion of unemployment is one of those who do not have a job or, are paid no salary. This is partly correct but not wholly. Such a notion would apply largely to the educated people who are not able to find work or to those in urban areas who come to seek employment. We will leave out a large section of people, in fact the majority, who are engaged in agriculture and who may not be paid wages. For example, a person cultivating a small piece of land which he owns is also employed, though he is not paid a wage. He is more known as self-employed in agriculture. Similarly there are vast number of people in rural and urban area who do not get wages for the work they do. These are farmers, artisans, petty shop owners, small and big industrialists, taxi drivers, mechanics etc. These people are also regarded as being employed. All these people as well as those drawing salaries are regarded as being “gainfully employed” because they get some material rewards (in cash or kind) for the work they do. Those who are not gainfully employed are unemployed.

The next problem is of identifying the unemployed. This is not an easy task. Normally in our country we regard those people who are between the ages 15 and 58 as being “economically active”. In other words these people have the potential of being gainfully employed. Therefore those who are not gainfully employed in this age group are unemployed. This supposition will again not be fully correct. There could be a large number of people in this age group who do not wish to seek employment. They could be students or people who can depend on other people’s earnings and they do not wish to be employed. Till recently women were considered in this category since a large section of women (married women mainly) do household work. However, in recent years, this has been considered as economic activities. The Census of 1991 and 2001 have taken this into consideration.

### **8.2.3 Estimating Unemployment**

Assessing the extent of unemployment is a very important, but difficult task. The government needs this information so that it can formulate the plans to ensure that maximum people find some employment. It is also necessary to assess where employment is needed. For this we have to assess the situation in urban and in rural areas, among various sections of the population, namely,

male, female, agricultural workers, industrial workers, educated people and illiterates etc.

The number of unemployed persons has increased tremendously in India since Independence. In 1983 the number of unemployed in Indian was 21.76 million. In 1999-2000 there absolute number has increased to 26.58 million. However, the rate of unemployment had decreased over the year from 8.30% to 7.32% (Planning Commission of India 2002). However a very recent estimate shows that the unemployment rate in India is to the extent of 9%. The past and present scenario of employment and unemployment and their state wise variations are shown in table no. 1 & 2

**Table 1 : Past and Present Macro-scenario on Employment and Unemployment (CDS basis)**

(person years)

	(Million)			Growth per annum (%)	
	1983	1993-94	1999-2000	1983 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-2000
<b>All India</b>					
Population	718.20	894.01	1003.97	2.00	1.95
Labour Force	261.33	335.97	363.33	2.43	1.31
Workforce	239.57	315.84	336.75	2.70	1.07
Unemployment rate (%)	(8.30)	(5.99)	(7.32)		
No. of Unemployed	21.76	20.13	26.58	-0.08	4.74
<b>Rural</b>					
Population	546.61	658.83	727.50	1.79	1.67
Labour Force	204.18	255.38	270.39	2.15	0.96
Work Force	187.92	241.04	250.89	2.40	0.67
Unemployment rate (%)	(7.96)	(5.61)	(7.21)		
No. of Unemployed	16.26	14.34	19.50	-1.19	5.26
<b>Urban</b>					
Population	171.59	234.98	276.47	3.04	2.74
Labour Force	57.15	80.60	92.95	3.33	2.40
Work Force	51.64	74.80	85.84	3.59	2.32
Unemployment rate (%)	(9.64)	(7.19)	(7.65)		
No. of Unemployed	5.51	5.80	7.11	0.49	3.45

Source : Planning Commission 2002.

Table 2 : Employment Scenario in States

Unemployment

(CDS Basis)

Sl. No.	Selected States	Employment ('000) 1999-00	Employment growth) 1993-94 to 1999-00 (% p.a)	Unemployment rate		Employment elasticity 1993-94 to 1999-00	GDP growth (% per annum) 1993-94 to 1999-00
				1999-00 (%)	1993-94 (%)		
1.	Andra Pradesh	30614	0.35	8.03	6.69	0.067	5.2
2	Assam	7647	1.99	8.03	8.03	0.737	2.7
3	Bihar	30355	1.59	7.32	6.34	0.353	4.5
4	Gujarat	18545	2.31	4.55	5.70	0.316	7.3
5	Haryana	5982	2.43	4.77	6.51	0.420	5.8
6	Himachal Pradesh	2371	0.37	2.96	1.80	0.052	7.1
7	Karnataka	20333	1.43	4.57	4.94	0.188	7.6
8	Kerala	8902	0.07	20.97	15.51	0.013	5.5
9	Madhya Pradesh	28725	1.28	4.45	3.56	0.272	4.7
10	Maharashtra	34979	1.25	7.16	5.09	0.216	5.8
11	Orissa	11928	1.05	7.34	7.30	0.262	4.0
12	Punjab	8013	1.96	4.03	3.10	0.426	4.6
13	Rajasthan	19930	0.73	3.13	1.31	0.104	7.0
14	Tamil Nadu	23143	0.37	11.78	11.41	0.052	7.1
15	Uttar Pradesh	49387	1.02	4.08	3.45	0.185	5.5
16	West Bengal	22656	0.41	14.99	10.06	0.056	7.3
<b>All India</b>		<b>336736</b>	<b>1.07</b>	<b>7.32</b>	<b>5.99</b>	<b>0.160</b>	<b>6.7</b>

Source : Planning Commission 2002.

**Check Your Progress 1**

- i) Why is higher level of employment necessary for the country? Answer in about six lines

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- ii) Tick whether the given statements are true or false:

i) Employment means having a permanent job. True/False

ii) Those performing gainful economic activities are employed. True/False

iii) Unemployment is much lower in urban areas as compared to rural areas. True/False

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## 8.3 TYPES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

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We have seen so far that though employment is a serious problem it is not always easy to identify. The figures on unemployment quoted in the previous section show what is actually known as visible unemployment. There are other types of unemployment which are not very visible. A person can be employed but he may be actually unemployed. How is this possible? Let us try and find out. Hence we shall be discussing the typology of unemployment to understand this phenomenon.

