

METHODOLOGY AND PERSPECTIVES OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

CORE COURSE : 1

B.A. HISTORY

I Semester

(2011 Admission onwards)



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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Study Material

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METHODOLOGY AND PERSPECTIVES OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Unit-I

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

The social sciences are concerned with people and their organisation. Organisation refers to any patterned way of interaction of people. The organisation of a group of people is for the purpose of carrying out some specific functions. These functions include various things as the provision of protection from others, rearing the children, providing recreation etc. There are very simple to extremely complex organisations according to the particular circumstances. The social scientists attempts to discover the patterns of organisation in a society and to explain how these affect the people within the society, as well as the ways in which any single organisation influences the general functioning of the society. Social sciences include various disciplines dealing with human life, human behaviour, social groups and social institutions. They consist of History, Psychology, Anthropology, Economics, Geography, Sociology, and Political Science. Though these sciences are treated as separate branches of knowledge for the purpose of study, they are interdependent studies of different aspects of the same object, viz., human beings.

The origin of social sciences goes way back to the ancient Greeks and their rationalist inquiries into the nature of man, state and morality. Plato and Aristotle were early philosophers in the western world and their writings have deeply influenced the emergence of social sciences. The heritage of both Greece and Rome is a powerful one in the history of social thought as it is in so many other areas of western society. The Greeks had a determination to study all things in the spirit of dispassionate and rational inquiry. In fact this strong base provided the Greeks, the rationalist temper, was the very essence of the Renaissance and the Age of Reason in modern European history. The Greeks glorified humanity as the most important creation in the universe and refused to submit to the dictation of priest or despots or even to humble themselves before their gods. Their attitude was essentially secular and rationalistic; they exalted the spirit of free enquiry and made knowledge supreme over faith.

Renaissance and Enlightenment

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the process of Renaissance, and Enlightenment gave a big impetus to the continuation of the tradition of reasoning and rational thought. The Renaissance and Enlightenment played a pivotal role in altering the intellectual atmosphere of Europe and favoured the development of social sciences.

Renaissance denotes the rebirth of intellectual life and art that began in the Italian cities and spread, over a century, to the rest of Western Europe. It was the rediscovery of learning of classical antiquity and a break with conservatism, narrow world view, and religious superstitions which characterised the European Middle Ages. Due to the impact of rebirth of intellectual life, there occurred efflorescence in the field of art, literature and scientific advancement. During the medieval period faith was supreme, faith has been considered above reason. But Renaissance brought human reason above faith and naturally took place an inevitable conflict between churchmen and the protagonists of rationalist learning and beliefs. The period also witnessed the victory of rationalism over religion and the division of various knowledge along rationalist approach.

The Enlightenment and Emergence of social sciences

It was during the Enlightenment of the 18th century that new ways of thinking about societies emerged, which gave way to the foundations for the development of specifically scientific approaches to understand the society.

The Enlightenment refers to a period of European intellectual history in the beginning of 18th century. The major thinkers and protagonists of this movement were based in France. But the rest of the Europe also contributed in the endeavour. The more intellectually aware sections in Europe began to feel that their societies were imperfect and wanted to bring change by newly acquired ideas. This led to a much more far-reaching attack on prejudice and superstitions than had occurred in the time of Renaissance and Reformation. The major aspects of Enlightenment included the following ideas:

Reason: the fundamental importance of reason and rationality as ways of organising knowledge were stressed. Enlightenment scholars convinced a complete understanding of the world could be deduced from a few unchangeable principles of reason.

Empiricism: this is the idea that all thought and knowledge about the natural and social worlds is based on what we can apprehend through our senses. Much Enlightenment thought relied upon using both rational empirical methods.

Science: this is the idea that the only way to expand human knowledge is through those methods (experimental etc.) devised during the 'scientific revolution' of the 17th century.

Progress: progress is the key idea of Enlightenment. It is believed that human beings could improve their natural and social conditions through the application of reason and of science. The result would be an ever increasing level of happiness and well-being.

Individualism: the idea of individualism explores that individual is paramount and that his or her individual reason cannot be subject to a higher authority or traditional knowledge.

The above aspects pertaining to the age of Enlightenment were prepared for the background of thinking social aspects in a critical way and to find out scientific solutions for the problems faced by the society. Enlightenment thought laid the ground work for the development of social scientific thought in number of ways. By asking questions about how and why, societies had come to be as they were and about social and historical conditions that prevailed. Enlightenment thinkers opened up new and very significant areas of inquiry.

Developments in the 19th century

The 19th century for the European community and western world generally was volatile, exciting and revolutionary. Several competing attitudes about the meaning and nature of social life were fighting for dominance and each in its own way had profound and long lasting importance for the social well-being of society. Several events in the 19th century gave rise to the emergence of social sciences. The twin revolutions- Industrial Revolution and French Revolution- had profound impact on European society. People had no systematic explanations for why the old social structure that has lasted since the early middle ages was collapsing or why cities were exploding with migrant from rural areas. French society was in turmoil. The French revolution had brought dramatic

changes that marked the end of the traditional monarchy and the beginning of a new order. With no methods to collect information on the dramatic changes taking place, leaders in France had to rely on the Social Philosophers of the time to react to the problems that surrounded them. A few major themes in social thought in the 19th century that were almost the direct results of the democratic and industrial revolutions emerged: 1) great increase in population 2) condition of labour 3) transformation of property, 4) urbanization 5) technology 6) factory system and 7) development of political masses. These were the principal themes in the 19th century writings that may be seen as direct results of the great revolutions i.e. Industrial and French Revolutions.

In the 19th century three other powerful tendencies of thought were also influenced to the development of social sciences. These are 1) Positivism 2) Humanitarianism and 3) philosophy of evolution.

Positivism implied not merely an appeal to science but almost reverence for science. The great aim was that of dealing with moral values, institutions, and all social phenomena through the same fundamental methods that could be seen so luminously prior to the 19th century, no very clear distinction had made between philosophy and science. But in the 19th century the distinction between philosophy and science became remarkable one. It was August Comte who introduced the idea of the scientific treatment of social behaviour. Positivism was Comte's term for his method of studying society borrowed largely on the technique of natural sciences. Comte coined the word sociology and that would do for man the social being exactly what biology had already done for man the biological animal. Many other scholars of the time supported the view of Comte in using science for the study of society.

Humanitarianism is related with the idea of a science of society. It believed ultimate purpose of social science was thought by almost everyone to be the welfare of society, the improvement of its moral and social condition. Humanitarianism and social sciences were reciprocally related in their purposes. All that helped the cause of the one could be seen as helpful to other.

Evolutionism. The third of the intellectual influences that helped the further development of social science was the concept of evolution. The impact of Charles Darwin's "origin of species" published in the year 1859, was of course great and further enhanced the appeal of the evolutionary view of things. The philosophy of evolution was profoundly contributory to the establishment of sociology as a systematic discipline in the 1830s as to such fields as geology astronomy and biology.

Thomas Hobbes and *Leviathan*

Thomas Hobbes was born in the year 5th April, 1588 in England. He was best known for his work on political philosophy. His book *Leviathan* published in the year 1651 established the foundation for most of western political philosophy from the perspective of social contract theory. His writings justified activities of kings and he was a champion of absolutism for the sovereign. He also developed some of the fundamentals of European liberal thought- the right of the individual, the natural equality of all men, the view that all legitimate political power must be representative and based on the consent of the people, and liberal interpretation of law which leaves people free to do whatever the law does not explicitly forbid. Hobbes was one of the founders of modern political philosophy. His account of human nature as self-interested cooperation and of political communities as being based upon a social contract remains one of the major topics of his political

philosophy. Hobbes was also eager to attack the existing social evils and gave a materialistic interpretation of the events that occurred during time.

Leviathan

Thomas Hobbes published a thoroughly materialistic work, *Leviathan*, which contained attacks on the notion of religious miracles and glorification of state. The English civil war broke out in 1642, profoundly influenced Hobbes to write this work. In *Leviathan* Hobbes set out his doctrine of the foundation of states and legitimate governments originating social contract theory. It was written during the time of English civil war. He strongly argued for the need of a strong absolute monarch to avoid then evil of discord and civil wars and provide law and order to the subjects. Hobbes based his ideas on the notion that social and political arrangements are determined by a fixed unchanging human nature. He was very concerned about the need for a strong government. Hobbes postulates what life would be like without a government a condition which he calls the “state of nature”. In that state, he argues every person can do anything according to his whims and fancies without considering others. This situation, Hobbes reminds us, would lead to a “war of all against all”. In such condition there would prevail lukewarm and indifferent attitude to people and as a result a continual fear, and danger of violent death, and the life of human beings becomes solitary, poor, nasty and brutish. In such a state – state of nature - people fear death and lack both the things necessary to comfortable living. So in order to avoid it people agreed to a social contract and establish a civil society. According to Hobbes, society is a population controlled by a sovereign authority, to whom all individuals in that society give up some rights for the sake of protection. Any abuses of power by this authority are to be accepted as the price of peace provided by the sovereign. Hobbes never postulates the concept of separation of powers in his *Leviathan*. He argues the Sovereign must control civil, military, judicial and religious powers.

The ideas of Hobbes provided a strong base for the political institutions of the time. It gave a confidence the monarchs to assert their power by crushing all disorders and civil wars. His *Leviathan* hiked the glory of the Sovereign.

John Locke

John Locke was born in 29th August, 1632 in England. He has been considered as the most ‘influential philosopher of his age’ and the ‘founder of liberalism’. He lived through important events in the English Revolution (glorious revolution) and the Cromwellian Protectorate. He wrote extensively about social and political issues from a secular and historical perspective.

An overview of Locke’s life indicates that educational opportunities, choices of occupation, friends, philosophical nature, religious beliefs, and events during his career all interacted and prepared him to be the supporter of the Glorious Revolution. He was a revolutionary and his cause ultimately triumphed in the Glorious revolution of 1688. His works are mainly confined in opposition to authoritarianism. This opposition was both on the level of the individual person and on the level of institutions such as government and church. He gave more importance to reason in the day to day life and wanted people to use reason to search truth rather than simply accept the opinion of a higher authority. He wrote a variety of important political, religious and educational works including the *Two Treatises of Government*, *The Letters Concerning Toleration*, *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. Locke believed that knowledge came not from the “innate ideas” of the rationalists but from empirical observation of what already existed.

John Locke and English Revolution

The English revolution of 1688 followed and confirmed by the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, exercised a great influence on European thought. The Glorious Revolution, also called the Revolution of 1688, is the overthrow of King James II of England by a union of English parliamentarians with William III of Orange. William's successful invasion of England with a Dutch fleet and army led to his ascending the English throne as William III of England jointly with his wife Mary II of England. The revolution resulted in achieving such benefits as religious toleration, the freedom of the press and parliamentary government.

If ever a philosophy had been influenced it was Whig Philosophy which lay behind the English revolution. Locke's writings and thoughts had highly influenced by the Whig intellectuals. John Locke was the major protagonist of this movement. He reflected the attitude of English gentlemen land owners and merchants. Their aims had been achieved once English kings agreed to govern through an upper class parliament. All the basic thought of the Enlightenment is to be found in the writings of Locke. His *Essay on Human Understanding* has given vivid and veracious accounts of the social changes taking place during his time. He postulated the theory that civil government is to be founded on the consent of the governed, the view that the right to private property is based on labour, the doctrine of religious toleration and of a rational education of the young.

His *Two Treatises of Government* gives some idea about how he perceived the Glorious Revolution. The introduction of the work was written later than the main text, and gave the impression that the book was written in 1688 to justify the Glorious Revolution. The *Two treatises of government* was written to justify the general armed rising against the English monarchs. It was a truly revolutionary work.

DISCIPLINARY DIVERSIFICATION IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The underpinnings of the divisions within the social sciences were clearly crystallising in the first half of the nineteenth century. But it was only in the period 1850- 1914 that the diversifications in the disciplinary structures of the social sciences were formally recognised in the major universities in the form that we know them today. In the period between 1500 and 1850 there had already existed a literature concerning many of the central questions treated in what we today call social sciences. The creation of the multiple disciplines of social science was part of the general nineteenth century attempt to secured advance objective knowledge about reality on the basis of empirical findings.

Controversy over Unification and specialization

By the end of the nineteenth century disciplinary diversification among the social sciences became inevitable. But all of these social sciences – sociology, history, political science, and economics - have in common is that they study aspects of human life. Social sciences share many common topics, methods, concepts, research findings, and theories but each has a different focus or perspectives on the social world. In the nineteenth century there had been different opinion about the disciplinary identity of social sciences. Two contrary groups emerged out of this. One group of scholars wanted for the drive towards unification, toward a single, master social science. But the others stood for the specialization of the individual social science. The second argument was finally

triumphed and resulted in the emergence of highly specialized single social science disciplines such as History, Sociology, Anthropology, and Economics etc. The critical rationalism of the 18th century had not the conception of the need for a plurality of social sciences. The concept was based on unification of all sciences. A single science of society, and social sciences would take its place in the hierarchy of the sciences that include the fields of Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology. Here the attempt of August Comte received much attention of the calling for a 'new science', one with man the social animal as the subject. The other social scientists Bentham Marx and Spencer adhered the views of Comte. All these scholars saw the study of society as unified enterprise not separate disciplines. They never believed in separate economics, history, political science and so on.

The opposite tendency of specialization or differentiation finally triumphed. By the end of the 19th century there emerged various competitive social sciences. The development of universities and colleges played a major role in it. The growing desire for an elective system, for a substantial number of academic specializations, and for differentiation of academic degrees, contributed strongly to the disciplinary diversification of social sciences. There were five main locales for social science activity during the 19th century- Great Britain, France, the Germanies, the Italies, and the United States. - Most of the scholars, and most of the universities were located in these five places, and the institutionalization of social sciences took place here. The first of the social science disciplines to achieve an autonomous institutional existence was History. The differentiation of the social sciences in the 19th century was one aspect of a larger process that was to be seen as vividly in the physical sciences and humanities.

Economics was first attained the status of a single and separate science among the social sciences. Adam Smith and the physiocrats of the 18th century had given a strong foundation of economics to be developed as a single autonomous discipline. They provided an autonomy and self-regulation in the process of wealth, in the operation prices, rents, and wages during the 18th century became basis of a separate and distinctive economics, (during that time it was often called political economy) in the 19th century.

Rivaling economics as a discipline during the century was political science. It is concerned with government systems and power and had a long history that can be traced back to the ancient Greeks. In modern Europe the interest in systematic study of state affairs started with Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Rousseau. Democratic revolutions in Europe especially in France put forth many questions on the nature of the government. The revolution created a vision of a government responsible for all aspects of human society that clearly related with sovereignty. The major aim of the discipline according to many political scientists is that of analyzing the varied properties of sovereignty. In the 19th century Anthropology also attained clear identity as a discipline. Anthropology is defined as the "science of men". It mainly concentrated on the study of primitive man.

In short by the end of the 19th century all the important social sciences had acquired their own identity and distinctiveness. In the universities there emerged separate social science disciplines such as sociology, history, economics, political science, anthropology and so on. By this time these disciplines could achieve a scientific character in all aspects.

Epistemology of Social Sciences

Epistemology is one the main branches of philosophy. Its subject matter is mainly concerned with the nature, origin, scope and limits of human knowledge. Epistemology is concerned with the study of knowledge and how we know. Its main problems are: what is the relation between the knower and known? Is the content of knowledge identical with the external object or is different from it? How can we know our knowledge is a real knowledge of the object? What are the limits of knowledge?etc.

The word epistemology is derived from two Greek terms namely *episteme* means knowledge and *logos* means theory. This branch of philosophy is also referred to as the theory of knowledge. Epistemologists are philosophers whose theories deal with puzzles about the nature, scope and limits of human knowledge. Philosophy in the broadest terms divides into many branches like, metaphysics, ethics, aesthetics, logic, philosophy of language, philosophy of science, philosophy of mind, and so forth. Each of these disciplines deals special subject matter. Metaphysics concerns about the ultimate nature of world, ethics deals with the nature of the good life and peoples relations with others. Each of these disciplines attempts to arrive at a systematic understanding of the issues that arise in its particular domain. Epistemology stands in a close and special relationship to each of these disciplines. The main object is the desire to arrive at the truth about that with which they are concerned, i.e., about the fundamental ingredients of the world or about the nature of the good life for man.

Scholars not only wish to know what knowledge is but also how it originates. From the time of the Greek scholars to the present one of the major themes of epistemology has been a quest into the source of knowledge. Plato's *The Republic* has given veracious accounts in accordance with the epistemological issues. The question about origins of knowledge has led historically to two different kinds of issues namely, the notion of "innateness" and that of "learning". One of these is the question of whether knowledge is innate, meaning that is not acquired or learned through experience but in some important sense is present in the human psyche at birth. The linguist Noam Chomsky has asserted that the "project phenomenon" – the ability of children to construct sentences that they have never heard before and that are grammatical – is proof of inherent conceptual structures. But famous experimental Psychologist B.F. Skinner has strongly put forth that all knowledge is the product of learning through environmental conditioning by means of the process of the reinforcement and reward.

Another issue that emerges from considerations of the origins of knowledge focuses on the distinction between rationalism and empiricism. Rationalism and empiricism concerns the nature of the sources from which knowledge arises. Rationalism is the thesis that the ultimate source of knowledge is to be found in human reason. Reason is a feature of human mind that differs not just in degree but in kind from bodily sensations, feelings, and certain psychological attitudes, such as disgust or enthusiasm. Rationalists strongly held the view that reason has a special power for grasping reality. It is the work of reason that allows human beings to understand the world they live.

Empiricism is defined as the doctrine that all knowledge comes from experience. The meaning of experience is generally limited to the impressions and sensations received by the senses. Thus, knowledge is the information apprehended by the five sense modalities – hearing, seeing, touching,

tasting and smelling. Such knowledge is always about matters of fact, about what one can see, touch, hear, taste or smell. For the empiricists this definition has the implication that human mind is passive – a *tabula rasa* (blank slate), in John Locke's idiom; it is an organ that receives impressions and more or less records them as they are.

All sciences, since it deals with the verification and proving or disproving, must make assumptions about how we know. All sciences then adopt an epistemology. In social sciences there had been a long debate about the sources of knowledge. This can be seen in the difference between positivism and post modernism, or between positivism and phenomenology. For the social scientists this debate is most frequently connected with the methods to be used for learning about the social world - the survey or experimental method and so on.

Development of social sciences – contributions of various scholars

For the development of social sciences – history, economics, sociology, political science etc., - in to a separate field of study the contributions of various scholars are remarkable. The intellectual caliber of different scholars provided ample pride and prestige to their concerned discipline. The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed the emergence of prolific scholars in various social science disciplines. Here the names of Auguste Comte, Max Weber, Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, Ranke, Vico, Adam Smith, Marshall etc. are very conspicuous. They wrote meticulous accounts about their discipline. Due to their efforts the disciplines received much attention all over the world.

Political science

Political Science is concerned with the study of state, government and its systems and political behaviour. Its chief concern is the study of power. The discipline includes such concepts as the state, politics, power and ideology. Political science had a long history that can be traced back to the Ancient Greeks. In modern Europe the interest in systematic study of state affairs started with Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Rousseau. Democratic revolutions in Europe especially revolution in France put forth many questions on the nature of the government. The revolution created a vision of a government responsible for all aspects of human society, which clearly relates with sovereignty. The main aim of the study of the discipline according to many political scientists is that of analyzing the varied properties of sovereignty.

Georges Sorel (1847-1922)

Georges Eugene Sorel was a French philosopher and theorist of revolutionary syndicalism. His notion of the power of myth in people's lives inspired Marxists and Fascists. Sorel was born on 2nd November 1847 in Cherbourg, France. In 1865, he entered the famous 'Ecole Polytechnique' in Paris. He became chief engineer in the public works department. In the second half of the 1880s he published articles in various fields like hydrology, architecture, physics, political history and philosophy. In 1893, he publicly acknowledged his positions as a Marxist and a socialist. He had highly influenced the ideologies of great scholars of the time namely Proudhon, Karl Marx, Vico and William James.

Political writings of Sorel

Sorel began his writings as a marginal Marxist. He was a critical analyst of Marx's economics and philosophy. The Syndicalism or militant trade union movement, which burst into prominence in France around 1900, inspired Sorel to write his famous book *Reflections on Violence*. Sorel justified these violent struggles and gave an ideological backup to the militant movement of the working class. To justify the militancy and to give Syndicalism an ideology, Sorel published series of articles and pamphlets. Two of its themes of 'Reflections on Violence' – the concept of the social myth and the virtue of violence- have become a part of social science literature. To Sorel the Syndicalist's general strikes, the Marxist's catastrophic revolution, the legends of the French Revolution are all myths that move men, quite independent of their historical reality. According to Sorel myths are not description of things, but expressions of a determination to act. Myths enclose all the strongest inclinations of people, of a party, or of a class, and the general strike is the myth in which socialism is wholly comprised.

In fact Sorel makes no justification of violence by philosophical argument, but uses long excursions into past history and current events to demonstrate that ethical codes are relative to their time and place.

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923)

Vilfredo Federico Damaso Pareto was born an Italian father and a French mother in the year 1848 in Paris. He received a quality education in both French and Italian. He completed his degree in engineering at the Polytechnic-Institute in Turin. For some years after graduation, he worked as a civil engineer, first for the state-owned Italian Rail away Company and later in private industry. He has been considered as Political Scientist, Sociologist, and Economist. His birth in an upper class family provided him to interact with the aristocratic families and close contact with upper class intellectuals. This helped him to develop an allegiance to ideals of democracy, republicanism, and pacifism. But later he came to question all these ideals and became anti-democratic and a close associate of Benito Mussolini. Pareto represents one of the most distinguished intellectual currents in the European tradition, that broad school of thought includes such diverse figures as Burke, Dostoyevsky, Nietzsche, and Spengler, and stands in opposition to rationalism, liberalism, egalitarianism, Marxism and all of the other offspring of enlightenment doctrinaires. Pareto was not just an armchair scholar, he responded to the current issues especially with the governmental policies of his time. When a pro-leftist government came to power in Italy he became outspoken and criticised the policies of new government, especially the government's socialistic tendencies. He fiercely shouted against the new government's restrictions upon free trade in foreign and domestic policies. Owing to the publication of some of his brilliant essays in mathematical and theoretical economics, Pareto was appointed as Professor of Political Economy in the University of Lausanne in 1894. His fame as an international scholar of high reputation came two years later with publication of his two volumes study, entitled *cours d' Economie Politique*. By this work alone Pareto established himself as a major figure in economic theory for all time.

His close associate with Mussolini received much criticism on him. His ideologies played a pivotal role in framing Mussolini's Fascist ideas. In the last year of Pareto's life Mussolini came to power in Italy. Mussolini proclaimed himself a disciple of Pareto and adorned him with honours. Pareto's book entitled 'The Socialist Systems' contained criticism of democracy and openly declared

Fascism should be placed as governmental forms in Italy. Mussolini was very pleased with this and offered Pareto a seat in the Senate.

Pareto's major works are:

- course d' Economie Politique (1896)
- Les Systemes Socialistes (1902)
- Manual of Political Economy (1906)
- Treatise on General Sociology (1916)

Pareto was eager to construct a system of theory and method in social sciences comparable to the precision and refinement of physiology and chemistry. Observation, experiment and reasoning constitute the most fundamental methods of Pareto's science. He was interested in acquiring scientific knowledge about social phenomena. He developed a new scientific approach in the study of human behaviour namely *logico-experimental method*. His caliber in physical sciences and mechanical engineering enabled him to develop this new scientific approach. In logico-experimental science there is no room for extra or met empirical notions. Logico-experimental method is based on observation, experimentation and reasoning. Pareto augured all concepts must be defined in terms of observed or observable facts. They must be corresponding to realities which either perceived directly or create by experimentation. In logico-experimental method all other notions such as religious or of philosophical order should be strictly excluded from science.

Pareto recognizes only one scientific procedure-the logico-experiemtnal method. Logic can apply in order to make inferences and conclusions, the term experimental covers both observation and experimentation. Pareto insisted that a logico-experimental study should be morally and politically neutral, free of value judgements and sentiments.

Development of sociology- Comte, Weber and Simmel

Sociology is the scientific study of social life, social change, and the social causes and consequences of human behaviour. Sociology is relevant and applicable to our live in many ways. Sociologists conduct scientific research on social relationships and problems that range from tiny groups of two people to national societies and global networks.

Early sociological thoughts

Religion had a vital role in determining and influencing the individuals thought about the world and their relationships. This was very clear evident in Medieval Europe. Christianity dominated European thought systems during the Middle Ages, at the same time Islamic beliefs controlled much of the Middle East and parts of Africa. It was Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), a North African Islamic scholar probably the first to suggest a systematic approach to explain the social world. He was interested in understanding the feelings of solidarity that held tribal groups together during his day, which was a time of great conflict and wars. Sociology has its modern root in the ideas of nineteenth century social, political and religious philosophers who laid the ground work for the scientific study of society. Several events in the nineteenth century gave rise to the emergence of

sociology. The industrial Revolution and French Revolution gave an opportunity to social scientists and scholars to analyse the social scenario in a new way. It was in this background that the scientific study of society emerged.

August Comte (1798-1857)

The French scholar August Comte is considered the first to suggest that a science of society could help people to understand and perhaps control the rapid changes and unending revolutions taking place. Comte officially coined the term sociology in 1838. His basic premise was that religious or philosophical speculations about the society didn't provide an adequate understanding of how to solve society's problems. He urged the need for borrowing scientific principles from natural sciences to solve the issues of the social world. Just as the natural sciences provide basic facts about the physical world, so too there was a need to gather scientific knowledge about the social world. He introduced the idea of the scientific treatment of social behaviour. *Positivism* was Comte's term for his method of studying society borrowed largely on the technique of natural sciences. Comte coined the word sociology and that would do for man the social being exactly what biology had already done for man the biological animal.

Comte wanted to use scientific methods to address two basic questions about the social world. What hold society together and gives rise to stable order rather than anarchy, and why is there change in society? To answer these questions he put forth two concepts namely *social statics* and *social dynamics*. Social statics referred to aspects of society that give order, stability and harmony. Social dynamics referred to change and evolution in the parts of society and in society itself over time. By understanding these aspects of the social world, Comte strongly believed that people and leaders of the world could strengthen the society and could respond appropriately to change. His optimistic belief was that sociology would be the "queen of sciences", guiding leaders to construct a better social order. The two main contributions of Comte stand the test of time: the social world can and should be studied scientifically, and the knowledge gained from the scientific study of society should be used to improve the human condition.

Max Weber (1864- 1920)

Another scholar who gave many contributions to the scientific study of society was Max Weber. Max Weber was born in the year 21st April, 1864 in Germany. Weber received an excellent formal education in languages, economics, history and the classics. In 1894 he was appointed Professor of Economics at the University of Freiburg. Weber worked firmly for the development of a scientific method for the study of human society. Weber's main intellectual concern was to understand the process of rationalisation, secularisation, and disenchantment that he associated with the rise of capitalism and modernity. Max Weber is also known as a principal architect of modern social science along with Karl Marx and Emil Durkheim. His methodological writings were instrumental in establishing the self-identity of modern social science as distinct field of inquiry. Weber's two most famous contributions were the "rationalisation thesis", and the "protestant ethic thesis". Rationalisation thesis states a grand metahistorical analysis of the dominance of the West in modern times, and the Protestant ethic thesis states a non-Marxist genealogy of modern capitalism. These two theses helped launch his reputation as one of the founding theorist of modernity. His famous work *the protestant ethic and spirit of capitalism* explores the underpinnings in connection with the religious aspects and the development of new social and economic ideology. The book

explores about the Protestantism was one of the major pull associated with the rise of capitalism, bureaucracy and the rational-legal nation-state in the western world. Against Marx's historical materialism Weber emphasised the importance for understanding the development of capitalism, of cultural influences embedded in religion. Weber, in his another major work *Politics as a Vocation* defined the state as an entity which successfully claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. He was also the first to categorise social authority into distinct forms, which he labelled as charismatic, traditional, and rational- legal.

Protestant ethic and spirit of capitalism

The protestant ethic and spirit of capitalism is his most famous work. This work should not be viewed as a detailed study of Protestantism, but rather as an introduction into Weber's later works, especially his studies of interaction between various religious ideas and economic behaviour as part of the rationalisation of the economic system. In this book Weber put forward the thesis that Calvinist ethic and ideas influenced the development of capitalism. He noted the Post-Reformation shift of Europe's economic centre away from Catholic countries such as France, Spain and Italy and toward Protestant countries such as the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and Germany. Weber also noted that societies having more Protestants were those with a more highly developed capitalist country. Similarly, in societies with different religions, most successful business leaders were Protestants. Weber thus argued that Roman Catholicism impeded the development of the capitalist economy in the west, as did other religions such as Confucianism and Buddhism elsewhere in the world.

Georg Simmel (1858-1918)

Georg Simmel was both a philosopher and sociologist. Simmel was born in Berlin on 1st March, 1858. He has been considered as a truly Renaissance man. He was well acquainted with cultural history, folk psychology, the history of art, and philosophy. Simmel was also a brilliant public lecturer, attracting large crowds not only of university students but professors and the cultural intelligentsia of Berlin as well. He was one of the co-founder of the 'German Sociological Society' with Max Weber and Ferdinand Tonnies. He began his teaching career lecturing in philosophy and ethics. Later he turned to concentrate more of his attention upon the sociological aspects of ethics and social philosophy. Simmel distinguished three different forms sociology:

1. *General Sociology*: it deals the study of a social phenomenon or problem in developmental terms. It is a programme of method. Simmel's study of the expansion of the group and the development of individuality and freedom comes under the purview of general sociology.
2. *Philosophical Sociology*: it is considered with Simmel's philosophy of the social sciences and the study of epistemological and metaphysical aspects of society.
3. *Formal Sociology*: it is concerned with the classification and analysis of forms of *sociation*. The term *sociation* denotes the reciprocal relationship among the individuals. *Sociation* always involved both harmony and conflict, both attraction and repulsion both love and hatred. All human relationships experience this dialectical tension. When individuals interact with one another, they establish a particular type of reciprocal relationships or sociation. The interaction may vary from just a simple encounter with no significance to long lasting relationships of deep involvement.

Simmel's dialectical approach

Simmel wrote largely on the dynamic inter-connectedness and the conflict between individuals, between individual and society, between social groups and between elements of culture. His dialectical approach gives emphasis to three different concepts, 1) the principle of dualism 2) forms of interactions and 3) positive functions of conflict.

The principle of dualism underlies the idea of the human existence. It says the subsistence of any aspects of human life depends on the co-existence of completely opposed elements. Simmel strongly believe that the existence and the on-going process of civilisation is strongly adhered with the clashes and conflicts between the dual ideologies. He never visualised a society free of clashes and conflicts. As far as he was concerned clashes and conflicts were the part and parcel of the society. According to him a conflict free society is impossible. Conflict and consensus, order and disorder, war and peace constitute a part of the eternal dialectics of social life.

The forms of interaction are connected with the relationship between individual and society. Simmel applies the principle of dualism to the relationship between individual and society and to various forms of sociation.

Simmel strongly argued that there is no group of individuals in the world which is entirely harmonious, completely lacking of tension and conflict. After analysing the inevitable and indispensable tensions and conflicts in the society Simmel postulates the positive function of conflicts. He corrected the mistake in the commonly held belief that conflict between individuals or within groups is totally negative process, destructive of social relationships and group unity. Simmel argues that merely positive, harmonious, and lasting social relationships are unable to be believable. Conflicts permit a more realistic appraisal of social relationship and of areas of agreement and disagreement by the participants. Simmel pointed out that conflict between groups are a major causal determinant of the development of group organisation and organisational complexity.

History as social science

The origin of the word history can be traced back to the Greek word *Istoria* meaning *inquiry* or research or knowledge obtained as a result of inquiry. History is a systematic account of the origin and development of humankind, a record of the events and movements in its life. Famous historian E.H. Carr, in his book "what is history" has given moreover a widely accepted definition to history: - "History is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between present and past." Historian looks into the past through the eyes of present. The discipline attempts to study systematically a sequence of related events for the purpose of learning about, verifying, and establishing meaningful relationships among them. This systematic study of human actions and relationships make history as part of social sciences. It is impossible to interpret the present and predict about the future without reference to the past. History is scientific in the sense that it adopts many methods of enquiry such as observation, classification, framing hypothesis and analysing evidence before interpreting and reconstructing the past. Many scholars in different periods have contributed their own ways to the development of history in to a single social science like, economics, political science, sociology etc. The remarkable names are Ranke, Vico, Herder and others.

Giambattista Vico (1668- 1744)

Giambattista Vico was born in 23rd June, 1668 in Naples, Italy. He was an Italian political philosopher, historian and jurist. He made conspicuous contributions to the theory of history. Vico was the son of a book seller in Naples. He got himself well acquainted in history, literature, philosophy and law early in his life. In the year 1689 he appointed as Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Naples. He was highly influenced by the great scholars namely, Plato, Tacitus, and Bacon. Vico's master work is *principi di scienza nuova*, published in English as *New Science*. The book was published in the year 1725. The work is clearly presented as a science of reasoning. He has been considered as the originator of modern philosophy of history. He was a strong critique of Cartesian philosophy. Though Vico did not oppose the validity of mathematical knowledge, he was not ready to accept the Cartesian philosophers' claim that no other kind of knowledge was possible.

Vico regarded the historical process as a process by which human beings build up systems of language, custom, law, government etc. He believes history as the history of the genesis and development of human societies and their institutions. Vico thinks that from myths and tradition to modern scientific analysis there is a definite historical development. While discussing about the source material for constructing history, Vico postulates, the different branches of it like mythology, and etymology, which can be very clearly utilised in finding out historical evidence.

Vico listed certain prejudices or errors against which historians should always be on their guard. There are five sources of error: firstly, the glorified opinions concerning about the antiquity. There is usually a magnificent opinion about the antiquity. Historians usually commit the error by an exaggerated notion about the wealth, power, and grandeur of the period about which his studying. Secondly, there is the conceit of nations or the practice of dealing with the past of a nation's history in terms of glory. Thirdly, Vico formulated the term '*conceit of the learned*'; it is a particular form of prejudice that a tendency on the part of historians to consider the people whom they deal with as equally learned as they are. Fourthly, there is the fallacy of sources, the tendency to believe when two nations have similar ideas or institutions that one would have learned from the other. Vico argues that this kind of error denies the original creative power of the human mind, which can rediscover ideas for itself without learning them from other. Fifthly, there is the prejudice of considering the ancients as better informed than on us about times that they lay nearer to them. The historian does not depend on an unbroken tradition for his knowledge, but can reconstruct by scientific methods a picture of the past age. This is an unambiguous denial that history depends on memory, or on the statements of authorities.

Vico developed a philosophy of history which could perform a counter attack on the scientific and metaphysical philosophy of Cartesianism. The invaluable merit of his work came to be recognised two generations later when German scholars rediscovered him. After this, rest of the Europe gave him an applaud for altering their intellectual atmosphere in a new way. August Comte, the father of Sociology, enthusiastically described Vico as an influence in the construction of his laws of three states or ages of mankind. An original thinker, Vico was a scientist and psychologist. What he contributed to history has credited him to be considered as one of the founders of the science of history. Many scholars see in Vico the forerunner of the sciences of anthropology and ethnology. He has been widely recognised as one of the important figures in European intellectual history, and "New Science" is considered as one of the seminal works in that history.

Herder (1744- 1803)

Johann Gottfried Von Herder was one of the founders of the philosophy of history. Herder was born in Mohrungen in East Prussia in 25th August 1744. His father was a school teacher and he grew up in humble circumstances. He had highly influenced the thinking Immanuel Kant in his early life, later he engaged in creative controversies with the great German philosopher. He was highly interested in art, literature, language, and historical development. His ideas on history are spread through in two works namely *one more philosophy of history*, published in 1774, and *ideas for the philosophy of the history of mankind*, published between 1784 and 1791. His second work has divided in to four parts. The book has been considered as one of the seminal works of the 18th century. In this book, he argues that nature and history obey a uniform system of laws. He noticed the link between spiritual and natural worlds in this book.

Main ideas of Herder:-

Herder regarded man as an evolutionary product of nature, each stage in the evolutionary process designed to prepare for the next. He said that man is a product of his environment and history as a whole is a purely natural history of human forces, actions and instincts. He speaks about the racial divisions of mankind, the division of mankind into various races and each race is closely connected to its environment. He postulates a higher type of human organism namely 'historical organism', emerging out of the various races. It is a developed and higher civilisation. Here he highlights the glory of Europe, that Europe possesses the qualities of a congenial situation for a higher form of civilisation due to its peculiar geographical and climatic conditions. Thus in Europe alone is human life purely historical, whereas in other parts of the world non true historical progress. He sought to explain inherent differences among various races.

Herder is considered as the most important protagonist of Romanticism. Herder's philosophy of history and culture paved the way for Romanticism in Germany. The Romanticism was based on the primacy of feeling and emotion. From Germany the influence of Romanticism spread thorough out Europe. According to Herder, primitive societies are relatively better and happy, a view earlier put forth by Rousseau. Unlike the rationalists, Herder glorified the middle ages. He perceived the middle ages as the age of imagination and feeling, simplicity and peace. He wanted historians to reject the practice of judging the past ages from contemporary moral and cultural viewpoints.

Ranke (1795- 1886)

Leopold Von Ranke was born in 21st December 1795, in a well-to-do family of the Wiehe, the then part of the electorate of Saxony. He spent his early days in the age characterised by the early romanticist and the rise of the idealist school.

Ranke is credited for making history an autonomous and scientific discipline. He was regarded as pioneer and prophet of modern history. He was the product of Romanticism which indicates a shift from generalisations or abstractions based on reasoning to the realisation of the inner-self, the soul, the mind. He detached himself from bias and opined that general historians and secondary sources are undependable and so archival and other documents must be used and indicated. The great effort of Ranke for the transformation of history or towards a scientific history is what is called 'Berlin Revolution'. He developed the historical method and made history as a scientific study. The step towards the creation of an autonomous discipline of history was taken by Ranke. He developed the

modern scientific methodology of historical investigation. He strongly stood to present a complete knowledge of the past as it had actually happened, like a method used by the natural scientists through strict observation and inductive discovery and correlation of evidence. He argued the impartial and critical study of sources would produce a highly authentic description of the past. He gave prime concern on primary sources and insisted that any piece of historical writing must be firmly based on primary sources. The reliance upon primary sources would yield to write the history in an objective way. He strongly exhorted to “write history what actually happened”.

Ranke’s major works

Ranke has given vivid and veracious accounts of the past that resulted in producing seminal works on various events and issues. His works proved his intellectual calibre and asserted his strong belief in writing objective history without colouring anything.

His famous book *History of the Latin and German Peoples* published in the year 1824 launched a modern historical methodology. Ranke wrote: “History has been attributed the function of judge the past to instruct ourselves for the advantage of the future”. The book attempts to establish the unity of the Latin and Germanic nations.

His work *History of the Popes* gave much reputation and fame to him among the other great historians of the world. Though belonged to a Protestant, Ranke praised the Catholic Church for undertaking the role of uniting European civilisation. In this book Ranke treated with sympathy and admiration the great figures and movements of the Catholic Church. The book provided more objective treatment, without bitter feeling or resentment. The “History of the Popes” was translated into every civilised language and became one of the indispensable books of historical literature.

His *German History at the Time of the Reformation* gives an account of the genesis and growth of Protestantism. Ranke describes both the Protestantism and the Catholic positions objectively. His another famous book is *History of France*. This work depicts dispassionately about the French and is free from German dislike against the French. The major theme of the book is the growth of absolute monarchism under Henry IV, the glory and grim of Richelieu, and the futility and greed of Mazarin. In this book the reign of Louis XIV received much attention. He criticised the foreign policy of Louis XIV, but applauded his contributions in the field of literature, science and art.

To conclude, Ranke was the founder of a school of historical thought and the father of critical historical methodology. To him goes the credit of giving history an outline of scientific discipline. He divorced the study of the past as much as humanly possible from the passions of the present, and tried to describe how things were as what actually happened. He established the need of historical construction strictly on the basis of sources contemporary to the period of history under study, i.e., primary sources.

Hegel (1770- 1831)

Georg Wilhelm Frederick Hegel was the most influential philosopher of the Romantic-Idealist historical movement. He was born in Stuttgart, in Southern Germany in the year 1770. He belonged to a Protestant family. He studied Latin, Theology, and Philosophy before he served as a tutor in Switzerland. In 1801 he became Lecturer in the University of Jena.

His major works are:

- The Phenomenology of Spirit
- Logic
- Lectures on the Philosophy of History
- The Philosophy of Right

Hegel was highly influenced the thoughts of his predecessors namely, Herder, Immanuel Kant, Schiller and Fichte. The greatest philosophical achievement of Hegel was the systematic development of the dialectical method. Hegel believed that “dialectics” is the very moving principle of history, and is a method or process by which all ideals in the world developed. The very concept was first put forth by Greek scholar Plato. The term dialectic literally meant the art of conversation, by the mechanism through which the historical process developed. Hegel through his dialectic propounded the belief that reality could only be understand by a method of contrasting one thing with its opposite. For example love was only understood when it was contrasted with hatredness, heat with cold, etc.

Hegel argued that every historical process was governed by definite rational principles of *thesis*, *anti-thesis* and *synthesis*. Abstract universal concept is called thesis; the concept gives rise to contradictory ideas called anti-thesis; the contradictory ideas are ultimately produce in the third called synthesis. Synthesis is the union of the other two concepts- thesis and anti-thesis. There will be conflict between thesis and anti-thesis, until a synthesis is created. Despotism is a thesis. Despotism always suppresses the human thirst for freedom. Then revolt broke out for freedom and an anti-thesis of despotism, namely democracy emerges. The synthesis of despotism and democracy is constitutional monarchy. This synthesis is not the final, the process continues until there emerges a perfect state.

Hegel glorified the state more than what other Romantic-Idealists did. According to him the theme of the historical process is the development of man’s consciousness of freedom exhibited in an external system of social relations, i.e., the state. He put forth the view that true liberty consisted of subjection to the political society, without state the individual would become nothing but an animal.

In short the historical movement which began with Herder reached its culmination in Hegelian philosophy. Hegelian thoughts had strong influence on social sciences, particularly jurisprudence, politics and all mental science, and above all historical thought. Hegel’s influence paved the way for both philosophical and historical speculations in the succeeding period.

Development of Economics

Economics is a social science deals with human wants and their satisfactions. It is the study of the ways in which human beings make a living. It considers the social organisation through which people satisfy wants for scarce goods and services. An Economist analyse economic conditions and explores how people organise, produce and distribute material goods. They are interested in supply and demand, inflation and taxes, prices and manufacturing outputs, labour organisation, employment levels, and comparison of industrial and non- industrial nations. Economists collect and assess data and make predictions about various issues. The development of economic as a

specialised study owes many scholars and intellectuals. Many scholars provided their own contributions to the development of economics as a specialised discipline. The contribution of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Marshall, and J.M. Keynes are highly remarkable in this endeavour. The specialised study of economics began with Adam Smith, after the publication of his magnum opus, “An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations” (“Wealth of Nations”).

Adam Smith (1723- 1790)

Adam Smith was born in Scotland in the year 1723. With Adam Smith, a new era ushered in the science of Economics. He was the first to make systematic study of the subject and considered to be the father of Economics. He completed his studies first at Glasgow and then at Oxford. In the year 1751 he became Professor of Logic at Glasgow. His master work “Wealth of Nations” published in 1776 and it received much reputation around the world. In 1778, Adam Smith was appointed as Commissioner of Customs at Edinburgh, the post he retained until his death. The writings of Smith helped to the very foundation of capitalism.

His magnum opus *an inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations* considered as the first comprehensive system of political economy. The Wealth of Nations is not merely a treatise on economics but as a partial exposition of a much larger scheme of historical evolution. In this book Smith outlines four major stages of organisation through which all society is impelled. The first was the rude stage of hunters, a second stage of nomadic agriculture, a third stage of feudal or manorial system, and a fourth and final stage of commercial interdependence. Each of the stages was accompanied by institutions suited to its needs.

His another work *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* contains the philosophical tendencies. The work gives details about the general principles of law and government, and also provide accounts on various revolutions they undergone in the different ages and periods of society.

Laissez-faire Theory

Adam Smith is considered as the champion of the doctrine of Laissez-faire. It upholds the idea of economic liberalism – trade and commerce free from under the clutches of governmental interference. By economic liberty he meant individual freedom in economic matters, government non- intervention and freed trade. He was a strong supporter of free trade. He says about the natural forces of the economic system that works independently, and it produces results beneficial to both the individual and society. To justify the theory of Laissez-faire he put forth the concepts of laws of market and the laws of motion. With the help of the law of market Adam Smith analysed the underpinnings of a market. He postulated that a market is governed by two forces: 1) self-interest and 2) competition. The natural sentiment of self-interest, in a society of similarly motivated individual, results in competition. With this automatic mechanism of competition, these individuals are operate to produce goods which the society wants, in the quantities that the society desire and at the price the society could afford. Thus it is the automatic mechanism of a competitive market which controls the economic activities of all individuals of the society. In this way the ultimate result is the maximum social welfare. In his discussions there is no peculiar role to government in connection with the economic activities of private individuals. He emphatically asserted to the government that “let them do”, i.e. conducting trade and commercial activities according to the whims and fancies of the private enthusiastic individuals. He assigned to the government the duty

of a modest police- to provide law and order in the country for the smooth conducting of business, and save the country from all the internal and external threats.

In this ways Adam Smith provided a strong base for the development of Economics. He remains a towering figure in the history of economic thought. All social scientists, particularly economists admitted and admired his breadth of knowledge, the cutting edge of his generalisation, and boldness of his vision.

David Ricardo (1772- 1823)

David Ricardo was born in London, in the year April 18, 1772. His father Abraham Ricardo was a stock broker in Bills of Exchange and Securities, London. At the age of 14 he entered his father's business, for which he showed great aptitude. His favourite subjects were Mathematics, Chemistry and Geology. His interest in economic questions arose in the year 1799 when he happened to read Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, from that onwards he became a keen student of Economics and responded towards major economic problems in his time. He gave a systematised and classical form to the rising science of economics in the 19th century. Ricardo came to be known as the greatest representative of classical economics and the leading expert on the problems of economic policy of his time. He contributed his economic ideas through the publication of several books and pamphlets. His first published work was *The High Price of Bullion, a Proof of the Depreciation of Bank Notes* (published in the year 1810). The book criticised the harmful economic policy the Bank of England.

As far as Ricardo is concerned economics is an inquiry in to the law by which wealth is distributed. He gave more important to the study of distribution of wealth in the society. He argued that happiness of a society depends not merely on how much is produced but on how that produce is distributed in the society. Thus the fundamental problem before Ricardo was to determine the laws which regulate the distribution of wealth. In his famous work, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, published in the year 1817, Ricardo came to analyse the laws determining the distribution of the social product. For the purpose of analysing the distribution of social product, he looked into the three classes of society, namely the landlords, the workers, and the owners of the capital. All the production of the earth is attained with harmonious cooperation of labour, capital and machinery, and it had to be distributed among the classes of the owners of the land, capitalists, and the workers. Their remunerations out of the total production, i.e. the share of rent, profit and wages would be different at various stages in the society. They are based on several factors such as efficiency of workers, fertility of land, productivity of capital, and use of farm implements etc. Ricardo find out there was always the possibilities of the conflict of interests among workers, capitalists, and land lords. Ricardo was the first political economist who in a systematic and scientific way analysed the problems of distribution and postulated doctrines to determine the shares of different factors of production out of the total national income. Ricardo in his 'Principles of Political Economy' observed thus: "profits depend on high or low wages, wages on the price of necessities, and the price of necessities chiefly on the price of food."

Ricardo achieved a leading position among the economists of his age. He was the greatest representative of the English Classical Economics School, and one of the most controversial figures in the history of economic thought. His ample response towards the day to day economic problems of England was very remarkable. This outspoken character invited him both enemies and friends.

His view won considerable support in England and rest of the Europe. Ricardo retains his eminence as the thinker who first systemised economics.

Alfred Marshall (1842- 1924)

Alfred Marshall was born in England in July 1842. He was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and at St. John's College, Cambridge. During his earlier days he was highly influenced the philosophy of Immanuel Kant and Hegel. He was appointed as a fellow and Lecturer in Political Economy at Balliol College, Oxford from 1883 to 1885 and Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge from 1885 to 1908.

His major works are:

- Economics of Industry (1879)
- Principles of Economics (1890)
- Industry and Trade (1919)
- Money Credit and Commerce (1923)

Marshall was one of the chief founders of the School of English Neo-Classical Economists. Marshall has been acknowledged as the founder of the Cambridge School of Economics in the beginning of the 20th century. The other members of this school were famous Economists of the time namely, A.C. Pigou, J. Robinson, D.A. Robertson, Maurice Dobb, and John Maynard Keynes. The major objective of the School was to make Economics as an instrument of the socio economic development of the society. Marshall also contributed to the development of modern Econometrics. He prepared the background for an economic science that would be not only quantitative but numerical. Marshall asserted that the object of Economics was only to maximise the economic welfare in the society. He defined economics in the following manner: "Economics is a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life; it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the attainment and with the use of the material requisites of well-being."

Marshall's master work is "Principles of Economics", which gives a vivid and veracious account of his major economic theories and findings. The book was distinguished by the introduction of number of new concepts, such as, consumer's surplus, elasticity of demand, representative firm and the quasi rent. All these new theories played a pivotal role in the subsequent development of economics. His "Industry and Trade" was a study of industrial organisation.

Marshall is often considered to have been in the line of descent of the great English Economists namely, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and J.S. Mill.

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946)

J.M. Keynes was a famous English Economist, journalist and financier, best known for his revolutionary economic theories on the causes of prolonged unemployment. He was born in 5th June 1883, in Cambridge, England. He completed his graduation from Cambridge University. He became editor of the *Economic Journal* in 1912 and continued to be on this post till 1945. In 1905, Keynes joined as a civil servant in India Office, White Hall. But after serving there for two years,

he returned to Cambridge. He spent rest of his life as a Lecturer in Economics and later as a Fellow at King's College. He also served as Director of Bank of England and the British delegation to Bretton Woods Conference (1944), and as Governor of International Monetary Fund (IMF). His economic theories proved to be an effective instrument for shaping the national monetary and fiscal policies, particularly in developed countries. His economic theories are popularly known as 'Keynesian economics'. His most well-known work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, provided a remedy for economic recession based on a government sponsored policy of full employment.

His major works are:

- Indian Currency and Finance (1913)
- The Economic Consequences of Peace (1919)
- A Treatise on Money (1930)
- The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (1936)
- How to Pay for the War (1940)

Of all these, "the general theory" is the most scientific and revolutionary work. This work has affected a revolution in economic thinking. The immediate purpose of this book was to provide a solution to the imbroglio that occurred in England and rest of Europe between the two world wars. During this time the problem of unemployment had reached at its zenith. In this scenario, his "*General Theory*" had a wide and deep rooted impact. The book was one of those rare works on economics which has given the subject a new direction. Keynes was the first economist to develop a systematic theory of employment. The classical and neo-classical economists had almost neglected the problem of unemployment. They considered unemployment as a temporary phenomenon and postulated that there was always a tendency towards full employment. Keynes severely criticised this assumptions of classical and neo classical economists and replaced it with a more general and more realistic theory.

Keynes' theory of employment is called the effective demand theory of employment. Effective demand is the logical starting point of Keynes' theory of employment. The term effective demand denotes the desire plus ability and willingness to buy, i.e. actual expenditure. Effective demand depends upon aggregate demand function and aggregate supply function. The theory says, unemployment arises due to the deficiency of effective demand and the way to remove unemployment is to raise effective demand. Keynes postulates, income and output are the functions of employment and the three, income, output and employment, move in the same direction so closely. That Keynes in his analysis assumed them as identical, that is $\text{employment} = \text{output} = \text{income}$. As employment increases, output and income increases proportionately.

Unit-II

SURVEY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

The complexity involved in defining what is social science, makes it a daunting task to restrict social sciences under the umbrella of just a few branches. It is very difficult to answer the question what is social science, because there are numerous subjects that are directly or indirectly related to it. In fact, to understand what subjects form an integral part of social sciences, it is essential to understand the basic definition of social sciences. In essence, social science is hailed to be a scholastic and scientific discipline that studies the origin, growth and development of human society, as a whole. Generally, barring the subjects of natural sciences, rest everything is covered in social sciences. Categorizing sciences based on subjects studied was done in the 18th century.

Natural sciences, for instance, were subjects that developed after deep experiments and results. Physics, chemistry and mathematics are some of the examples of natural sciences. Social sciences on the other hand, developed and evolved from moral philosophy. The subjects that are studied and researched under social sciences study human interaction with society. So are you getting what is social science? Roots of social sciences can be found in ancient philosophy, from which various branches of social science research evolved and developed. In fact, social sciences in one of the philosophy topics with varied interpretations and meanings.

Branches of social science

The Social Science disciplines are branches of knowledge which are taught and researched at the college or university level. Social Science disciplines are defined and recognized by the academic journals in which research is published, and the learned Social Science societies and academic departments or faculties to which their practitioners belong. Social Science fields of study usually have several sub-disciplines or branches, and the distinguishing lines between these are often both arbitrary and ambiguous. The following are problem areas and discipline branches within the social sciences.

Anthropology

Anthropology is the holistic "science of man," - a science of the totality of human existence. The discipline deals with the integration of different aspects of the Social Sciences, Humanities, and Human Biology. In the twentieth century, academic disciplines have often been institutionally divided into three broad domains. The natural sciences seek to derive general laws through reproducible and verifiable experiments. The humanities generally study local traditions, through their history, literature, music, and arts, with an emphasis on understanding particular individuals, events, or eras. The social sciences have generally attempted to develop scientific methods to understand social phenomena in a generalizable way, though usually with methods distinct from those of the natural sciences.

The anthropological social sciences often develop nuanced descriptions rather than the general laws derived in physics or chemistry, or they may explain individual cases through more general principles, as in many fields of psychology. Anthropology (like some fields of history) does not easily fit into one of these categories, and different branches of anthropology draw on one or more

of these domains. Within the United States, Anthropology is divided into four sub-fields: Archaeology, Physical or Biological Anthropology, Anthropological Linguistics, and Cultural Anthropology. It is an area that is offered at most undergraduate institutions. The word anthropos is from the Greek for "human being" or "person." Eric Wolf described socio-cultural anthropology as "the most scientific of the humanities, and the most humanistic of the sciences."

The goal of anthropology is to provide a holistic account of humans and human nature. This means that, though anthropologists generally specialize in only one sub-field, they always keep in mind the biological, linguistic, historic and cultural aspects of any problem. Since anthropology arose as a science in Western societies that were complex and industrial, a major trend within anthropology has been a methodological drive to study peoples in societies with more simple social organization, sometimes called "primitive" in anthropological literature, but without any connotation of "inferior." Today, anthropologists use terms such as "less complex" societies or refer to specific modes of subsistence or production, such as "pastoralist" or "forager" or "horticulturalist" to refer to humans living in non-industrial, non-Western cultures, such people or folk (ethnos) remaining of great interest within anthropology.

The quest for holism leads most anthropologists to study a people in detail, using biogenetic, archaeological, and linguistic data alongside direct observation of contemporary customs. In the 1990s and 2000s, calls for clarification of what constitutes a culture, of how an observer knows where his or her own culture ends and another begins, and other crucial topics in writing anthropology were heard. It is possible to view all human cultures as part of one large, evolving global culture. These dynamic relationships, between what can be observed on the ground, as opposed to what can be observed by compiling many local observations remain fundamental in any kind of anthropology, whether cultural, biological, linguistic or archaeological.

Economics

Economics is a social science that seeks to analyze and describe the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. The word "economics" is from the Greek *oikos*, "family, household, estate," and *nomos*, "custom, law," and hence means "household management" or "management of the state." An economist is a person using economic concepts and data in the course of employment, or someone who has earned a university degree in the subject. The classic brief definition of economics, set out by Lionel Robbins in 1932, is "the science which studies human behavior as a relation between scarce means having alternative uses." Without scarcity and alternative uses, there is no economic problem. Briefer yet is "the study of how people seek to satisfy needs and wants" and "the study of the financial aspects of human behaviour."

Economics has two broad branches: microeconomics, where the unit of analysis is the individual agent, such as a household or firm, and macroeconomics, where the unit of analysis is an economy as a whole. Another division of the subject distinguishes positive economics, which seeks to predict and explain economic phenomena, from normative economics, which orders choices and actions by some criterion; such orderings necessarily involve subjective value judgments. Since the early part of the 20th century, economics has focused largely on measurable quantities, employing both theoretical models and empirical analysis. Quantitative models, however, can be traced as far back as the physiocratic school. Economic reasoning has been increasingly applied in recent decades to other social situations such as politics, law, psychology, history, religion, marriage and family life,

and other social interactions. This paradigm crucially assumes (1) that resources are scarce because they are not sufficient to satisfy all wants, and (2) that "economic value" is willingness to pay as revealed for instance by market (arms' length) transactions. Rival heterodox schools of thought, such as institutional economics, green economics, Marxist economics, and economic sociology, make other grounding assumptions. For example, Marxist economics assumes that economics primarily deals with the exchange of value, and that labor (human effort) is the source of all value. The expanding domain of economics in the social sciences has been described as economic imperialism.

Education

Education encompasses teaching and learning specific skills, and also something less tangible but more profound: the imparting of knowledge, positive judgment and well-developed wisdom. Education has as one of its fundamental aspects the imparting of culture from generation to generation. To educate means 'to draw out', from the Latin *educare*, or to facilitate the realization of an individual's potential and talents. It is an application of pedagogy, a body of theoretical and applied research relating to teaching and learning and draws on many disciplines such as psychology, philosophy, computer science, linguistics, neuroscience, sociology and anthropology.

The education of an individual human begins at birth and continues throughout life. (Some believe that education begins even before birth, as evidenced by some parents' playing music or reading to the baby in the womb in the hope it will influence the child's development.) For some, the struggles and triumphs of daily life provide far more instruction than does formal schooling (thus Mark Twain's admonition to "never let school interfere with your education"). Family members may have a profound educational effect — often more profound than they realize — though family teaching may function very informally.

Geography

Geography as a discipline can be split broadly into two main sub fields: human geography and physical geography. The former focuses largely on the built environment and how space is created, viewed and managed by humans as well as the influence humans have on the space they occupy. The latter examines the natural environment and how the climate, vegetation & life, soil, water and landforms are produced and interact. As a result of the two subfields using different approaches a third field has emerged, which is environmental geography. Environmental geography combines physical and human geography and looks at the interactions between the environment and humans.

Geographers attempt to understand the earth in terms of physical and spatial relationships. The first geographers focused on the science of mapmaking and finding ways to precisely project the surface of the earth. In this sense, geography bridges some gaps between the natural sciences and social sciences. Historical geography is often taught in a college in a unified Department of Geography.

Modern geography is an all-encompassing discipline, closely related to GISc that seeks to understand humanity and its natural environment. The fields of Urban Planning, Regional Science, and Planetology are closely related to geography. Practitioners of geography use many technologies and methods to collect data such as GIS, remote sensing, aerial photography, statistics, and global

positioning systems (GPS). The field of geography is generally split into two distinct branches: physical and human. Physical geography examines phenomena related to climate, oceans, soils, and the measurement of earth. Human geography focuses on fields as diverse as Cultural geography, transportation, health, military operations, and cities. Other branches of geography include Social geography, regional geography, geomatics, and environmental geography.

History

History is the continuous, systematic narrative and research of past events as relating to the human species; as well as the study of all events in time, in relation to humanity. History has a base in both the social sciences and the humanities. In the United States the National Endowment for the Humanities includes history in its definition of Humanities (as it does for applied Linguistics). However the National Research Council classifies History as a Social science. The historical method comprises the techniques and guidelines by which historians use primary sources and other evidence to research and then to write history. The Social Science History Association, formed in 1976, brings together scholars from numerous disciplines interested in social history.

Law

Law in common parlance, means a rule which (unlike a rule of ethics) is capable of enforcement through institutions. The study of law crosses the boundaries between the social sciences and humanities, depending on one's view of research into its objectives and effects. Law is not always enforceable, especially in the international relations context. It has been defined as a "system of rules", as an "interpretive concept "to achieve justice, as an "authority" to mediate people's interests, and even as "the command of a sovereign, backed by the threat of a sanction". However one likes to think of law, it is a completely central social institution. Legal policy incorporates the practical manifestation of thinking from almost every social sciences and humanity. Laws are politics, because politicians create them. Law is philosophy, because moral and ethical persuasions shape their ideas. Law tells many of history's stories, because statutes, case law and codifications build up over time. And law is economics, because any rule about contract, tort, property law, labour law, company law and many more can have long lasting effects on the distribution of wealth. The noun law derives from the late Old English lagu, meaning something laid down or fixed and the adjective legal comes from the Latin word lex.

Linguistics

Linguistics investigates the cognitive and social aspects of human language. The field is divided into areas that focus on aspects of the linguistic signal, such as syntax (the study of the rules that govern the structure of sentences), semantics (the study of meaning), morphology (the study of the structure of words), phonetics (the study of speech sounds) and phonology (the study of the abstract sound system of a particular language); however, work in areas like evolutionary linguistics (the study of the origins and evolution of language) and psycholinguistics (the study of psychological factors in human language) cut across these divisions.

The overwhelming majority of modern research in linguistics takes a predominantly synchronic perspective (focusing on language at a particular point in time), and a great deal of it—partly owing to the influence of Noam Chomsky—aims at formulating theories of the cognitive processing of

language. However, language does not exist in a vacuum, or only in the brain, and approaches like contact linguistics, Creole studies, discourse analysis, social interactional linguistics, and sociolinguistics explore language in its social context. Sociolinguistics often makes use of traditional quantitative analysis and statistics in investigating the frequency of features, while some disciplines, like contact linguistics, focus on qualitative analysis. While certain areas of linguistics can thus be understood as clearly falling within the social sciences, other areas, like acoustic phonetics and neuro linguistics, draw on the natural sciences. Linguistics draws only secondarily on the humanities, which played a rather greater role in linguistic inquiry in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Ferdinand Saussure is considered the father of modern linguistics.

Political science

Political science is a social science concerned with the theory and practice of politics and the analysis of political systems and political behavior. Political scientists "see themselves engaged in revealing the relationships underlying political events and conditions. And from these revelations they attempt to construct general principles about the way the world of politics work." Political science intersects with other fields; including anthropology, public policy, national politics, economics, international relations, comparative politics, psychology, sociology, history, law, and political theory.

Political science is commonly divided into three distinct sub-disciplines which together constitute the field: Political Philosophy, Comparative Politics and International Relations. Political Philosophy is the reasoning for an absolute normative government, laws and similar questions and their distinctive characteristics. Comparative Politics is the science of comparison and teaching of different types of constitutions, political actors, legislature and associated fields, all of them from an intrastate perspective. International Relations deals with the interaction between nation-states as well as intergovernmental and transnational organizations.

Political science is methodologically diverse and appropriates many methods originating in social research. Approaches include positivism, interpretivism, rational choice theory, behavioral, structuralism, post-structuralism, realism, institutionalism, and pluralism. Political science, as one of the social sciences, uses methods and techniques that relate to the kinds of inquiries sought: primary sources such as historical documents and official records, secondary sources such as scholarly journal articles, survey research, statistical analysis, case studies, and model building.

"As a discipline" political science, possibly like the social sciences as a whole, "lives on the fault line between the 'two cultures' in the academy, the sciences and the humanities." Thus, in some American colleges where there is no separate School or College of Arts and Sciences per se, political science may be a separate department housed as part of a division or school of Humanities or Liberal Arts. Whereas classical political philosophy is primarily defined by a concern for Hellenic and Enlightenment thought, political scientists are broadly marked by a greater concern for "modernity" and the contemporary nation state, and as such share a greater deal of terminology with sociologists (e.g. structure and agency).

Public administration

One of the main branches of political science, public administration can be broadly described as the development, implementation and study of branches of government policy. The pursuit of the

public good by enhancing civil society and social justice is the ultimate goal of the field. Though public administration has historically referred to as government management, it increasingly encompasses non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that also operate with a similar, primary dedication to the betterment of humanity.

Differentiating public administration from business administration, a closely related field, has become a popular method for defining the discipline by contrasting the two. First, the goals of public administration are more closely related to those often cited as goals of the American founders and democratic people in general. That is, public employees work to improve equality, justice, security, efficiency, effectiveness, and, at times, for profit. These values help to both differentiate the field from business administration, primarily concerned with profit, and define the discipline. Second, public administration is a relatively new, multidisciplinary field. Woodrow Wilson's *The Study of Administration* is frequently cited as the seminal work. Wilson advocated a more professional operation of public officials' daily activities. Further, the future president identified the necessity in the United States of a separation between party politics and good bureaucracy, which has also been a lasting theme.

The multidisciplinary nature of public administration is related to a third defining feature: administrative duties. Public administrators work in public agencies, at all levels of government, and perform a wide range of tasks. Public administrators collect and analyze data (statistics), monitor fiscal operations (budgets, accounts, and cash flow), organize large events and meetings, draft legislation, develop policy, and frequently execute legally mandated, government activities. Regarding this final facet, public administrators find themselves serving as parole officers, secretaries, and note takers, paperwork processors, and record keepers, notaries of the public, cashiers, and managers. Indeed, the discipline couples well with many vocational fields such as information technology, finance, law, and engineering. When it comes to the delivery and evaluation of public services, a public administrator is undoubtedly involved.

Psychology

Psychology is an academic and applied field involving the study of behavior and mental processes. Psychology also refers to the application of such knowledge to various spheres of human activity, including problems of individuals' daily lives and the treatment of illness. Psychology differs from anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology in seeking to capture explanatory generalizations about the mental function and overt behaviour of individuals, while the other disciplines focus on creating descriptive generalizations about the functioning of social groups or situation-specific human behavior. In practice, however, there is quite a lot of cross-fertilization that takes place among the various fields. Psychology differs from biology and neuroscience in that it is primarily concerned with the interaction of mental processes and behavior, and of the overall processes of a system, and not simply the biological or neural processes themselves, though the subfield of neuropsychology combines the study of the actual neural processes with the study of the mental effects they have subjectively produced. Many people associate Psychology with Clinical Psychology which focuses on assessment and treatment of problems in living and psychopathology. In reality, Psychology has myriad specialties including: Social Psychology, Developmental Psychology, Cognitive Psychology, Industrial-Organizational Psychology, Mathematical psychology, Neuropsychology, and Quantitative Analysis of Behaviour to name only a few. The word *psychology* comes from the ancient Greek ψυχή, psyche ("soul", "mind") and logy, study).

Psychology is a very broad science that is rarely tackled as a whole, major block. Although some subfields encompass a natural science base and a social science application, others can be clearly distinguished as having little to do with the social sciences or having a lot to do with the social sciences. For example, biological psychology is considered a natural science with a social scientific application (as is clinical medicine), social and occupational psychology are, generally speaking, purely social sciences, whereas neuropsychology is a natural science that lacks application out of the scientific tradition entirely. In British universities, emphasis on what tenet of psychology a student has studied and/or concentrated is communicated through the degree conferred: B.Psy. indicates a balance between natural and social sciences, B.Sc. indicates a strong (or entire) scientific concentration, whereas a B.A. underlines a majority of social science credits. This is not always necessarily the case however, and in many UK institutions students studying the B.Psy, B.Sc, and B.A. follow the same curriculum as outlined by The British Psychological Society and have the same options of specialism open to them regardless of whether they choose a balance, a heavy science basis, or heavy social science basis to their degree. If they applied to read the B.A. for example, but specialized in heavily science based modules, then they will still generally be awarded the B.A.

Sociology

Sociology is the study of society. It is a social science—a term with which it is sometimes synonymous—which uses various methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop and refine a body of knowledge about human social activity. For many sociologists the goal is to conduct research which may be applied directly to social policy and welfare, whilst others produce purely academic theory closer to that of philosophy. Subject matter ranges from the micro level of individual agency and interaction to the macro level of systems and the social structure.

Sociology is both topically and methodologically a very broad discipline. Its traditional focuses have included social stratification, social class, social mobility, religion, secularization, law, deviance. As all spheres of human activity are sculpted by social structure and individual agency, sociology has gradually expanded its focus to further subjects, such as health, medical, military and penal institutions, the Internet, and even the role of social activity in the development of scientific knowledge.

The range of social scientific methods has also broadly expanded. Social researchers draw upon a variety of qualitative and quantitative techniques. The linguistic and cultural turns of the mid-20th century led to increasingly interpretative, hermeneutic, and philosophic approaches to the analysis of society. Conversely, recent decades have seen the rise of new analytically, mathematically and computationally rigorous techniques, such as agent-based modeling and social network analysis. Sociology should not be confused with various general social studies courses which bear little relation to sociological theory or social science research methodology.

Sociology was originally established by Auguste Comte (1798–1857) in 1838. Comte endeavoured to unify history, psychology and economics through the descriptive understanding of the social realm. He proposed that social ills could be remedied through sociological positivism, an epistemological approach outlined in *The Course in Positive Philosophy* [1830–1842] and *A General View of Positivism* (1844). Though Comte is generally regarded as the "Father of Sociology", the discipline was formally established by another French thinker, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), who developed positivism as a foundation to practical social research. Durkheim set

up the first European department of sociology at the University of Bordeaux in 1895, publishing his *Rules of the Sociological Method*. In 1896, he established the journal *L'Année Sociologique*. Durkheim's seminal monograph, *Suicide* (1897), a case study of suicide rates amongst Catholic and Protestant populations, distinguished sociological analysis from psychology or philosophy.

Karl Marx rejected Comtean positivism but nevertheless aimed to establish a *science of society* based on historical materialism, becoming recognised as a founding figure of sociology posthumously as the term gained broader meaning. At the turn of the 20th century, the first wave of German sociologists, including Max Weber and Georg Simmel, developed sociological antipositivism. The field may be broadly recognised as an amalgam of three modes of social thought in particular: Durkheimian positivism and structural functionalism; Marxist historical materialism and conflict theory; Weberian antipositivism and *verstehen* analysis. American sociology broadly arose on a separate trajectory, with little Marxist influence, an emphasis on rigorous experimental methodology, and a closer association with pragmatism and social psychology. In the 1920s, the Chicago school developed symbolic interactionism. Meanwhile in the 1930s, the Frankfurt School pioneered the idea of critical theory, an interdisciplinary form of Marxist sociology drawing upon thinkers as diverse as Sigmund Freud and Friedrich Nietzsche. Critical theory would take on something of a life of its own after World War II, influencing literary criticism and the Birmingham School establishment of cultural studies.