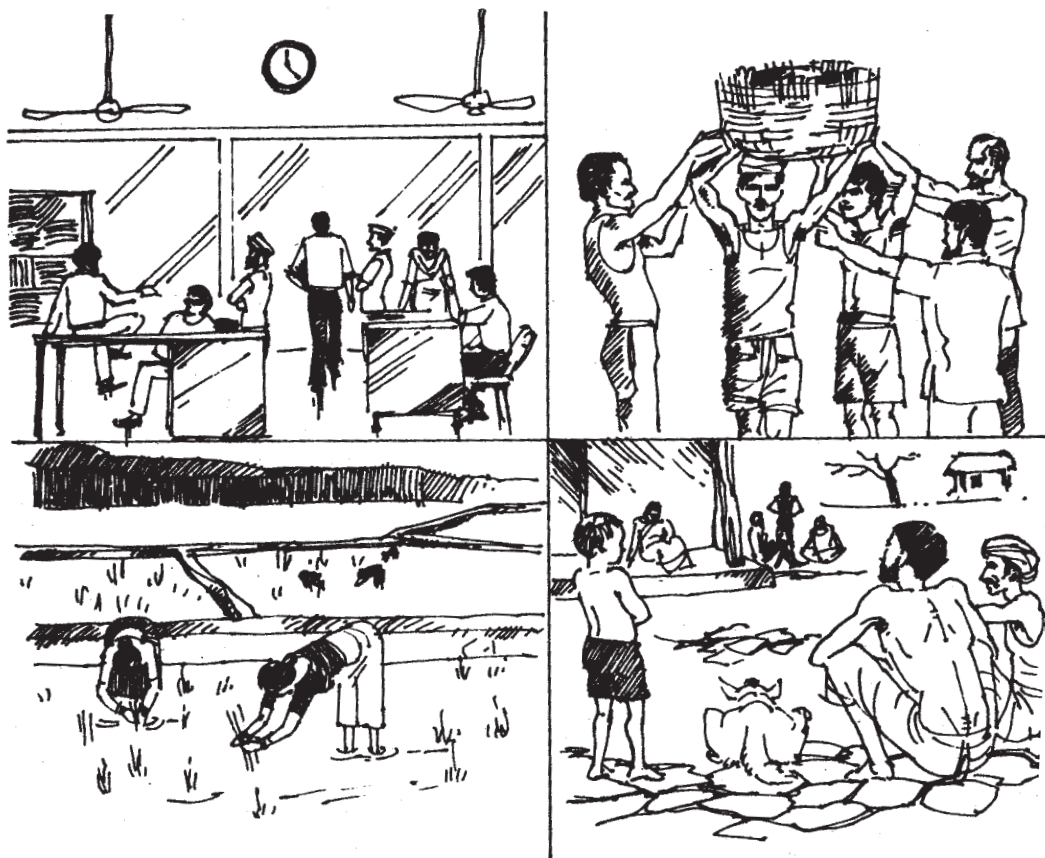
### 8.3.1 Seasonal Unemployment

Normally when we talk of employed people we mean those who have work throughout the year. But this may not be possible for all. In agriculture, work is seasonal even though agricultural activities are performed throughout the year. During the peak agricultural seasons (when the crop is ready for harvesting) more people are required for work. Similarly in the sowing, weeding and transplantation period more labour is required. Employment therefore increases at this time. In fact we will find that there is hardly any unemployment in rural areas during these peak agricultural seasons. However, once these seasons are over the agricultural workers, especially those who do not own land or whose land is not sufficient to meet their basic requirements (these are landless labourers and marginal farmers respectively), remain unemployed. This type of unemployment is known as seasonal unemployment. This also means that the persons who get seasonal employment are unemployed for the rest of the year. If these workers move away from the villages in search of employment elsewhere then there will not be sufficient people to work during the season and this will lower productivity. Hence it is necessary to find work during the season and this will lower productivity. Seasonal employment is most common in agriculture but it can be found in industries as well. There are some industries, such as tea, sugar, jute etc., which are agro-based and they too employ people during the peak seasons of their operation. Seasonal employment results in large scale migration of the agricultural labourers from agriculturally backward regions to that of the developed regions.

### 8.3.2 Disguised Unemployment

There are also instances where we find too many people working when so many are not required. In agriculture we may find that all members of the family work. It is possible that 3-4 people can do a given work in the farm, but we find that the whole family of say 10 people doing the job. This may be because the excess people are not able to find employment elsewhere, so rather than remain unemployed they prefer to do the work along with others. This is known as disguised unemployment. This occurs when more than the necessary number of people are employed for the specified work. Disguised unemployment is found in agriculture because of the lack of employment opportunities elsewhere. Similarly disguised unemployment can be found in industry and offices as well. It is not uncommon to find a lot of staff in some offices who have very little or no work to do. In some factories also we find that many more people than required are employed. We may think that given the present situation of high unemployment, there is nothing wrong if more people are employed. However, just as employing too few people for the job





Types of Unemployment

reduces productivity, employing too many also has the same effect. Understaffed government offices may be inefficient as the staff cannot cope up with the given work load. Similarly overstaffed offices can also be inefficient because there may be overlap of work because the same work is done by many people.

In agriculture disguised unemployment means that the excess workers are being paid or they are taking a share of the agricultural products without actually helping to increase production. With the result the surplus viz. the amount remaining after those involved in actual production take their share, is reduced. For example, 10 people are required to work on a piece of land which will yield, say around 100 quintals of grain. The requirements of these 10 will be met by 50 quintals of grain. Now if instead of 10 we have 15 people working on the same land and they produce around 100 quintals of grain the requirements of the 15 will be 50% more than that of 10 i.e. 75 quintals. Hence only 25 quintals will be surplus whereas in the earlier situation 50 quintals was surplus.

In industry if more people than necessary are employed then the wage bill will increase and the profits of the unit will be lower. This will also mean that the industrial unit will have less resources to reinvest in improving production (e.g. new machinery, better raw materials etc.). Therefore disguised unemployment or surplus employment may look attractive in the short-run as a means of providing more employment, but in the long run it can become a cause for concern.

We can thus see that the problem of unemployment has several dimensions. First of all we have to identify who the unemployed are. This as we have seen occurs at two levels. Those who do not have gainful employment and who are

seeking it. The last is the active factor for determining the unemployed as there may be people who are not gainfully employed but they may not be seeking employment for various reasons. Disguised unemployment and seasonal employment are two such instances. Let us now turn our attention to another problem of unemployment which affects most of us, namely, educated unemployment.

### Check Your Progress 2

- i) Seasonal employment is:
  - a) found only in agriculture
  - b) found only in industry
  - c) most common in agriculture but it can be found in the industries as well.
- ii) We find disguised employment where:
  - a) less people are working when many are required
  - b) too many people are working when so many are not required
  - c) people are employed as per the requirements.

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## 8.4 EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED

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The problem of educated unemployed is serious in our country. There are a large number of young educated people who are unable to find employment or even if some of them do they are engaged in work which require less qualifications. This means that these people accept work which does not give them the income which persons with similar qualifications get elsewhere. For example a person holding a Ph.D degree works as a lower division clerk in an office, or a highly trained engineer working as a sales assistant in a shop. We find though the overall picture of employment in India has shown an improvement, the situation among the educated unemployed has remained the same.

### 8.4.1 Extent of Unemployment

There has been enormous increase in the rate of unemployment among the educated in India. The number of graduate unemployed increased from 9 lakhs in 1965 to 5.6 million in 1977 with an annual growth rate of 21%. During 1980-88 there has been an annual growth rate of 23% of the graduate unemployed. The number is much larger for matriculate, higher secondary, and undergraduates. However, one has to take into account that many of these people may not be looking for employment as they would be engaged in higher studies. It seems strange that in a country like India where only a fraction of its population has had college education there should be difficulty in finding employment for these people. Let us try and find out the reasons.

The recent data available from the 939 employment exchanges in the country indicate that as on September 2002, the number of job seekers registered with the employment exchange (all of whom are not necessarily unemployed) was to the order 4.16 crore out of which, approximately 70% are educated (10<sup>th</sup> standard and above). The number of women job seekers was of the order of 1.08 crores (26% of the total job seekers). The maximum number of job seekers waiting for employment were in West Bengal (63.6 lakh), while minimum were

in the union territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli (0.06 lakh) and in the state of Arunachal Pradesh (0.2 lakh). The placement was maximum in Gujarat. (Indiabudget.nic.in).

Growth in education is linked with economic development. As a country develops it requires larger number of educated people to meet its requirements for running the administration, for work in industry at different levels. As the services sector (also known as the tertiary sector) expands, and the requirement for educated, trained personal also increases. Graduates are required for work in offices of these various organisations. Moreover the teaching profession expands as there is a greater number of schools and colleges. Education therefore contributes to production as it supplies the requisite manpower. However, problems arise mainly because of the slowing down of economic growth that results in the surplus supply of the trained/educated manpower. This results in a situation where there is educational development but the growth in the economy does not keep pace with it. This results in unemployment among the educated.

There is also lacunae with the education system in contemporary India. Our education system is not producing the required manpower as per the need of our society. Thus it is producing a large number of educated manpower whose knowledge and skill are not fully used at the present juncture of the transition of the society. They have remained as surplus educated manpower, unemployable and unemployed. The Kothari Commission (1964-66) pointed that there is a wide gap between the contemporary education system and practical need of the nation at present.

### **8.4.2 Consequences of Educated Unemployment**

The social consequences of the educated unemployed are quite serious. We will find that people with superior qualifications are doing jobs which could be done by less qualified people. This results in under-utilisation of one's capacity. We can find graduate engineers doing jobs which could be performed by diploma holders. Similarly there may be clerks and typists with post-graduate qualifications where perhaps matriculates could do the work. This is because people with lesser qualifications (matriculates) are unable to find jobs so they go for higher education with the hope that they will be in a better position to qualify for the same jobs. We therefore find that there are over qualified job seekers. This ultimately leads to the devaluation of education. An eminent educationist, A.R.Kamat, sums up the situation: "Education here is not so much an investment in human capital as a quest for a credential which will yield preference to its holder over those who do not possess it".