Sociology evolved as an academic response to the challenges of modernity, such as industrialization, urbanization, secularization, and a perceived process of enveloping rationalization. Because sociology is such a broad discipline, it can be difficult to define, even for professional sociologists. The field generally concerns the social rules and processes that bind and separate people not only as individuals, but as members of associations, groups, communities and institutions, and includes the examination of the organization and development of human social life. The sociological field of interest ranges from the analysis of short contacts between anonymous individuals on the street to the study of global social processes. In the terms of sociologists Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, social scientists seek an understanding of the Social Construction of Reality. Most sociologists work in one or more subfields. One useful way to describe the discipline is as a cluster of sub-fields that examine different dimensions of society. For example, social stratification studies inequality and class structure; demography studies changes in a population size or type; criminology examines criminal behavior and deviance; and political sociology studies the interaction between society and state.

Since its inception, sociological epistemologies, methods, and frames of enquiry, have significantly expanded and diverged. Sociologists use a diversity of research methods, drawing upon either empirical techniques or critical theory. Common modern methods include case studies, historical research, interviewing, participant observation, social network analysis, survey research, statistical analysis, and model building, among other approaches. Since the late 1970s, many sociologists have tried to make the discipline useful for non-academic purposes. The results of sociological research aid educators, lawmakers, administrators, developers, and others interested in resolving social problems and formulating public policy, through sub disciplinary areas such as evaluation research, methodological assessment, and public sociology. New sociological sub-fields continue to appear - such as community studies, computational sociology, environmental sociology, network analysis, actor-network theory and a growing list, many of which are cross-disciplinary in nature.

Further fields

Additional Social Science disciplines and fields of study include:

- Archaeology is the science that studies human cultures through the recovery, documentation, analysis, and interpretation of material remains and environmental data, including architecture, artifacts, features, biofacts, and landscapes.
- Area studies are interdisciplinary fields of research and scholarship pertaining to particular geographical, national/federal, or cultural regions.
- Behavioral science is a term that encompasses all the disciplines that explore the activities of and interactions among organisms in the natural world.
- Communication studies is an academic field that deals with processes of communication, commonly defined as the sharing of symbols over distances in space and time.
- Demography is the statistical study of all populations.
- Development studies a multidisciplinary branch of social science which addresses issues of concern to developing countries.
- Environmental studies integrate social, humanistic, and natural science perspectives on the relation between humans and the natural environment.
- Information science is an interdisciplinary science primarily concerned with the collection, classification, manipulation, storage, retrieval and dissemination of information.
- International studies covers both International relations (the study of foreign affairs and global issues among states within the international system) and International education (the comprehensive approach that intentionally prepares people to be active and engaged participants in an interconnected world).
- Journalism is the craft of conveying news, descriptive material and comment via a widening spectrum of media.
- Legal management is a social sciences discipline that is designed for students interested in the study of State and Legal elements.
- Library science is an interdisciplinary field that applies the practices, perspectives, and tools of management, information technology, education, and other areas to libraries; the collection, organization, preservation and dissemination of information resources; and the political economy of information.
- Management in all business and human organization activity is simply the act of getting people together to accomplish desired goals and objectives.
- Political economy is the study of production, buying and selling, and their relations with law, custom, and government.

The scope of social sciences

The word "science" is older than its modern use. The word has become a short-form for "natural science". It is a recent development that society has become the object of an organized body of knowledge which can be standardized and taught objectively, while following its own rules and methodology.

The Social science has a wide scope. The social sciences comprise academic disciplines concerned with the study of the social life of human groups, animals and individuals including anthropology, archeology, communication studies, cultural studies, demography, economics, human geography, history, linguistics, media studies, political science, psychology, social work and sociology.

Mathematics and study of history, poetry or politics had no difference in the past. With the development of mathematical proof the people perceived the difference between scientific disciplines and others. Aristotle studied poetry and planetary motion at the same time with the same methods, and Plato mixed geometrical proofs with his demonstration on the state of intrinsic knowledge.

The study of social sciences is considered as vital for the future of the society through out the world and provides many degrees in the respective fields. The Public Administration, one of the main branches of political science, can be described as the development, implementation and study of branches of government policy. The non-government organizations (NGO's) are working for the betterment of the society through out the world.

The social sciences are sometimes criticized as being less scientific than the natural sciences in that they are seen as being less rigorous or empirical in their methods. This claim has been made in the so-called science wars and is most commonly made when comparing social sciences to fields such as physics, chemistry or biology in which corroboration of the hypothesis is far more incisive with regard to data observed from specifically designed experiments. Social sciences can thus be deemed to be largely observational, in that explanations for cause-effect relationships are largely subjective. A limited degree of freedom is available in designing the factor setting for a particular observational study. Social scientists however, argue against such claims by pointing to the use of a rich variety of scientific processes, mathematical proofs, and other methods in their professional literature.

The modern world is making progress by leaps and bounds and the social sciences have its vital role in the development of the world. The following main branches of social science deal with the main issues facing by the modern world. The human being is surrounded by the unlimited problems and as a human being one needs to solve them desperately.

Social work is concerned with social problems, their causes, their solutions and their human impacts. Social workers work with individuals, families, groups, organizations and communities. Social Work is the profession committed to the pursuit of social justice, to the enhancement of the quality of life, and to the development of the full potential of each individual, group and community in society. Social work is unique in that it seeks to simultaneously navigate across and within micro and macro systems -in order to sufficiently address and resolve social issues at every

level. Social work incorporates and utilizes all of the social sciences as a means to improve the human condition.

There are so many other fields that enhance the scope of social sciences in the century of machines. Human life is enveloped by social sciences in one shape or other. The man of 21st century is surrounded by unlimited problems; social sciences are the solutions of these problems. Natural science talks about the facts of the universe; it is social sciences that deal with these facts.

Historical Foundations of social sciences

The history of the social sciences has origin in the common stock of Western philosophy and shares various precursors, but began most intentionally in the early 19th century with the positivist philosophy of science. Since the mid-20th century the term "social science" has come to refer more generally, not just to sociology, but to all those disciplines which analyze society and culture; from anthropology to linguistics to media studies.

The idea that society may be studied in a standardized and objective manner, with scholarly rules and methodology, is comparatively recent. Whilst there is evidence of early sociology in medieval Islam, and whilst philosophers such as Confucius had long since theorized on topics such as social roles, the scientific analysis of "Man" is peculiar to the intellectual break away from the Age of Enlightenment and toward the discourses of Modernity. Social sciences came forth from the moral philosophy of the time and was influenced by the Age of Revolutions, such as the Industrial revolution and the French revolution. The beginnings of the social sciences in the 18th century are reflected in various grand encyclopedias of Diderot, with articles from Rousseau and other pioneers. The growth of the social sciences is also reflected in other specialized encyclopedias. In the modern period, the term "*social science*" first used as a distinct conceptual field.

Around the turn of the 20th century, Enlightenment philosophy was challenged in various quarters. After the use of classical theories since the end of the scientific revolution, various fields substituted mathematics studies for experimental studies and examining equations to build a theoretical structure. The development of social science subfields became very quantitative in methodology. Conversely, the interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary nature of scientific inquiry into human behavior and social and environmental factors affecting it made many of the natural sciences interested in some aspects of social science methodology. Examples of boundary blurring include emerging disciplines like social studies of medicine, sociobiology, neuropsychology, bioeconomics and the history and sociology of science. Increasingly, quantitative and qualitative methods are being integrated in the study of human action and its implications and consequences. In the first half of the 20th century, statistics became a free-standing discipline of applied mathematics. Statistical methods were used confidently.

In the contemporary period, there continues to be little movement toward consensus on what methodology might have the power and refinement to connect a proposed "grand theory" with the various midrange theories which, with considerable success, continue to provide usable frameworks for massive, growing data banks.

Timeframes:**Ancient history**

In ancient civilizations, there was no difference between the liberal arts. There was no difference between mathematics and the study of history, poetry or politics. Aristotle studied planetary motion and poetry with the same methods, and Plato mixed geometrical proofs with his demonstration on the state of intrinsic knowledge.

Middle Ages

After the fall of Rome, which did little in the way of science, theorizing was transferred to the priesthood and a group of scholars known as the scholastics. Prominent thinkers of the Dark Ages such as Abelard, Erigena, St. Anselm and John of Salisbury made few comments on economic analysis. Thomas Aquinas of the 13th century expressed interest in political sociology and wrote on some economics.

Islamic developments

Significant contributions to the social sciences were made in Medieval Islamic civilization. Al-Biruni (973–1048) wrote detailed comparative studies on the anthropology of peoples, religions and cultures in the Middle East, Mediterranean and South Asia. Biruni has also been praised by several scholars for his Islamic anthropology. Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) worked in areas of demography, historiography, the philosophy of history, sociology, and economics. He is best known for his *Muqaddimah* (Prolegomenon in Greek).

Modern period**Early modern**

Near the Renaissance which began around the 14th century Buridanus and Oresmius wrote on money. In the 15th century St. Antonine of Florence wrote of a comprehensive economic process. In the 16th century Leonard de Leys (Lessius), Juan de Lego, and particularly Luis Molina wrote on economic topics. These writers focused on explaining property as something for "public good".

Representative figures of the 17th century include David Hartley, Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Samuel von Putendorf. Thomas Hobbes argued that deductive reasoning from axioms created a scientific framework, and hence his *Leviathan* was a scientific description of a political commonwealth. In the eighteenth century social science was called moral philosophy, as contrasted from natural philosophy and mathematics, and included the study of natural theology, natural ethics, natural jurisprudence, and policy ("police"), which included economics and finance ("revenue"). Pure philosophy, logic, literature, and history were outside these two categories. Adam Smith was a professor of moral philosophy, and he was taught by Francis Hutcheson. Figures of the time included François Quesnay, Rousseau, Giambattista Vico, William Godwin, Gabriel Bonnet de Mably, and Andre Morellet. The *Encyclopédie* of the time contained various works on the social sciences.

Late modern

This unity of science as descriptive remains, for example, in the time of Thomas Hobbes who argued that deductive reasoning from axioms created a scientific framework, and hence his **Leviathan** was a scientific description of a political commonwealth. What would happen within decades of his work was a revolution in what constituted "science", particularly the work of Isaac Newton in physics. Newton, by revolutionizing what was then called "natural philosophy", changed the basic framework by which individuals understood what was "scientific".

While he was merely the archetype of an accelerating trend, the important distinction is that for Newton, the mathematical flowed from a presumed reality independent of the observer, and working by its own rules. For philosophers of the same period, mathematical expression of philosophical ideals was taken to be symbolic of natural human relationships as well: the same laws moved physical and spiritual reality. For examples see Blaise Pascal, Gottfried Leibniz and Johannes Kepler, each of whom took mathematical examples as models for human behavior directly. In Pascal's case, the famous wager; for Leibniz, the invention of binary computation; and for Kepler, the intervention of angels to guide the planets.

In the realm of other disciplines, this created a pressure to express ideas in the form of mathematical relationships. Such relationships, called "Laws" after the usage of the time became the model which other disciplines would emulate.

Auguste Comte (1797–1857) argued that ideas pass through three rising stages, Theological, Philosophical and Scientific. He defined the difference as the first being rooted in assumption, the second in critical thinking, and the third in positive observation. This framework, still rejected by many, encapsulates the thinking which was to push economic study from being a descriptive to a mathematically based discipline.

19th century

The term "social science" first appeared in the 1824 book *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness; applied to the Newly Proposed System of Voluntary Equality of Wealth* by William Thompson (1775–1833). Auguste Comte (1797–1857) argued that ideas pass through three rising stages, theological, philosophical and scientific. He defined the difference as the first being rooted in assumption, the second in critical thinking, and the third in positive observation. This framework, still rejected by many, encapsulates the thinking which was to push economic study from being a descriptive to a mathematically based discipline. Karl Marx was one of the first writers to claim that his methods of research represented a scientific view of history in this model. With the late 19th century, attempts to apply equations to statements about human behavior became increasingly common. Among the first were the "Laws" of philology, which attempted to map the change over time of sounds in a language.

Sociology was established by Comte in 1838. He had earlier used the term "social physics", but that had subsequently been appropriated by others, most notably the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet. Comte endeavoured to unify history, psychology and economics through the scientific understanding of the social realm. Writing shortly after the malaise of the French Revolution, he proposed that social ills could be remedied through sociological positivism, an epistemological

approach outlined in *The Course in Positive Philosophy* [1830–1842] and *A General View of Positivism* (1844). Comte believed a positivist stage would mark the final era, after conjectural theological and metaphysical phases, in the progression of human understanding.

It was with the work of Charles Darwin that the descriptive version of social theory received another shock. Biology had, seemingly, resisted mathematical study, and yet the theory of natural selection and the implied idea of genetic inheritance - later found to have been enunciated by Gregor Mendel, seemed to point in the direction of a scientific biology based, like physics and chemistry, on mathematical relationships. In the first half of the 20th century, statistics became a free-standing discipline of applied mathematics. Statistical methods were used confidently, for example in an increasingly statistical view of biology. The first thinkers to attempt to combine inquiry of the type they saw in Darwin with exploration of human relationships, which, evolutionary theory implied, would be based on selective forces, were Freud in Austria and William James in the United States. Freud's theory of the functioning of the mind, and James' work on experimental psychology would have enormous impact on those that followed. Freud, in particular, created a framework which would appeal not only to those studying psychology, but artists and writers as well.

Though Comte is generally regarded as the "Father of Sociology", the discipline was formally established by another French thinker, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), who developed positivism in greater detail. Durkheim set up the first European department of sociology at the University of Bordeaux in 1895, publishing his *Rules of the Sociological Method*. In 1896, he established the journal *L'Année Sociologique*. Durkheim's seminal monograph, *Suicide* (1897), a case study of suicide rates amongst Catholic and Protestant populations, distinguished sociological analysis from psychology or philosophy. It also marked a major contribution to the concept of structural functionalism.

Today, Durkheim, Marx and Max Weber are typically cited as the three principal architects of social science in the *science of society* sense of the term. "Social science", however, has since become an umbrella term to describe all those disciplines, outside of physical science and art, which analyse human societies.

20th century

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One of the most persuasive advocates for the view of scientific treatment of philosophy would be John Dewey (1859–1952). He began, as Marx did, in an attempt to weld Hegelian idealism and logic to experimental science, for example in his *Psychology of 1887*. However, he abandoned

Hegelian constructs. Influenced by both Charles Sanders Peirce and William James, he joined the movement in America called pragmatism. He then formulated his basic doctrine, enunciated in essays such as "The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy" (1910).

This idea, based on his theory of how organisms respond, states that there are three phases to the process of inquiry:

1. Problematic Situation, where the typical response is inadequate.
2. Isolation of Data or subject matter.
3. Reflective, which is tested empirically.

With the rise of the idea of quantitative measurement in the physical sciences, for example Lord Rutherford's famous maxim that any knowledge that one cannot measure numerically "is a poor sort of knowledge", the stage was set for the conception of the humanities as being precursors to "social science."

This change was not, and is not, without its detractors, both inside of academia and outside. The range of critiques begin from those who believe that the physical sciences are qualitatively different from social sciences, through those who do not believe in statistical science of any kind, through those who disagree with the methodology and kinds of conclusion of social science, to those who believe the entire framework of scientificizing these disciplines is mostly from a desire for prestige.

Some social science subfields have become very quantitative in methodology. Conversely, the interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary nature of scientific inquiry into human behavior and social and environmental factors affecting it have made many of the natural sciences interested on some aspects of social science methodology. Examples of boundary blurring include emerging disciplines like social studies of medicine, sociobiology, neuropsychology, bioeconomics and the history and sociology of science. Increasingly, quantitative and qualitative methods are being integrated in the study of human action and its implications and consequences.

In 1924, prominent social scientists established the Pi Gamma Mu honor society for the social sciences. Among its key objectives were to promote interdisciplinary cooperation and develop an integrated theory of human personality and organization. Toward these ends, a journal for interdisciplinary scholarship in the various social sciences and lectureship grants were established.

Interwar period

Theodore Porter argued in *The Rise of Statistical Thinking* that the effort to provide a synthetic social science is a matter of both administration and discovery combined, and that the rise of social science was, therefore, marked by both pragmatic needs as much as by theoretical purity. An example of this is the rise of the concept of Intelligence Quotient, or IQ. It is unclear precisely what is being measured by IQ, but the measurement is useful in that it predicts success in various endeavors.

The rise of industrialism had created a series of social, economic, and political problems, particularly in managing supply and demand in their political economy, the management of resources for military and developmental use, the creation of mass education systems to train

individuals in symbolic reasoning and problems in managing the effects of industrialization itself. The perceived senselessness of the "Great War" as it was then called, of 1914–18, now called World War I, based in what were perceived to be "emotional" and "irrational" decisions, provided an immediate impetus for a form of decision making that was more "scientific" and easier to manage. Simply put, to manage the new multi-national enterprises, private and governmental, required more data. More data required a means of reducing it to information upon which to make decisions. Numbers and charts could be interpreted more quickly and moved more efficiently than long texts. Conversely, the interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary nature of scientific inquiry into human behavior and social and environmental factors affecting it have made many of the so-called hard sciences dependent on social science methodology. Examples of boundary blurring include emerging disciplines like social studies of medicine, neuropsychology, bioeconomics and the history and sociology of science. Increasingly, quantitative and qualitative methods are being integrated in the study of human action and its implications and consequences.

In the 1930s this new model of managing decision making became cemented with the New Deal in the US, and in Europe with the increasing need to manage industrial production and governmental affairs. Institutions such as The New School for Social Research, International Institute of Social History, and departments of "social research" at prestigious universities were meant to fill the growing demand for individuals who could quantify human interactions and produce models for decision making on this basis.

Coupled with this pragmatic need was the belief that the clarity and simplicity of mathematical expression avoided systematic errors of holistic thinking and logic rooted in traditional argument. This trend, part of the larger movement known as modernism provided the rhetorical edge for the expansion of social sciences.

Contemporary developments

There continues to be little movement towards consensus on what methodology might have the power and refinement to connect a proposed "grand theory" with the various midrange theories which, with considerable success, continue to provide usable frameworks for massive, growing data banks. As an alternative to consilience, Oxford professor Bent Flyvbjerg has recently proposed a focus on phonetic 'social science', based on a contemporary reading of Aristotelian prognosis and supported by leading social scientists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Clifford Geertz.

Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution was a period from the 18th to the 19th century where major changes in agriculture, manufacturing, mining, transportation, and technology had a profound effect on the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the times. It began in the United Kingdom, and then subsequently spread throughout Europe, North America, and eventually the world. The Industrial Revolution marks a major turning point in human history; almost every aspect of daily life was influenced in some way. Most notably, average income and population began to exhibit unprecedented sustained growth. In the two centuries following 1800, the world's average per capita income increased over 10-fold, while the world's population increased over 6-fold. In the words of Nobel Prize winner Robert E. Lucas, Jr., "For the first time in history, the living standards

of the masses of ordinary people have begun to undergo sustained growth ... Nothing remotely like this economic behavior has happened before". Starting in the later part of the 18th century, there began a transition in parts of Great Britain's previously manual labour and draft-animal-based economy towards machine-based manufacturing. It started with the mechanization of the textile industries, the development of iron-making techniques and the increased use of refined coal. Trade expansion was enabled by the introduction of canals, improved roads and railways.

The introduction of steam power fuelled primarily by coal, wider utilization of water wheels and powered machinery (mainly in textile manufacturing) underpinned the dramatic increases in production capacity. The development of all-metal machine tools in the first two decades of the 19th century facilitated the manufacture of more production machines for manufacturing in other industries. The effects spread throughout Western Europe and North America during the 19th century, eventually affecting most of the world, a process that continues as industrialization. The impact of this change on society was enormous.

The First Industrial Revolution, which began in the 18th century, merged into the Second Industrial Revolution around 1850, when technological and economic progress gained momentum with the development of steam-powered ships, railways, and later in the 19th century with the internal combustion engine and electrical power generation. The period of time covered by the Industrial Revolution varies with different historians. Eric Hobsbawm held that it 'broke out' in Britain in the 1780s and was not fully felt until the 1830s or 1840s, while T. S. Ashton held that it occurred roughly between 1760 and 1830.

Some 20th century historians such as John Clapham and Nicholas Crafts have argued that the process of economic and social change took place gradually and the term revolution is a misnomer. This is still a subject of debate among historians. GDP per capita was broadly stable before the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of the modern capitalist economy. The Industrial Revolution began an era of per-capita economic growth in capitalist economies. Economic historians are in agreement that the onset of the Industrial Revolution is the most important event in the history of humanity since the domestication of animals and plants.

Impact of the Industrial Revolution

1. Arts during the industrial revolution

There were many artistic movements during the period of Britain's industrialization, each of which was a reaction to the feelings of the time, as well as to the movement which had preceded it. By the time that the Industrial Revolution really took hold, some artists were at differences with the ideals which it espoused, such as those of discipline, temperance, structure, and views of the Enlightenment. These feelings translated into the Romantic Movement, which encouraged individualism, freedom, and emotion.

Artistic Movement	Some of the Artists Involved
<p>Neo-classicism – 1750 to 1820 <i>"The imitation or use primarily of the style and aesthetic principles of ancient Greek and Roman classical art" (Classic, Classical, and Classicism).</i></p>	<p>John Nash, Jacques-Louis David, John Flaxman, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Antonio Canova, Bertel Thorvaldsen, Horatio Greenough, Hiram Powers.</p>
<p>Romanticism – 1800 to 1850 <i>"Generally characterized by a highly imaginative and subjective approach, emotional intensity, and a dreamlike or visionary quality" (Romanticism).</i></p>	<p>Edmund Burke, William Blake, Lord Byron, Francisco de Goya, Theodore Gericault, Eugene Delacroix, Samuel Palmer, John Constable, J.M.W Turner, Claude Lorraine.</p>
<p>Realism – 1845 to 1900 <i>An attempt to represent figures and objects exactly as they appear in life (Realism).</i></p>	<p>Gustave Flaubert, Guy de Maupassant, Anton Chekhov, George Eliot, Mark Twain, Henry James, Thomas Eakins, Jean Francois Millet.</p>
<p>Pre-Raphaelite – 1850 to 1900 <i>A reaction against Victorian materialism and neo-classicism. Produced earnest, quasi religious works inspired by Mediaeval and early Renaissance painters up to the time of Raphael (Porter).</i></p>	<p>Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais, William Holman Hunt, Edward Coley Burne- Jones, William Morris, John Ruskin, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin.</p>
<p>Impressionism and Post Impressionism – Late Nineteenth Century <i>Instead of painting an ideal of beauty, the impressionists tried to depict what they saw at a given moment, capturing a fresh, original vision. They often painted out of doors so that they could observe nature more directly and set down its most fleeting aspects—especially the changing light of the sun (Porter).</i></p>	<p>Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Berthe Morisot, Camille Pissaro, Pierre Auguste Renoir, Alfred Sisley, Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Cezanne, Paul Signac, Henri de Toulouse Lautrec, Georges Seurat.</p>

Romanticism was probably the most important artistic movement to flourish during the Industrial Revolution. It had the most widespread effects on the general population, and its artistic achievements are still admired today.

2. Fundamental Shifts in Social Structure.

During the Industrial Revolution, the social structure of society changed dramatically. Before the Revolution most people lived in small villages, working either in agriculture or as skilled craftsmen. They lived and often worked as a family, doing everything by hand. In fact, three quarters of Britain's population lived in the countryside, and farming was the predominant occupation (Porter). With the advent of industrialization, however, everything changed. The new enclosure laws—which required that all grazing grounds be fenced in at the owner's expense—had left many poor farmers bankrupt and unemployed, and machines capable of huge outputs made small hand weavers redundant. As a result, there were many people who were forced to work at the new factories. This required them to move to towns and cities so that they could be close to their new jobs. It also meant that they made less money for working longer hours. Add to this the higher living expenses due to urbanization and one can easily see that many families' resources would be extremely stretched.

As a result, women and children were sent out to work, making up 75% of early workers. Families were forced to do this, since they desperately needed money, while factory owners were happy to employ women and children for a number of reasons. First of all, they could be paid very little, and children could be controlled more easily than adults, generally through violent beatings. Children also had smaller hands, which were often needed to reach in among the parts of a machine. Furthermore, employers found that children were more malleable and adapted to the new methods much better than adults did. Children were also sent to work in mines, being small enough to get more coal and ore from the deep and very often unsafe pits. They could also be forced to work as long as eighteen hours each day. For these reasons, children as young as eight years old were sent to factories—usually those which manufactured textiles—where they became part of a growing and profitable business.

This unprecedented growth and profit was another social change that occurred during the Industrial Revolution. The *laissez-faire* approach taken by the government—and advocated by philosopher-economist Adam Smith—allowed capitalism to flourish. There were little or no government regulations imposed upon factory policies, and this allowed the wealthy, middle-class owners to pursue whichever path was most profitable, regardless of the safety and well being of their workers. This relentless pursuit of money caused another important social change: the ultimate breakdown of the family unit.

Since workers, especially women and children, were labouring for up to eighteen hours each day, there was very little family contact, and the only time that one was at home was spent sleeping. People also had to share housing with other families, which further contributed to the breakdown of the family unit. As a result, children received very little education, had stunted growth, and were sickly. They also grew up quite maladjusted, having never been taught how to behave properly. The living conditions were indeed horrible; working families often lived in slums with little sanitation, and infant mortality skyrocketed. During the early Industrial Revolution, 50% of infants died before the age of two. However, the social changes that took place were not all negative. Most classes

eventually benefited in some way from the huge profits that were being made, and by 1820 most workers were making somewhat better wages. The "widespread poverty and constant threat of mass starvation...lessened, [and] overall health and material conditions of the populace clearly improved". The government, however, did have to eventually intervene in order to put an end to child labour and other unacceptable practices.

3. Dissent in England

The Luddites

It was in 1811 that the most outspoken and violent movement to protest the Industrial Revolution began. In the first few months of that year, manufacturers in the city of Nottingham began to receive threatening letters from the mysterious "General Ned Ludd and the Army of Redressers." Workers of the area, angry at employers who were reducing wages and even replacing experienced employees with unskilled (and therefore less expensive) laborers, began to revolt, breaking into factories and destroying hundreds of stocking frames in the space of a few weeks. The concept became known as Luddism, and over the next year the movement spread throughout the industrial centers of England. Damages inflicted were generally restricted to the destruction of factories and mills, but did occasionally extend to violence against people, including the killing of William Horsfall, the owner of a large mill in the area of Yorkshire (Luddites - the machine breakers).

The government's reaction to Luddism was quick and crushing. A reward of £50 was offered to anyone who could provide information about the Luddites, and in February of 1812 a law was passed making the destruction of machines a capital offence. Twelve-thousand troops were sent to protect factories in Nottingham and other regions where Luddites were active; at least 23 people were executed for attacks on mills in the summer of 1812, and many others were deported to Australia. Although some violence continued, the Luddite movement in England had disintegrated by 1817 (The Luddites).

Peterloo

Although English officials had managed to repress the violence of the Luddites, they could not stop the discontent that was growing across the country. Workers became interested in politics for the first time, demanding better working conditions, less corruption in the government, and universal suffrage. In 1819, a "reform meeting" was arranged to take place in Manchester on August 16th where two radicals, Henry Orator Hunt and Richard Carlile, were to speak (The Peterloo Massacre). The public assembly at St. Peter's Field drew a crowd estimated at 50 000 people, which worried the city magistrates and induced them to call in the military to quell a potential riot. The Manchester Yeomanry responded and, led by Captain Hugh Birley, charged into the docile crowd, killing eleven people and wounding 400. It was later said that many of the soldiers had been drunk at the time but the British parliament supported the troops, and several of the event's organizers were charged with unlawful assembly and sentenced to time in jail. The event became known as the Peterloo Massacre, in a reference to Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo (Peterloo Massacre).

4. Reforms Implemented due to Social Conditions.

Until the publication of the Sadler Report in 1833, the poor social conditions in Britain went largely ignored by the ruling classes. It was commissioned in 1832, and the Sadler committee undertook a great investigation into the various aspects of life for the working classes, hearing testimony from members of the working class. The Sadler Report eventually found evidence of human rights abuse and terrible working conditions, suggesting that reform had to be implemented to avoid general social unrest. Before the Report, governments were averse to the implementation of reforms based on their strict policy of laissez-faire, a large part of the liberalism that the government found sacred. After its publication, however, the British government was forced to act. Following is a list of the various reforms implemented due to the social and working conditions in Britain.

Year	Act or Investigation	Terms
1802	Health and Morals of Apprentices Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hours of work were limited to 12 per day, with no night work allowed. Employers were to provide education, decent clothing and accommodation. Inspectors were to enforce the Act and appoint visitors. For all textile factories employing over 20 persons, proper ventilation was to be provided and mills were to be whitewashed twice a year.
1833	Factory Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No children under 9 were to work in factories (silk mills exempted). Children under 13 years were to work no more than 9 hours per day and 48 hours per week. Children under 18 were not to work nights. 4 paid Inspectors were appointed. Two 8-hour shifts per day of children were to be allowed.
1844	Factory Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women and young persons (13-18) were to work no more than 12 hours per day. Children under 13 were to work no more than 6 1/2 hours per day. No child under 8 was to be employed.
1847	Factory Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women and young persons were to work no more than 10 hours per day.

1850	Factory Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women and young persons to work in factories only between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. or 7 a.m. and 7 p.m.
1853	Factory Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children were only to work during the same hours as women and young persons.
1860	Bleach and Dye Works Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This extended existing provisions to bleach and dye works.
1864	Factory Acts Extension Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extended the previous acts to cover more industry types.
1878	Factory Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extended the Factory Acts to all industries. No child anywhere under the age of 10 was to be employed. 10-14 year olds could only be employed for half days. Women were to work no more than 56 hours per week (Factory Legislation 1802-1878).

5. Effects of the Industrial Revolution on Politics.

Although Britain had become a constitutional monarchy a century earlier, the vast majority of the population remained disenfranchised from the electoral system. As industrial strength grew along with a more forcible middle class, electoral reform was a necessity to balance the new society's power structure.

- Before 1832, only 6% of the male population could vote - represented by aristocrats who owned large plots of land in the countryside and other property.
- By 1832, the middle class factory owners wanted political power to match their new-found economic punch - this resulted in the Reform Bill of 1832 which enfranchised 20% of the male population to vote.
- The Reform Bill also redistributed electoral districts to better reflect the large populations of city centers. Before, most of the electoral power could be found in the countryside where aristocrats owned vast properties.
- The middle-class became more or less satisfied, but workers were still not represented by the British electoral system.

Chartism

The dissent and insubordination of the English workingmen reached its peak in the mid- nineteenth century with Chartism, an ideology that called for political reform in the country. Its name was based on the People's Charter, a document written in 1838 by William Lovett and other radicals of the London Working Men's Association, and adopted at a national convention of workingmen's organizations in August of that year. The Charter called for several changes to the Parliamentary system:

- Universal Male Suffrage
- Annual Parliaments
- Vote by ballot
- Abolition of the property qualification for MPs
- Payment of MPs
- Equal electoral constituencies (Chartism - too much talk, too little action)

Chartism rapidly gained support among the poorer classes and in Northern England, where economic depression was common and the people were upset about the new Poor Law Amendment. The public attention was largely thanks to Feargus O'Connor, a fervent radical with excellent oratory skills. However, the movement soon lost its momentum when its leaders became divided over how its demands were to be enforced. A petition to Parliament was rejected in July of 1839, and most of the movement's leaders were arrested by the end of the year after the November clash between Chartists and the military at Newport, Wales.

O'Connor attempted to revive Chartism in 1840 by founding the National Charter Association, but the people had generally lost interest, appeased by better economic conditions, a revival of trade unionism, and the growth of the Anti-Corn Law League (Chartism). After a mass demonstration and procession planned for London during an economic crisis in 1848 failed to take place, the Chartist movement faded away altogether. Decades later, in 1884, the majority of males were finally granted the right to vote unit.

6. Dissent in France

The July Monarchy

Although English dissent and discontent with the government mounted during the Chartism movement, the country never quite came to open rebellion. The French, on the other hand, could not seem to do without. Louis XVIII, who came into power at the end of the Napoleonic period, ruled as a constitutional monarch; his successor Charles X, however, was ignorant to the political and social situation in the country. He returned to the ideas of the old régime and attempted to rule absolutely and with divine right. In 1830, he dissolved the parliament twice and tried to call new elections under stricter conditions. After the second attempt, nearly every class unanimously rebelled against the monarchy. The government was overthrown and the king was sent into exile. The people soon decided on a new king, formerly the Duke of Orleans, who had fought on the side

of the Revolution. He called himself Louis-Philippe, King of the French, and his reign was called the July Monarchy. His reign proved that the citizens would no longer settle for the treatment that they had once accepted.

7. The Political Spectrum.

The introduction of liberalism in the 18th century by les philosophers meant a new age in British politics, which continued through the Industrial Revolution. The old Tory and Whig parties became the Conservative and Liberal parties respectively, reflecting the new era in Britain.

Liberalism	Conservatism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasized rationalism, importance of individual happiness (individualism) Role of state is to protect the freedom and rights of the individual Believed that human rights would be lost if government intervened Generally, reflected views of middle class 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Believed in value of traditional life More government necessary to control society and preserve general order Generally had a less optimistic view of human nature than liberals Reflected views of landed upper class

- Gladstone (Liberal) and Disraeli (Conservative) were two of the most influential political leaders of the late Industrial Revolution.
- Ironically, both were strongly associated with Sir Robert Peel before the split in the Tory party in the 1830s - afterwards, the two went their separate ways, eventually to dominate the post of Prime Minister during the late 19th century.
- Both advocated reform of social structure; as a result, some of the more productive governments came to power.
- The political spectrum is also linked heavily to the ideological phenomena that grew during the Industrial Revolution.

8. Ideological Phenomena

During the 1800s, worker disenchantment grew as living conditions deteriorated. As the Industrial Revolution progressed, the factory owners accumulated great wealth while the working classes retained none.

Socialism

Socialism grew during the 1800s as a reaction to the Industrial Revolution. Its egalitarian nature, preaching more state influence, equal rights, and an end to inhumanity, stood strongly opposite individualism and laissez-faire politics. While industrialists did not want any change in the status

quo, workers and intellectuals alike both wanted a complete restructuring of society. The first self-proclaimed socialists, St-Simon, Owen, Fourier, comprised, believed in a gentle socialism created by persuading factory owners to give up profits in exchange for more human conditions for workers.

St-Simon (1760-1825)

He was a French-born aristocrat, renounced his title and supported the French Revolution. As one of the first socialists, he supported public control of means of production and recognized that the economic organization of society was an important factor in defining the different types of society. He also believed in historical precedent (like Marx to follow) and stated that history progressed through construction and deconstruction, a cycle which repeated itself.

Charles Fourier (1772-1837)

He was a French-born member of the bourgeoisie. He believed that the passions of man would eventually lead to the attainment of a natural state of harmony. Fourier wished to establish "Phalanxes," self-sufficient communities where people would live according to their natural inclinations. He rejected, however, industrialization and instead envisaged a community based on agriculture and a return to the "cottage-industry" of pre-industrial times.

Robert Owen (1771-1858)

He was an English-born entrepreneur turned socialist. He became immensely successful in the textile industry, amassing a large fortune before turning his interests to the plight of the worker. Called the "Father of British Socialism," Owen first established a community in New Lanark, Scotland, where he revamped the system of production and provided excellent working conditions. He established funded-schools, non-profit stores, and other social services, while the factories in the town managed to increase their profits. Spurred on by this success, Owen's next project was to create a self-sustaining town; thus was born New Harmony. The venture virtually bankrupted Owen, and the town collapsed; its inhabitants were not necessarily as embracing of Owen's communism as he was. Regardless, he was a staunch supporter of socialism and an icon in British history. These three, although important figures were dismissed casually by Karl Marx as Utopian Socialists.