Apart from this, the educated unemployed become more frustrated than the uneducated unemployed because their aspirations are higher. An uneducated unemployed person may be willing to do any type of manual work but a graduate would not be willing to do this even if such work is freely available. In fact doing a job which is not suitable for one's qualification is not only frustrating but it is also a waste of national resources. An engineer working as a clerk because he is unable to find a job in his profession will make him frustrated. In addition it also means that the investment made in making him an engineer has been wasted. Similarly a graduate working as a coolie or as a taxi-driver does so in most cases not because he prefers the work but because he has no other option. This makes him feel frustrated. It also means that the resources

spent on his education has been wasted because one does not need such high qualifications for these jobs.

As mentioned earlier, unemployment makes the person feel insecure. He may out of frustration take to anti-social activities. Many thieves, pickpockets, smugglers, drug traffickers etc. take up these activities because they are unable to find gainful employment. What is worse is that once they are in these professions it is very difficult for them to take up respectable work later even if it is available. They have been branded as anti-socials and no employer would like to offer them jobs.



Social Consequences of Unemployment

Moreover the existence of a large number of unemployed in any country can challenge the stability of the government. Not all the unemployed take to crime as an alternative means of livelihood. In fact the vast majority of them search for legitimate work. If they do not get work they become frustrated. Their families too are unhappy. This means that the dissatisfaction of not having work is not confined to only the unemployed but to many more people. If there is large-scale unemployment, this may lead to the accumulation of discontent against the government. This discontent usually manifests in the form of uninstitutionalised action and mass mobilisation. This is why we find in our country that any government or political party which wants to be in the government makes eradication of unemployment as one of the main planks of its programmes. At the same time the government tries to start schemes which are employment oriented and also provides some aid to the unemployed in order to contain the discontent of the people.

The increase in educated unemployed is therefore a threat to the harmonious working of the economic system and to the political system. The social impact of educated unemployed results in deviant behaviour. As mentioned earlier,

educated people have higher ambitions for work and rightly so. If these are not fulfilled they may take to drugs, crime etc. The drug problem among the youth in our country is largely due to the bleak employment prospects. The unemployed youth are frustrated and they take recourse to drugs or alcohol to overcome their frustrations. Even the students when they find that jobs will not be available for them when they pass out try to overcome their depression through narcotics and drinks.

The frustrations of unemployed youth can also lead to terrorism. The highly educated unemployed have anger against society for their state of affairs. They feel that if this system cannot meet their aspirations for getting proper jobs it should be destroyed. This leads them to take to organised violence against the state. Terrorism in Assam and in many other parts of the country is largely a result of the large number of educated unemployed youth in these states, among other factors. Though Punjab is the most developed state and Assam one of the more economically backward states both have the common problem of a large number of educated unemployed youth. Punjab is agriculturally the most developed. This has led to spread higher education among its youth. However its urban-industrial sector and the educated are unable to find suitable jobs.

Therefore the need to provide proper jobs to the educated is not just an economic problem. It is also a social problem which perhaps is more dangerous than the economic dimension of waste of resources.

**Check Your Progress 3**

- i) Explain in five sentences how growth in education is necessary for economic development. Answer in about six lines.

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- ii) Show how unemployment is linked with anti-social activities. Answer in about six lines.

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**8.5 GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON UNEMPLOYMENT**

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We have seen how unemployment is a severe restraint in our economy and society. In order to overcome some of the problems created by unemployment,

the government has tried to formulate some programmes. These are directed towards creating avenues for gainful employment for the unemployed.

There are a number of programmes for counteracting unemployment. It is neither possible nor realistic to have only one scheme because, as we have seen, there are different types of unemployment. We have educated unemployment, unemployed among women, people in rural areas who are unable to find secured work and so on. The features of each of these sectors are different and hence each requires a separate scheme. Let us examine some of these schemes.

### **8.5.1 Schemes for Educated Unemployed**

There are mainly two approaches to help the educated unemployed. Some states such as West Bengal, Kerala etc. provide stipends for unemployed for a limited period. In most cases the minimum qualification is matriculation. The amount varies from Rs.100 to Rs.200 per month for three years. It is expected that persons availing of this scheme will be able to find employment within this period.

The other scheme is aimed at promoting self-employment among unemployed graduates. This is known as the Graduate Employment Programme. Here the government provides loans to graduates to start small industries or business with the help of the District Industries Centre. Preference is given to groups of graduates (3-5) who come together with a viable scheme. One can find a large number of them in the transport sector. The state government usually gives them priority in allotting route permits and license to set up industries. Unemployed engineers, both graduates and diploma holders, are encouraged to set up small industries or take up civil contract work after they form cooperatives. They are able to get loans at low rates of interest and they are given priority in getting government contracts. Various training centers have also been open by the government to promote the entrepreneurship and self-employment among the youth.

### **8.5.2 Schemes for Rural Areas**

The educated are not the only ones who face the problem of unemployment in the urban areas. There are large numbers of people in the rural areas who do not have a high level of education and who are unemployed. There are two main schemes for tackling this problem. These are the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY). Under these schemes the government creates public works programmes such as road building, construction, land reclamation, irrigation work etc. which provide employment to the rural poor. The advantages of such schemes are that firstly they are located in or near the villages of the unemployed so that they do not have to migrate out of their villages to seek work. Secondly they help overcome the problem of disguised unemployment and seasonal unemployment. The excess workers in agriculture can be drawn out and given work in these schemes.

There is another scheme for rural youth known as Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM). This operates in selected development blocks. It imparts skills to rural youth so that they can start employment generating activities. These include weaving, training as mechanics, fitters etc.

### 8.5.3 Schemes for Women

Apart from the above schemes which cover both males and females, there are schemes which are directed mainly towards women. These schemes attempt to provide self-employment to women through home-based work. The Khadi and Village Industries Corporation (KVIC) provides various schemes for this purpose. These include spinning and weaving, making papads, agarbattis and other consumer products. The raw material is supplied to the women and they make the final products in their homes. The KVIC pays them their labour costs and markets the products. These schemes help increase the family income of the rural poor.

#### Activity 1

Interview a self-employed youth of your area. Try to find out the problems faced by him or her in starting his/her activities. Also try to find out the reasons for their being opting for self-employment. Prepare a note of around 20 lines and if, possible, exchange it with your co learners in the Study Centre.

## 8.6 RIGHT TO WORK AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The growing rate of unemployment in our country is a serious problem which has been the focus of government policy. In order to ensure that government takes this up seriously it has been argued that the right to work should be included as a fundamental right to work for its citizens. The Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution however are the guidelines on which government policies should be formulated. They do not have legal backing for implementation. Hence if the right to work is made a fundamental right then every government will be forced to take measures which ensure that people get work. What exactly is meant by right work? Essentially it means that every adult citizen should have the right to do physical labour for eight hours a day, at the minimum wages. It does not mean that every citizen has a right to government employment. Nor does it mean that a person must be provided employment of his/her choice. In other words the right to work is like an employment guarantee scheme. In order to achieve the right to work it will be necessary to go in for large scale rural employment. This would essentially mean that our investments have to be directed to this sector. It would mean ensuring that artisans, craftsmen and the small farmers get enough inputs in the form of credit and raw materials so that they do not have to leave their work in the villages and join the unskilled unemployed in the cities. This will help reduce urban unemployment. In order to achieve this goal the infrastructure in the rural areas has to be improved. There has to be irrigation facilities so that there is water for land cultivation. The communication network has to be built up, roads have to be constructed and transport improved so that the farmers and the artisans can get a wider market for their product.

#### Box 1

##### Constitutional Provisions for Right to Work

The Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution speak of the right to work for Indian citizens. Article 30 reads “The state shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing – (a) that the citizens men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood.”

Article 41 especially speaks of the “Right to Work, to education, and to public assistance in certain cases” It reads: “The state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment.”

Other facilities have to be improved as well. People can work hard and produce more only if they are healthy. Therefore health facilities and proper nutrition has to be ensured. Moreover the vast section of illiterates can be made to learn new skills only if their illiteracy is removed. Hence education and schooling facilities must be expanded to cover the entire population.

These are some of the requirements for ensuring that all able bodied people get work. To achieve this it requires not only ore investment in the rural sector but also a change in the orientation of our planning. Perhaps this is why most governments promise to take steps to ensure the right to work but do not translate this into reality.

#### **Check Your Progress 4**

- i) Right to work is included in the:
  - a) Directive Principles of the State Policy
  - b) Ninth Schedule of the Constitution
  - c) Article 370 of the Constitution
  - d) Article 356 of the Constitution
- ii) Right to work means every citizen has the right to:
  - a) government employment
  - b) non-government employment
  - c) semi-government employment
  - d) do physical labour eight hours a day at the minimum wage.

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### **8.7 LET US SUM UP**

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In this unit we have covered various aspects relating to unemployment in our country. We have first of all discussed the meaning of unemployment and its dimensions. We have tried to identify the unemployed on this basis. This has led us to define unemployment and then discuss it in all the aspects, namely, visible, invisible, seasonal etc., and its consequences.

We have also discussed at length the problem of educated unemployment and why it is so common in our country. The social consequences of unemployment have also been discussed. We have seen that there are over-qualified job seekers which results in a wastage of resources. Educated unemployment causes frustration and frequently leads to anti-social activities.

We have examined some of the schemes initiated by the government to overcome unemployment. There are separate schemes for the educated, for the unemployed rural poor and for women. Lastly, we have also examined the meanings and implications of right to work in Indian context.



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## 8.8 KEY WORDS

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- Disguised unemployment** : a situation in which more than the optimal (required) number of people are employed to undertake certain tasks. Hence the excess people are actually unemployed as they are not doing required work though they may be paid.
- Educated unemployed** : in most cases (unless notified otherwise) a person who has finished schooling (metric) and is on the look out for employment is regarded as educated unemployed. The important period here is that the person must be actively seeking a job, because there will be a large number of cases where matriculates may not be interested in being employed as they will be engaged in higher education.
- Seasonal employment** : a situation in which employment opportunities exist during some parts of the year but in regular annual cycles. In other words employment is available during the some few months every year. This happens mainly in agriculture.

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## 8.9 FURTHER READINGS

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**Behari, B.** 1983, *Unemployment, Technology and Rural Poverty*, Vicaes Publishing House: New Delhi.

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## 8.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- i) Employment basically means work. If more people work there will be greater production of goods and services in society. The greater production of goods and services ensures that these are available to a larger number of people. It will help improve the standard of living. The country will also be more and more prosperous.
- ii) a) False  
b) True  
c) False

### Check Your Progress 2

- i) c)  
b)

### Check Your Progress 3

- i) Growth in education is linked with economic development. As a country develops it requires larger number of educated man power to meet its requirements for running the administration, work in the industry etc.

**Structure in Transition – II**

The service sector also expands and the requirement for the educated trained man power also increases. Hence education contributes to the growing needs.

- ii) Unemployment makes the person feel insecure. He may out of frustration take resort to various anti-social activities. Many thieves, pickpockets, smugglers, drug traffickers etc. take up these activities because they are unable to find gainful employment. They may also be involved in violence.

**Check Your Progress 4**

- i) a)
- ii) d)

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## **UNIT 9 LABOUR : INDUSTRIAL**

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### **Structure**

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Industry and Industrial Labour
  - 9.2.1 Features of Industrial Labour
  - 9.2.2 Industrial Labour in India
- 9.3 Labour in the Organised and Unorganised Sectors
  - 9.3.1 Organised Sector
  - 9.3.2 Unorganised Sector
  - 9.3.3 Linkages Between Organised and Unorganised Sectors
- 9.4 Labour Welfare Measures in India
  - 9.4.1 Responsibility of the State and Labour Laws
  - 9.4.2 Regulation at Work and Social Security in the Organised Sector
  - 9.4.3 Labour Welfare and Women Workers in the Organised Sector
  - 9.4.4 Labour Welfare in Unorganised Sector
- 9.5 Labour Unrest
  - 9.5.1 Trade Union
  - 9.5.2 Forms of Labour Unrest
- 9.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.7 Key Words
- 9.8 Further Readings
- 9.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## **9.0 OBJECTIVES**

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This unit discusses the various problems of industrial labour in India. After going through this unit you should be able to:

- discuss the features of industrial labour and the process of their emergence in India;
- explain the major problems of the industrial labour working both in the organised and unorganised sectors;
- describe the various aspects of labour welfare measures; and
- examine the nature and forms of labour unrest in India.

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## **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

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In this block, as stated in the objectives we shall be discussing the various problems of industrial labour in India. In Unit 26 of ESO-04 we discussed various dimensions of urban working class in India. Since that unit is directly related to our present discussion you may like to refer that unit as and when it is required.

In this unit we begin with a discussion on the important features of the industrial working class and the processes of their emergence in India. Various important

problems faced by the workers in the organised and unorganised industrial sectors are discussed at great length in this unit. We have also explained the linkages between organised and unorganised sectors. Labour laws are an important aspect of the labour welfare in India. We shall discuss this aspect in reference to industrial labour in general and women industrial labour in particular. We will also discuss the trade union activities and the forms of labour unrests in India.

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## **9.2 INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIAL LABOUR**

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Before we discuss the major processes related to the emergence of industrial labour force in India let us begin with the basic features of the industrial labour force in general.

### **9.2.1 Features of Industrial Labour**

The term industry is normally associated with the use of machine technology. In industrial societies production is largely done through machines rather than solely through the physical labour of human beings. Another characteristic of industrial societies is the marketing of human labour. This means that labour can be bought and sold. In real terms we can translate this as, people sell their labour and are paid wages in return. The worker here enjoys two types of freedom. Firstly the freedom to work or not to work and secondly freedom to work where he/she wants to work. In reality of course the worker may not be in a position to exercise either of these freedom. If he/she does not work he/she will starve. Moreover he/she can exercise his/her choice of working where he/she wants to only if jobs are available.

The above types of freedom may be notional but this system can be contested with the earlier feudal and slave societies. The slave had no rights of his own. He had to work for his master irrespective of his will to do so. In the feudal system the tenant worked on the land of his landlord. He could not leave his landlord to work elsewhere even if the terms and conditions were better. It is in this sense that industrial worker enjoys comparatively greater freedom. Apart from this we can see in the present times that industrial employment offers better prospects than employment in agriculture. Workers in large factories or offices get good wages, job security and other facilities. But not all those who leave their homes in their villages to find work in industries are able to find such jobs. In fact an overwhelmingly large section is able to find only low paid jobs where the work is tougher than in the better-paid jobs. Therefore in industry we find two sector. These are the organised and the unorganised sectors. The organised sector consists of workers in the larger factories and establishments where workers are employed following laid-down procedures and their terms and conditions of work are well defined by the laws of the land. These include all services under the government (central and state), local bodies, public sector undertakings and factories using power and employing at least 10 workers or those without power and employing at least 20 workers. The unorganised sector consists of casual and contract workers, workers in small industries and the self-employed ventures. (e.g. petty shopkeepers, skilled artisans such as carpenters, mechanics etc. who are not employed in factories but work on their own, unskilled manual labour such as porters, home based workers etc.). In this sector usually no laid-down procedures or laws are

followed/required to be followed while employing workers up to certain numbers.