Karl Marx (a scientific socialist)

1818-1883, German-born academic and political philosopher. In 1843 Marx went to Paris (after a newspaper he published was banned) where he befriended Friedrich Engels. Marx embraced socialism, and the two published the Communist Manifesto in 1848, which became the definitive text for socialism and communism. In 1867, Marx produced Das Capital, which linked economics to history.

Marx outlined his belief that all aspects of an individual's life are determined by that individual's relationship to the means of production. Classes were established by the various degrees of connection to the means of production, whether direct ownership, or factory work. Governing classes always owned the means of production while the least powerful working class (or proletariat, in Marx's case) did not.

Marx believed that the only changes in this power structure would occur through revolution. This theory is known as the Marxist Dialectic.

The Marxist Dialectic:

- At the onset exists the group in control, or the thesis - the existing society, with its power vested in a certain class (in Marx terms the owners of the means of production).
- Against the thesis is the antithesis - the group that wants social change and does not have power.
- When the tension has grown sufficient, a revolution occurs (in Marx's theory, revolution was the only method to instigate real social change).
- The result of the revolution is the synthesis - a combination between the thesis and the antithesis. This, in turn, becomes the new thesis, and remains so until a new antithesis sparks another revolution.
- Eventually, the result of this was to be communism - a utopian society based on equality between individuals with all having equal access to the means of production.

9. The Industrial "Revolution"

The industrialization of Europe, like the French Revolution, left a permanent mark on society. Life as it was described in the 18th century changed drastically; classes shifted, wealth increased, and nations began assuming national identities. Describing this industrialization as a revolution is apt - despite the longer timeframe involved, the social consequences and economic changes that the world has faced because of industrialization easily equate the political effects that any of the European revolutions had. The changes can not be underestimated in importance to society today.

10. Effects on the Rest of the World

- The quick industrialization across Europe during the 19th century led to a great increase in goods produced as well as a demand for raw materials.
- This demand, coupled with increased nationalist pride, led nations to seek colonies abroad in which to produce and trade goods.
- The main expansion for the European colonial powers occurred in Africa. By 1914, the entire continent with the exception of Liberia and Abyssinia were controlled by European nations.
- England also took control of India and Hong Kong during this period of expansion. By the beginning of WWI, England had an empire which stretched across every continent in the world. Vast amounts of natural resources were extracted from these colonies, which aided the British industrial effort but left many of the nations bankrupt.

In short, industrialization in Europe had far reaching consequences for the rest of the world. While it made Britain the ultimate power for over a century, it can be argued that its rule over the world caused conflict and internal strife which continues to this day.

FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789)

The French revolution was controversial when it happened. Historians still differ in their opinions after its bicentennial anniversary. Different interpretations of the event have bemused many historians as to actual meaning and impact of the revolution. So far there are two major interpretations held by historians today. In *Echoes of the Marseillaise*, Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm defends the orthodox view against the revisionist view that has become popular among contemporary historians.

The first and conventional view states the French Revolution was a class war between the aristocracy and the new bourgeoisie ruling class. Hobsbawm and other historians favor this view because the literate revolutionaries defined the revolution as a class struggle. They considered it a bourgeoisie revolution because it was the complete collapse of the old stock and the birth of a new one. The revolution blew the evils of the old society such as privileges, divine right and feudal obligations to smithereens and brought in new ideas of universal suffrage and republicanism. Historians holding the conventional view also believed the French revolution to be a major event of history penetrating the political and social facets of innumerable societies. According to Hobsbawm the French revolution was “an event or a series of events of unprecedented size and scale, and impact”. The new ideas of republicanism spread like wildfire to Austria and the German states and mirrored what happened in France. The socialists, who saw the revolution as a prototype for the proletarian revolution, also championed the conventional view. The second view is the revisionist interpretation that became popular among historians because of new research after the Second World War. According to Hobsbawm; they see the revolution through the lens of a modern, industrialized and capitalist France, rather than the old struggling agrarian society. Historians who hold this view do not believe the revolution was a war between the old and new social classes. They see the revolution to be a lesser and negative event that did not have a global impact and was only relevant for that century. According to them, it was a small scale event that after its collapse had brought the same state of affairs that it had tried to destroy.

Contemporary historians have renounced the conventional interpretations of the French revolution because of a myriad of reasons. Led by Alfred Cobban of London University, The revisionist view of the French revolution was spearheaded by Alfred Cobban of London University as a ““young scholar seeking to establish himself” The revisionist view became a possibility because of the accumulation of new research that cleared unanswered questions. According to Hobsbawm, the revisionists’ main argument is if the revolution was a bourgeois revolution, then capitalism would have been prosperous. Revisionist historians reject the class war view because they expected the revolution to produce a booming capitalist economy like that of Great Britain. When their expectations were not met, revisionist historians dumped the orthodox view because, if the revolution was a really a class struggle won by the economically prosperous bourgeoisie, France would have become an economic power like Britain. The second revisionist argument is the French revolution gave nothing to France and the world when compared to the terrible costs it incurred. The loss of life, the total destruction of society and all existing conventions drove people to madness as government after government collapsed painfully bringing everyone back to square one. When the revolution ended, Napoleon, a so called product of the revolution convened another empire. Revisionist Historians regard it as a bloody uprising rather than a revolution with new ideals because it failed to establish France as a republic. To them the revolution had no positive impact the old monarchy came back. The third revisionist argument concerned the Marxists, who despite their great knowledge about the revolution, began to “question what exactly constituted a

bourgeoisie revolution, and whether such revolutions actually brought the bourgeoisie to power even when they occurred". Thus, contemporary historians rejected the revolution's conventional view all the more because even its most vigorous champions doubted its causes and effects.

Hobsbawm successfully points out a political motive in the revisionist views of the revolution. While the conventional view of the revolution represented the liberal left, the revisionist view seems to match that of the conservative right. It is obvious that the supporters of the monarchy would have defaced the orthodox view because they disagreed with the republican ideals that the revolution propagated. According to Hobsbawm, "the line between the political Right and Left . . . separated those who believed in the Republic from those who rejected it". Hobsbawm states the obvious: the revisionist view was politically motivated because it was propagated by the supporters of the Right who did not believe in the revolution and the republic.

The French revolution was truly monumental. It changed the face of society in France and rest of the world forever. Hobsbawm says, "The French revolution demonstrated the power of the common people in a manner that no subsequent government has ever allowed itself to forget". Indeed, Hobsbawm is correct in noting the prolific spread of the French revolution's ideals boundless encroachment far and wide. Eric Hobsbawm's support for the conventional view of revolution is noteworthy because it was truly a class struggle, though nothing new came immediately.

ARTHUR YOUNG (1741-1820)

Arthur Young, English writer on agriculture and social economy, second son of the Rev. Arthur Young, rector of Bradfield, in Suffolk, chaplain to Speaker Onslow, was born on the 11th of September 1741. After being at a school at Lavenham, he was in 1758 placed in a mercantile house at Lynn, but showed no taste for commercial pursuits. He published, when only seventeen, a pamphlet *On the War in North America*, and in 1761 went to London and started a periodical work, entitled *The Universal Museum*, which was dropped by the advice of Samuel Johnson. He also wrote four novels and *Reflections on the Present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad* in 1759. After his father's death in 1759, his mother had given him the direction of the family estate at Bradfield Hall; but the property was small and encumbered with debt. From 1763 to 1766 he devoted himself to farming on his mother's property. In 1765 he married a Miss Allen; but the union is said not to have been happy, though he was of domestic habits and an affectionate father. In 1767 he undertook on his own account the management of a farm in Essex. He engaged in various experiments, and embodied the results of them in *A Course of Experimental Agriculture* (1770). Though Young's experiments were, in general, unsuccessful, he thus acquired a solid knowledge of agriculture. He had already begun a series of journeys through England and Wales, and gave an account of his observations in books which appeared from 1768 to 1770 - *A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England* and the *Farmer's Tour through the East of England*. He says that these books contained the only extant information relative to the rental, produce and stock of England that was founded on actual examination. They were very favorably received, being translated into most European languages by 1792.

In 1768 he published the *Farmer's Letters to the People of England*, in 1771 the *Farmer's Calendar*, which went through a great number of editions, and in 1774 his *Political Arithmetic*, which was widely translated. About this time Young acted as parliamentary reporter for the

Morning Post. He made a tour in Ireland in 1776, publishing his *Tour in Ireland* in 1780. In 1784 he began the publication of the *Annals of Agriculture*, which was continued for 45 volumes: this work had many contributors, among whom was George III., writing under the *nom de plume* of "Ralph Robinson." Young's first visit to France was made in 1787. Traversing that country in every direction just before and during the first movements of the Revolution, he has given valuable notices of the condition of the people and the conduct of public affairs at that critical juncture. The *Travels in France* appeared in 2 vols. in 1792. On his return home he was appointed secretary of the Board of Agriculture, then (1793) just formed under the presidency of Sir John Sinclair. In this capacity he gave most valuable assistance in the collection and preparation of agricultural surveys of the English counties. His sight, however, failed, and in 1811 he had an operation for cataract, which proved unsuccessful. He suffered also in his last years from stone. He died on the 10th of April 1820. He left an autobiography in MS., which was edited (1898) by Miss M. Betham-Edwards, and is the main authority for his life; and also the materials for a great work on the "Elements and practice of agriculture." Arthur Young was the greatest of all English writers on agriculture; but it is as a social and political observer that he is best known, and his *Tour in Ireland* and *Travels in France* are still full of interest and instruction. He saw clearly and exposed unsparingly the causes which retarded the progress of Ireland. He strongly urged the repeal of the penal laws which pressed upon the Catholics; he condemned the restrictions imposed by Great Britain on the commerce of Ireland, and also the perpetual interference of the Irish parliament with industry by prohibitions and bounties. He favored a legislative union of Ireland with Great Britain, though he did not regard such a measure as absolutely necessary, many of its advantages being otherwise attainable.

The soil of France he found in general superior to that of England, and its produce less. Agriculture was neither as well understood nor as much esteemed as in England. He severely censured the higher classes for their neglect of it. "Banishment (from court) alone will force the French nobility to execute what the English do for pleasure - reside upon and adorn their estates." Young saw the commencement of violence in the rural districts, and his sympathies began to take the side of the classes suffering from the excesses of the Revolution. This change of attitude was shown by his publication in 1793 of a tract entitled *The Example of France a Warning to England*. Of the profounder significance of the French outbreak he seems to have had little idea, and thought the crisis would be met by a constitutional adjustment in accordance with the English type. He strongly condemned the *metayer* system, then widely prevalent in France, as "perpetuating poverty and excluding instruction" - as, in fact, the ruin of the country. Some of his phrases have been often quoted by the advocates of peasant proprietorship as favoring their view. "The magic of property turns sand to gold." "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert." But these sentences, in which the epigrammatic form exaggerates a truth, and which might seem to represent the possession of capital as of no importance in agriculture, must not be taken as conveying his approbation of the system of small properties in general. He approved it only when the subdivision was strictly limited and even then with great reserves; and he remained to the end what J. S. Mill calls him, "the apostle of *la grande culture*." The Directory in 1801 ordered his writings on the art to be translated and published at Paris in 20 volumes under the title of *Le Cultivateur anglais*. His *Travels in France* were translated in 1793-94 by Soules; a new version by M. Lesage, with an introduction by M. de Lavergne, appeared in 1856. An interesting review of the latter publication, under the title of *Arthur Young et la France de 1789*, will be found in M. Baudrillart's *Publicistes modernes* (2nd ed., 1873).

Thomas Carlyle

When Thomas Carlyle sat down in 1834 to write *The French Revolution: A History*, he wanted to do more than chronicle the mere procession of events. He wanted readers to smell the fear in the streets during the Terror, to taste the decadence of the Bourbon monarchy, to observe the sartorial cavalcade when the Estates-General meets for the first time since 1614, to picture blood spilling from guillotines. To accomplish his task he marshaled the same tools used by novelists—shifting point of view, imagery, and telling details—and borrowed tone and grandeur from Homer, Virgil, and Milton. What sprang forth from Carlyle's pen was not a dry account of the French Revolution, but a book brimming with passion and philosophy, one that offered a new style of storytelling that influenced a generation of Victorian writers.

That Carlyle would produce such a fervent account is somewhat surprising given his dour upbringing. Born in Ecclefechan, Scotland, in 1795, he was the eldest son of a household defined by his father's temper and consuming devotion to Calvinism. A bright but sickly boy, he mastered French and Latin, and excelled at mathematics. His father agreed to let him attend university provided he study to become a minister. At fourteen he enrolled at the University of Edinburgh, continuing his math studies, tutoring students on the side, and devoting his free time to reading. As he grew more confident socially, he began to participate in debate clubs, where he was celebrated for his wit.

Each year Carlyle spent at Edinburgh, the less inclined he was to fulfill his promise to become a minister. Near the end of his studies, he grudgingly enrolled in a nonresidential divinity course, convinced that he would never finish, but aware of his promise to his parents. In 1814, with neither divinity nor arts degree in hand, Carlyle took his first in a series of teaching jobs, first in Annan, later in Kirkcaldy. His days were spent instructing indifferent young men, while his nights were devoted to literature. In the spring of 1817, he abandoned all pretense of becoming a minister.

A growing disaffection with teaching and a surety that his future career lay in writing led Carlyle to give up his teaching post and move back to Edinburgh in the fall of 1818. He cobbled together a meager living doing translations, tutoring, and hack writing. Carlyle continued his voracious reading, looking for hints of craft and style that he could adopt. He considered Coleridge "very great but rather mystical, sometimes absurd." Essayist William Hazlitt was "worth little, though clever." Alexander Pope was "eminently good," while Thomas Gray was found to be "very good and diverting." Carlyle lamented the death of Washington Irving: "It was a dream of mine that we two should be friends!" He regarded Byron and those like him to be "opium eaters," people who "raise their minds by brooding over and embellishing their sufferings, from one degree of fervid exaltation and dreamy greatness to another, till at length they run amuck entirely, and whoever meets them would do well to run them thro' the body."

He found solace and inspiration in an unlikely place: the writings of the German Romantics. After struggling to teach himself German, he made it through Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*, in which God and Mephistopheles fight over the soul of scholar Heinrich Faust. Goethe's ideas and writings electrified him, prompting him to encourage his friends to persist with studying German, because "in the hands of the gifted does it become supremely good." It wasn't long before Carlyle was privileging German over French literature. His enthusiasm led to a book-

length essay on Friedrich Schiller and then a translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* that earned him his first big paycheck, in the amount of £180.

In October 1824, Carlyle took a trip to France that he later claimed helped him to write the vivid descriptions in *The French Revolution*. He did not go to Paris as a young man taking his grand tour, ready to indulge in the delights of French culture; he went as a man who, despite having renounced life as a minister, still viewed the world through the lens of Scots Presbyterianism. After only a few days in Paris, he observed: "France has been so be travelled and be ridden and be trodden by all manner of vulgar people that any romance connected with it is entirely gone off ten years ago; the idea of studying it is for me at present altogether out of the question; so I quietly surrender myself to the direction of guide books and *laquais de place* [local flunkys], and stroll about from sight to sight."

Carlyle grudgingly respected Napoleon and his attempts to rationalize French civil life, but held contempt for anything that smacked of the *ancien régime*. In Carlyle's estimation, Protestant Germany emphasized work, faith, and personal responsibility, while Roman Catholic France revered whimsy, secularism, and voluptuous delights. "They cannot live without artificial excitements, without *sensations agreeable*. Their houses are not homes, but places where they sleep and dress; they live in cafés and promenades and theatres; and ten thousand dice are set a-rattling every night in every quarter of their city. Every thing seems gilding and fill agree, addressed to the eye not the touch. Their shops and houses are like toy-boxes; every apartment is tricked out with mirrors and expanded into infinitude by their illusion," wrote Carlyle.

In October 1826, Carlyle wed. Jane Welsh was a woman of formidable intelligence with literary ambitions of her own whom Carlyle had courted for five years. She had had reservations about the man who talked endlessly about his poor health and tried to impress her with his knowledge of German literature. Jane's mother had found Carlyle's lack of steady employment troublesome and had forbidden her daughter from encouraging his attentions. But Jane had defied the maternal edict. "I am as nervous as if I were committing a murder," she'd written in her illicit correspondence with Carlyle, who won out over Jane's other suitors by engaging her mind. In return for his persistence, Carlyle earned a wife who championed his aspirations, served as his first reader, and tolerated the financial uncertainty that came from living by his pen.

After the wedding, they set up house in Craigenputtock, a farm in Dumfries shire, Scotland. "It is certain that for living and thinking in, I have never since found in the world a place so favorable. . . . How blessed, might poor mortals be in the straightest circumstances if only their wisdom and fidelity to Heaven and to one another were adequately great!" Carlyle also began to correspond regularly with Ralph Waldo Emerson, with whom he shared an interest in transcendentalism, as well as Goethe, whom he regarded as a literary mentor. At the farm, Carlyle wrote *Sartor Resartus*, a satirical work featuring a fictional German philosopher and a critique of utilitarianism and British society.

By 1831, the isolation of Craigenputtock had made it an inhospitable home to both Carlyles, so they decamped to London. Living in rural Scotland had kept Carlyle from mingling with the London literati to the detriment of his career, but once in town Carlyle quickly expanded his circle, falling into an easy friendship with John Stuart Mill.

Following the publication of *Sartor Resartus*, Mill suggested Carlyle tackle the French Revolution. Unable to produce a history Mill had contracted to write, he felt the project would suit Carlyle, who had penned essays about Voltaire, Diderot, and the Diamond Necklace affair, in which Marie Antoinette was falsely accused of defrauding the crown jewelers. To help Carlyle along, Mill also handed over the library of books and pamphlets he had collected. Carlyle agreed and plunged into the project. "I am busy constantly studying with my whole might for a Book on the French Revolution. It is part of my creed that the only Poetry is History could we tell it right," he wrote Emerson.

After two years of study, Carlyle started to write in September 1834. He predicted that he would finish the book by March 1835, but after finishing three chapters he realized his ambitions did not match his progress. One volume would not suffice, so his plan changed: in December, one book became two; in January 1835, he determined he would need to write three. In February 1835, Carlyle shared a draft of the first book with Mill. At midnight on the evening of March 6, a hysterical Mill appeared at Carlyle's door and delivered the news that one of his servants mistook Carlyle's manuscript for wastepaper and threw it in the fire. "Poor manuscript, all except some four tattered leaves, was annihilated!" he wrote of the upsetting news.

Carlyle now had to reconstruct the first book. There were no drafts or backup copies from which to work. He didn't take notes. His method was to read, then write like mad. Sections he found lacking were tossed in the fire. "I was as a little Schoolboy, who had laboriously written out his Copy as he could, and was shewing it not without satisfaction to the Master: but . . . the Master had suddenly torn it, saying: 'No, boy, thou must go and write it *better*.'"

Mill felt terrible and asked if Carlyle would accept £200 to "repair . . . the loss . . . of time and labour—that is of income?" Embarrassed by the offer, but in financial straits, Carlyle accepted half the sum. Wanting to demonstrate there were no hard feelings, Carlyle suggested that Mill read the first section of book two. Grateful for the renewed trust, Mill agreed, but suggested that Carlyle give the manuscript to Harriet Taylor for safekeeping. Carlyle did not approve of Mill's intimate relationship with the married Taylor. He also believed that she played a part in the accident, as Mill had confessed he'd read the manuscript to her. Carlyle never delivered the pages and the book went to print without Mill's comments.

Rewriting the first book was torture for Carlyle. The destroyed manuscript became an ideal in his mind, allowing him to despair at the poor quality of the new draft. He initially made good progress, but abandoned its writing in favor of reading the "trashiest heap of novels." After his reading holiday, he began again, completing the first and second chapters by the beginning of May. By September 1835, he had rewritten book one. He finished the second book at the end of April 1836. Book three went slower. "The Revolution History goes on about as ill as anybody could wish," he wrote his brother. "I sit down to write, there is not an idea discernible in the head of me; one dull cloud of pain and stupidity; it is only with an effort like swimming for life that I get begun to think at all." On January 12, 1837, two years after he began, Carlyle completed book three, "ready both to weep and pray."

When Carlyle began his book he did so with the idea of writing an epic poem about the French Revolution. "The old Epics are great because they (musically) show us the whole world of those old days: a modern Epic that did the like would be equally admired, and for us far more

admirable. But where is the genius that can write it? Patience! Patience!” he wrote in February 1831.

What emerged from Carlyle’s pen was not an epic poem, but an epic history. Although full of lyrical writing, *The French Revolution: A History* is, of course, a work of prose. Many standard conventions of the epic are absent, such as opening mid-story and intervention of the gods into human affairs. Carlyle does, however, invoke Clio, the muse of history, to guide him and his reader. And like the epics, *The French Revolution* tells a story that is central to the history of its people. But instead of the founding of Rome or the victory over Troy, Carlyle writes of a revolution that unseated a long-standing monarchy and gave way to the New France.

To judge it as a conventional work of history would not be fair. Writing more than four decades after the French Revolution, Carlyle had enough material to reconstruct the outlines of what had happened. Printing presses ran constantly during the revolution, turning out broadsheets and pamphlets. And, in the aftermath, those who managed to avoid the guillotine penned memoirs. But, despite such abundant sources, Carlyle rejected the model offered by Edward Gibbon’s *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, with its objective approach and use of notes to document sources. If he acted as the disinterested narrator, he would remain above the action, unable to put the reader outside the walls of the Bastille the way that Homer put his reader outside the walls of Troy. Carlyle admired Gibbon, citing his ability to offer his readers a “rich and various feast,” but he was not interested in the lessons of history. Instead, he wanted to write a book that captured the frenzy of the revolution, its dramatic power, and its most unforgettable details.

To do this, Carlyle had to invent a new way of writing history. From the beginning of book one, Carlyle calls upon readers to move with him through time and space. He asks us to gaze upon the dying King Louis XV and to follow the newly crowned Louis XVI as he retires to his chambers. He constantly assumes the roll of fortune teller. When he first introduces Marie Antoinette, he writes: “Meanwhile the fair young Queen, in her halls of state, walks like a goddess of Beauty, the cynosure of all eyes; as yet mingles not with affairs; heeds not the future; least of all, dreads it.”

For the procession that marks the opening of the Estates-General, Carlyle invites us to “take our station on some cosign of vantage.” From his omniscient perch, Carlyle sketches vivid descriptions of the men who will influence the course of the revolution, while speculating as to who will emerge as “king.” Will it be Jean Paul Marat, a “squalliest bleared mortal, redolent of soot and horse-drugs” or the “swart burly-headed” Riquetti Mirabeau, who cuts a “fiery rough figure, with black Samson-locks under the slouch-hat”? Or the “meanest” of the six hundred, Maximilien Robespierre, “that anxious, slight, ineffectual-looking man, under thirty, in spectacles . . . complexion of a multiplex atrabiliar color, the final shade of which may be the pale sea-green”? Carlyle’s character studies double as moral judgments: He likens Mirabeau to a biblical hero, while painting Marat and Robespierre in putrid terms. He uses their exteriors to caricature their souls.

The combination of eyewitness account and commentary runs throughout the book, allowing Carlyle to make us part of the action. The storming of the Bastille: “A slight sputter,—which has *kindled* the too combustible chaos; made it a roaring fire—chaos! Bursts forth Insurrection, at sight of its own blood (for there were deaths by that sputter—of fire), into endless rolling

explosion of musketry, distraction, execration;—and over head, from the Fortress, let one great gun, with its grape-shot, go booming, to show what we *could do*.” Carlyle uses the third person to describe the scene and action, then switches to the royal “we” (more precisely the antiroyal “we”) as he and his readers join the mob as it takes the Bastille.

For Louis XVI’s beheading, he puts us in the crowd: “Executioner Sampson shows the Head: fierce shout of *Vive la République* rises and swells; caps raised on bayonets, hats waving; students of the College of Four Nations take it up, on the far Quai; fling it over Paris. . . . And so, in some half-hour it is done; and the multitude has all departed. Pastry cooks, coffee-sellers, milkmen sing out their trivial quotidian cries.” Carlyle’s use of present tense to describe the sequence of events lends an almost journalistic quality to his work. He is in the moment, recording the scene as it happens, breathing energy and emotion into history.

By taking this approach Carlyle recognized he was doing something new and different, and it terrified him. After writing the first two pages of the book in September 1834, he reported to his brother Jack that: “I am altering my style too, and troubled about many things; bilious too in these smothering windless days. It shall be such a Book! Quite an Epic Poem of the Revolution: an Apotheosis of Sansculottism! Seriously, when in good spirits, I feel as if there were the matter of a very considerable Work within me; but the task of shaping and uttering it will be frightful. Here, as in so many other respects, I am alone: without models, without *limits* (this is a great want); and must—just do the best I can.”

Just how different what Carlyle was doing can be seen by comparing the opening three sentences of Gibbon’s work with his. Gibbon begins: ‘In the second century of the Christian Era, the empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valor. The gentle but powerful influence of laws had cemented the union of the provinces’.

Carlyle starts:

President Hainault, remarking on royal Surnames of Honor how difficult it often is to ascertain not only why, but even when, they were conferred, takes occasion in his sleek official way to make a philosophical reflection. ‘The Surname of Bien-aimé (Well-beloved),’ says he, ‘which Louis XV bears, will not leave posterity in the same doubt. This Prince, in the year 1744, while hastening from one end of his kingdom to the other, and suspending his conquests in Flanders that he might fly to the assistance of Alsace, was arrested at Metz by a malady which threatened to cut short his days.’

Gibbon uses the past tense and speaks in an authoritative tone as he provides a measured account of the state of the Roman Empire. For Gibbon, the past is a fixed and ordered place where the outcome of events is certain. Carlyle, on the other hand, begins with a philosophical quip and the tale of Louis XV’s near demise more than forty years before the revolution. The use of the present tense (“he says”) puts the reader directly in the scene. Carlyle doesn’t ask us to sit at his feet as Gibbon implicitly does, he asks us to gallivant through the revolution with him, experiencing events as they happen. In Carlyle’s history, the outcome of events may be foreshadowed but is never certain.

The episode that marks Carlyle's opening is indicative of the structure of the book itself. Rather than provide a narrative-style account, he offers a procession of vignettes that tell the story of the revolution. This format suits Carlyle's preference for dramatic moments over procedural ones. Consequently, his emphasis does not always match the significance of events. For example, the mutiny by French troops in the town of Nancy in the summer of 1790 and the machinations of the Legislative Assembly receive the same number of pages. The mutiny was an episode that showed France's disarray, but the failure of the Legislative Assembly to govern during 1791–1792 led to a constitutional crisis that further inflamed the revolution.

What Carlyle emphasizes can be attributed to favoring the dramatic, but it also stems from his positioning of the mob, particularly the Paris mob, at the center of the story. While he openly admires men like Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, the Comte de Mirabeau, for his handling of the parliament and the king and queen, Carlyle never turns him into a Hector. Instead, the hero of his history is the mob—they are like Achilles, full of rage and anger, eager to fight.

In his other writings, Carlyle questioned the ability of men to organize themselves, believing they need to have order imposed on them. Yet in *The French Revolution*, Carlyle time and again praises the mob. "Other mobs are dull masses; which roll onwards with a dull fierce tenacity, a dull fierce heat, but emit no light-flashes of genius as they go. The French mob, again, is among the liveliest phenomena of our world. So rapid, audacious; so clear-sighted, inventive, prompt to seize the moment; instinct with life to its finger-ends! That talent, were there no other, of spontaneously standing in queue, distinguishes, as we said, the French People from all Peoples, ancient and modern." The French mob succeeds because it is not artificially constructed, but organic: "Your mob is a genuine outburst of Nature; issuing from, or communicating with, the deepest deep of Nature."

Carlyle's attention to the mob comes from the character of the revolution itself. There would be no French Revolution without the French people questioning the monarchy and taking action. But by focusing on the mob and what happens in the streets to everyday people, Carlyle was laying the seeds for the approach taken by social historians more than a century later. In showing the actions of ordinary people, he demonstrated that a rich history could be crafted when the king and parliament share the stage with the butcher and the fishmonger.

The first reviews of *The French Revolution: A History* began appearing in mid-July 1837, their placement arranged by Carlyle, Mill, and the publisher. Writing in the *London and Westminster Review*, Mill called *The French Revolution* a "most original book," one whose "every idea and sentiment is given out exactly as it is thought and felt, fresh from the soul of the writer, and in such language . . . as is most capable of representing it in the form in which it exists there." Mill compared the book to the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*: "This is not so much a history, as an epic poem . . . the history of the French Revolution, and the poetry of it, both in one; and on the whole no work of greater genius, either historical or poetical, has been produced in this country for many years." Mill's words pleased Carlyle. "No man, I think, need wish to be better reviewed. You have said openly of my poor Book what I durst not myself dream of it, but should have liked to dream had I dared," he wrote Mill upon receiving the review.

William Makepeace Thackeray, a young journalist and aspiring novelist, gave it a favorable review in the *Times*, although he described it as "prose run mad." Criticism of the style of writing

was a common theme among those who did not care for the book. They objected to its prose being too German. For Carlyle who revered German authors, their complaint was almost a compliment. He could also rejoice in its reception by other writers, receiving praise from Robert Browning, John Forster, and Alfred, Lord Tennyson. Dickens relied heavily on the book while writing *A Tale of Two Cities*. Emerson claimed Carlyle as “my bard,” while Thoreau regarded the book as “a poem, at length got translated into prose; an *Iliad*.” Mark Twain would later call it one of his favorite works.

Kathleen Tillotson, a scholar of Victorian literature, believes *The French Revolution* had a profound influence on a generation of Victorian novelists, including Thackeray and the Brontës, showing them “the poetic, prophetic, and visionary possibilities of the novel.” Indeed, George Eliot observed in 1855 “there has hardly been an English book written for the last ten or twelve years that would not have been different if Carlyle had not lived.” For Eliot and others, Carlyle’s charm lay not in his history, but in his literary talents: “No novelist has made his creations live for us more thoroughly than Carlyle has made Mirabeau and the men of the French Revolution, Cromwell, and Puritans.”

The publication of *The French Revolution* and its popularity solved Carlyle’s financial problems, earning him not only acclaim but profits and lecture invitations. More books followed on Chartism, the political and social reform movement that swept England from 1838–1848, the role of heroes in history, a study of Oliver Cromwell, and a biography of Frederick II of Prussia. But *The French Revolution* would remain Carlyle’s greatest achievement, providing a literary history for a post-revolutionary age.

Edmund Burke

Edmund Burke (12 January 1729 – 9 July 1797) was an Irish statesman, author, orator, political theorist and philosopher who, after moving to England, served for many years in the House of Commons of Great Britain as a member of the Whig party. He is mainly remembered for his support of the cause of the American Revolutionaries, and for his later opposition to the French Revolution. The latter led to his becoming the leading figure within the conservative faction of the Whig party, which he dubbed the "Old Whigs", in opposition to the pro-French Revolution "New Whigs", led by Fox. Burke was praised by both conservatives and liberals in the 19th century. Since the 20th century, he has generally been viewed as the philosophical founder of modern Conservatism, as well as a representative of classical liberalism.

Early life

Burke was born in **Dublin**, Ireland to a prosperous solicitor father (Richard; d. 1761) of the Church of Ireland. It is unclear if this is the same Richard Burke who converted from Catholicism. His mother Mary (c. 1702–1770), whose maiden name was Nagle, belonged to the Roman Catholic Church and came from an impoverished but genteel County Cork family. (The name de Búrca, anglicized as Burke, is the Irish language version of the Norman name de Burgo or de Burgh, the name of a family that settled in Ireland following the Norman invasion of Ireland by Henry II of

England in 1172). Burke was raised in his father's faith and remained throughout his life a practicing Anglican, unlike his sister Juliana who was brought up as and remained a Roman Catholic. His political enemies were later repeatedly to accuse him of having been educated at the Jesuit seminary of St. Omer's and of harboring secret Catholic sympathies at a time when membership of the Catholic Church would disqualify him from public office. As Burke told Mrs. Crewe:

Mr. Burke's Enemies often endeavored to convince the World that he had been bred up in the Catholic Faith, & that his Family were of it, & that he himself had been educated at St. Omer—but this was false, as his father was a regular practitioner of the Law at Dublin, which he could not be unless of the Established Church: & it so happened that though Mr. B— was twice at Paris, he never happened to go through the Town of St. Omer. Once an MP, Burke was required to take the oath of allegiance and abjuration, the oath of supremacy, and declare against transubstantiation. No Catholic is known to have done so in the 18th century. Although never denying his Irishness, Burke often described himself as "an Englishman". This was in an age "before 'Celtic nationalism' sought to make Irishness and Englishness incompatible".

As a child he sometimes spent time away from the unhealthy air of Dublin with his mother's family in the Black water Valley. He received his early education at a Quakerschool in Ballitore, some 30 miles (48 km) from Dublin, and remained in correspondence with his schoolmate Mary Leadbeater, the daughter of the school's owner, throughout his life. In 1744 he went to Trinity College, Dublin. In 1747, he set up a Debating Club, known as Edmund Burke's Club, which in 1770 merged with the Historical Club to form the College Historical Society, now the oldest undergraduate society in the world. The minutes of the meetings of Burke's club remain in the collection of the Historical Society. He graduated in 1748. Burke's father wished him to study for the law, and with this object he went to London in 1750. He entered the Middle Temple, but soon gave up legal study to travel in Continental Europe. After giving up law, he attempted to earn a livelihood through writing.

Writing

The late Bolingbrook's Letters on the Study and Use of History was published in 1752 and his collected works appeared in 1754. This provoked Burke into writing his first published work, A Vindication of Natural Society: A View of the Miseries and Evils Arising to Mankind, appearing in spring 1756. Burke imitated Lord Bolingbrook's style and ideas in a *reductio ad absurdum* of his arguments for atheistic rationalism, demonstrating their absurdity.

Burke claimed that Bolingbrook's arguments against revealed religion could apply to all social and civil institutions. Lord Chesterfield and Bishop Warburton (and others) initially thought that the work was genuinely by Bolingbroke rather than a satire. All the reviews of the work were positive, with critics especially appreciative of Burke's quality of writing. Some reviewers failed to notice the ironic nature of the book, which led to Burke writing in the preface to the second edition (1757) that it was a satire.

Richard Hurd believed that Burke's imitation was near-perfect and that this defeated his purpose: an ironist "should take care by a constant exaggeration to make the *ridicule* shine through the Imitation. Whereas this *Vindication* is everywhere enforced, not only in the language, and on the principles of L. Bol., but with so apparent, or rather so real earnestness, that half his purpose is

sacrificed to the other". A minority of scholars have taken the position that Burke did in fact write the *Vindication* in earnest, later disowning it only for political reasons.

In 1757 Burke published a treatise on aesthetics, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, which attracted the attention of prominent Continental thinkers such as Denis Diderot and Immanuel Kant. It was his only purely philosophical work, and when asked by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Dr. Laurence to expand it thirty years later, Burke replied that he was no longer fit for abstract speculation (Burke had written it before he was 19).

On 25 February 1757 Burke signed a contract with Robert Dodsley to write a "history of England from the time of Julius Caesar to the end of the reign of Queen Anne", its length being eighty quarto sheets (640 pages), under 400,000 words. It was to be submitted for publication by Christmas 1758. Burke actually completed to the year 1216, and never published the work. It was not published until 1812 in Burke's collected works under the title of *An Essay towards an Abridgement of the English History*, after Burke's death. G. M. Young did not value Burke's history and claimed that it was "demonstrably a translation from the French". Lord, on commenting on the story that Burke stopped his history because David Hume published his, said "it is ever to be regretted that the reverse did not occur".