## 9.2.2 Industrial Labour in India

In Unit 26 of ESO-04 we discussed the emergence of urban industrial working class in India. There we mentioned that the urban working class was a product of the eighteenth century Industrial Revolution in Europe. India was one of the colonies of England at that time and she served to quicken the process of Industrial Revolution of her master-country. The imperialist rulers plundered the natural resources of India to maximize their industrial production. The prolonged colonial administration and intensified exploitation reduced a large section of Indian people to miserable impoverished mass. Their rule amounted to destruction of self-sufficient village community, traditional village and cottage industries, displacement of rural artisans and craftsmen and migration of a section of impoverished rural people to the urban areas.

In India the early phase of industrialisation started in the 1850s which coincided with the emergence of industrial working class. Cotton and jute mills and mines gradually flourished in various parts of the country. Between the two world wars there was a phenomenal increase in the demands of factory products in India. However, the British government made no serious efforts to foster the growth of capital goods industries. It was only after Independence that the Government of India made conscious and deliberate efforts for industrialisation through its successive Five Year Plans. Between 1960 and 1965 the rate of growth of employment in the factories was 6.6% only. However in 1970 the factory employment absorbed only 2% of the labour force. In India since 1951 there has been a marginal shift of workers in favour of the industrial and recently the services sector. The following table will elaborate such a shift.

**Table: Sectoral employment growth (CDS basis)**

Sector	Employment (in million)				Annual growth (%)			
	1983	1987-88	1993-94	1999-2000	1983 to 1987-88	1987 to 1993-94	1983 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-2000
<b>Agriculture</b>	151.35	163.82	190.72	190.94	1.77	2.57	2.23	0.02
<b>Industry</b>								
Mining & quarrying	1.74	2.40	2.54	2.26	7.35	1.00	3.68	-1.91
Manufacturing	27.69	32.53	35.00	40.79	3.64	1.23	2.26	2.58
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.83	0.94	1.43	1.15	2.87	7.19	5.31	-3.55
Construction	7.17	11.98	11.02	14.95	12.08	-1.38	4.18	5.21
<b>Services</b>								
Trade, hotels and restaurant	18.17	22.53	26.88	37.54	4.89	2.99	3.80	5.72
Transport, storage and communication	6.99	8.05	9.88	13.65	3.21	3.46	3.35	5.53

Financial, insurance, real estate and business services	2.10	2.59	3.37	4.62	4.72	4.50	4.60	5.40
Community, social and personal services	23.52	27.55	34.98	30.84	3.57	4.06	3.85	-2.08
<b>All sectors</b>	<b>239.57</b>	<b>272.39</b>	<b>315.84</b>	<b>336.75</b>	<b>2.89</b>	<b>2.50</b>	<b>2.67</b>	<b>1.07</b>

Source : NSSO-Different rounds.

Website : [indiabudget.nic.in](http://indiabudget.nic.in)

### Activity 1

Try to interview 10 to 12 industrial or agricultural or plantation labourers. Collect information on the terms and conditions of their employment. Now compare and contrast your findings with the feature of the industrial labourers as described in section 9.2.1. If possible exchange your note with your colearners at the Study Centre.

## 9.3 LABOUR IN THE ORGANISED AND UNORGANISED SECTORS

Our industrial sector may broadly be categorised under two broad headings: organised or formal sector and the unorganised or informal sector. There are different sets of norms and conditions of work for these two sectors.

### 9.3.1 Organised Sector

Workers who are employed in the organised sector enjoy some privileges which make them different from those in the unorganised sector. These workers enjoy permanent employment. Their jobs cannot be terminated by the whims of their employer. Once a worker is permanent he has certain rights and privileges. His/her employer can terminate his/her employment only on legal grounds (i.e. if he/she has violated the laws governing his/her employment). The privileges which the worker enjoys are granted to him/her by law and not merely by the good-will or charity of his/her employer.

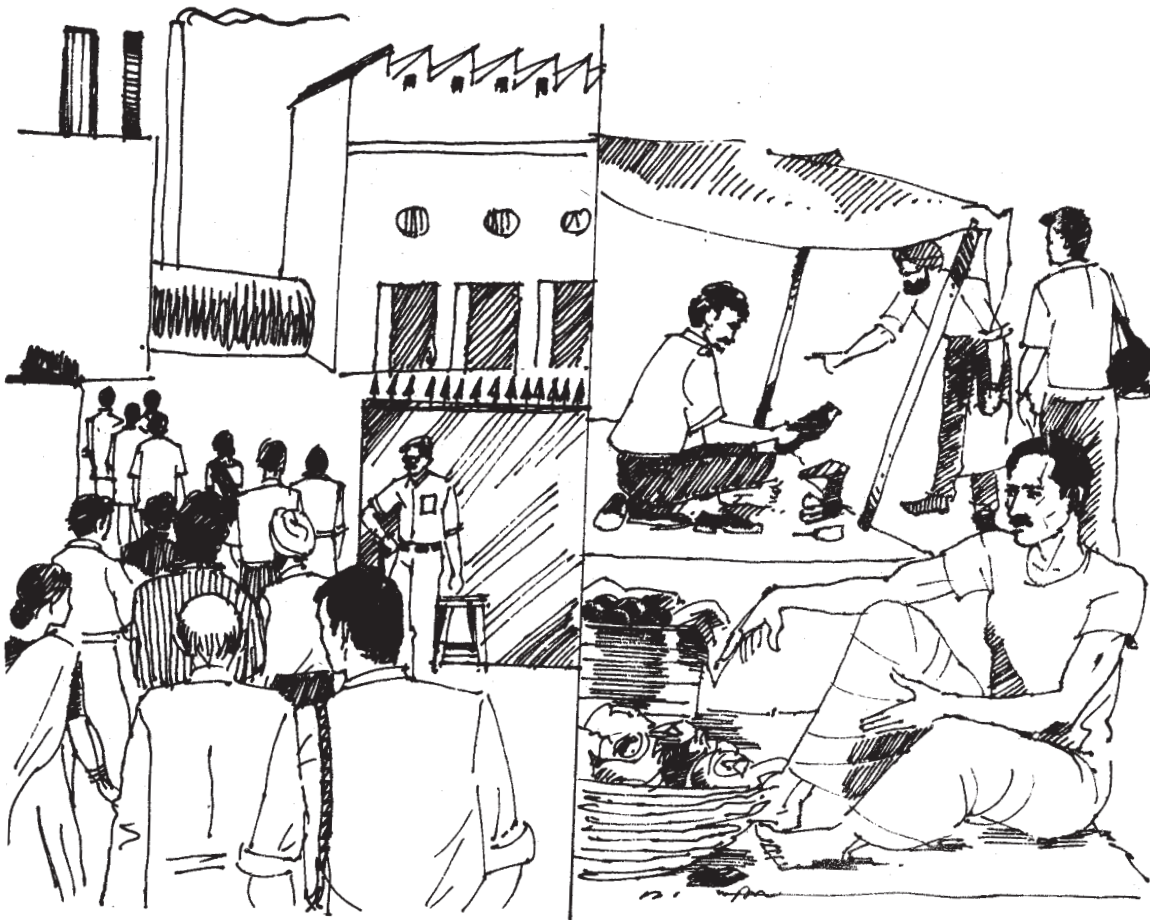
#### i) Protective Laws

There are a number of laws governing work in the organised sector. Two of the most important laws in this respect are the Factories Act of 1948 and the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. The Factories Act in fact defines the organised sector (as mentioned above). Any factory coming under the scope of the Act has to abide by certain rules governing regulation of working hours, rest, holidays, health, safety etc. For example, the Act lays down that a worker cannot work for more than 48 hours in a week and not more than 9 hours in a day. He/she has to be given a rest intervals of atleast half an hour after 5 hours of work. The worker is also entitled to a weekly holiday and leave with pay.

The Industrial Disputes Act provides protection to the worker in case of disputes arising from his work (e.g. The amount of wage, nature of work, termination or suspension etc.). There are a number of other Acts such as the Minimum Wages Act, Payment of Bonus Act. Provided Fund Act., Employees State Insurance Act etc. which provide protection and some facilities to the workers.

## ii) Trade Unions

Apart from getting government protection through these various Acts, the workers in the organised sector are able to form trade unions. This is a very important aspect of this sector. Trade unions unite the workers to defend their rights. They ensure that the various legal provisions are implemented. It would be difficult for workers in the organised sector to secure the rights granted to them if there were not trade unions. The government alone cannot protect the workers. The formation of trade unions is a very important aspect of this sector. We shall see while discussing the unorganised sector that even if laws are passed to protect workers they are ineffective if the workers are not able to collectively ensure their implementation.



Workers in the Organised/Unorganised Sector

### 9.3.2 Unorganised Sector

Apart from workers in small factories and establishments there are a large number of workers in the organised sector who do not enjoy the same privileges as the regular workers. These workers are employed as casual labour and contract labour. They too come in the unorganised sector. There are some problems in this sector which are reflected in the terms and conditions of employment, work security etc. of workers. Let us examine these aspects.

#### i) Casual Labourers

We have seen earlier that workers in organised sector enjoy a number of privileges. This means that the employers have to spend more, besides their

wages, for employing them. In many cases the employers try to cut down their costs by employing casual workers i.e., workers who are not permanently employed but are employed for a limited number of days. In most cases the government rules prescribing permanent employment state that a worker who has been employed for more than a certain number of days (180 in most cases) have to be treated as permanent workers. The employers try to dodge this law by breaking the service of the workers for a day or so and reemploying them again. In this way the worker is not able to complete the minimum number of days after which he/she can become permanent. The existence of casual labour in organised industry ensures that the costs are reduced. These workers are usually granted no rights, except for their minimum wages. They have very little security of employment and they can be removed from employment at any time.

ii) **Contract Labourers**

There is another category of workers who are in the organised sector but, like casual labour, are not a part of it. These are the contract labourers. The employers in this case get workers not through direct employment but through labour contractors. Here too the workers is deprived of the advantages of permanent labour, even though he/she may be performing the same type of work as a regular worker. The contract worker at times is employed by a contractor who in turn is engaged by the employer to undertake certain types of work.

iii) **Work Security of the Casual and Contract Labourers**

Casual and contract labour forms a fairly large proportion of the workforce. In several cases we can find in a factory as many casual workers number as much as the permanent ones. Therefore we can see that within the organised sector there exists an unorganised sector. The employment of these types of workers is not restricted to the private sector alone. In the public sector undertaking too they are frequently employed. The contract labour Regulation and Abolition Act lays down that such workers (contract) can be engaged only in certain types of work. However we usually find that even in the public sector the Act is openly violated and contract workers are made to work in the same manner as the regular workers, but get less wages.

The common features of the workers in the unorganised sector, whether in small scale sector or as casual and contract labour, are that they enjoy little or no job security, they get low wages and their working homes and working conditions are largely unregulated.

The unorganised sector is also known as the informal sector. The sector can in many ways be contrasted with the organised sector. The informal sector, by implication, means a sector which is not guided by rules. The industrial establishments in this sector are small in size and they employ a small number of workers. As such they do not come under the purview of the Factories Act. Hence the workers here do not get the facilities and protection given by this Act. They are however under the purview of some of the other Acts such as Minimum Wages Act, Contract Labour Regulation and Abolition Act. However, as we shall discuss later that many of these Acts remain only on paper as far as the workers are concerned. Therefore, for all practical purposes the workers here are unorganised and helpless.



#### iv) **Low Wages to Women and Child Labour**

This sector also employs a large number of women and children because they are cheaper. The employment of women in the organised sector has declined. We shall discuss some of the reasons for this in a subsequent section on labour welfare. Since the scope for female employment has reduced in the organised sector, women are to depend largely on the unorganised sector for work. Since there is little regulation in this sector it makes it easier for the employers who are unscrupulous to employ women and children for work at low wages so that the profit margin increases.

#### v) **Expansion of Low Paid Employment**

Because labour is cheap and the investment required is small, the unorganised sector has expanded rapidly. It also offers more scope for employment. Estimates show that the unorganised sector generates two-thirds of the national income. The positive contribution of the unorganised sector with regard to employment is that it is able to provide jobs to unskilled workers who would have otherwise been unemployed or in low paid and more exploited conditions as agricultural workers. In estimating the potential of this sector let us take the example of the textile industry. There are three sectors here, namely the large textile mills in the organised sector, the powerloom sector and the handloom sector. The latter two are in the unorganised sector. In terms of employment, the textile industry in Maharashtra has a little more than 2,00,000 jobs in the textile mills. The powerlooms provide over 5,00,000 jobs and the handloom sector much more. Another positive aspect of the handloom sector is that it provides jobs in the villages. On the other hand it is also a fact that the total wage bill of the 5,00,000 powerloom workers is less than the wage bill of the 2,00,000 textile mill workers. Moreover workers in the powerlooms work for as long as 10 to 12 hours a day while the textile mill workers have regulated work hours. Therefore though the unorganised sector offers more scope for employment, the conditions of its workers are a matter of serious concern for the policy planners, social workers and the academicians as well.

### **9.3.3 Linkages Between Organised and Unorganised Sectors**

We have seen so far that the organised and the unorganised sectors have distinct features which contrast with each other. This may give the impression that these sectors are independent of each other. However, there are strong links between these two sectors. In fact one can even argue that they are dependent on each other in many ways. Let us examine how this is so.

In the case of the unorganised sector which exists within the organised sector, namely contract and casual labour, it is clear that there is a strong link between the two. Contract and casual labour, as mentioned earlier, are cheaper to employ than permanent workers. The employers have fewer responsibilities towards these workers as they do not come under the purview of many of the Acts. The employers are therefore able to decrease their costs and subsequently increase their profits.

A more or less similar principle is followed in the linkages between the large (formal) sector and the small scale (informal) sector. The large factories do not manufacture all the components they require for the final product. They usually buy these from other industries which specialise in manufacturing the

needed components. Usually it is the small factories which provide these services. For example a factory manufacturing automobiles never manufactures all the parts required for making a car. It has been estimated that 60% or more of the components required are made by other manufacturers, usually in the small sector. The large factory assembles these components. In other cases, as in any large and reputable consumer goods such as shoes, garments, hosiery, etc., the entire product may be manufactured by the small sector and it is marketed under the brand name of the large sector company. This process is known as ancillarisation. The small unorganised sector factories act as ancillaries to the large company. They manufacture parts which are sold exclusively to the concerned factory. In other words the small factory has its market in the large factory and it does not seek a market elsewhere.

One can therefore see that a large factory provides scope for setting up smaller units which employ larger number of workers. For the small sector this arrangement may be beneficial because it saves them from the problem of marketing of their products as they do not have the resources to do so. In many cases the large factories give loans or momentary advances to these small industries so that they can meet the costs of production. The organised sector benefits from this arrangement because it saves the trouble of manufacturing these components at a higher cost. By buying them at low costs it is able to cut down its total production costs.

On the other hand we can argue equally strongly that the linkages between the two sectors are in effect an exploitative one. The informal sector, in this arrangement, is tied down to the formal sector and because it cannot find its own market, it has to accept the prices offered by the buyer. Since the formal sector is at an advantage, it can fix prices which are low and the informal sector too will accept it as it has no other alternative. In order to maintain their profits (which in any case may be low) they too have to cut down costs and the most effective way to do so is to reduce wages and increase workload. In this way more is produced at less cost. Therefore the organised sector exploits the unorganised sector which in turn exploits its workers. Finally, in spite of the low prices at which the components are brought the process of the food sold by the organised sector are high. Usually the cutting of costs through manufacture in the small sector only adds to the profits of the organised sector because it does not lead to lower prices. Hence even the consumers do not benefit through this method.

### Check Your Progress 1

Tick mark the correct answer.

- i) Workers in the organised sector consists of.....
  - a) all services under the government,
  - b) local bodies and big factories
  - c) factories employing 10 workers or more with power or 20 workers or more without power.
  - d) All of the above.
- ii) The workers in the unorganised sector consists of.....
  - a) casual and contract workers,
  - b) workers in the cottage and village industries.