The following year, with Dodsley, he created the influential *Annual Register*, a publication in which various authors evaluated the international political events of the previous year. The extent to which Burke personally contributed to the *Annual Register* is contested. Robert Murray in his biography of Burke quotes the *Register* as evidence of Burke's opinions, yet Philip Magnus in his biography does not directly cite it as a reference. Burke remained its chief editor until at least 1789 and there is no evidence that any other writer contributed to it before 1766.

On 12 March 1757 he married Jane Mary Nugent (1734–1812), daughter of a Catholic physician who had treated him at Bath. Their son Richard was born on 9 February 1758. Another son, Christopher, died in infancy. At about this same time, Burke was introduced to William Gerard Hamilton (known as "Single-speech Hamilton"). When Hamilton was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, Burke accompanied him to Dublin as his private secretary, a position he maintained for three years. In 1765 Burke became private secretary to liberal Whig statesman Charles Watson-Wentworth, the Marquess of Rockingham, at the time Prime Minister of Great Britain, who remained Burke's close friend and associate until his premature death in 1782.

Member of Parliament

In December 1765 Burke entered the British Parliament as a member of the House of Commons for Wendover, a pocket borough in the control of Lord Fermanagh, later 2nd Earl Verne, a close political ally of Rockingham. After Burke's maiden speech, William Pitt the Elder said Burke had "spoken in such a manner as to stop the mouths of all Europe" and that the Commons should congratulate itself on acquiring such a member.

The first great subject in which Burke interested himself was the controversy with the American colonies, which soon developed into war and ultimate separation; in 1769 he published, in reply to Grenvillite pamphlet *The Present State of the Nation*, his pamphlet on *Observations on a Late State of the Nation*. Surveying the finances of France, Burke predicts "some extraordinary convulsion in that whole system".

In the same year he purchased Gregories—a 600-acre (2.4 km²) estate near Beaconsfield—with mostly borrowed money. Although it contained an art collection that included works by Titian, Gregories nevertheless was a heavy financial burden in the following decades. Burke was never able to fully pay for the estate. His speeches and writings had now made him famous, and among other effects had brought about the suggestion that he was the author of the Letters of Junius. At about this time, he joined the circle of leading intellectuals and artists in London which had Samuel Johnson as its central luminary, and also included David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, and Joshua Reynolds. Edward Gibbon described him as, 'the most eloquent and rational madman that I ever knew.'

Burke took a leading role in the debate over the constitutional limits to the executive authority of the King. He argued strongly against unrestrained royal power and for the role of political parties in maintaining a principled opposition capable of preventing abuses, either by the monarch or by specific factions within the government. His most important publication in this regard was his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* of 23 April 1770. Burke identified the "discontents" as stemming from the "secret influence" of a neo-Tory group he calls the "king's friends", whose system "comprehending the exterior and interior Administrations, is commonly called, in the technical language of the Court, *Double Cabinet*". Britain needed a party with "...an unshaken adherence to principle, and attachment to connection, against every allurements of interest". Party divisions "...whether operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government".

During 1771 Burke wrote a Bill that would have, if passed, given juries the right to determine what libel was. Burke spoke in favor of the Bill but it was opposed by some, including Charles James Fox, and was not passed. Fox, when introducing his own Bill in 1791, repeated almost verbatim the text of Burke's Bill without acknowledgement. Burke was also prominent in securing the right to publish debates held in Parliament. Speaking in a parliamentary debate on the prohibition on the export of grain on 16 November 1770, Burke argued in favor of a free market in corn: "There are no such things as a high, & a low price that is encouraging, & discouraging; there is nothing but a natural price, which grain brings at an universal market." In 1772 Burke was instrumental in passing the Repeal of Certain Laws Act 1772, which repealed various old laws against dealers and forestallers in corn.

In the *Annual Register* for 1772 (published in July 1773) Burke condemned the Partition of Poland. He saw it as "the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe" and upsetting the balance of power in Europe.

In 1774 he was elected member for Bristol, at the time "England's second city" and a large constituency with a genuine electoral contest. In May 1778 Burke supported a motion in Parliament to revise the restrictions on Irish trade. However his constituents in Bristol, a great trading city, urged Burke to oppose free trade with Ireland. Burke resisted these demands and said: "If, from this conduct, I shall forfeit their suffrages at an ensuing election, it will stand on record an example to future representatives of the Commons of England that one man at least had dared to resist the desires of his constituents when his judgment assured him they were wrong".

Burke published *Two Letters to Gentlemen of Bristol on the Bills relative to the Trade of Ireland*, in which he espoused "some of the chief principles of commerce; such as the advantage of free intercourse between all parts of the same kingdom...the evils attending restriction and

monopoly...and that the gain of others is not necessarily our loss, but on the contrary an advantage by causing a greater demand for such wares as we have for sale".

Burke also supported Sir George Savile's attempts to repeal some of the penal laws against Catholics. This support for unpopular causes, notably free trade with Ireland and Catholic emancipation, led to Burke losing his seat in 1780. He also called capital punishment "the Butchery which we call justice" in 1776 and in 1780 Burke condemned the use of the pillory for two men convicted for attempting to practice sodomy. For the remainder of his parliamentary career, Burke sat for Malton, another pocket borough controlled by the Marquis of Rockingham.

American War of Independence

Burke expressed his support for the grievances of the American colonies under the government of King George III and his appointed representatives. On 19 April 1774 Burke made a speech (published in January 1775) on a motion to repeal the tea duty:

Again and again, revert to your old principles—seek peace and ensue it; leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it.... Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it.... Do not burthen them with taxes.... But if intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government by urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question.... If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? They will cast your sovereignty in your face. No body of men will be argued into slavery. Sir, let the gentlemen on the other side...tell me, what one character of liberty the Americans have, and what one brand of slavery they are free from, if they are bound in their property and industry by all the restraints you can imagine on commerce, and at the same time are made pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose, without the least share in granting them. When they bear the burdens of unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burdens of unlimited revenue too? The Englishman in America will feel that this is slavery; that it is *legal* slavery, will be no compensation either to his feelings or to his understandings.

In the House of Commons on 22 March 1775 Burke delivered a speech (published in May 1775) on reconciliation with America. Burke appealed for peace as preferable to civil war and reminded the House of America's growing population, its industry and its wealth. He warned against the notion that the Americans would back down in the face of force, as the Americans were descended largely from Englishmen:

...the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen.... They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles. The people are Protestants... a persuasion not only favorable to liberty, but built upon it.... My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government,—they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from

their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation,—the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain; they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you.

One of the reasons why this speech was so admired was the passage on Lord Bathurst (1684–1775). Burke imagines an angel in 1704 prophesying to Bathurst the future greatness of England and also of America: "Young man, There is America—which at this day serves little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men, and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world". Samuel Johnson was so irritated at hearing it continually praised that he made a parody of it, where the devil appears to a young Whig and predicts that Whiggism will in short time poison even the paradise of America.

The administration of Lord North (1770–1782) tried to defeat the colonists' rebellion by military force. British and American forces clashed in 1775 and in 1776 came the American Declaration of Independence. Burke was appalled by celebrations in Britain of the defeat of the Americans at New York and Pennsylvania. He claimed the English national character was being changed by this authoritarianism. Burke wrote: "As to the good people of England, they seem to partake every day more and more of the Character of that administration which they have been induced to tolerate. I am satisfied, that within a few years there has been a great Change in the National Character. We seem no longer that eager, inquisitive, jealous, fiery people, which we have been formerly".

In Burke's view the British government was fighting "the American English" ("our English Brethren in the Colonies"), with a German-descended King employing "the hiring sword of German boors and vassals" to destroy the colonists' English liberties. On American independence, Burke wrote: "I do not know how to wish success to those whose Victory is to separate from us a large and noble part of our Empire. Still less do I wish success to injustice, oppression and absurdity". In 1780 during the Gordon Riots, Burke was a particular target for the rioters, and his home had to be placed under armed guard by the military.

Paymaster of the Forces

The fall of North led to Rockingham being recalled to power in March 1782. Burke became Paymaster of the Forces and a Privy Councilor, but without a seat in the Cabinet. Rockingham's unexpected death in July of 1782 and his replacement as Prime Minister by Shelburne put an end to his administration after only a few months. However Burke did manage to pass two Acts. The Paymaster General Act 1782 ended the post as a lucrative sinecure. Previously, Paymasters had been able to draw on money from the Treasury at their discretion. Now they were to put the money they had requested to withdraw from the Treasury into the Bank of England, from where it was to be withdrawn for specific purposes. The Treasury would receive monthly statements of the

Paymaster's balance at the Bank. This Act was repealed by Shelburne's administration but the Act that replaced it repeated verbatim almost the whole text of Burke's Act.

The Civil List and Secret Service Money Act 1782 was a watered down version of Burke's original intentions as outlined in his famous *Speech on Economical Reform* of 11 February 1780. However he managed to abolish 134 offices in the royal household and civil administration. The third Secretary of State and the Board of Trade were abolished and pensions were limited and regulated. The Act was projected to save £72,368 a year.

In February 1783 Burke resumed the post of Paymaster of the Forces when Shelburne's government fell and was replaced by a coalition headed by North and including Charles James Fox. The coalition fell in 1783, and was succeeded by the long Tory administration of William Pitt the Younger, which lasted until 1801. Burke, who had supported Fox and North, was accordingly in opposition for the remainder of his political life.

Democracy

In 1774 Burke's *Speech to the Electors at Bristol at the Conclusion of the Poll* was noted for its defense of the principles of representative government against the notion that elected officials should merely be delegates:

... it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion, high respect; their business, unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

A political scientist Hanna Pitkin points out that Burke linked the district's interest with the proper behavior of its elected official, explaining, "Burke conceives of broad, relatively fixed interest, few in number and clearly defined, of which any group or locality has just one. These interests are largely economic or associated with particular localities whose livelihood they characterize, in his over-all prosperity they involve."

Burke was a leading skeptic with respect to democracy. While admitting that theoretically in some cases it might be desirable, he insisted a democratic government in Britain in his day would not only be inept but also oppressive. He opposed democracy for three basic reasons. First, government required a degree of intelligence and breadth of knowledge of the sort that was very uncommon among the common people. Second he thought that common people had dangerous and angry passions that could be easily aroused by demagogues if they had the vote; he feared the authoritarian impulses that could be empowered by these passions would undermine cherished traditions and established religion, leading to violence and confiscation of property. Thirdly, Burke warned that democracy would tyrannize unpopular minorities who needed the protection of the upper classes.

India and the impeachment of Warren Hastings

Burke pursued for years the impeachment against Warren Hastings, the former Governor General of Bengal, in 1786. His interaction with the British dominion of India began well before the impeachment trial. Previous to the impeachment, Parliament dealt with the Indian issue for two decades, this trial was the pinnacle of years of unrest and deliberation.¹ In 1781 Burke was first able to delve into the issues surrounding the East India Company when he was appointed Chairman of the Commons' Select Committee on East Indian Affairs – from that point until the end of the trial; India was Burke's primary concern. This committee was charged "to investigate alleged injustices in Bengal, the war with Hider Ali, and other Indian difficulties." While Burke and the committee focused their attention on these matters, a second 'secret' committee was formed to assess the same issues. Both committee reports were written by Burke and led to the reassurance to the Indian princes that Britain would not wage war on them and the demand for the EIC to recall Hastings. This is Burke's first call for real, significant change of the imperial practices. When addressing the whole House of Commons in regards to the committee's report, Burke would describe the Indian issue as one that "began 'in commerce' but 'ended in empire.'"

On 28 February 1785 he made his great speech on *The Nabob of Arcot's Debts*, where he condemned the damage he believed the East India Company had done to India. In the province of the Carnatic the Indians had constructed a system of reservoirs to make the soil fertile in a naturally dry region, and centered their society on the husbandry of water:

These are the monuments of real kings, who were the fathers of their people; testators to a posterity which they embraced as their own. These are the grand sepulchres built by ambition; but by the ambition of an insatiable benevolence, which, not contented with reigning in the dispensation of happiness during the contracted term of human life, had strained, with all the reaching and grasping of a vivacious mind, to extend the dominion of their bounty beyond the limits of nature, and to perpetuate themselves through generations of generations, the guardians, the protectors, the nourishes of mankind.

Burke held that the advent of British dominion, and in particular the conduct of the East India Company had destroyed much that was good in these traditions and that, as a consequence of this, and the lack of new customs to replace them, the Indians were suffering. He set about establishing a set of British expectations, whose moral foundation would, in his opinion, warrant the empire.

On 4 April 1786 Burke presenting the Commons with the *Article of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors* against Hastings. The trial, which did not begin until 14 February 1788, would be the "first major public discursive event of its kind in England," bringing the morality and duty of imperialism to the forefront of the public's perception. Burke was already known for his eloquent rhetorical skills and his involvement in the trial only enhanced its popularity and significance. For the members of London's fashionable society, the trial was a spectacle, and was not centered around Hastings' alleged misconduct and crimes as had been Burke's intent. Burke's indictment, fuelled by emotional indignation, called Hastings the 'captain-general of iniquity'; who never dined without 'creating a famine'; his heart was 'gangrened to the core' and he resembled both a 'spider of Hell' and a 'ravenous vulture devouring the carcasses of the dead'. The indictment was such a philippic that, whereas it had previously seemed that Hastings would be found guilty, it actually provoked public sympathy; however, although Hastings was acquitted, the trial served to establish

the principle that the Empire ought to be a moral undertaking rather than a wholesale looting by either the East India Company or its servants.

French Revolution: 1688 versus 1789

Burke did not initially condemn the French Revolution. In a letter of 9 August 1789, Burke wrote: "England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for Liberty and not knowing whether to blame or to applaud! The thing indeed, though I thought I saw something like it in progress for several years, has still something in it paradoxical and Mysterious. The spirit it is impossible not to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner". The events of 5–6 October 1789, in which a mob of Parisian women marched on Versailles to compel King Louis XVI to return to Paris, turned Burke against it. In a letter to his son Richard on 10 October he said: "This day I heard from Laurence who has sent me papers confirming the portentous state of France—where the Elements which compose Human Society seem all to be dissolved, and a world of Monsters to be produced in the place of it—where Mirabeau presides as the Grand An arch; and the late Grand Monarch makes a figure as ridiculous as pitiable". On 4 November Charles-Jean-François Depont wrote to Burke, requesting that he endorse the Revolution. Burke replied that any critical language of it by him should be taken "as no more than the expression of doubt" but added: "You may have subverted Monarchy, but not recovered freedom". In the same month he described France as "a country undone". Burke's first public condemnation of the Revolution occurred on the debate in Parliament on the Army Estimates on 9 February 1790, provoked by praise of the Revolution by Pitt and Fox:

Since the House had been prorogued in the summer much work was done in France. The French had shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto existed in the world. In that very short space of time they had completely pulled down to the ground, their monarchy; their church; their nobility; their law; their revenue; their army; their navy; their commerce; their arts; and their manufactures...[there was a danger of] an imitation of the excesses of an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody and tyrannical democracy...[in religion] the danger of their example is no longer from intolerance, but from Atheism; a foul, unnatural vice, foe to all the dignity and consolation of mankind; which seems in France, for a long time, to have been embodied into a faction, accredited, and almost avowed.

In January 1790 Burke read Dr. Richard Price's sermon of 4 November 1789 to the Revolution Society, called *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*. The Revolution Society was founded to commemorate the Glorious Revolution of 1688. In this sermon Price espoused the philosophy of universal "rights of men". Price argued that love of our country "does not imply any conviction of the superior value of it to other countries, or any particular preference of its laws and constitution of government". Instead, Englishmen should see themselves "more as citizens of the world than as members of any particular community". The debate between Price and Burke was "the classic moment at which two fundamentally different conceptions of national identity were presented to the English public". Price claimed that the principles of the Glorious Revolution included "the right to choose our own governors, to cashier them for misconduct, and to frame a government for ourselves". Immediately after reading Price's sermon, Burke wrote a draft of what eventually became the **Reflections on the Revolution in France**. On 13 February 1790, a notice in the press said that Burke would shortly publish a pamphlet on the Revolution and its British supporters; however he spent the year revising and expanding it. On 1 November he finally published the *Reflections* and it was an immediate best-seller. Priced at five shillings, it was more expensive than

most political pamphlets but by the end of 1790 it had gone through ten printings and sold approximately 17,500 copies. A French translation appeared on 29 November and on 30 November the translator, Pierre-Gaëton Dupont, wrote to Burke saying 2,500 copies had already been sold. The French translation ran to ten printings by June 1791.

What the Glorious Revolution had meant was important to Burke and his contemporaries, as it had been for the last one hundred years in British politics. In the *Reflections*, Burke argued against Price's interpretation of the Glorious Revolution and instead gave a classic Whig defense of it. Burke argued against the idea of abstract, metaphysical rights of men and instead advocated national tradition:

The Revolution was made to preserve our *ancient* indisputable laws and liberties, and that *ancient* constitution of government which is our only security for law and liberty.... The very idea of the fabrication of a new government is enough to fill us with disgust and horror. We wished at the period of the Revolution, and do now wish, to derive all we possess as *an inheritance from our forefathers*. Upon that body and stock of inheritance we have taken care not to inoculate any cyon [scion] alien to the nature of the original plant.... Our oldest reformation is that of Magna Charta. You will see that Sir Edward Coke, that great oracle of our law, and indeed all the great men who follow him, to Blackstone, are industrious to prove the pedigree of our liberties. They endeavor to prove that the ancient charter... was nothing more than a re-affirmance of the still more ancient standing law of the kingdom.... In the famous law... called the Petition of Right, the parliament says to the king, "Your subjects have *inherited* this freedom," claiming their franchises not on abstract principles "as the rights of men," but as the rights of Englishmen and as a patrimony derived from their forefathers.

Burke put forward that "We fear God; we look up with awe to kings; with affection to parliaments; with duty to magistrates; with reverence to priests; and with respect to nobility. Why? Because when such ideas are brought before our minds, it is *natural* to be so affected". Burke defended prejudice on the grounds that it is "the general bank and capital of nations and of ages" and superior to individual reason, which is small in comparison. "Prejudice", Burke claimed, "is of ready application in the emergency; it previously engages the mind in a steady course of wisdom and virtue, and does not leave the man hesitating in the moment of decision, skeptical, puzzled, and unresolved. Prejudice renders a man's virtue his habit". Burke criticized social contract theory by claiming that society is indeed a contract, but "a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born".

The most famous passage of the *Reflections* was his description of the events of 5–6 October 1789 and Marie Antoinette's part in them. Burke's account differs little from modern historians who have used primary sources. His use of flowery language to describe it, however, provoked both praise and criticism. Philip Francis wrote to Burke saying that what he wrote of Marie Antoinette was "pure foppery". Edward Gibbon however reacted differently: "I adore his chivalry". Burke was informed by an Englishman who had talked with the Duchesse de Byron that when Marie Antoinette was reading the passage she burst into tears and took considerable time to finish reading it. Price had rejoiced that the French king had been "led in triumph" during the October Days but to Burke this symbolized the opposing revolutionary sentiment of the Jacobins and the natural sentiments of those like himself who regarded the ungallant assault on Marie Antoinette with horror, as a cowardly attack on a defenseless woman.

Louis XVI translated the *Reflections* "from end to end" into French. Fellow Whig MPs Richard Sheridan and Charles James Fox disagreed with Burke and split with him. Fox thought the *Reflections* to be "in very bad taste" and "favoring Tory principles". Other Whigs such as the Duke of Portland and Earl Fitzwilliam privately agreed with Burke but did not wish for a public breach with their Whig colleagues. Burke wrote on 29 November 1790: "I have received from the Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord John Cavendish Montagu and a long et cetera of the old Stamina of the Whigs a most full approbation of the principles of that work and a kind indulgence to the execution". The Duke of Portland said in 1791 that when anyone criticized the *Reflections* to him he informed them that he had recommended the book to his sons as containing the true Whig creed. In the opinion of Paul Langford, Burke crossed something of a Rubicon when he attended a levee on 3 February 1791 to meet the King, later described by Jane Burke:

On his coming to Town for the Winter, as he generally does, he went to the Levee with the Duke of Portland, who went with Lord William to kiss hands on his going into the Guards—while Lord William was kissing hands, The King was talking to The Duke, but his Eyes were fixed on [Burke] who was standing in the Crowd, and when He said His say to The Duke, without waiting for [Burke]'s coming up in his turn, The King went up to him, and, after the usual questions of how long have you been in Town and the weather, He said you have been very much employed of late, and very much confined. [Burke] said, no, Sir, not more than usual—You have and very well employed too, but there are none so deaf as those that won't hear, and none so blind as those that won't see—[Burke] made a low bow, Sir, I certainly now understand you, but was afraid my vanity or presumption might have led me to imagine what Your Majesty has said referred to what I have done—You cannot be vain—You have been of *use to us all*, it is a general opinion, is it not so Lord Stair? Who was standing near? It is said Lord Stair;—Your Majesty's adopting it, Sir, will make the opinion general, said [Burke]—I know it is the general opinion, and I know that there is no Man who calls himself a Gentleman that must not think himself obliged to you, for you have supported the cause of the Gentlemen—You know the tone at Court is a whisper, but The King said all this loud, so as to be heard by every one at Court.

Burke's *Reflections* sparked a pamphlet war. Thomas Paine penned *The Rights of Man* in 1791 as a response to Burke; Mary Wollstonecraft published *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* and James Mackintosh wrote *Vindiciae Gallicae*. Mackintosh was the first to see the *Reflections* as "the manifesto of a Counter Revolution". Mackintosh later agreed with Burke's views, remarking in December 1796 after meeting him, that Burke was "minutely and accurately informed, to a wonderful exactness, with respect to every fact relating to the French Revolution". Mackintosh later said: "Burke was one of the first thinkers as well as one of the greatest orators of his time. He is without parallel in any age, excepting perhaps Lord Bacon and Cicero; and his works contain an ampler store of political and moral wisdom than can be found in any other writer whatever".

In November 1790 a member of the National Assembly of France, François-Louis-Thibault de Menonville, wrote to Burke, praising the *Reflections* and requesting more "very refreshing mental food" that he could publish. This Burke did in April 1791 when he published *A Letter to a Member of the National Assembly*. Burke called for external forces to reverse the Revolution and included an attack on the late French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as a personality cult had developed in revolutionary France. Although Burke conceded that Rousseau sometimes shows "a considerable insight into human nature" he was mostly critical. Although he did not meet Rousseau

on his visit to Britain in 1766-7 he was a friend of David Hume, with whom Rousseau had stayed. Burke said Rousseau "entertained no principle either to influence of his heart, or to guide his understanding, but *vanity*", which he "was possessed to a degree little short of madness". He also cited Rousseau's *Confessions* as evidence that Rousseau had a life of "obscure and vulgar vices" that was not "chequered, or spotted here and there, with virtues, or even distinguished by a single good action". Burke contrasted Rousseau's theory of universal benevolence and his sending his children to a foundling hospital: "a lover of his kind, but a hater of his kindred".

These events, and disagreements that rose from them within the Whig party, led to its breakup and to the rupture of Burke's friendship with Fox. In debate in Parliament on Britain's relations with Russia, Fox praised the principles of the Revolution, though Burke was not able to reply at this time as he was "overpowered by continued cries of question from his own side of the House". When Parliament was debating the Quebec Bill for a constitution for Canada, Fox praised the Revolution and criticized some of Burke's arguments, such as hereditary power. On 6 May 1791, during another debate in Parliament on the Quebec Bill, Burke used the opportunity to answer Fox and condemn the new French Constitution and "the horrible consequences flowing from the French idea of the rights of man". Burke asserted that those ideas were the antithesis of both the British and the American constitutions. Burke was interrupted, and Fox intervened to say that Burke should be allowed to carry on with his speech. However a vote of censure was moved against Burke for noticing the affairs of France, which was moved by Lord Sheffield and seconded by Fox. Pitt made a speech praising Burke, and Fox made a speech both rebuking and complimenting Burke. He questioned the sincerity of Burke, who seemed to have forgotten the lessons he had taught him, quoting from Burke's speeches of fourteen and fifteen years before. Burke replied:

Charles James Fox

It certainly was indiscreet at any period, but especially at his time of life, to parade enemies, or give his friends occasion to desert him; yet if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risk all, and, as public duty and public experience taught him, with his last words exclaim, "Fly from the French Constitution". At this point Fox whispered that there was "no loss of friendship". "I regret to say there is", Burke said, "I have indeed made a great sacrifice; I have done my duty though I have lost my friend. There is something in the detested French constitution that envenoms every thing it touches". This provoked a reply from Fox, yet he was unable to give his speech for some time since he was overcome with tears and emotion, he appealed to Burke to remember their inalienable friendship but also repeated his criticisms of Burke and uttered "unusually bitter sarcasms". This only aggravated the rupture between the two men. Burke demonstrated his separation from the party on 5 June 1791 by writing to Fitzwilliam, declining money from him.

Burke was dismayed that some Whigs, instead of reaffirming the principles of the Whig party he laid out in the *Reflections*, had rejected them in favor of "French principles" and criticized Burke for abandoning Whig principles. Burke wanted to demonstrate his fidelity to Whig principles and feared that acquiescence to Fox and his followers would allow the Whig party to become a vehicle for Jacobinism. Burke knew that many members of the Whig party did not share Fox's views and wanted to provoke them into condemning the French Revolution. Burke wrote that he wanted to represent the whole Whig party "as tolerating, and by a toleration, countenancing those proceedings" so that he could "stimulate them to a public declaration of what every one of their

acquaintance privately knows to be...their sentiments". Therefore on 3 August 1791 Burke published his *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*, in which he renewed his criticism of the radical revolutionary programmes inspired by the French Revolution and attacked the Whigs who supported them as holding principles contrary to those traditionally held by the Whig party. Burke owned two copies of what has been called "that practical compendium of Whig political theory", *The Tryal of Dr. Henry Sacheverell* (1710). Burke wrote of the trial: "It rarely happens to a party to have the opportunity of a clear, authentic, recorded, declaration of their political tenets upon the subject of a great constitutional event like that of the [Glorious] Revolution". Writing in the third person, Burke asserted in his *Appeal*:

...that the foundations laid down by the Commons, on the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, for justifying the revolution of 1688, are the very same laid down in Mr. Burke's Reflections; that is to say,—a breach of the *original contract*, implied and expressed in the constitution of this country, as a scheme of government fundamentally and inviolably fixed in King, Lords and Commons.—That the fundamental subversion of this ancient constitution, by one of its parts, having been attempted, and in effect accomplished, justified the Revolution. That it was justified *only* upon the *necessity* of the case; as the *only* means left for the recovery of that *ancient* constitution, formed by the *original contract* of the British state; as well as for the future preservation of the *same* government. These are the points to be proved.

Burke then provided quotations from Paine's *Rights of Man* to demonstrate what the New Whigs believed. Burke's belief that Foxite principles corresponded to Paine's was genuine. Finally, Burke denied that a majority of "the people" had, or ought to have, the final say in politics and alter society at their pleasure. People had rights but also duties, and these duties were not voluntary. Also, the people could not overthrow morality derived from God.

Although Whig grandees like Portland and Fitzwilliam privately agreed with Burke's *Appeal*, they wished he had used more moderate language. Fitzwilliam saw the *Appeal* as containing "the doctrines I have sworn by, long and long since". Francis, a backbench Whig MP, wrote to Burke: "...though for reasons which I will not now detail I did not then deliver my sentiments, I most perfectly differ from Mr. Fox & from the great Body of opposition on the French Revolution". Burke sent a copy of the *Appeal* to the King and the King requested a friend to communicate to Burke that he had read it "with great Satisfaction". Burke wrote of its reception: "Not one word from one of our party. They are secretly galled. They agree with me to a title; but they dare not speak out for fear of hurting Fox. ... They leave me to myself; they see that I can do myself justice". Charles viewed it as "a most admirable book—the best & most useful on political subjects that I have ever seen" but believed the differences in the Whig party between Burke and Fox should not be publicly aired. Eventually most of the Whigs sided with Burke and voted their support for the conservative government of Pitt, which, in response to France's declaration of war against Britain, declared war on the revolutionary government of France in 1793.

In December 1791 Burke sent government ministers his *Thoughts on French Affairs* where he put forward three main points: no counter-revolution in France would come about by purely domestic causes; the longer the revolutionary government exists the stronger it becomes; and the revolutionary government's interest and aim is to disturb all the other governments of Europe. Burke, as a Whig, did not wish to see an absolute monarchy again in France after the extirpation of Jacobinism. Writing to an *émigré* in 1791, Burke expressed his views against a restoration of the *ancient régime*:

When such a complete convulsion has shaken the State, and hardly left any thing whatsoever, either in civil arrangements, or in the Characters and disposition of men's minds, exactly where it was, whatever shall be settled although in the former persons and upon old forms, will be in some measure a new thing and will labour under something of the weakness as well as other inconveniences of a Change. My poor opinion is that you mean to establish what you call 'L'ancien Regime,' If any one means that system of Court Intrigue miscalled a Government as it stood, at Versailles before the present confusions as the thing to be established, that I believe will be found absolutely impossible; and if you consider the Nature, as well of persons, as of affairs, I flatter myself you must be of my opinion. That was though' not so violent a State of Anarchy as well as the present. If it were even possible to lay things down exactly as they stood, before the series of experimental politicks began, I am quite sure that they could not long continue in that situation. In one Sense of L'Ancien Regime I am clear that nothing else can reasonably be done.

Burke delivered a speech on the debate of the Aliens Bill on 28 December 1792. He supported the Bill as it would exclude "murderous atheists, who would pull down church and state; religion and God; morality and happiness". The peroration included a reference to a French order for 3,000 daggers. Burke revealed a dagger he had concealed in his coat and threw it to the floor: "This is what you are to gain by an alliance with France". Burke picked up the dagger and continued:

When they smile, I see blood trickling down their faces; I see their insidious purposes; I see that the object of all their cajoling is—blood! I now warn my countrymen to beware of these execrable philosophers, whose only object it is to destroy every thing that is good here, and to establish immorality and murder by precept and example—'Hic niger est hunc tu Romane caveto' ['Such a man is evil; beware of him, Roman'.].

Burke supported the war against revolutionary France, seeing Britain as fighting on the side of the royalists and *émigrés* in a civil war, rather than fighting against the whole nation of France. Burke also supported the royalist uprising in La Vendée, describing it on 4 November 1793 in a letter to William Windham, as "the sole affair I have much heart in". Burke wrote to Henry Dundas on 7 October urging him to send reinforcements there, as he viewed it as the only theatre in the war that might lead to a march on Paris. However Dundas did not follow Burke's advice. Burke believed the government was not taking the uprising seriously enough, a view reinforced by a letter he had received from the Comte d'Artois, dated 23 October, requesting that he intercede on behalf of the royalists to the government. Burke was forced to reply on 6 November: "I am not in His Majesty's Service; or at all consulted in his Affairs". Burke published his *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies with Respect to France*, begun in October, where he said: "I am sure every thing has shown us that in this war with France, one Frenchman is worth twenty foreigners. La Vendee is a proof of this".

On 20 June 1794 Burke received a vote of thanks from the Commons for his services in the Hastings trial and immediately resigned his seat, being replaced by his son Richard. However a terrible blow fell upon Burke in the loss of Richard in August 1794, to whom he was tenderly attached, and in whom he saw signs of promise, which were not patent to others, and which in fact appear to have been non-existent. The King, whose favor he had gained by his attitude on the French Revolution, wished to make him Lord Beaconsfield, but the death of his son had deprived such an honor of all its attractions, and the only reward he would accept was a pension of £2,500. Even this modest reward was attacked by the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lauderdale, to whom Burke replied in the *Letter to a Noble Lord* (1796). Burke wrote: "It cannot at this time be too often repeated; line upon line; precept upon precept; until it comes into the currency of a proverb, *To*

innovate is not to reform". He argued that he was rewarded on merit but the Duke of Bedford received his rewards from inheritance alone, his ancestor being the original pensioner: "Mine was from a mild and benevolent sovereign; his from Henry the Eighth". Burke also hinted at what would happen to such people if their revolutionary ideas were implemented, and included a description of the British constitution:

But as to *our* country and *our* race, as long as the well compacted structure of our church and state, the sanctuary, the holy of holies of that ancient law, defended by reverence, defended by power, a fortress at once and a temple, shall stand inviolate on the brow of the British Sion—as long as the British Monarchy, not more limited than fenced by the orders of the State, shall, like the proud Keep of Windsor, rising in the majesty of proportion, and girt with the double belt of its kindred and coeval towers, as long as this awful structure shall oversee and guard the subjected land—so long as the mounds and dykes of the low, fat, Bedford level will have nothing to fear from all the pickaxes of all the levelers of France.

Burke's last publications were the Letters on a Regicide Peace (October 1796), called forth by the Pitt government's negotiations for peace with France. Burke regarded this as appeasement, injurious to national dignity and honor. In the Second Letter, Burke wrote of the revolutionary French government: "Individuality is left out of their scheme of government. The state is all in all. Everything is referred to the production of force; afterwards, everything is trusted to the use of it. It is military in its principle, in its maxims, in its spirit, and in all its movements. The state has dominion and conquest for its sole objects—dominion over minds by proselytism, over bodies by arms". This has been seen as the first time someone explained the modern totalitarian state. Burke regarded the war with France as ideological, against an "armed doctrine". He wished that France would not be partitioned due to the effect this would have on the balance of power in Europe, and that the war was not against France but against the revolutionaries governing her. Burke said: "It is not France extending a foreign empire over other nations: it is a sect aiming at universal empire, and beginning with the conquest of France".

Later life

In November 1795 there was a debate in Parliament on the high price of corn and Burke wrote a memorandum to Pitt on the subject. In December Samuel Whitbread MP introduced a bill giving magistrates the power to fix minimum wages and Fox said he would vote for it. This debate probably led Burke to editing his memorandum as there appeared a notice that Burke would soon publish a letter on the subject to the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture (Arthur Young), but he failed to complete it. These fragments were inserted into the memorandum after his death and published posthumously in 1800 as *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*. In it, Burke expounded "some of the doctrines of political economists bearing upon agriculture as a trade". Burke criticized policies such as maximum prices and state regulation of wages, and set out what the limits of government should be:

That the State ought to confine itself to what regards the State, or the creatures of the State, namely, the exterior establishment of its religion; its magistracy; its revenue; its military force by sea and land; the corporations that owe their existence to its fiat; in a word, to every thing that is truly and properly public, to the public peace, to the public safety, to the public order, to the public prosperity. The economist Adam Smith remarked that Burke was "the only man I ever knew who

thinks on economic subjects exactly as I do, without any previous communications having passed between us".

Writing to a friend in May 1795, Burke surveyed the causes of discontent: "I think I can hardly overrate the malignity of the principles of Protestant ascendancy, as they affect Ireland; or of Indianism, as they affect these countries, and as they affect Asia; or of Jacobinism, as they affect all Europe, and the state of human society itself. The last is the greatest evil". However by March 1796 Burke had changed his mind: "Our Government and our Laws are beset by two different Enemies, which are sapping its foundations, Indianism, and Jacobinism. In some Cases they act separately, in some they act in conjunction: But of this I am sure; that the first is the worst by far, and the hardest to deal with; and for this amongst other reasons, that it weakens discredits, and ruins that force, which ought to be employed with the greatest Credit and Energy against the other; and that it furnishes Jacobinism with its strongest arms against all formal Government".

For more than a year before his death Burke knew that his stomach was "irrecoverably ruined". After hearing that Burke was nearing death, Fox wrote to Mrs. Burke enquiring after him. Fox received the reply the next day: 'Mrs. Burke presents her compliments to Mr. Fox, and thanks him for his obliging inquiries. Mrs. Burke communicated his letter to Mr. Burke, and by his desire has to inform Mr. Fox that it has cost Mr. Burke the most heart-felt pain to obey the stern voice of his duty in rending asunder a long friendship, but that he deemed this sacrifice necessary; that his principles continue the same; and that in whatever of life may yet remain to him, he conceives that he must live for others and not for himself. Mr. Burke is convinced that the principles which he has endeavored to maintain are necessary to the welfare and dignity of his country, and that these principles can be enforced only by the general persuasion of his sincerity. Burke died in Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire on 9 July 1797. He was buried in Beaconsfield alongside his son and brother. His wife survived him by nearly fifteen years'.

Legacy

In the English-speaking world, Burke is regarded by most political experts as the father of modern Anglo-conservatism. His 'liberal' conservatism, which opposed governing based on abstract ideas, and preferred 'organic' reform, can be contrasted with the autocratic conservatism of Continental figures such as Joseph de Maistre.

Burke's ideas placing property at the base of human development and the development of society were radical and new at the time. Burke believed that property was essential to human life. Because of his conviction that people desire to be ruled and controlled, the division of property formed the basis for social structure, helping develop control within a property-based hierarchy. He viewed the social changes brought on by property as the natural order of events that should be taking place as the human race progressed. With the division of property and the class system, he also believed that it kept the monarch in check to the needs of the classes beneath the monarch. Since property largely aligned or defined divisions of social class, class too was seen as natural – part of a social agreement that the setting of persons into different classes is the mutual benefit of all subjects.

His support for Irish Catholics and Indians often led him to be criticized by Tories. His opposition to British imperialism in Ireland and India and his opposition to French imperialism and radicalism in Europe made it difficult for Whig or Tory to wholly accept Burke as their own. In the 19th

century Burke was praised by both liberals and conservatives. Burke's friend Philip Francis wrote that Burke "was a man who truly & prophetically foresaw all the consequences which would rise from the adoption of the French principles" but because Burke wrote with so much passion people were doubtful of his arguments. William Windham spoke from the same bench in the House of Commons as Burke had done when he had separated from Fox and an observer said Windham spoke "like the ghost of Burke" when he made a speech against peace with France in 1801. William Hazlitt, a political opponent of Burke, regarded him as amongst his three favorite writers (the others being Junius and Rousseau), and made it "a test of the sense and candour of any one belonging to the opposite party, whether he allowed Burke to be a great man". William Wordsworth was originally a supporter of the French Revolution and attacked Burke in 'A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff' (1793) but by the early 19th century he had changed his mind and came to admire Burke. In his Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland Wordsworth called Burke "the most sagacious Politician of his age" whose predictions "time has verified". He later revised his poem *The Prelude* to include praise of Burke ("Genius of Burke! Forgive the pen seduced/By specious wonders") and portrayed him as an old oak. Samuel Taylor Coleridge came to have a similar conversion: he had criticized Burke in *The Watchman* but in his *Friend* (1809–10) Coleridge defended Burke from charges of inconsistency. Later, in his *Biographia Literaria* (1817) Coleridge hails Burke as a prophet and praises Burke for referring "habitually to principles. He was a scientific statesman; and therefore a seer". Henry Brougham wrote of Burke: "... all his predictions, save one momentary expression, had been more than fulfilled: anarchy and bloodshed had borne sway in France; conquest and convulsion had desolated Europe...the providence of mortals is not often able to penetrate so far as this into futurity". George believed that Burke's *Reflections* "has been justified by the course of subsequent events; and almost every prophecy has been strictly fulfilled". In 1823 Canning wrote that he took Burke's "last works and words [as] the manual of my politics". The Conservative Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli "was deeply penetrated with the spirit and sentiment of Burke's later writings". The Liberal Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone considered Burke "a magazine of wisdom on Ireland and America" and in his diary recorded: "Made many extracts from Burke—sometimes almost divine". The Radical MP and anti-Corn Law activist Richard Cobden often praised Burke's *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*. The Liberal historian Lord Acton considered Burke one of the three greatest liberals, along with William Gladstone and Thomas Babington Macaulay. Macaulay recorded in his diary: "I have now finished reading again most of Burke's works. Admirable! The greatest man since Milton". The Gladstonian Liberal MP John Morley published two books on Burke (including a biography) and was influenced by Burke, including his views on prejudice. The Cobdenite Radical Francis Hirst thought Burke deserved "a place among English libertarians, even though of all lovers of liberty and of all reformers he was the most conservative, the least abstract, always anxious to preserve and renovate rather than to innovate. In politics he resembled the modern architect who would restore an old house instead of pulling it down to construct a new one on the site". Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* was controversial at the time of its publication, but after his death, it was to become his best-known and most influential work, and a manifesto of conservative thought.

Two contrasting assessments of Burke were offered long after his death by Karl Marx and Winston Churchill. In *Das Kapital* Marx wrote: The sycophant—who in the pay of the English oligarchy played the romantic laudator temporis acti against the French Revolution just as, in the pay of the North American colonies at the beginning of the American troubles, he had played the liberal against the English oligarchy—was an out-and-out vulgar bourgeois. "The laws of commerce are

the laws of Nature, and therefore the laws of God." No wonder that, true to the laws of God and Nature, he always sold himself in the best market and Winston Churchill in "Consistency in Politics" wrote:

On the one hand [Burke] is revealed as a foremost apostle of Liberty, on the other as the redoubtable champion of Authority. But a charge of political inconsistency applied to this life appears a mean and petty thing. History easily discerns the reasons and forces which actuated him, and the immense changes in the problems he was facing which evoked from the same profound mind and sincere spirit these entirely contrary manifestations. His soul revolted against tyranny, whether it appeared in the aspect of a domineering Monarch and a corrupt Court and Parliamentary system, or whether, mouthing the watch-words of a non-existent liberty, it towered up against him in the dictation of a brutal mob and wicked sect. No one can read the Burke of Liberty and the Burke of Authority without feeling that here was the same man pursuing the same ends, seeking the same ideals of society and Government, and defending them from assaults, now from one extreme, now from the other.

The historian Piers Brendon asserts that Burke laid the moral foundations for the British Empire, epitomized in the trial of Warren Hastings, that was ultimately to be its undoing: when Burke stated that "The British Empire must be governed on a plan of freedom, for it will be governed by no other", this was "...an ideological bacillus that would prove fatal. This was Edmund Burke's paternalistic doctrine that colonial government was a trust. It was to be so exercised for the benefit of subject people that they would eventually attain their birthright—freedom". As a consequence of this opinion, Burke objected to the opium trade, which he called a "smuggling adventure" and condemned "the great Disgrace of the British character in India".

ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnography (from Greek *ethnos* = folk/people and *grapho* = to write) is "the science of contextualization" often used in the field of social sciences—particularly in anthropology, in some branches of sociology, and in historical science—that studies people, ethnic groups and other ethnic formations, their ethno genesis, composition, resettlement, social welfare characteristics, as well as their material and spiritual culture. It is often employed for gathering empirical data on human societies and cultures. Data collection is often done through participant observation, interviews, questionnaires, etc. Ethnography aims to describe the nature of those who are studied (i.e. to describe a people, an *ethnos*) through writing. In the biological sciences, this type of study might be called a "field study" or a "case report," both of which are used as common synonyms for "ethnography".

"When used as a method, ethnography typically refers to fieldwork (alternatively, participant-observation) conducted by a single investigator who 'lives with and lives like' those who are studied, usually for a year or more." --John Van Maanen, 1996. "Ethnography literally means 'a portrait of a people.' Ethnography is a written description of a particular culture - the customs, beliefs, and behavior - based on information collected through fieldwork." --Marvin Harris and Orna Johnson, 2000. "Ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture. The description may be of a small tribal group in an exotic land or a classroom in middle-class suburbia." --David M. Fetterman, 1998.

Ethnography is a social science research method. It relies heavily on up-close, personal experience and possible participation, not just observation, by researchers trained in the art of ethnography. These ethnographers often work in multidisciplinary teams. The ethnographic focal point may include intensive language and culture learning, intensive study of a single field or domain, and a blend of historical, observational, and interview methods. Typical ethnographic research employs three kinds of data collection: interviews, observation, and documents. This in turn produces three kinds of data: quotations, descriptions, and excerpts of documents, are resulting in one product: narrative description. This narrative often includes charts, diagrams and additional artifacts that help to tell "the story". Ethnographic methods can give shape to new constructs or paradigms, and new variables, for further empirical testing in the field or through traditional, quantitative social science methods.

Ethnography has its roots planted in the fields of anthropology and sociology. Present-day practitioners conduct ethnographies in organizations and communities of all kinds. Ethnographers study schooling, public health, rural and urban development, consumers and consumer goods, any human arena. While particularly suited to exploratory research, ethnography draws on a wide range of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, moving from "learning" to "testing" (Agar, 1996) while research problems, perspectives, and theories emerge and shift.

Ethnographic methods are a means of tapping local points of view, households and community "funds of knowledge" (Moll & Greenberg, 1990), a means of identifying significant categories of human experience up close and personal. Ethnography enhances and widens top down views and enriches the inquiry process, taps both bottom-up insights and perspectives of powerful policy-makers "at the top," and generates new analytic insights by engaging in interactive, team exploration of often subtle arenas of human difference and similarity. Through such findings ethnographers may inform others of their findings with an attempt to derive, for example, policy decisions or instructional innovations from such an analysis.

VARIATIONS IN OBSERVATIONAL METHODS

Observational research is not a single thing. The decision to employ field methods in gathering informational data is only the first step in a decision process that involves a large number of options and possibilities. Making the choice to employ field methods involves a commitment to get close to the subject being observed in its natural setting, to be factual and descriptive in reporting what is observed, and to find out the points of view of participants in the domain observed. Once these fundamental commitments have been made, it is necessary to make additional decisions about which particular observational approaches are appropriate for the research situation at hand.

VARIATIONS IN OBSERVER INVOLVEMENT: PARTICIPANT OR ONLOOKER?

The first and most fundamental distinction among observational strategies concerns the extent to which the observer is also a participant in the program activities being studied. This is not really a simple choice between participation and nonparticipation. The extent of participation is a continuum which varies from complete immersion in the program as full participant to complete separation from the activities observed, taking on a role as spectator; there is a great deal of variation along the continuum between these two extremes.

Participant observation is an omnibus field strategy in that it "simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection. In participant observation the researcher shares as intimately as possible in the life and activities of the people in the observed setting. The purpose of such participation is to develop an insider's view of what is happening. This means that the researcher not only sees what is happening but "feels" what it is like to be part of the group.

Experiencing an environment as an insider is what necessitates the participant part of participant observation. At the same time, however, there is clearly an observer side to this process. The challenge is to combine participation and observation so as to become capable of understanding the experience as an insider while describing the experience for outsiders.

The extent to which it is possible for a researcher to become a full participant in an experience will depend partly on the nature of the setting being observed. For example, in human service and education programs that serve children, it is not possible for the researcher to become a student and therefore experience the setting as a child; it may be possible, however, for the research observer to participate as a volunteer, parent, or staff person in such a setting and thereby develop the perspective of an insider in one of these adult roles. It should be said, though, that many ethnographers do not believe that understanding requires that they become full members of the group(s) being studied. Indeed, many believe that this must not occur if a valid and useful account is to be produced. These researchers believe the ethnographer must try to be both outsider and insider, staying on the margins of the group both socially and intellectually. This is because what is required is both an outside and an inside view. For this reason it is sometimes emphasized that, besides seeking to "understand", the ethnographer must also try to see familiar settings as "anthropologically strange", as they would be seen by someone from another society, adopting what we might call the Martian perspective.

METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

Following are three methodological principles that are used to provide the rationale for the specific features of the ethnographic method. They are also the basis for much of the criticism of quantitative research for failing to capture the true nature of human social behavior; because it relies on the study of artificial settings and/or on what people say rather than what they do; because it seeks to reduce meanings to what is observable; and because it reifies social phenomena by treating them as more clearly defined and static than they are, and as mechanical products of social and psychological factors. The three principles can be summarized under the headings of naturalism, understanding and discovery:

1. **Naturalism.** This is the view that the aim of social research is to capture the character of naturally occurring human behavior, and that this can only be achieved by first-hand contact with it, not by inferences from what people do in artificial settings like experiments or from what they say in interviews about what they do elsewhere. This is the reason that ethnographers carry out their research in "natural" settings, settings that exist independently of the research process, rather than in those set up specifically for the purposes of research. Another important implication of naturalism is that in studying natural settings the researcher should seek to minimize her or his effects on the behavior of the people being studied. The aim of this is to increase the chances that what is discovered in the setting will be generalizable to other similar settings that have not been

researched. Finally, the notion of naturalism implies that social events and processes must be explained in terms of their relationship to the context in which they occur.

2. Understanding. Central here is the argument that human actions differ from the behavior of physical objects, and even from that of other animals: they do not consist simply of fixed responses or even of learned responses to stimuli, but involve interpretation of stimuli and the construction of responses. Sometimes this argument reflects a complete rejection of the concept of causality as inapplicable to the social world, and an insistence on the freely constructed character of human actions and institutions. Others argue that causal relations are to be found in the social world, but that they differ from the "mechanical" causality typical of physical phenomena. From this point of view, if we are to be able to explain human actions effectively we must gain an understanding of the cultural perspectives on which they are based. That this is necessary is obvious when we are studying a society that is alien to us, since we shall find much of what we see and hear puzzling. However, ethnographers argue that it is just as important when we are studying more familiar settings. Indeed, when a setting is familiar the danger of misunderstanding is especially great. It is argued that we cannot assume that we already know others' perspectives, even in our own society, because particular groups and individuals develop distinctive worldviews. This is especially true in large complex societies. Ethnic, occupational, and small informal groups (even individual families or school classes) develop distinctive ways of orienting to the world that may need to be understood if their behavior is to be explained. Ethnographers argue, then, that it is necessary to learn the culture of the group one is studying before one can produce valid explanations for the behavior of its members. This is the reason for the centrality of participant observation and unstructured interviewing to ethnographic method.

3. Discovery. Another feature of ethnographic thinking is a conception of the research process as inductive or discovery-based; rather than as being limited to the testing of explicit hypotheses. It is argued that if one approaches a phenomenon with a set of hypotheses one may fail to discover the true nature of that phenomenon, being blinded by the assumptions built into the hypotheses. Rather, they have a general interest in some types of social phenomena and/or in some theoretical issue or practical problem. The focus of the research is narrowed and sharpened, and perhaps even changed substantially, as it proceeds. Similarly, and in parallel, theoretical ideas that frame descriptions and explanations of what is observed are developed over the course of the research. Such ideas are regarded as a valuable outcome of, not a precondition for, research.

ETHNOGRAPHY AS METHOD

In terms of method, generally speaking, the term "ethnography" refers to social research that has most of the following features.

- (a) People's behavior is studied in everyday contexts, rather than under experimental conditions created by the researcher.
- (b) Data are gathered from a range of sources, but observation and/or relatively informal conversations are usually the main ones.
- (c) The approach to data collection is "unstructured in the sense that it does not involve following through a detailed plan set up at the beginning; nor are the categories used for interpreting what

people say and do pre-given or fixed. This does not mean that the research is unsystematic; simply that initially the data are collected in as raw a form, and on as wide a front, as feasible.

(d) The focus is usually a single setting or group, of relatively small scale. In life history research the focus may even be a single individual.

(e) The analysis of the data involves interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions and mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most.

As a set of methods, ethnography is not far removed from the sort of approach that we all use in everyday life to make sense of our surroundings. It is less specialized and less technically sophisticated than approaches like the experiment or the social survey; though all social research methods have their historical origins in the ways in which human beings gain information about their world in everyday life.

SUMMARY GUIDELINES FOR FIELDWORK

It is difficult, if not impossible, to provide a precise set of rules and procedures for conducting fieldwork. What you do depends on the situation, the purpose of the study, the nature of the setting, and the skills, interests, needs, and point of view of the observer. Following are some generic guidelines for conducting fieldwork:

1. be descriptive in taking field notes.
2. Gather a variety of information from different perspectives.
3. Cross-validates and triangulate by gathering different kinds of data. Example: observations, interviews, program documentation, recordings, and photographs.
4. Use quotations; represent program participants in their own terms. Capture participants' views of their own experiences in their own words.
5. Select key informants wisely and use them carefully. Draw on the wisdom of their informed perspectives, but keep in mind that their perspectives are limited.
6. be aware of and sensitive to the different stages of fieldwork.
 - (a) Build trust and rapport at the entry stage. Remember that the researcher-observer is also being observed and evaluated.
 - (b) Stay alert and disciplined during the more routine middle-phase of fieldwork.
 - (c) Focus on pulling together a useful synthesis as fieldwork draws to a close.
 - (d) Be disciplined and conscientious in taking detailed field notes at all stages of fieldwork.
 - (e) Be as involved as possible in experiencing the observed setting as fully as possible while maintaining an analytical perspective grounded in the purpose of the fieldwork: to conduct research.
 - (f) Clearly separate description from interpretation and judgment.

(g) Provide formative feedback as part of the verification process of fieldwork. Time that feedback carefully. Observe its impact.

(h) Include in your field notes and observations reports of your own experiences, thoughts, and feelings. These are also field data.

Fieldwork is a highly personal experience. The meshing of fieldwork procedures with individual capabilities and situational variation is what makes fieldwork a highly personal experience. The validity and meaningfulness of the results obtained depend directly on the observer's skill, discipline, and perspective. This is both the strength and weakness of observational methods.

SUMMARY GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWING

There is no one right way of interviewing, no single correct format that is appropriate for all situations, and no single way of wording questions that will always work. The particular evaluation situation, the needs of the interviewee, and the personal style of the interviewer all come together to create a unique situation for each interview. Therein lie the challenges of depth interviewing: situational responsiveness and sensitivity to get the best data possible.

There is no recipe for effective interviewing, but there are some useful guidelines that can be considered. These guidelines are summarized below.

1. Throughout all phases of interviewing, from planning through data collection to analysis, keep centered on the purpose of the research endeavor. Let that purpose guide the interviewing process.
2. The fundamental principle of qualitative interviewing is to provide a framework within which respondents can express their own understandings in their own terms.
3. Understand the strengths and weaknesses of different types of interviews: the informal conversational interview; the interview guide approach; and the standardized open-ended interview.
4. Select the type of interview (or combination of types) that is most appropriate to the purposes of the research effort.
5. Understand the different kinds of information one can collect through interviews: behavioral data; opinions; feelings; knowledge; sensory data; and background information.
6. Think about and plan how these different kinds of questions can be most appropriately sequenced for each interview topic, including past, present, and future questions.
7. Ask truly open-ended questions.
8. Ask clear questions, using understandable and appropriate language.
9. Ask one question at a time.
10. Use probes and follow-up questions to solicit depth and detail.

11. Communicate clearly what information is desired, why that information is important, and let the interviewee know how the interview is progressing.
12. Listen attentively and respond appropriately to let the person know he or she is being heard.
13. Avoid leading questions.
14. Understand the difference between a depth interview and an interrogation. Qualitative evaluators conduct depth interviews; police investigators and tax auditors conduct interrogations.
15. Establish personal rapport and a sense of mutual interest.
16. Maintain neutrality toward the specific content of responses. You are there to collect information not to make judgments about that person.
17. Observe while interviewing. Be aware of and sensitive to how the person is affected by and responds to different questions.
18. Maintain control of the interview.
19. Tape record whenever possible to capture full and exact quotations for analysis and reporting.
20. Take notes to capture and highlight major points as the interview progresses.
21. As soon as possible after the interview check the recording for malfunctions; review notes for clarity; elaborate where necessary; and record observations.
22. Take whatever steps are appropriate and necessary to gather valid and reliable information.
23. Treat the person being interviewed with respect. Keep in mind that it is a privilege and responsibility to peer into another person's experience.
24. Practice interviewing. Develop your skills.
25. Enjoy interviewing. Take the time along the way to stop and "hear" the roses.

SITE DOCUMENTS

In addition to participant observation and interviews, ethnographers may also make use of various documents in answering guiding questions. When available, these documents can add additional insight or information to projects. Because ethnographic attention has been and continues to be focused on both literate and non-literate peoples, not all research projects will have site documents available. It is also possible that even research among a literate group will not have relevant site documents to consider; this could vary depending on the focus of the research. Thinking carefully about your participants and how they function and asking questions of your informants helps to decide what kinds of documents might be available.

Possible documents include: budgets, advertisements, work descriptions, annual reports, memos, school records, correspondence, informational brochures, teaching materials, newsletters, websites,

recruitment or orientation packets, contracts, records of court proceedings, posters, minutes of meetings, menus, and many other kinds of written items.

For example, an ethnographer studying how limited-English proficient elementary school students learn to acquire English in a classroom setting might want to collect such things as the state or school mandated Bilingual/ESL curriculum for students in the school(s) where he or she does research, and examples of student work. Local school budget allocations to language minority education, specific teachers' lesson plans, and copies of age-appropriate ESL textbooks could also be relevant. It might also be useful to try finding subgroups of professional educators' organizations which focus on teaching elementary school language arts and join their listserves, attend their meetings, or get copies of their newsletters. Review cumulative student records and school district policies for language minority education. All of these things could greatly enrich the participant observation and the interviews that an ethnographer does.

Privacy or copyright issues may apply to the documents gathered, so it is important to inquire about this when you find or are given documents. If you are given permission to include what you learn from these documents in your final paper, the documents should be cited appropriately and included in the bibliography of the final paper. If you are not given permission, do not use them in any way.

ETHICS IN ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Since ethnographic research takes place among real human beings, there are a number of special ethical concerns to be aware of before beginning. In a nutshell, researchers must make their research goals clear to the members of the community where they undertake their research and gain the informed consent of their consultants to the research beforehand. It is also important to learn whether the group would prefer to be named in the written report of the research or given a pseudonym and to offer the results of the research if informants would like to read it. Most of all, researchers must be sure that the research does not harm or exploit those among whom the research is done.

ANALYZING, INTERPRETING AND REPORTING FINDINGS

Remember that the researcher is the detective looking for trends and patterns that occur across the various groups or within individuals (Krueger, 1994). The process of analysis and interpretation involve disciplined examination, creative insight, and careful attention to the purposes of the research study. Analysis and interpretation are conceptually separate processes. The analysis process begins with assembling the raw materials and getting an overview or total picture of the entire process. The researcher's role in analysis covers a continuum with assembly of raw data on one extreme and interpretative comment on the other. Analysis is the process of bringing order to the data, organizing what is there into patterns, categories, and basic descriptive units. The analysis process involves consideration of words, tone, context, non-verbal, internal consistency, frequency, extensiveness, intensity, specificity of responses and big ideas. Data reduction strategies are essential in the analysis.

Interpretation involves attaching meaning and significance to the analysis, explaining descriptive patterns, and looking for relationships and linkages among descriptive dimensions. Once these processes have been completed the researcher must report his or her interpretations and conclusions

QUALITATIVE DESCRIPTION

Reports based on qualitative methods will include a great deal of pure description of the program and/or the experiences of people in the research environment. The purpose of this description is to let the reader know what happened in the environment under observation, what it was like from the participants' point of view to be in the setting, and what particular events or activities in the setting were like. In reading through field notes and interviews the researcher begins to look for those parts of the data that will be polished for presentation as pure description in the research report. What is included by way of description will depend on what questions the researcher is attempting to answer. Often an entire activity will be reported in detail and depth because it represents a typical experience. These descriptions are written in narrative form to provide a holistic picture of what has happened in the reported activity or event.

REPORTING FINDINGS

The actual content and format of a qualitative report will depend on the information needs of primary stakeholders and the purpose of the research. Even a comprehensive report will have to omit a great deal of the data collected by the researcher. Focus is essential. Analysts who try to include everything risk losing their readers in the sheer volume of the presentation. This process has been referred to as "the agony of omitting". The agony of omitting on the part of the researcher is matched only by the readers' agony in having to read those things that were not omitted, but should have been.

BALANCE BETWEEN DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

In considering what to omit, a decision has to be made about how much description to include. Detailed description and in-depth quotations are the essential qualities of qualitative accounts. Sufficient description and direct quotations should be included to allow readers to understand fully the research setting and the thoughts of the people represented in the narrative. Description should stop short, however, of becoming trivial and mundane. The reader does not have to know absolutely everything that was done or said. Again the problem of focus arises.

Description is balanced by analysis and interpretation. Endless description becomes its own muddle. The purpose of analysis is to organize the description in a way that makes it manageable. Description is balanced by analysis and leads into interpretation. An interesting and readable final account provides sufficient description to allow the reader to understand the analysis and sufficient analysis to allow the reader to understand the interpretations and explanations presented.

Anthropology

Anthropology is the study of humanity. It has origins in the humanities, the natural sciences, and the social sciences. The term "anthropology" is from the Greek *anthrōpos*, "man", understood to mean mankind or humanity, and *-logia*, "discourse" or "study", and was first used in 1501 by German philosopher Magnus Hundt.

Anthropology's basic concerns are "What defines human life and society?", "How are social relations among humans organized?", "Who are the ancestors of modern *Homo sapiens*?", "What are humans' physical traits?", "How do humans behave?", "Why are there variations among different groups of humans?", "How has the evolutionary past of *Homo sapiens* influenced its social organization and culture?" and so forth.

In the United States, contemporary anthropology is typically divided into four sub-fields: cultural anthropology also known as socio-cultural anthropology, archaeology, linguistic anthropology, and physical (or biological) anthropology. The four-field approach to anthropology is reflected in many American undergraduate textbooks and anthropology programs. At universities in the United Kingdom, and much of Europe, these "sub-fields" are frequently housed in separate departments and are seen as distinct disciplines - with the field corresponding to American socio-cultural anthropology being simply anthropology.

The social and cultural sub-field has been heavily influenced by structuralist and post-modern theories, as well as a shift toward the analysis of modern societies (an arena more typically in the remit of sociologists). During the 1970s and 1990s there was an epistemological shift away from the positivist traditions that had largely informed the discipline. During this shift, enduring questions about the nature and production of knowledge came to occupy a central place in cultural and social anthropology. In contrast, archaeology and biological anthropology remained largely positivist. Due to this difference in epistemology, anthropology as a discipline has lacked cohesion over the last several decades.

Sociology

Sociology is the study of society. It is a social science—a term with which it is sometimes synonymous—which uses various methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop and refine a body of knowledge about human social activity. For many sociologists the goal is to conduct research which may be applied directly to social policy and welfare, whilst others produce purely academic theory closer to that of philosophy. Subject matter ranges from the micro level of individual agency and interaction to the macro level of systems and the social structure.

Sociology is both topically and methodologically a very broad discipline. Its traditional focuses have included social stratification, social class, social mobility, religion, secularisation, law, deviance. As all spheres of human activity are sculpted by social structure and individual agency, sociology has gradually expanded its focus to further subjects, such as health, medical, military and penal institutions, the Internet, and even the role of social activity in the development of scientific knowledge.

The range of social scientific methods has also broadly expanded. Social researchers draw upon a variety of qualitative and quantitative techniques. The linguistic and cultural turns of the mid-

twentieth century led to increasingly interpretative, hermeneutic, and philosophic approaches to the analysis of society. Conversely, recent decades have seen the rise of new analytically, mathematically and computationally rigorous techniques, such as agent-based modeling and analysis. Sociology should not be confused with various general social studies courses which bear no relation to classical social theory and social science research methodology.

Colonial history

The historical phenomenon of colonization is one that stretches around the globe and across time, including such disparate peoples as the Hittites, the Incas and the British. European colonialism, or imperialism, began in the 15th century with the "Age of Discovery", led by Portuguese and Spanish exploration of the Americas, and the coasts of Africa, the Middle East, India, and East Asia. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England, France and Holland established their own overseas empires, in direct competition with each other. The end of the eighteenth and early 19th century saw the first era of decolonization when most of the European colonies in the Americas gained their independence from their respective metro poles. Spain and Portugal were irreversibly weakened after the loss of their New World colonies, but the Kingdom of Great Britain (after the union of England, Wales, and Scotland), France and Holland turned their attention to the Old World, particularly South Africa, India and South East Asia, where coastal enclaves had already been established. The industrialization of the nineteenth century led to what has been termed the era of New Imperialism, when the pace of colonization rapidly accelerated, the height of which was the Scramble for Africa, in which Belgium was a major and Germany a lesser participant. During the twentieth century, the overseas colonies of the losers of First World War were distributed amongst the victors as mandates, but it was not until the end of Second World War that the second phase of decolonization began in earnest. In 1999 Portugal returned the last of Europe's colonies in Asia, Macau, to China, ending an era that had lasted five hundred years.

Colonial Patterns

The era of European colonialism overseas was proclaimed in 1493, a year after Christopher Columbus's 'discovery' of America, when Pope Alexander VI apportioned newly discovered non-Christian lands between the two main Catholic maritime powers of the day, Spain and Portugal. Over the next four and a half centuries, the scope of European settlement and dominion expanded to cover the whole of the Americas and much of South and Southeast Asia, Oceania (including Australia and New Zealand), Africa, and the Arab Middle East. Typically beginning with small coastal, generally commercial enclaves (examples are St Louis, Luanda, Benguela, Cape Town, and Mozambique in Africa; Surat, Bombay, Goa, Cochin, Pondicherry, and Calcutta in India), they subsequently expanded to cover the hinterland as conquest followed trade. The different periods in which regions were colonized by a number of European states (Spain and Portugal being followed by Holland, England, and France in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries and by Belgium, Germany, and Italy in the 19th century) gave rise to a varied pattern of colonialism. The emergence of the United States (Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines) and Japan (Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria) as overseas colonial powers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries added to the variety.

Although their respective colonialisms expressed their distinctive experience of statehood, colonial powers also borrowed and learned from each other, by the early 20th century perceiving themselves as being engaged in a common progressive endeavour of developing 'scientific colonialism'. While the pattern varied, it is therefore possible to discern certain common features across the colonial world. Referring to Michel Foucault's characterization of power as 'capillary', the African historian Frederick Cooper argues that power in most colonial contexts was actually 'arterial'—'strong near the nodal points of colonial authority, less able to impose its discursive grid elsewhere'. This was, in part, because, as a number of writers put it, the colonial intent was to 'rule on the cheap'. On the eve of its transfer from the brutally exploitative personal rule of King Leopold II to the Belgian state in 1908, the Congo Free State had only 1,238 European military and civilian officers covering over 900,000 square miles. In British India, the centerpiece of Britain's colonial empire, the entire European population in 1921 amounted to just 156,500 (or 0.065%) out of a total of over 250 million. The colonial state was therefore coercive and extractive, yet thin, with local collaborators, especially those recognized as 'traditional' rulers, forming an indispensable element. Such a state also made the exercise of symbolic, as well as punitive, power very important. The routine British use of aircraft to both awe and bomb into submission rebellious Arab tribes in Iraq in the 1920s was an innovative case in point.

Until relatively late in their history, colonial states had a poor record of investment with barely a tenth of total British overseas investment in the Victorian era going to the non-white colonies. Davis damningly notes that India recorded no increase in its per capita income in 190 years of British rule, with the colonial regime operating a policy of deliberate neglect when it came to development. Lord Lugard, the Indian-born first governor-general of Nigeria credited with introducing the policy of indirect rule to British Africa, admitted that 'European brains, capital, and energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy'. The fact was that the philanthropic element was not readily evident. The widespread consequence of cheap Colonialism was uneven development and wide disparities between small, more or less westernized elites and the rest. In addition, the movement of labour between colonies to work in the plantation sector in particular introduced new social and economic divisions. In the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries, hundreds of thousands of Indians, mainly indentured labourers, were transported to British colonies in the Caribbean, as well as to Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Fiji, South Africa, Kenya, and Mauritius—a factor that contributed to ethnic political tensions in all these territories after they became independent.

Leftish reviews the chief characteristics of the colonial state. The focus below is more upon the cultural and ideological impact that it had. For colonial powers such as Britain and France, a central paradox of their rule was that its survival depended on *failing* to fulfill the universal promise of their liberal state ideology. For instance, the rule of law in British India was necessarily despotic in that the rulers could not be held to account by those they governed but only by their imperial masters in London. In the French colonies the concept of assimilation (i.e. to ultimately make colonial subjects French) was never officially jettisoned, though by the 1920s it was obvious that the language of assimilation was merely the 'rhetoric of colonial benevolence'. Under such circumstances it was logical that the post-18th century European Enlightenment discourse of rights should become translated into the language of liberation for the Western-educated colonized elite.

A feature of colonial rule that was to have far-reaching consequences for the post-colonial world was what Nicholas Dirks has described as a 'cultural project of control', one that 'objectified' the

colonized and reconstructed and transformed their cultural forms through the development of a colonial system of knowledge that outlived decolonization. It was an approach that reified social, cultural, and linguistic differences, causing the colonial state to be described as an 'ethnographic state'. Yet while imperial anthropologists such as Herbert Risley, census commissioner and later Home Secretary in British India in the 1900s, helped furnish 'a library of ethnicity, its shelves lined with tribal monographs', what colonial regimes generally did was adapt and develop difference rather than create it where none previously existed.

In India the British rulers certainly learned from the practices of their Mughal, Hindu, and Sikh predecessors in categorizing their Indian subjects, the novelty lying in their systematic method, modern 'scientific' techniques, and the scale on which they sought to enumerate and classify castes, tribes, and religions. The effect was to make consciousness of such group identities far more pervasive and politically potent. The creation of separate representation and electorates in the representative and elected bodies that were introduced from the 1900s on also served to institutionalize these identities, making them less fluid than they had been. While such categorization may have initially had as its primary purpose making intelligible, and encompassing, an alien public sphere, it also proved useful in deploying divide-and-rule tactics against emergent anti-colonial nationalism. In the Indian case, the eventual outcome was the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 with the creation of Muslim Pakistan, and a post-independence politics in which such group identities remain of central significance.

The colonial investment in emphasizing the traditional character of the colonized 'others' produced another of the peculiar paradoxes of colonialism—the civilizing colonizer's preference for, in the words of the British imperial writer Rudyard Kipling, 'the real native—not the hybrid, University-trained mule—who is as timid as a colt'. On the one hand, deprecating the 'inauthentic' hybrid did not prevent colonial regimes from often favouring politically useful pre-colonial elites in imparting Western education, thereby creating a monocultural elite that created a nationalism in their own image. In more extreme cases such as Pakistan and Sudan, this proved impossible to sustain in the multicultural context of the post-colonial state. On the other hand, internalizing the colonial representation of them as the 'other' caused Asians and Africans to stress their 'dedicated' non-Western identities, ironically making the identities shaped under colonialism the force for decolonization. Anti-colonial nationalists sought to distinguish between a material 'outer' domain of economy, statecraft, science and technology in which they acknowledged the superiority of Western modernity, and a spiritual and cultural 'inner' domain of language, religion, and family—the 'private essences of identity'—the distinctness of which had to be preserved.

Despite overarching commonalities, there were important differences between colonies. While the British colonial state left behind an entrenched legacy of autocratic government in both India and Africa, in India this was tempered by nearly three decades of a widening measure of partly representative quasi-constitutional self-government at the provincial level, as well as a superior administration (the Indian Civil Service) that was nearly half Indian when independence came. Although anti-democratic tendencies persisted in post-independence India (and, for reasons considered later, much more obviously in Pakistan), the contrast with the rapid breakdown of post-colonial constitutional government in Britain's erstwhile African colonies was striking.