- c) the self-employed  
 d) all of the above
- iii) The unorganised sector within the organised sector comprises
- a) permanent workers  
 b) contract and casual labourers  
 c) both of the above categories of workers  
 d) none of the above categories of workers.
- iv) State whether true or false.
- a) The Factories Act covers all factories in the country.  
 True  False
- b) The workers in the organised sector enjoy greater job security  
 True  False
- c) Workers in the unorganised sector get no legal protection  
 True  False

## 9.4 LABOUR WELFARE MEASURES IN INDIA

The above sections discuss the nature of the employment in different sectors of industry. We find that there are unequal relationships within the industry and within the labour. Let us now turn to another important aspect of labour, namely, its welfare. We will now discuss the measures which have been taken to ensure labour welfare.

### 9.4.1 Responsibility of the State and Labour Laws

In any form of employment it is the obligation of the employer to provide decent living and working conditions for their employees. When employers fail to do so the government steps in to safeguard the interests of the workers by enacting legislations. Labour laws are therefore passed mainly to ensure that the employers fulfil their obligations to their employees. India has had a history of labour laws stretching to around 150 years. However it was only after Independence that several new laws were passed by the Central and State Governments which covered a wide range of workers in different types of industries. Many of the old laws (e.g. Factories Act) were amended to make them more effective.

The change in the government's attitude towards labour was mainly because the post-Independence government took a positive stand as far as the welfare of the workers was concerned. Moreover the trade union movement developed and it pressurised the Centre and State Governments to take a positive stand regarding labour.

Merely passing laws is not enough to protect workers. It is more important to ensure that the laws are implemented. The employers are of course expected to implement the laws but they do not do in many cases. In such instances the government is expected to ensure that they are implemented. The Government at the Centre and the States have the labour department which has labour officers, assistant labour commissioners etc. who have been entrusted with the

task of ensuring the implementation of the Laws. The employer can be prosecuted in a court of law if he/she is found violating the laws. However in spite of various efforts, Government finds it difficult to perform its task efficiently. This is mainly because factories are widespread and large in size and the government machinery is not large enough to cover all cases. There is another important organisation i.e. the trade union which tries to ensure that the laws are implemented. The trade union organisation mainly tries to protect the interests of the workers. In doing so it tries to ensure that the laws are implemented.

Since labour is in the Concurrent list of the Constitution of India, both the Central and State Governments have the right to pass laws for protection of the workers. There are a large body of legislation on this matter. We have mentioned some of the more significant ones earlier which cover the organised sector as well as the unorganised sector.

### 9.4.2 Regulation of Work and Social Security in Organised Sector

We can divide these legislations into two groups, one dealing with the regulation of work and the other dealing with social security. In the first group we can place the Acts such as Factories Act, Industrial Disputes Act, Minimum Wages Act, Shops and Establishment Act, Workmen’s Compensation Act, Contract Labour Regulation and Equal Remuneration Act and so on. Acts such as Payment of Bonus Act, Employees provident Fund Act, Employees Family Pension Scheme, Employees State Insurance Act, Payment of Gratuity Act and other fall in the second category. There are other Acts too which cover workers in specific industries such as the Plantation Labour Act, Mines Act, Motor Transport Worker’s Act etc.

**Box 1**

**Workmen’s Compensation Act, 1923**

This act provides for payment of compensation to workmen and their dependents in case of injury by accident including certain occupational diseases arising out of and in the course of employment and resulting in disablement or death. The Act applies to railway servants and persons employed in any such capacity as is specified in Schedule II of this Act. The Schedule II includes persons employed in factories, mines, plantations, mechanically—propelled vehicles, construction works and certain hazardous occupations. Minimum rate of compensation for permanent disablement and death have been fixed at Rs.24,000 and 20,000 respectively. Maximum amount for death and permanent total disablement can go up to Rs.90,000 and Rs.1,14,000 respectively depending on the wage of worker.

These Acts ensure various facilities and protection to the workers and they embrace all aspects of the workers lives. Acts such as the Factories Act, Industrial Disputes Act, Workmen’s Compensation Act, Minimum Wages Act, Equal Remuneration Act, Shops and Establishment Act, Contract Labour Regulation and Abolition Act are effective at the work place. They protect the workers against high handed oppressive actions of the employers. The other Acts provide security to workers outside their place of work. For example the Employees State Insurance Act provides for medical facilities to the workers and is based on a nominal contribution made by the employer and the employee. The Payment of Gratuity Act ensures that a worker gets an amount of money on retirement. The pension Scheme and the Provident Fund Act are designed to help the workers financially on their retirement.

We can see from the above that the industrial workers enjoy a fairly extensive measure of protection. We can contrast this with the welfare facilities to agricultural workers (discussed in the next unit). However the laws may appear attractive on paper but they come of use only if they are implemented. We have pointed this out earlier. This becomes evident when we compare workers in the organised and unorganised sectors. And when we look at women and child labour. In fact we find that it is only the worker in the organised sector who is able to enjoy some of the welfare facilities mentioned in these acts. This is because they are able to organise themselves into trade union and are able to pressurise their employers to enforce the laws. Those who are unable to do this are forced to depend on the good offices of the government or on their employers. Let us briefly look at the problems of woman in the unorganised sector.

### 9.4.3 Labour Welfare and Women Workers in the Organised Sector

We have mentioned earlier that women workers are found less and less in the organised sector. This is partly caused by the protection granted to them in this sector. There are various Acts which seek to regulate and protect women workers in the industry. The Factories Act lays down that women cannot be employed in the night shift. The Mines Act also prevent employers from making women work underground. In the case of children, the Factories Act lays down that those below the age of 14 cannot be employed in factories. Moreover above 14 who are employed cannot be given work for more than 4½ hours a day. Pregnant women are to be given four months of maternity leave with full pay for the leave period. The employers have to provide for creches at the workplace for the children of the working mothers. The Equal Remuneration Act (discussed in Unit 11) provides that there should be no discrimination between male and female workers if the nature of the work they perform is similar.

Implementation of these laws causes additional expenses for the employers. Hence they try to see that these workers are gradually removed from employment. Unfortunately the trade unions do not put up a strong resistance to this form of retrenchment. This is perhaps because the unions are male oriented and in the present situation of high unemployment they look at retrenchment of women workers as a way of providing employment to make worker in their place. Therefore with little resistance from the workers themselves, women find little employment opportunity in the organised sector and they have to seek employment in the unorganised sector.

#### Box 2

##### Abolition of Bonded Labour

The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976 abolished the bonded labour system all over the country. This Act envisages release of all bonded labourers and simultaneous liquidation of their debt. The New 20 point programme stipulated full implementation of laws abolishing bonded labour system which implies: (i) identification (ii) release, (iii) action against offenders, (iv) constitution and holding of regular meetings of vigilance committees at district and subdivisional levels... etc. With a view to supplementing efforts of state governments, a centrally sponsored scheme has been in operation since 1978-79 under which state govts. are provided central financial assistance for rehabilitation of bonded labour (India 1990 : 651).

### 9.4.4 Labour Welfare in Unorganised Sector

We have mentioned earlier that the workers in the unorganised sector are less protected legally than workers in the organised sector. There are a few Acts which cover the workers in this sector (Contract Labour Regulation and Abolition Act, Equal Remuneration Act, Minimum Wages Act etc.). In most cases since the industrial units do not come under the purview of the Factories Act, the working conditions mostly remain unregulated. Workers also do not get facilities like provident fund, gratuity, medical facilities, compensation, or in most cases paid leave.

Even the Acts providing for some regulation in their work are not implemented. The biggest drawback that the workers face is that they rarely have trade unions. They are thus unable to ensure that the existing laws are used in their favour. The workers are thus helpless and accept the unregulated exploitative work conditions because there is no other alternative.