From the outset of the establishment of colonial rule, the weak demographics that underpinned what Bayart calls the politics of 'extraversion' meant that the primary focus of colonial extraction in Africa was labour rather than land revenue as in the much more densely populated Indian subcontinent. From their relatively late inception, mainly in the late 19th century, the European colonial states in Africa relied heavily on the institution of various forms of forced and tributary labour. Although its most brutal manifestations, as in King Leopold II's Congo Free State, largely disappeared after the First World War, the practice survived well into the first half of the 20th century. The colonial economics of sub-Saharan Africa resulted in the development of a much weaker indigenous capitalist class, with Africans effectively excluded from all but petty trade in most regions. European companies and immigrant Asian merchants dominated larger-scale economic activity with African integration in the global economy mainly taking the form of cash crop farming, especially in French and British West Africa, and labouring in diamond, gold, copper, bauxite, and other mines, particularly in central and southern Africa. These features, together with the relatively brief span (sixty to eighty years) of colonial rule across much of the continent, had the consequence that both the colonial state in Africa and indigenous political and economic forces were more weakly developed than in India.

Colonies have been described as 'underfunded and overextended laboratories of modernity'. They were laboratories within which the subjects of the experiments proved unwilling to live. Through specific ideologies such as Gandhian nationalism in India, Negritude, Pan-Africanism and African socialism in sub-Saharan Africa, Arabism in the Arab Middle East, and varieties of nationalism influenced by pre-colonial Muslim identity across the Islamic world and Buddhism in Southeast Asia, the anti-colonial nationalism of the Western-educated elite succeeded in mobilizing a mass following. Yet while this evocation of what Chatterjee termed the 'inner domain' proved effective as an anti-colonial tool, colonialism left a more material legacy in the institutions of state (bureaucratic, judicial, and educational systems, police and military) and entrenched patterns of trade and exchange (e.g. the French franc zone and the British sterling area in Africa). It also bequeathed ideologies exported from the West—nationalism itself, liberalism, and socialism—as well as global languages of power (English, French, and, to a lesser extent, Spanish and Portuguese).

Post-Colonial Development

In contrast to the drawn-out history of colonization, the tide of decolonization came in fast across Asia, the Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. Beginning in Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa in the decade after the Second World War, it covered most of sub-Saharan Africa within a few years of Ghana (formerly the British Gold Coast) becoming the first independent black African state in 1957, and by 1980 had taken in much of the rest of the erstwhile European colonial empire in the Caribbean, the Persian Gulf and South Arabia, and the Pacific. This rapid transformation was in part the outcome of geopolitical factors: the perceptible weakening of European power following the two world wars, and the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union, each competing to win over anti-colonial nationalists to their respective camps in the cold war, as the pivots of the post-war bipolar world. However, it was increasing pressure from anti-colonial nationalism, inspired in part by Indian independence in 1947, that forced the pace of change. But how much change did decolonization bring?

The passionate desire of anti-colonial idealists such as Fanon not to imitate Europe starkly contrasted with the imperial paternalism of colonial officials such as Phillip Mitchell, the British Governor of

Kenya, who could say as late as 1945 that faced with 'the choice of remaining a savage or of adapting our civilization, culture, religion and language, [the African] is doing the latter as fast as he can'. The post-colonial reality belied both Mitchell's belief and Fanon's hope. Colonialism, by globalizing the European template of an international system constituted of sovereign nation-states (based on the Peace of Westphalia in 1648), determined that the primary object of anti-colonial nationalism would be the transformation of colonies into independent nation-states. Despite seeking to assert their political and cultural autonomy, anti-colonialists demanding independence found they had little choice but to operate within this system, since it was the only one that was also imaginable to their rulers. This was the dynamic that helped ensure that while, for instance, pan-African and pan-Arab dreams remained unrealized, Muslim insecurities in British India resulted in partition and the creation of Pakistan as a separate 'Muslim' nation-state.

The new states faced the unprecedented challenge of fashioning 'a peculiarly modern form of statehood', modelled not on earlier, more basic, forms of the state but on the elaborate modern Western state that had been developed over centuries. They were also inhibited by the fact that the conditions in which power was generally transferred were far from optimal. Even though in the majority of cases, independence was not accompanied or preceded by war or violence, it was marred by the hurried transfer of administrative responsibilities, belated and unsustainable political compromises, economic dependence, and largely untested legislatures and governments. In noting how colonialism fatefully structured political choices along regional and ethnic lines in Britain's most populous African territory, Nigeria, Sam Nolutshungu observed that the political systems of post-colonial societies 'carried . . . in their genes—the heritage of the colonialism that designed them, authoritarian in its day, but also, invariably, in its retreat, a champion of elitist and paternalist notions of democracy'. In Nigeria, the system quickly, and tragically, gave way—successive military coups in 1966, six years after independence, being followed by a three-year civil war that claimed between one and three million lives.

Whether states achieved independence via a negotiated constitutional transition or a war of liberation did not appear to make much difference to the lasting influence of the colonial legacy. Certainly in Africa the trajectory of development of the minority of post-colonial states that were the outcome of armed struggle (Algeria, the ex-Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique, as well as Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Eritrea) showed much in common with that of their neighbours. Although peaceful transfers of power may have assisted what Crawford Young calls the inertial forces favouring the retention of colonial legal and bureaucratic legacies, the troubled post-independence histories of the liberated colonies demonstrate that it was not possible to remove the long shadow cast by the colonial past through struggle. In fact, the bitterness of the struggle itself seems to have, in some cases (Algeria, Angola, Mozambique), contributed to subsequent civil war. Being accepted as legitimate by its population was a major preoccupation for post-colonial states. Their colonial predecessors had demanded obedience, not consent, and been content with commanding fear rather than affection. This presented a formidable challenge, given the generally multiethnic and multi-religious character of most postcolonial states, and often, especially in Africa and the Middle East, the absence of a pre-colonial state tradition. While the legacy of anti-colonial nationalism was helpful, especially where, as in India, it encompassed decades of struggle and mass engagement, this plural context meant that the concept of development was particularly attractive to postcolonial leaders pursuing popular acclaim. Even in India, one of the main nationalist criticisms of British rule was that, having brought the gift of science, they were stunting India's growth and arresting her progress. A developmental ideology thus became central to the self-definition of

the post-colonial state—in 1945, Jawaharlal Nehru, soon to become independent India's first prime minister, felt that 'planned development under a free national government would completely change the face of India within a few years'.

In Africa, the predilection on the part of postcolonial leaders to embrace the cause of development was strongly influenced by the late British and French colonial interest in ushering in a developmental state. A belated attempt to justify colonialism as it found itself under challenge in the wake of the two world wars and the spread of nationalism and communism, the shift from a primarily exploitative and preservationist colonialism to one that claimed to actively champion and invest in progress and development did not save the colonial state. Indeed, Cooper suggests that in Africa it was the lead the British and French took in this shift that ensured that it was their empires that first started giving way as the changes introduced stimulated growing demands for self-government. The developmentalist authoritarianism subsequently pursued by their post-colonial successors also failed to secure their regimes. The successful military coup in Ghana in 1966 against President Kwame Nkrumah epitomized this failure (inheriting the economically interventionist and centralizing late colonial state in the Gold Coast, Nkrumah had assumed dictatorial powers and pursued a succession of wasteful and ill-planned projects aimed at transforming Ghana into an industrialized state). In most of Africa, the patterns of post-colonial government that developed in the 1960s and 1970s traced their lineage to colonial forms. However, there were important differences that rendered the post-colonial variants more vulnerable. Mamdani's 'bifurcated' colonial state mutated into two types. In the majority of cases, conservative post-colonial decentralized despotisms were not really transformed by the reintroduction of multiparty systems in many countries in the 1990s (for example, Kenya under President Daniel Arap Moi in the 1990s). A minority turned into radical centralized despotisms in which local authority was dismantled without central government being democratized (for example, Uganda in the first decade after Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement took control in 1985).

Alternatively, Cooper's gatekeeper state in its post-colonial form, lacking its predecessors' external coercive capacity or financial resources, was left dependent on either the former colonial power or one of the main protagonists in the cold war—the USA, the USSR, or, in a few cases, Communist China. This was perhaps most obvious in the Francophone states in West and Central Africa, most of which belonged to the *Communauté française d'Afrique* (French Community of Africa) and had their currencies pegged to the French franc (and, after 1999, the Euro). Into the early 21st century, France continued to be an important source of economic aid. Often maintaining a long-standing military presence, she intervened militarily to prop up post-colonial rulers in several ex-French colonies (as in Djibouti, Chad, the Central African Republic, Ivory Coast). To a lesser extent, Britain played a similar role in countries such as Sierra Leone, intervening to put an end to the civil war there in 2000–2. Political independence, by placing the resources of the 'gate' in local hands rather than involving a change in the nature of the state, simply intensified the struggle for the gate, making the beleaguered new gatekeepers, usually ethnically defined, dependent on external agencies for international recognition and aid. These trajectories of dependent political development can be interpreted in different ways. Some see it as basically an adaptation of the inherited Western colonial template of modernization as Eurocentric development and progress, albeit inflected locally through a continuing process of hybridization. Others, a minority, reject the extraneous nature of the Post-colonial state. Bayart, for instance, suggests that what is negatively described in terms of 'tribalism' or 'instability' in Africa reflects the local appropriation of alien institutions. He evokes the image of a rhizome—a continuously growing

underground stem constantly generating both shoots and roots—to explain the dynamic linkage of African societies to institutions of the post-colonial state.

Bayart's notion has the value of conceiving of the post-colonial as part of a historical continuum (the *longue durée*), but in doing so it risks underplaying the impact of colonialism. Bayart's rhizome concept avoids the link between political regimes in post-colonial states and the globalization of capitalism that European colonialism did so much to bring about. From a Marxist perspective, there was no gainsaying that 'two-thirds of the world's people do not have liberal states because of the structure of the capitalist world-economy, which makes it impossible for them to have such regimes'. The European export of the idea of the monocultural nation-state left most post-colonial states with the dilemma of how to reconcile this with ethnically and religiously plural societies. Chatterjee identifies this 'surrender to the old forms of the modern state' as the source of 'postcolonial misery'. In some countries, such as Iraq, created under a British League of Nations mandate in 1921 and formally independent by 1932, the shallow foundations of colonial rule necessitated recourse to particularly high levels of violence, setting a pattern for postcolonial government that has persisted.

As in Africa, colonialism in South Asia left in its wake visions of society and polity that were distorted—that did not match. Some outside observers have suggested that India owes its comparatively stable post-independence political and economic development to its 'relative immunity from western ideologies', but this is an argument that is hard to sustain. More to the point perhaps are three kinds of ingredients that were more evident in the post-colonial Indian mix than, say, in Africa. First, in the realm of cultural politics there ran a deep vein of the non-(if not pre-) modern. Gandhi tapped into this in developing the 'saintly' idiom of Indian politics, and the metaphor of the sanctified and patriarchal extended family has been described as one of the most important elements in the culture of Indian nationalism. Second, the phenomenon of caste associated with Hinduism, while rendered less fluid, more regulated, and institutionalized under colonialism, gave to India a particularly encompassing yet supple resource in adapting colonial institutions. Thirdly, there was the important role played by political agency, in this case the Congress Party that had spearheaded the campaign for independence. Already over sixty years old at independence, the oldest anti-colonial nationalist organization in the world, Congress under the leadership of Nehru reinforced India's liberal democratic institutional framework by accommodating not only the dominant classes but a variety of caste, religious, linguistic, and regional identities, both through the party and in the structures of government.

In contrast, lacking in these ingredients, India's subcontinental neighbours, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, proved far less successful, both in sustaining stable constitutional government and preventing civil war. While India experienced localized civil wars, these outbreaks were insulated and, ultimately, defused (in this respect, Kashmir, a bone of contention between India and Pakistan since independence, remains the exception). However, as the 'formal' democracy of the British Dominion of Ceylon (as it was until 1972) was progressively displaced by the more brash and intolerant 'social' democracy of the Republic of Sri Lanka, the island state witnessed a descent into decades of civil war between the Sinhala Buddhist majority and the minority Tamils. In contrast, although the 'democratization' of Indian democracy, through the politicization of previously oppressed and marginalized lower castes and other peripheral groups, has confronted the state in India with formidable challenges, its post-colonial institutions coped. The partition of the subcontinent, by removing roughly two-thirds of the Muslim population, might have made the issue of state

and national identity in India less problematic. Even so it is because the post-colonial state in India transcended, in some measure, the colonial logic of divide and rule that it has been better at digesting ethnic and religious plurality. Despite the recent political salience of Hindu chauvinism, it is still possible to conceive of Indian culture as 'constructed around the proliferation of differences'.

The Colonial Legacy

In 2007, India and Pakistan commemorated sixty years of independence, while Ghana marked half a century as the first black African colony to win political freedom. As the tide of decolonization was reaching its peak, both the departing colonizers and the anti-colonial nationalists anticipating freedom were disposed to strike a positive note. The colonial historian Margery Perham held, in 1961, that 'Britain on the whole was the most humane and considerate of modern colonial nations and did most to prepare her subjects for self-government'. As power was handed over by the last British Governor of the Gold Coast, Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first leader declared confidently, 'We have won independence and founded a modern state'. Yet less than a decade later, on the eve of losing power, Nkrumah's summed up his misgivings about the reality of independence in a book entitled *Neo-Colonialism*: 'The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside'.

A quarter of a century later, one international relations theorist coined the phrase 'quasi-states' to describe the majority of post-colonial states. More recently, there has been a resurgence of interest in the West in the idea of a liberal imperialism, if not the actual restoration of formal empire, as a solution to the continuing political and economic crisis that many post-colonial states, especially in Africa and the Middle East, appear to face. Echoing earlier justifications for colonial rule, these adherents of a revival of paternalist imperialism share a sense of civilizational superiority, and a common blind spot for the logic of domination and exploitation that underpinned European colonialism. This logic had also been apparent in the behaviour of the United States, the first post-colonial imperial power, towards native, African, and Hispanic Americans in extending its domain across North America in the course of the 19th century, and then in the Philippines, Latin America, and the Caribbean in the years following the Spanish-American War of 1898. Attributable to a 'geopolitical amnesia' engendered by imperial—and post-imperial—culture in the west, the renewed fascination with liberal imperialism is more a reflection of post-cold war Anglo-American hubris than a legacy of the historical experience of colonialism.

While virtually the entire developing world experienced colonialism, the experience differed from place to place, and this is reflected in the varied legacy. To begin with the settler and slave societies of post-colonial Latin America and the Caribbean present a contrast to Africa and Asia. For example, in the Caribbean the private hierarchies of exploitation that underpinned slavery, and the subsequent drawn-out history of slave emancipation and struggle for political rights, helped the state structures, closely modeled on the British parliamentary system, gain acceptance as autochthonous. In the African case, the patchiness of pre-colonial state traditions, and the relative brevity and 'thinness' of colonial rule, generally resulted in post-colonial states incapable of achieving the ambitions of nationalist leaders and the expectations of their peoples.

By the end of the 20th century, a large part of the colonial state legacy in many African countries had been effaced by institutional decay, eroding 'the explanatory power of the post-colonial label'.

However, this does not negate the continuing historical significance of the colonial and, indeed, pre-colonial past. For instance, contrasting the former Belgian Congo with regions that possessed effective states before colonialism, such as the south of Uganda (Buganda) and Ghana (Asante) and northern Ethiopia, the latter have proved better able to survive phases of bad government. Although the model of the nation-state has proven a burdensome legacy for contemporary Africa, the consequences of state collapse in Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Congo in the 1990s and 2000s showed the high human cost exacted by its absence. The lesson seemed to be that in a world of states vulnerable regions and their inhabitants are left dangerously exposed by state collapse, even if the post-colonial state concerned is nothing but a 'gatekeeper' state. Though some argue that societies might conceivably be able to function without states, it is difficult to foresee them being tolerated for long in the globalized world of states, and the unresolved question for many African countries remains how to fashion a sustainable state.

Historical differences reflected in institutional weakness may have compounded the crisis faced by the post-colonial state in Africa, but in Asia too the colonial legacy presented post-colonial states with their greatest challenges, especially in grappling with issues of political identity. The problem in countries such as Sri Lanka was that the concept of multiculturalism introduced by the British colonial rulers stressed the fragmentary nature of society. By doing so, it left the post-colonial state with its composite identity particularly vulnerable to being torn apart by incompatible visions of the nation. The colonial legacy has been likened to a poisoned pill. Reviewing the mixed record of post-colonial development, it is hard not to agree, the health of the poisoned post-colonial state being determined by its condition (history and geopolitical situation) and the skill of the doctor (the role played by political agency).

Unit-III

OBJECTIVITY IN SOCIAL SCIENCES AND ITS LIMITS

Objectivity

Objectivity means basing conclusion on facts without any bias and value judgment. It should be independent of one's personal beliefs, likes, dislikes and hopes.

The concept of objectivity became a familiar term with the transformations in the method and approach of physical sciences. Renaissance and the scientific revolution in the 16th and 17th centuries prepared the ground for a change in the existing attitude towards man and the universe. The medieval world gave importance to blind acceptance of authority. Bible was taken as the authority of knowledge. Francis Bacon, Descartes, Galileo John Kepler, Issac Newton were the exponents of the knowledge as envisaged and propounded by scientific revolution. They used scientific method i.e. collection and classification of facts and the formulation of general laws to explain the facts. Empirical method as it is called from the time of Francis bacon ensures factual information upon which science constructs its premise. This method of explanation provides the truth/exact knowledge.

This method began to disseminate all branches of thoughts. The concept of objectivity became popular with Positivism, and Auguste Comte was its exponent. He advocated the application of scientific method in social sciences. He found that the disciplines that deal with social behaving could follow the method of natural sciences. In other words he stated that social sciences could reveal the truth as exactly as natural sciences once the scientific method is applied.

In spite of the enthusiastic efforts towards making social sciences on par with natural sciences, there are limitations in the application of objectivity in social sciences. Objectivity in social sciences meant free of personal biases are understood as opposite to subjectivity. Being part of the society, a social scientist is very often influenced by the prevalent values and impulses of the society. Sometimes a social many not even make use of the evidence at their dispassionately. Following factors may influence the social scientist in his pursuit of an objective knowledge about a social phenomenon.

Personal motives may prevent a social scientist from impartial way of looking at an incident. Since they live in societies, they have some social interests. They are participants of social movements and practices certain values and way of life. An environmentalist and an industrialist many not have the same opinion about the concept of development. Therefore personal motives and values definitely have a bearing on the topic under discussion.

Objectivity suffers when the social scientist is obsessed with the result of his enquiry. In this circumstance, the whole thought process of the enquiry will be the result of vested interests. It is obvious that those who enjoy a position of distinct advantage in terms of wealth, power and prestige etc under the existing system and dispensation do not wish to disturb the status quo and resist changes in the basic structure. Thus, the social scientist will be careful to modify the result of his enquiry to his favour.

Most often a subject of investigation is the outcome of the researcher's own interest in that topic. It is not wrong to think that a social scientist from a particular background may look at the topic related to his community with bias. The existing status quo of the community may influence the researcher in distorting the result of the topic for his favour.

The topic discussion which is not directly related to the researcher's own culture may mislead him and provide a unauthentic account of the past.

The question of objectivity affected adversely the credibility of social sciences. But there are fresh attempts to regain its lost prestige by critically comparing the nature of objectivity in both streams of knowledge. Social scientists' objectivity is critical on the ground that as social beings social scientists participate actively in social affairs. It is argued that the biologist himself an organism and a physicist also a body of mass, interacting with other organisms. It does not indicate that the theories of the biologist and physicist would be unduly subject to the influence of biological and physical environments at the expense of evidence. Similarly, the interactions of the social scientist with his social environment will not interfere with his objectivity and rationality.

Over the years it has been concluded that objectivity in physical science is different from that of social sciences. In fact, the subject matter of social sciences raised the question of whether at all it is desirable to be objective. In the opinion of Robeer V. Daniels what objectivity means in practice is the ability to face the facts, whether you like them or not, it is particularly important in facing unfavourable facts about people and institutions.

Facts

Objectivity in social sciences depends on indisputable facts. They are the backbone of social sciences. Facts are nothing but select group of social phenomena. They are the raw material of social sciences. The emphasis on objectivity as a result of the Positivist influence in the 19th century made the treatment of facts an important component of presenting social phenomena. It is thought that critical use of facts would bring out the truth of any social aspects/incidents. It was like an obsession to scholars like Ranke who conducted seminars to train the young scholar in the treatment of sources.

Emile Durkheim, the eminent sociologist, opined that facts in social science could be analyzed by empirical investigation as objects in physical sciences. He calls facts in social science as social facts. He explained his positivist stance on social facts in the book 'Rules of sociological Method' (1895). Social facts are defined as the properties of the collective entity not as the motives or actions of individuals. Individuals are shaped and constrained by social environments. These social facts exist as a collective entity independent of the individual actors. Social facts are ways of thinking, acting, and feeling, external to the individual.

Nature of facts

Not all facts are social facts. E.H. Carr, the eminent historian does not accept the undue importance given to the facts. 'Facts speak for themselves'-is not true. In his opinion facts speak when the historian make them to speak. Social scientist has a criterion of their own in selecting the efficient fact from many facts. It is expected that while seeking the efficient cause, one must be impartial and objective. That is why, Carl Becker argued thus: 'the facts of history do not exist for any historian till he created them'.

Emile Durkheim states that efficient facts are depended on the social scientist's selection. The determining cause of a social fact should be sought among social fact preceding it and not among

states of the individual consciousness. In fact, facts connect one phenomenon with another based on the cause and effect relationship to produce truth/reality.

Empiricism

Empiricism is based on the view that human knowledge has to come from observation. It meant that knowledge is gained solely by the senses. It is opposed to authority, intuition and imagination as source of knowledge. It emphasizes the role of evidence to ascertain truth /reality. Ideas relating to empiricism began to develop from the times of Francis Bacon who advocated the inductive method of reasoning. He believed that deductive method is not capable to produce truth/reality. New knowledge could only be generated through the method of induction which rested on observation, analysis of data observed and inferences on the analyzed data. He explained it in his work 'Novum Organum'. The scientific method which Bacon advocated in his work is known as empirical or inductive method. The mind should be clear off partiality for any scientific enquiry according to Bacon.

Empirical method which is applied in physical sciences became popular method of investigation in social sciences. In order to achieve the status of physical sciences as being the synonym for objective knowledge social science too adopted empirical method as the method of enquiry. This made social science on par with the physical science in terms of objectivity. In fact, empiricism ensured the social science discipline claim to the status of 'science.'

Induction

Induction is one of the methods of empirical process. It consists of examining particular cases and drawing a conclusion. The process of induction consists of observation and generalization. Induction is applied in analytical method. Observation must be conducted carefully to collect accurate data. Mistakes in observation and false information can distort the conclusions reached. It is essential to confine to the inferences drawn from the findings only.

Two types of induction are identified by scholars. They are Enumerative and analytic. Enumerative induction is the most common form of induction used in social science research.

Deduction

It indicates the process of applying an accepted principle to a specific case. In other words, it is a process of reasoning from the general to the particular. It creates relationship between a major premise, a minor premise and a conclusion. 'A major premise is an established generalization, a minor premise is a particular case related to the major premise. The relationship between the major and minor premises leads to conclusion. E.g.

Major premise	All men are mortal
Minor premise	A is a man
Conclusion	A is a mortal

Major premise must be correct to arrive at a valid deduction. In case the major premise is not correct, one cannot come to a precise conclusion.

Both induction and deduction are useful in research. They are used simultaneously in research.

Evidence

Evidence is what is observed. Evidence in social science is based on sense observations. It is the raw material of social sciences. In fact, social science constructs their selves on the evidence. Events and processes which concern a social scientist are human beings mostly living through them. Attitudes and concepts in social science have changed over time, but they did not reduce the importance of evidence. It still remains the backbone of social sciences because no social science is probable without evidence. No evidence no social science.

With the broadening of social sciences, the nature of evidence too underwent changes. One cannot say that a historian should seek evidence within the limits of its subjects. As social science became more and more interdisciplinary in its treatment and attitude, all kinds of evidence is tapped. Generally evidence is collected from primary and secondary sources. This division into primary and secondary sources is in the case of documentary evidence, Historical science depend mainly on documentary evidence.

Primary evidence provides data gathered at first hand and the secondary ones are those culled from others' original work.

Primary

1. Letters, contracts, court records
statistical
- Census of population, tape records
other

Secondary

2. Historical study using actual documents,
research based on census data, research using

Films etc. people's correspondence, report of field work.

3. Personal diary, autobiography,
Report on institutional visit etc.

4. Research using diaries and autobiographies

Among the above evidence, personal documents are a first person account of the individual's action. He describes his own experiences and beliefs. Personal documents consist of diaries, memoirs, letters autobiographies etc. Indeed they give a firsthand account of the person; but they have strong possibilities of distortion.

Newspapers, public records and statistics, census reports form part of the public or official documents. They seem more reliable than the personal documents.

A large part of social science is still depending on documentary evidence. In spite of importance of evidence as the integral component of- social science, one has to think of the ideal of documentary and non-documentary evidence.

Objectivity in Historical Science

Objectivity in history means 'history strictly in accordance with facts and uninfluenced by any personal feeling or prejudice'. Both Niebuhr and Ranke were the progenitors of objective history. The aim of history, according to Ranke, is to show what actually happened.' On the line of

positivism, Ranke thought that an objective and impartial account of the past is possible by applying the scientific study of the sources. This conception went the extent of producing an impression that 'ultimate/absolute history' is possible. This blind faith in objectivity was later challenged by scholars.

They brought in the subjective elements in the writing of history. They argued that is impossible to be absolutely objective in dealing with human past. Elements of human intervention are something a historian can do away with. It is said that the subjectivity intrudes into the work of the historian to a far greater degree than into that of sociologist, the anthropologist, or the geographer because of the subject matter they deal with. In the opinion of E.H.Carr one cannot enforce the rigid separation between observer and the thing observed.

Usually subjective elements are introduced into the first stage of historian's craft. The selection of a theme itself is based on the researcher own political, social, racial national affiliation. Nationalist bias is another factor that determines the nature of objectivity. The nationalist historians of India after independence looked at India's ancient past as something very different from that of imperial historians. Everyone is proud of their nation; therefore, they do not want to undermine their nation in the narration.

Geography is also found as an element that hinders the historians from pursuing objectivity. Eurocentred history is the result of the above attitude. European scholars for a long time was under the impression that Europe was the centre of the universe and Africans and Asia placed at the periphery. Accordingly the histories of the Africa and 'Asia nations during the days of colonization treated as substandard.

Religion is a strong factor in influencing the historian's sense of objectivity. The Protestant and Catholic versions of the Reformation will give two wide apart interpretations.

Biases no doubt will lead to the distortion of interpretation of evidence. The result is that posterity will deny the opportunity to an objective record of past.

Subjective elements are not unavoidable in history given the kind of topic and the circumstance that a historian is placed in. therefore one cannot eradicate subjectivity, but one can minimize by many means. The historian should be committed to the ideal of objectivity. He should collect all possible evidence related to the topic and should not be selective in collecting data. Based on the available evidence, one has to interpret it. One should be careful not to be cheated by unauthentic documents. Spurious documents like Donation of Constantine may mislead historian to come to a correct conclusion of the topic.

Social change and Social Theories

Social change indicates an alteration in the prevailing social order of a society. It is in the broadest sense in any change in social relations. In this sense, social change is an ever-present phenomenon in any society. It can be viewed from the notions of progress and evolution. Society moves forward by evolutionary means. Thus, it is viewed that society transformed itself from tribal to capitalist society through a process of evolution.

The nature of social change depends on the social entity considered. Changes in a small group may be important on the level of that group itself but negligible on the level of the larger society. Similarly, the observation of social change depends on the time span taken; most short-term changes are negligible if a social development is studied in the long run.

Several ideas of social change have been developed in various cultures and historical periods. Three of them are distinguished as the most basic. 1. The idea of decline and degeneration 2. The idea of cyclical change and 3. The idea of continuous change (Evolutionism). The concept of progress however became the most influential idea since the 18th century enlightenment. Social thinkers like Anne-Robert Jacques Turgot and Condorcet in France and Adam Smith and John Millar in Scotland contributed to it.

Progress was the key idea of evolutionism. Evolutionism implied that mankind as whole progresses along one line of development. The three traditional ideas of social change—those of decline, cyclical change, and progress—have influenced modern theories. A regular alternation of stages characterizes cyclical change. Much of ordinary social life is organized in cyclical changes: those of the day, the week and the year. These short term cyclical changes may be regarded as conditions necessary to structural stability. Long term cyclical changes are rendered by the theories on the birth, growth, flourishing, decline and death of civilizations. Toynbee conceived world history in this way.

Social Theories

Social theories are the theoretical frameworks to interpret social phenomena. Social scientist makes use of the theories as tools to analyze and understand the changes in the society.

At the end of the nineteenth century, there were professional historians who were becoming increasingly disappointed with the narration of social changes and facts. In the 1890's the American historian Frederick Jackson Taylor launched an attack against traditional history.

Tribal society, state, empire

The modern state has evolved over a period spanning over thousands of years. The interplay of several factors such as kinship, religion, property, war, technical development and political consciousness have contributed to the emergence of the state. Sociologists have generally identified the following forms of state in the course of its historical evolution: the tribal state; the Oriental empire; the Greek City-State; the Roman World Empire; the Feudal State; and finally, the Modern Nation-State.

The Tribal State: The tribal state was the earliest stage of state organization. The tribal states were small in size. The head of the tribe often assisted by an advisory council, wielded authority and governed the state. The head of the tribe dictated and his dictates were obeyed by the members of the tribe. Anyone who disobeyed was punished by the head and punishment was meted out as per the customs and traditions of the tribe. The main purpose of the existence of these tribal states was the preservation of internal order and the waging of war with other tribal states. These states retained strong traces of common birth, common religion and common trade interests.

The Oriental Empire: In due course of time, tribes settled in places where their basic needs and necessities were fulfilled. They settled in places where they could get food to eat, water to drink and pastures for their cattle. Flourishing civilizations arose in the fertile valleys of the Nile in Egypt, the Euphrates and Tigris in Mesopotamia, the Ganges in India and the Yellow River and Yangtze Kiang in China. The increased prosperity led to the development of the art of war and conquests of territories. As the stronger groups won over the weaker ones, the inhabitants of these valleys were bound together into the empires of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, India and China. The Oriental Empires were neither strongly centralized nor closely knit together. They were made up of subordinate units which though were practically autonomous in local affairs, were under central supervision. The units were under the obligation to furnish soldiers and to pay tributes. However, the large size of these empires eroded central authority, led to local revolts and external invasions. As a result the empires disintegrated in course of time.

The Greek City-State: The next stage was the Greek city states. The peculiar location of Greece helped in the evolution of a new form of political organisation called the city-state in the ancient days. The mountains and the sea divided this area into small parts in the form of numerous valleys and islands. The different communities inhabiting these small areas developed features peculiar to their own. Accordingly, several city states emerged in ancient Greece with a variety of political institutions. The size of the Greek states was confined to the city which was the centre of all activities. The city-states were the outcome of local patriotism. Athens and Sparta were two such city-states which attained a higher level of political development and individual liberty. Gradually, the Greek city-states disintegrated due to mutual rivalry and frequent wars between themselves and external invasion.

The Roman Empire: After the downfall of the Greek city-states, the main political development was the emergence of the Roman empire. The Roman state passed through several periods. The first period was that of the monarchical state. During that period, the king was not only the head of the state but also the chief priest of the community. The king was required to consult the Council of Elders and follow their advice. During this period, the nobles known as the Patricians shared political power with a monarch. But the Plebians who included average working citizens of Rome like farmers, bakers, builders or craftsmen enjoyed no political rights. Gradually, Monarchy was succeeded by a Republic and both Patricians and Plebians got equal political rights. During this period Rome started annexing the neighbouring territories. Consequently, the Republic gave way to the Roman Empire which extended over Austria, Germany, France, Spain, England, the Balkans, Greece, Asia Minor and the whole of the Mediterranean coast and its hinterland. In due courses of time, the Roman Empire began to decay as institutions of democracy and local self-government disappeared.

The Feudal State: After the fall of the Roman Empire, central authority was eroded and its vast territories fell into the hands of powerful feudal chiefs, i.e., the landlords holding big estates. Each of these nobles created a community of his own based on ownership of big estates. These feudal chiefs began to exercise powers in fifth century A.D. Each feudal lord gave his land to tenants-in-chief who in turn gave the same to tenants. This led to a hierarchical political organization upon the basis of landholding, with the king as the supreme lord at the top and serfs or the landless peasants at the bottom. In fact the king exercised only superficial control over the feudal vassals who enjoyed the real power within their domain.

The erosion of the authority of kings, led to the emergence of the Christian church as another symbol of authority. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Popes were using their authority arbitrarily, the authority of the church was challenged and power of monarchy restored.

The Modern Nation-State: The modern state is largely identified as the nation-state. Feudalism was succeeded by nation-states, each one of which was based on the bonds of nationality and language, strengthened by natural boundaries. This process led to the emergence of France, Spain, England, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Russia and later Germany and Italy as nation-states by the sixteenth century. Initially, the nation-states were mostly monarchies. However, since the middle of the eighteenth century, there has been a slow transition from the absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy and democracy in large parts of Europe. With the growth and expansion of democracy, the principles of liberty, equality, popular sovereignty came to be established in a large part of Europe. Beginning in the seventeenth century, many European countries started extending their domination over Asia, Africa and Latin America in search of new sources of raw material, cheap labour and new markets. During the nineteenth century, there came into existence many colonial empires with Great Britain having colonies all over the world.

Feudalism

Feudalism was a system of production and distribution in which the ownership of land was neither absolute nor divorced of duties. The king was the repository of all legal rights. He assigned land in large parcels to his favored chiefs and noblemen, who could, in turn, assign the land to various subtenants. Ownership at the production level meant mere right to use and this right ended to become hereditary.

Production took place in the manor or agricultural estate. Output was produced on a small scale, using relatively primitive agricultural techniques. Labor services were provided by serfs who were attached to the land rather than to the person who owned it. The goal of the manor was self sufficiency. Trading activities between regions or countries were severely limited.

Feudalism dominated Europe from the Dark Ages until early modern times. Two factors in particular heralded its demise and helped to usher in a new mode of production called capitalism. First, strongly centralized political power was reestablished in Europe not in the form of large, unwieldy empires, but in the form of absolutist monarchies. This allowed sufficient state control to be exercised within national territories in European counties for proper legal systems to be devised and enforced. This, in turn, provided an opportunity for economic activity to extend beyond local feudal boundaries, and for widespread trade to become possible. Second, as a result of changes brought about by the agricultural revolution, agricultural product ion became rationalized and more efficient.

Capitalism

Capitalism is a socio-economic system. It is a stage in the society's evolution as were the primitive, slave-owning and feudal modes of production. The beginning of capitalist epoch dates back to the 16th century. The dominance of capitalist mode of production was established in the late 18th- early 19th centuries, as a direct result of the industrial revolution and transition to large –scale machine production.

Capitalism is a class-antagonistic, exploiting system as were the preceding, slave-owning and feudal ones. It is based on the private ownership in the means of production and exploitation of man by man, and is divided into antagonistic classes engaged in irreconcilable struggle with each other. It is based on the exploitation of wage-labour. Wage workers and the bourgeoisie are the principal classes of capitalist society. Workers are the main direct producers of material wealth, under capitalism. They are free from personal dependence, unlike the in the slave and feudal modes of production. But the workers are deprived of the means of production. Therefore, the workers are compelled to sell their labour power (capacity to work) to capitalist entrepreneurs, owners of the means of production. Direct producer becomes thereby a wage-worker, an object of exploitation by a capitalist. Thus the capitalists appropriate the fruits of workers' labour.