In looking at the situation one can see that if the workers here were able to form trade unions and if the government's supervision over the employers was more effective, they would be better off. Trade unions usually shy away from organising unorganised sector workers as it is more difficult to do so. They instead prefer to concentrate on the organised sector as the workers are easier to organise. However we can see that the unorganised sector needs the help of trade unions more than any other sector. Hence till this help comes the workers' position will remain unchanged.

#### Check Your Progress 2

- i) Explain in about five lines the relationship between the small scale and the large scale sector.

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- ii) Name the two major groups of laws protecting workers.

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- iii) Describe in about five lines on the regulation of work for women workers.

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iv) Explain in about five lines the main causes for the failure to implement laws in unorganised sector.

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v) State whether true or false

a) Trade unions are more active in the unorganised sector.

True

False

b) Wage discrimination between male and female workers is banned.

True

False

c) Children of any age are allowed to work in factories.

True

False

d) The organised and unorganised sector are independent of each other.

True

False

e) The central government is solely responsible for passing labour legislation.

True

False

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## 9.5 LABOUR UNREST

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We have seen so far that workers are able to get the benefits accrued to them only when they are united in their action and are organised into trade unions. In this section we shall be discussing the importance of trade union in an industrial set-up and forms of labour unrest and protest. Let us begin with the trade union.

### 9.5.1 Trade Union

In the unit on Urban Class Structure I of ESO-04, we discussed the important facets of the growth and characteristics of urban labour movements in India. You may like to read section 26.4 of that unit. Here we shall be dealing with the importance of trade unions in solving the labour problems in India. In normal cases workers are able to put forth their demands through their trade unions to the management. These demands are discussed by the two parties (management and workers) and the management may accept some of the demands. Trade union therefore help to chanalise the grievances of the workers in an institutional manner. The management also benefits because it becomes aware of the worker’s problems through the trade union. In the absence of trade unions the management may not be aware of what these problems are. If

workers have no common platform for putting forth their demands, it is possible that they will resort to individual acts of violence. In the earlier stages of industrialisation in India and in England workers were not allowed to form trade unions. They had no means to air their grievances. At times when their grievances increased they resorted to violent acts such as beating up their supervisors or destroying machinery. Trade unions therefore helped to prevent these types of acts. At the same time they proved to be effective in protecting the workers' interest.

Labour unrest is to be viewed in the above background. It would be incorrect to say that trade unions are the cause of labour unrest. The causes can be traced to the dissatisfaction among the worker on certain issues relating to their work or work life. Trade unions give vent to this dissatisfaction and in the process they organise the workers to collectively put forth their grievances before the management. This is why labour unrest is seen more often in the organised sector than in the unorganised sector. It is not that the unorganised sector workers have less grievances. In fact they have more grievances than workers in the organised sector. However, they are unable to put forth their demands because they lack a collective forum to do so. In such a situation it is not unnatural to find workers in this sector take extreme steps by resorting to violence when they are unable to express their grievances effectively.

### **9.5.2 Forms of Labour Unrest**

Labour unrest can take different forms. The only weapon the workers have in combating the might of the employer is withdrawal from work. Similarly for the employer the most effective weapon is lock-out or suspension of the workers. Unrest is usually centred around these means. When negotiations between the workers and the employers fail or are restrained, initially the workers may express their dissatisfaction by holding demonstrations or dharnas. These actions are directed towards demonstrating their solidarity and it is expected that the management will take note of this. Usually if this does not have the necessary effect on the management workers find ways to withdraw their labour (i.e. stop or slow down work). They can resort go-slow, where they report for duty but do not complete the work allotted. In such a situation workers' wages cannot be deducted because they are not absent from work but production is nonetheless affected. Another version of the go-slow is work-to-rule. Workers claim that they will work strictly by the rules and if there is even a slight change in the work situation they refuse to work. In normal conditions workers overlook certain shortcomings. For instance, most of the public buses have some damaged parts. Their rear view mirrors may be missing or the speedmeters or fuelgauges are not functioning. Under normal conditions bus drivers drive the vehicle in spite of these lapses. In case of work-to-rule the drivers would refuse to drive the buses because they are not functioning well. This would result in slowing down work or in bringing it to a total standstill. The difference between go-slow and work-to-rule is that in the former workers deliberately slow down the pace of production but in the latter they work strictly according to the rule.

The most effective form of labour unrest is the strike. This means that the workers totally withdraw their labour by refusing to work. Production thus comes to a standstill. Normally unions resort to a strike as a final attempt at confronting the management. This is an extreme step and it may have adverse effects on the workers if it is unsuccessful. During the strike period workers





Labour Unrest

do not get their wages. This result in hardships for them. The extension of a strike depends to a large extent on how long the workers can sustain themselves without their wages. Labour unrest is therefore a part of the industrial system. It reflects the changes taking place in industrial relations. Workers no longer blindly follow the orders of the management. They are aware of their rights and they want them to the implemented. At the same time unrest is not a healthy sign for industry and it should be avoided. It causes strain in labour-management relations and it affects production. Therefore it is necessary for both sides, labour and management, to take into account the changing situation and adapt to it.

### Check Your Progress 3

Tick mark the correct statements

- i) Trade unions helps to channalise the grievances of the workers
  - a) in an unistitutional manner
  - b) in an institutional manner
  - c) both are correct
  - d) none is correct
- ii) Trade unions help
  - a) the labourers to express their dissatisfaction
  - b) the managers to be aware of workers problem
  - c) both are correct
  - d) none is correct

- iii) The only weapon the workers have in combating the might of the employer in is organised way
- a) attacking the employer
  - b) breaking the machine
  - c) withdrawal from the work
  - d) none of the above.

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## 9.6 LET US SUM UP

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In this unit we have covered various aspects of industrial labour. We have compared and contrasted the two major sectors in industry, namely, the organised and the unorganised sectors. We have found that labour in the unorganised sector is not only more in number than that in the organised sector but it is much worse off in terms of job security and work regulation. There are few laws governing work and social security and even these are not properly implemented. The main problem with workers in the unorganised informal sector is that they are usually not organised into trade unions. They cannot collectively ensure that granting them protection are enforced. They have to depend on the benevolence of their employers or on the government for this.

The two sectors are linked to each other as they depend on each other in their production process. The organised sector gets inputs and components at cheaper rates from the unorganised sector while the latter depends on the former for marketing its products. At the same time the large number of casual and contract labour in the organised sector shows that there is an unorganised sector within the organised sector. Though the two sectors are linked to each other, their relationship is not on equal basis. The unorganised sector and its labour are in a weaker position.

Finally we examined the steps taken for labour welfare and found that during the post-Independence period a number of laws granting protection and social security to the workers have been passed. Their implementation depends largely on the initiative of the government and the steps taken by the trade unions. Labour unrest is largely linked to these problems.

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## 9.7 KEY WORDS

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<b>Primary Sector</b>	: Primary sector of economy includes agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations.
<b>Secondary Sector</b>	: It includes mining, quarrying, household industry, other than household industry and construction.
<b>Tertiary Sector</b>	: It includes trade and commerce, transport, storage communication and other services.

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## 9.8 FURTHER READINGS

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Holmstrom, H. 1987. *Industry and Inequality*, Orient Longmans: Delhi.

Ramaswamy, E.A. & U. Ramaswamy 1987. *Industry and Labour*, Oxford University Press: Delhi.

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## 9.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- i) d
- ii) d
- iii) c
- iv) a) False, b) True, c) False

### Check Your Progress 2

- i) The small scale sector manufacturers components for the large scale sector at a cheaper rate. The large scale sector benefits as it gets a market for its products.
- ii) One group deals with regulation of work. The other group deals with social security outside the work place.
- iii) Women workers in factories are not allowed to work in the night shift in factories. In mines also they are not allowed to work underground.
- iv) Firstly there is very inadequate government supervision to ensure implementation. Secondly the trade union movement is weak therefore workers cannot pressurise their employers to implement the laws.
- v) a) False, b) True, c) False, d) False, e) False.

### Check Your Progress 3

- i) b
- ii) c
- iii) c