In the pre-capitalist economies that are under feudalism people usually produce goods for their own consumption. Capitalism means something very different; Capitalists employ workers to produce their goods for them, in return for a wage. The point of producing these goods is to sell them in the marketplace for more than the costs involved in their production. That is, capitalist production is about the pursuit of profit. The more efficient the production, the more profitable it can be, In the systematic pursuit of profit, what matters most is the market value of a good, the availability of markets, and the efficiency with which an enterprise is organized. In particular, it involves the rational management of the labour force so that costs are kept down.

Capitalism thus involves the establishment of new ways of thinking and acting, largely, absent in the pre-modern world. Workers have to sell their labour to employers to sell their commodity in labor market. Their survival depends not on what they produce for themselves but on the wages they receive, with which they have to purchase the goods and services they need. As a result, their life chances are crucially determined by the rewards they receive, with which they have to purchase the goods and services they need. A system of class inequality emerged based on occupational rewards. Trade unions are the result of this. Gender inequality developed too. Male workers received greater rewards than their female counterparts. Women become excluded from the workplace. It produced a separation of life, a male dominated public sphere, and female dominated private spheres.

Industrial Revolution gave a boost to capitalism. It allowed new ways of working and producing goods. Rapid technological advances led to large scale manufacturing being located in a designated workplace- the factory. The factory system involved the workers being systematically organized and controlled, with the separation of the process of production into specialized tasks a distinctive feature of this regulation.

Imperialism

Formation of powerful, centralized nation states in Europe led to the establishment of colonies all over the world. Portugal and Spain took the initiative in establishing colonies in Asia and America. Britain and France took the lead in course of time replacing Portugal and Spain in building large colonial empires. The rapid economic development of the West in the modern period depended crucially on easy access to raw materials from around the globe. The political and military power of these states enabled them to plunder the material and human resources of weaker global areas and began the process of imperialism. The result was the development of the First and Third worlds.

Unit-IV

SOME SOCIAL STRUCTURE-CASE STUDIES OF ANY SELECTED PROBLEM

Social Structure of India

India is a country with diverse cultures. Customs and traditions vary from region to region. Yet, of course, some commonality does exist in the social structure, which is a unifying force. Let us try to understand the various social formations that provide the unifying force as well as distinct characteristics to the Indian society.

Caste system – The social structure is based upon the caste system. The society is divided into four major castes- the Brahmans, Kashtriyas, Vaisyas and the Sudras. The Brahmans are the priests and are considered to be the uppermost caste. The Kshatriyas are the warriors, Vaisyas are the business class, the merchants and the Sudras are the working class. Inter-caste marriages are not permitted as a rule, although now it has become quite common in the urban areas. Untouchability continues to be practiced. The Dalits are treated as untouchables as they do the menial jobs of removing the night soil or cleaning the streets. The Constitution does not permit the practice of untouchability and those practicing it can be persecuted. Now of course, with growing urbanization, the caste system is becoming obsolete.

Family – The family as a unit is given much importance. Divorces as a rule are not very common or appreciated. Couples prefer adjusting rather than breaking up a marriage. Since children are given much importance, divorces are generally shunned. The family system nurtures the well-being of the children. Nowadays, in the urban set-up due to modernization, preference is being given to divorce as a solution to settle an unhappy marriage. But on the whole, people like to retain the family unit.

Women – Historically, women have played a significant role in the social and political structure of India. In the ancient times, women enjoyed much freedom, but with advent of the Muslims the purdah system came into vogue in the northern part of India. In many regions, women remain very submissive, although with the improved education levels, women have become more assertive.

Men – In the Indian society, a man is considered to be the bread-earner and shoulders the responsibility of the family. He is very dominating by nature and prefers to rule over his women.

Patriarchal setup – India is mostly a patriarchal set-up, with the father having control over the family unit. The man controls the reins of the family unit. He is the head of the family. The eldest male member has much say in the matters of the family.

Matriarchal setup – In Kerala, in the south of India, the woman of the house is the dominant force. She decides the issues of the family.

Marriage – This is an important social obligation which most Indians adhere to. It is given much importance by society. Marriages are generally arranged, but now many are choosing their own partners in urban areas. Children born outside marriage are looked down upon. Marriages are conducted with elaborate rituals and much money is spent on this occasion.

Birth – This is an occasion for rejoicing. Ceremonies and rituals are held to celebrate the occasion. The birth of male child is looked up to. In some areas, the birth of a girl is looked down upon.

Death – This is also an important occasion in the family system. Death is considered to be inevitable. Ceremonies are held on this occasion and even after the death of a person, yearly rituals are held in remembrance of them.

Thus, Indian society is very complex, but yet remains intact as people follow certain guidelines laid down by the society. They prefer not to deviate from it.

The Beginning of the caste system-theories

There are **different theories about the establishment of the caste system**. There are religious-mystical theories. There are biological theories. And there are socio-historical theories.

The **religious theories** explain how the four Varnas were founded, but they do not explain how the Jats in each Varna or the untouchables were founded. According to the Rig Veda, the ancient Hindu book, the primal man - Purush - destroyed himself to create a human society. The different Varnas were created from different parts of his body. The Brahmans were created from his head; the Kshatrias from his hands; the Vaishias from his thighs and the Sudras from his feet. The Varna hierarchy is determined by the descending order of the different organs from which the Varnas were created. Other religious theory claims that the Varnas were created from the body organs of Brahma, who is the creator of the world.

The **biological theory** claims that all existing things, animated and in animated, inherent three qualities in different apportionment. Sattva qualities include wisdom, intelligence, honesty, goodness and other positive qualities. Rajas include qualities like passion, pride, valour and other passionate qualities. Tamas qualities include dullness, stupidity, lack of creativity and other negative qualities. People with different doses of these inherent qualities adopted different types of occupation. According to this theory the Brahmans inherent Sattva qualities. Kshatrias and Vaisias inherent Rajas qualities. And the Sudras inherent Tamas qualities.

Like human beings, food also inherent different dosage of these qualities and it affects its eater's intelligence. The Brahmans and the Vaisias have Sattvic diet which includes fruits, milk, honey, roots and vegetables. Most of the meats are considered to have Tamasic qualities. Many Sudra communities eat different kinds of meat (but not beef) and other Tamasic food. But the Kshatrias who had Rajasic diet eat some kinds of meat like deer meat which is considered to have Rajasic qualities. Many Marathas who claim to be Kshatrias eat mutton. The drawback of this theory is that in different parts of India the same food was sometimes qualified to have different dosage of inherent qualities. For example there were Brahmans who eat meat which is considered Tamasic food.

The **social historical theory** explains the creation of the Varnas, Jats and of the untouchables. According to this theory, the caste system began with the arrival of the Aryans in India. The Aryans arrived in India around 1500 BC. The fair skinned Aryans arrived in India from south Europe and north Asia. Before the Aryans there were other communities in India of other origins. Among them Negrito, Mongoloid, Austroloid and Dravidian. The Negrito has physical features similar to people of Africa. The Mongoloid have Chinese features. The Austroloids have features similar the

aboriginals of Australia. The Dravidians originate from the Mediterranean and they were the largest community in India. When the Aryans arrived in India their main contact was with the Dravidians and the Austroloids. The Aryans disregarded the local cultures. They began conquering and taking control over regions in north India and at the same time pushed the local people southwards or towards the jungles and mountains in north India.

The Aryans organized among themselves in three groups. The first group was of the warriors and they were called Rajayana, later they changed their name Rajayana to Kshatria. The second group was of the priests and they were called Brahmans. These two groups struggled politically for leadership among the Aryans. In this struggle the Brahmans got to be the leaders of the Aryan society. The third group was of the farmers and craftsmen and they were called Vaisia. The Aryans who conquered and took control over parts of north India subdued the locals and made them their servants. In this process the Vaisias who were the farmers and the craftsmen became the landlords and the businessmen of the society and the locals became the peasants and the craftsmen of the society.

In order to secure their status the Aryans resolved some social and religious rules which allowed only them to be the priests, warriors and the businessmen of the society. For example take Maharashtra. Maharashtra is in west India. This region is known by this name for hundreds of years. Many think that the meaning of the name Maharashtra is in its name, Great Land. But there are some who claim that the name, Maharashtra, is derived from the Jat called Mahar who are considered to be the original people of this region. In the caste hierarchy the dark skinned Mahars were outcasts. The skin color was an important factor in the caste system. The meaning of the word "Varna" is not class or status but skin color.

Between the outcasts and the three Aryan Varnas there is the Sudra Varna who are the simple workers of the society. The Sudras consisted of two communities. One community was of the locals who were subdued by the Aryans and the other was the descendants of Aryans with locals. In Hindu religious stories there are many wars between the good Aryans and the dark skinned demons and devils. The different Gods also have dark skinned slaves. There are stories of demon women trying to seduce good Aryan men in deceptive ways. There were also marriages between Aryan heroes and demon women. Many believe that these incidences really occurred in which, the gods and the positive heroes were people of Aryan origin. And the demons, the devils and the dark skinned slaves were in fact the original residence of India whom the Aryans coined as monsters, devil, demons and slaves.

As in most of the societies of the world, so in India, the son inherited his father's profession. And so in India there developed families, who professed the same family profession for generation in which, the son continued his father's profession. Later on as these families became larger, they were seen as communities or as they are called in Indian languages, Jat. Different families who professed the same profession developed social relations between them and organized as a common community, meaning Jat.

Later on the Aryans who created the caste system, added to their system non-Aryans. Different Jats who professed different professions were integrated in different Varnas according to their profession. Other foreign invaders of ancient India - Greeks, Huns, Scythians and others - who conquered parts of India and created kingdoms, were integrated in the Kshatria Varna (warrior castes). But probably the Aryan policy was not to integrate original Indian communities within

them and therefore many aristocratic and warrior communities that were in India before the Aryans did not get the Kshatria status.

Most of the communities that were in India before the arrival of the Aryans were integrated in the Sudra Varna or were made outcast depending on the professions of these communities. Communities who professed non-polluting jobs were integrated in Sudra Varna. And communities who professed polluting professions were made outcasts. The Brahmans are very strict about cleanliness. In the past people believed that diseases can also spread also through air and not only through physical touch. Perhaps because of this reason the untouchables were not only disallowed to touch the high caste communities but they also had to stand at a certain distance from the high castes.

Caste System in India

The caste system depicts a ranking system of human groups based on hereditary and occupation. The traditional Caste system in India is a rigid mode to compartmentalize society. The Indian caste system is highly complex. Its functionality in Indian society is highly surprising because it has many drawbacks. The rigid structure of the caste system in India has abided through centuries.

In India, caste system comprises closed groups, whose members are severely obliged to restrain themselves to certain hereditary occupations. Particular castes are allowed to marry and socialize only within their own groups. In India an Individuals social status is gauged by his birth. This also serves to determine his caste. Nowhere in the world is caste exalted to such a degree as in India.

The Indian word for caste is 'jati'. Thousands of 'jatis' are strewn all over India. Each jati has its own governance, customs, traditions, religion, rules and style of living. The ancients divided Indian society in four groups-namely Brahmans who came from the priestly group of learning, Shatriyas who were the warrior and ruling section of society, Vaishyas who were businessmen, traders and farmers; and Shudras who comprised of laborers and humble peasants.

The untouchable or Panchamas were placed below the category of Shudras. The rigid hierarchy of the Indian caste system has been severely criticized by individuals with a humanitarian vision from India and outside India. Gautam Buddha, Mahavir, Ramananda Maharshi, Kabir, Eknath, Dnyeshwar, Ramanuja, Tukaram, and Sathya Sai Baba all led criticisms of caste system in India in olden times. Many Christian missionaries and Indian reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananad, Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Vivekanand, Mannathu Padmanabhan, Narayan Guru and Mahatma Gandhi led many crusades against discriminations based on caste in Indian society.

The caste system is still very much prevalent in India and the effects of caste system in modern India can be seen in the form of quota systems, reservations, marriages etc.

There are multiple effects of caste system in modern India. Metropolitan India has started walking away from the rigidity of the Indian caste system. This is the result of co mingling with other communities, higher education, globalization and economic growth. The government of India has decided to issue job quotas to the less privileged castes and the so called backward classes. Caste based reservations in India have ignited the communal fire in a different way.

Caste based positive reservations were designed to reverse the discriminations based on caste. Inter caste marriages have served to abate the rigidity of caste culture in Indian society. Caste based violence and caste politics has opened the eyes of many people to the dangers of caste practices in modern India. Criticisms of caste system have been brought out by many liberal thinkers around the globe. It is in benefit of the people of India that they gradually remove the caste barrier from their mind to live in harmony and peace.

Purity and Pollution

Many status differences in Indian society are expressed in terms of ritual purity and pollution. Notions of purity and pollution are extremely complex and vary greatly among different castes, religious groups, and regions. However, broadly speaking, high status is associated with purity and low status with pollution. Some kinds of purity are inherent, or inborn; for example, gold is purer than copper by its very nature, and, similarly, a member of a high-ranking Brahman (see Glossary), or priestly, caste is born with more inherent purity than a member of a low-ranking Sweeper caste. Unless the Brahman defiles himself in some extraordinary way, throughout his life he will always be purer than a Sweeper. Other kinds of purity are more transitory--a Brahman who has just taken a bath is more ritually pure than a Brahman who has not bathed for a day. This situation could easily reverse itself temporarily, depending on bath schedules, participation in polluting activities, or contact with temporarily polluting substances.

Purity is associated with ritual cleanliness--daily bathing in flowing water, dressing in properly laundered clothes of approved materials, eating only the foods appropriate for one's caste, refraining from physical contact with people of lower rank, and avoiding involvement with ritually impure substances. The latter include body wastes and excretions, most especially those of another adult person. Contact with the products of death or violence are typically polluting and threatening to ritual purity.

During her menstrual period, a woman is considered polluted and refrains from cooking, worshipping, or touching anyone older than an infant. In much of the south, a woman spends this time "sitting outside," resting in an isolated room or shed. During her period, a Muslim woman does not touch the Quran. At the end of the period, purity is restored with a complete bath. Pollution also attaches to birth, both for the mother and the infant's close kin, and to death, for close relatives of the deceased.

Members of the highest priestly castes, the Brahmins, are generally vegetarians (although some Bengali and Maharashtra Brahmins eat fish) and avoid eating meat, the product of violence and death. High-ranking Warrior castes (Kshatriyas), however, typically consume no vegetarian diets, considered appropriate for their traditions of valor and physical strength.

A Brahman born of proper Brahman parents retains his inherent purity if he bathes and dresses himself properly, adheres to a vegetarian diet, eats meals prepared only by persons of appropriate rank, and keeps his person away from the bodily exuviate of others (except for necessary contact with the secretions of family infants and small children).

If a Brahman happens to come into bodily contact with a polluting substance, he can remove this pollution by bathing and changing his clothing. However, if he were to eat meat or commit other transgressions of the rigid dietary codes of his particular caste, he would be considered more deeply

polluted and would have to undergo various purifying rites and payment of fines imposed by his caste council in order to restore his inherent purity.

In sharp contrast to the purity of a Brahman, a Sweeper born of Sweeper parents is considered to be born inherently polluted. The touch of his body is polluting to those higher on the caste hierarchy than he, and they will shrink from his touch, whether or not he has bathed recently. Sweepers are associated with the traditional occupation of cleaning human feces from latrines and sweeping public lanes of all kinds of dirt. Traditionally, Sweepers remove these polluting materials in baskets carried atop the head and dumped out in a garbage pile at the edge of the village or neighborhood. The involvement of Sweepers with such filth accords with their low-status position at the bottom of the Hindu caste hierarchy, even as their services allow high-status people, such as Brahmans, to maintain their ritual purity.

Members of the Leatherworker (Chamar) caste are ascribed a very low status consonant with their association with the caste occupation of skinning dead animals and tanning the leather. Butchers, who kill and cut up the bodies of animals, also rank low on the caste hierarchy because of their association with violence and death.

However, castes associated with ruling and warfare--and the killing and deaths of human beings--are typically accorded high rank on the caste hierarchy. In these instances, political power and wealth outrank association with violence as the key determinant of caste rank.

Maintenance of purity is associated with the intake of food and drink, not only in terms of the nature of the food itself, but also in terms of who has prepared it or touched it. This requirement is especially true for Hindus, but other religious groups hold to these principles to varying degrees. Generally, a person risks pollution--and lowering his own status--if he accepts beverages or cooked foods from the hands of people of lower caste status than his own. His status will remain intact if he accepts food or beverages from people of higher caste rank. Usually, for an observant Hindu of any but the very lowest castes to accept cooked food from a Muslim or Christian is regarded as highly polluting.

In a clear example of pollution associated with dining, a Brahman who consumed a drink of water and a meal of wheat bread with boiled vegetables from the hands of a Sweeper would immediately become polluted and could expect social rejection by his caste fellows. From that moment, fellow Brahmans following traditional pollution rules would refuse food touched by him and would abstain from the usual social interaction with him. He would not be welcome inside Brahman homes--most especially in the ritually pure kitchens--nor would he or his close relatives be considered eligible marriage partners for other Brahmans.

Generally, the acceptance of water and ordinary foods cooked in water from members of lower-ranking castes incurs the greatest pollution. In North India, such foods are known as *kaccha khana*, as contrasted with fine foods cooked in butter or oils, which are known as *pakka khana*. Fine foods can be accepted from members of a few castes slightly lower than one's own. Local hierarchies differ on the specific details of these rules.

Completely raw foods, such as uncooked grains, fresh unpeeled bananas, mangoes, and uncooked vegetables can be accepted by anyone from anyone else, regardless of relative status. Toasted or parched foods, such as roasted peanuts, can also be accepted from anyone without ritual

or social repercussions. (Thus, a Brahman may accept gifts of grain from lower-caste patrons for eventual preparation by members of his own caste, or he may purchase and consume roasted peanuts or tangerines from street vendors of unknown caste without worry.)

Water served from an earthen pot may be accepted only from the hands of someone of higher or equal caste ranking, but water served from a brass pot may be accepted even from someone slightly lower on the caste scale. Exceptions to this rule are members of the Waterbearer (Bhoi, in Hindi) caste, who are employed to carry water from wells to the homes of the prosperous and from whose hands members of all castes may drink water without becoming polluted, even though Waterbearers are not ranked high on the caste scale.

These and a great many other traditional rules pertaining to purity and pollution constantly impinge upon interaction between people of different castes and ranks in India. Although to the non-Indian these rules may seem irrational and bizarre, to most of the people of India they are a ubiquitous and accepted part of life. Thinking about and following purity and pollution rules make it necessary for people to be constantly aware of differences in status. With every drink of water, with every meal, and with every contact with another person, people must ratify the social hierarchy of which they are a part and within which their every act is carried out. The fact that expressions of social status are intricately bound up with events that happen to everyone every day—eating, drinking, bathing, touching, talking—and that transgressions of these rules, whether deliberate or accidental, are seen as having immediately polluting effects on the person of the transgressor, means that every ordinary act of human life serves as a constant reminder of the importance of hierarchy in Indian society.

There are many Indians, particularly among the educated urban elite, who do not follow traditional purity and pollution practices. Dining in each others' homes and in restaurants is common among well-educated people of diverse backgrounds, particularly when they belong to the same economic class. For these people, guarding the family's earthen water pot from inadvertent touch by a low-ranking servant is not the concern it is for a more traditional villager. However, even among those people whose words and actions denigrate traditional purity rules, there is often a reluctance to completely abolish consciousness of purity and pollution from their thinking. It is surely rare for a Sweeper, however well-educated, to invite a Brahman to dinner in his home and have his invitation unself-consciously accepted. It is less rare, however, for educated urban colleagues of vastly different caste and religious heritage to enjoy a cup of tea together. Some high-caste liberals pride themselves on being free of "casteism" and seek to accept food from the hands of very low-caste people, or even deliberately set out to marry someone from a significantly lower caste or a different religion. Thus, even as they deny it, these progressives affirm the continuing significance of traditional rules of purity, pollution, and hierarchy in Indian society.

CLASS

The Place of the Peasantry in the Indian Revolution

In its self-imposed mission of civilizing the backward peoples of the earth imperialism in general, and British Imperialism in particular, nowhere more clearly reveals the hypocrisy of this objective than in relation to the peasant masses. This of course is but natural as the masses of the peasantry form the largest section of the peoples which are subjected to its exploitation, and

therefore it is particularly on account of this section that the imperialist bourgeoisie endeavors to conceal its real aims, behind hypocritical tales of the benefits it is conferring on these backward peoples. As a matter of fact the hypocritical nature of these tales is seen in the fact that far from supposedly drawing these people forward out of their backward state it is just these “benefits” which are found on scientific analysis free from all hypocrisy to have the effect of perpetuating and of intensifying their “backwardness.”

Thus Imperialism places itself in the happy position of being able to show that the more it carries out its mission the more necessary is that mission found to be. Indeed this is no fairy tale romance, but only the distorted picture of the reality of British Imperialism—a constant endeavor to increase the exploitation of its subject peoples.

This hypocritical tale is spun with much force and vehemence by the members of the Indian Statutory Commission under the expert guidance of Sir John Simon with that unanimity which is rightly to be expected from the shareholders of such a mighty (sacred) trust as the Indian Empire, as long as profits are assured at the stupendous level of £160,000,000 a year. For make no mistake about it, Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour, all three each in their several ways, receive their “just” share of this tribute forcibly wrung from the blood and sweat of the Indian masses.

In Volume I of their Report, the Survey, three reasons are given for the backwardness of the peasantry. The first is the traditional method of husbandry, a characteristic feature of which is said to be the incessant breaking up of the holdings on inheritance; secondly, the lack of communications and commerce with the outside world; thirdly, the lack of security and undisturbed occupation of the soil before the British conquest. All these three obstacles to development are, it is asserted, being combated by the benefits which British Imperialism in its benevolence is showering on the Indian agriculturist.

In spite of this shower, however, the Report lets fall what might appear to be admissions that after 160 years of rule the effect of these benefits has been barren if not a great deal worse. Thus, for instance, it says: “The vast majority of the peasants live in debt to the moneylender”; or again after detailing the benefits of trade and communications with the outside world it says: “Here, again, the last fifty years have seen influences at work which have had profound effects upon the development of Indian agriculture, though it is difficult to see the result in the inspection of an ordinary Indian village”; Or finally, “But the fact remains, and must remain, that, in a country so extensive as India, the effects of a single measure are apt to be so dispersed that they can be discerned with difficulty, and that in spite of the progress that undoubtedly has been made and of the great increase in the gross wealth of the country, the ordinary cultivator on his tiny plot of land is still a man of few resources, with small means for meeting his limited needs....”

These apparent admissions to the failure of British Imperialism’s self-imposed task are, however, only embellishments to its chief aim—that of showing how much more necessary are these benefits to-day than ever before. The task in its own words is admittedly “stupendous”—yes, we agree, if 300,000,000 of peasantry are to be brought under effective exploitation—fifty years or indeed 160 years is but a short span compared with the fact that “from time immemorial, the rural population has lived in villages, the mud or bamboo houses of which are huddled together...” Therefore it naturally follows that:—

Any quickening of general political judgment; any widening of rural horizons beyond the traditional and engrossing interest of weather and water, and crops and cattle, with the round of festivals and fairs and family ceremonies, and the dread of famine and flood—any such change from these immemorial pre-occupations of the average Indian villager is bound to come very slowly indeed.

Thus because of this “very slow” development, British Imperialism sees its bloody lease of the sweat and toil of the Indian masses indefinitely extended.

But it is just here that it is mistaken. Precisely because Imperialism’s so-called benefits are in fact increasing the so-called backwardness of the Indian peasantry, precisely because the Indian peasantry are being goaded thereby to the breaking point, precisely because this exploitation of the peasants, who comprise the vast majority of the Indian population, is the basis of British Imperialism’s exploitation of India; so the agrarian revolution, forming as it does the only escape for the peasantry from their bondage, becomes the axis of the national revolutionary upheaval which is now developing. Further, in view, of the relationship of class forces in Indian society, a relationship which is akin to that of every other society where the bourgeoisie have not yet completed their revolution, this agrarian revolution can only be carried through under the leadership of the proletariat.

History will show that the prognostications of British Imperialism with regard to an almost indefinite period of rule over a subject India are as equally doomed to disappointment as all the other prognostications of the bourgeoisie, which have been based more on a teleological or wish-is-father-to-the-thought conception of developments than on any really scientific analysis—a conception which is no accident but inevitable in the epoch of the general crisis and decline of capitalism.

Hoover, at the head of a super-optimist American Imperialism, went on prating of “endless prosperity” long after the Stock Exchange crash of last year heralded the emptiness of such a boast. English bank chairmen regularly at the commencement, year after year, spoke optimistically of a revival in trade until from very monotony they desisted. Super imperialism is ever the ideal, but never the fact, of capitalism. In this sense the Simon Report was already a historical document before it was even printed, dead in relation to the facts of to-day, superseded as it has been by the scientific march of events, by the developing Indian Revolution.

But let us see what these facts are. Let us first see how the “backwardness” of the Indian peasant has indeed been promoted by the “benefits” of British Imperialism.

Take first the benefits of “peace and security” which British imperialism by its conquest has conferred on the Indian peasantry. This attainment of peace, this security, was followed closely, as the Simon Report itself brazenly states, by scientific recording of all rights in land on which were based new assessments to land revenue. In return for peace and security the peasant was scientifically taxed. The continuance of peace and security has meant not only a land tax but a tax on every other available article of peasant consumption. Unfortunately, as the report states: “The self-sufficiency of the Indian villages has limited the scope of internal excises to a few articles such as salt, kerosene oil and alcoholic liquors, for which the rural areas are dependent on extraneous

supply.” The report admits the fact that the peasant pays “a substantial portion” of his means to the State. The benefits of 160 years of peace and security in advancing the backwardness of the peasantry are finally acclaimed in the following: “The low standard of living to which the mass of India’s population attain is one of the first things that strike a Western visitor the depth of poverty, the pervading presence of which cannot escape notice,” &c., &c.

Peace and security are thus merely the means to grind the peasant under a huge load of taxation.

Secondly, let us investigate those benefits of trade and communication with the outside world, the lack of which was given as the second reason for the backwardness of the Indian peasantry. The actual facts of this feature of British Imperialism’s benevolence are notorious. Many books exist showing how Indian village economy has been devastated by the importation of machine-made goods, how whole cities like Dacca have been depopulated. How the peasant economy, based as it was partly on tilling the soil and partly on handicraftsman ship, cut in half by the ruin of its handicrafts, has been forced back on the soil, abandoned and subjected to disease and famine. It is a fact that the compiler of one of the yearly post-war Government reports on “The Moral and Material Progress of India.” (what ponderous hypocrite invented this title?), felt himself justified in warning his masters that the process could not develop, as was the case with the “Industrial Revolution” here in Britain, so they should take steps to counteract the destruction of village economy by encouraging, of course along capitalist lines, the development of this village manufacture, e.g., by supplying electric power to handlooms. This contradictory development is in fact being undertaken, but it is manifestly only a palliative and cannot prevent the destructive effects of the competition of machine made goods on handicraftsman ship.

But the process of break up is developing in spite of all such warnings, at a faster and faster rate. For instance, calculations show that the population dependent on the handloom industry decreased in the period 1911-21 by some 33 per cent., while in the five-year period 1921-25 it decreased by 63 per cent, or roughly four times as fast as in the period 1911-21. This rate has probably not been maintained in the period since 1925 for a number of reasons.

The other side of the picture, the effects of the opening of the peasants’ agricultural products to the forces of the world market, is also disastrous. For obviously peasant growing rice in his village cannot follow the course of world markets, and, even if he did, cannot hold off selling for a better price as his resources do not allow it. The result is that he becomes a prey to the agent of the rice merchant or to the moneylender, or to both—they are often one and the same individual. The tremendous profits made out of commercialized agricultural crops bear witness to the fleecing of the peasantry.

But the third benefit which British imperialism professes to confer on the peasant, education, research, &c., and propaganda against all the traditional methods of Indian agriculture, and in particular against the breaking up of holdings, is the very tip-top height of hypocrisy: for the whole system of exploitation of the peasantry has the precise effect of increasing this breaking up or fragmentation of holdings as it is called.

Certain statistics were given before the 1927 Agricultural Commission showing how this process worked. One district in Bombay of over 1,000,000 acres was given which it was said was

“infinitely better off than many others.” The changes between 1917 and 1922 were as follows (Vol. II, Part I of Evidence, p.292).

Acreage Holdings	of	Number Holdings 1917	of in	Number Holdings 1922	of in	Percentage decrease.(-) or increase (+)
Under 5		6,272		6,446		+2.6
Between 5 and 15		17,909		19,130		+6.8
Between 15 and 25		11,908		12,018		+0.9
Between 25 and 100		15,532		15,020		-3.3
Between 100 and 500		1,234		1,117		-9.5
Over 500		20		19		-5.3

The witness—a Government official in his own comment on these tables says:—

These figures referring only to a period of five years appear to me to show a very marked increase in the number of agriculturists cultivating holdings up to 15 acres, which except in a very few soils is not an area which can economically employ a pair of bullocks.... There is also a drop in the holdings of 25-100 acres, which means a decrease in the comparatively substantial agriculturist class who can with luck lay by a little capital.

Here is shown the first stage of pauperization of the peasantry. A further table (quoted on p.76 of the same volume of the Agricultural Commission's Evidence) showed that in Bombay, to such an extent had this fragmentation of holdings developed that no less than 88 per cent. of the total number of holdings in the whole of the Bombay Presidency Province were not more than twenty-five acres in area, the vast majority of them being less even than fifteen acres and at least 48 per cent being less than five acres.

The meaning of this pauperization is seen when it is recalled that the other witness before this Commission quoted by us above, asserted that only holdings over fifteen acres, could economically employ two bullocks, From this will be seen the criminal absurdity of the remark made on p.18 of the Survey Volume of the Simon Report to the effect that: “The typical agriculturist is still the man who possesses a pair of bullocks and cultivates a few acres, with the assistance of his family and of occasional hired labour,” and this incidentally after suggesting on p.15 that no one could regard

himself “adequately informed” as to Indian rural life “until he has made some study of the survey made by the Agricultural Commission”—this same Agricultural Commission in which it is shown that the typical agriculturist of the Simon imperialist lackeys is an idle dream as regards fully half, if not three-quarters, of all the peasant holders of the Bombay province.

But this is not all; the pauperization of the peasantry has been, and is being, taken a stage further; one witness before the 1926 Currency Commission (Vol. IV of Minutes of Evidence, p.202) asserted that during the last two or three years, “on an increasing scale,” the agricultural owner through the falling in of mortgages had become merely a tenant occupier. A still further stage in the degradation of the peasant was borne witness to at the Agricultural Commission (Vol. VIII, Part 2, p.54.) “The tendency,” he said, “in the village now is for people to be partially cultivators and partially labourers....”

The final stage of complete expropriation is now attained for the majority of those dependent on the land. In 1882, 7½ millions of those engaged in agriculture were estimated to be “landless day labourers.” In 1921, the census gave 38 millions as the number of agricultural labourers and dependants. In 1927, N. M. Joshi, before the All India Trade Union Congress, estimated 25 millions to be the number of agricultural wage earners and 50 millions more to be partly working as wage earners on the land.

The typical agriculturist of the Simon Report, with a few acres and a pair of bullocks, becomes, before the cold light of facts, as mythical as the yeoman of legend with three acres and a cow. The typical agriculturalist is rather the peasant expropriated from his land by the exactions of Imperialism, but denied all alternative means of existence except the precarious income he can get from working as a day labourer in competition with the many millions of his fellows.

Thus the fragmentation of holdings is largely not consequent on any inheritance law or custom, but is due fundamentally to the over-pressure of the population forced back by British Imperialism on to the land.

The benefits of British Imperialism conferred on the peasantry can therefore be summed up as follows:—Taxed by the State to the hilt; rack-rented in other districts by an innumerable hierarchy of landlords; perpetually and ever deeper in debt to the money-lenders; driven from his land by mortgages, by forced sales, by competition of machine-made goods; forced by the Government to pay for large scale irrigation thus enabling only the richer peasant to survive; not only is the whole mass of peasantry being degraded to a tremendous degree, but the class differentiation on the land is becoming more pronounced. Millions are proletarianised; millions more have to eke out that subsistence from their tiny plots of land by hiring out their labour power. But a richer though a very small section, encouraged by the Government, if only by being hitherto exempted from income tax on their agricultural incomes, are themselves becoming petty landlords. If Indian industry was not distorted and hampered by the overriding aim of extracting the maximum of tribute from India, many of those who are being thus driven off the land would have become absorbed into industry. But in one way or another, in default of industrial development, they must get their living from the land.

Thus this general crisis of Indian agriculture, its culmination heralded by isolated risings in many different parts of India, and now reinforced by the present world economic crisis, which is particularly intense on the agrarian field, is now gathering momentum and is providing the basis on which an agrarian revolution is developing. The flowing tide of this revolution can in no way be finally checked or diverted by reforms.

The Simon Commission claims that any change in the immemorial traditional outlook of the peasantry must be “very slow indeed.” Slow indeed seemed the change in the immemorial traditional outlook of the Chinese peasant, but when the breaking point came in 1925, Peasant Leagues sprang into existence until by 1928 their membership had leapt up from 200,000 to 9,720,000—indeed a terrific advance.

It is, however, a historical fact that the peasantry as a class cannot themselves achieve a victorious revolution. They can make a war, they can revolt, but by themselves they cannot overthrow their oppressors. They must have allies, and not only allies but leaders. Two other classes might seem to be able to be their leaders: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Taking into account the relationship of class forces in India to-day, is there then the possibility of the bourgeoisie taking the lead in the agrarian revolution? Facts can only lead to a negative answer. The Indian bourgeoisie itself is proving incapable of carrying through its revolution. True it utters revolutionary phrases; true it calls for war to the death until independence is achieved; true it talks big about the total rejection of the Simon Report, an insult to the national cause, &c; true many of its leaders are now in the goals of the British imperialists: but true also is it that Gandhi, its leader, openly offered an alliance with the Viceroy to suppress “the violent revolutionary,” when he put forward his eleven points to the latter before opening his Civil Disobedience Campaign. But true also is it that this very Civil Disobedience Campaign, based as it is on non-violence, is a betrayal of the revolution. Gandhi leads the masses in order to behead them, gets arrested, at once to pose as a martyr and so create illusions as to his revolutionary zeal, and to avoid the struggle, openly carries on a campaign which involves mass arrests, thus openly abdicating the leadership of the demonstrations and mass movements set in motion by this campaign. Thus he seeks to disarm the revolution. Finally, we have the picture of Pandit Motilal Nehru as the present leader of the National Congress, in an interview reported in the *Daily Herald* of June 23 with regard to the terms which they would, agree to in order to facilitate the transference of “power from the British Administration in India to a responsible Indian Government,” expressing the following sentiments: “We must meet the British people in order to discuss these terms as nation to nation on an equal footing.” Not only does he show by this sentence the insincerity of the struggle that the Congress professed to be carrying on against imperialism but by the assumption that British Imperialism will voluntarily regard India as its equal he creates illusions as to the nature of the rule of the financial oligarchy of British Imperialism over the whole of India.

But the determining fact showing the incapability of the Indian bourgeoisie to lead the agrarian revolution is that their class struggle with the proletariat has now developed so far that the bourgeoisie themselves are increasingly needing an ally to suppress the tide of working-class revolt, to assist them to make certain of their profits from the exploitation of the Indian working class. They therefore are more and more becoming closely bound up with the landowning class, who themselves are the chief agents of British Imperialism in India. Their repeated vacillations with regard to fulfilling their promise of a no-tax campaign coupled finally with a half-hearted call to resist the payment of the Government land revenue only; the omission of all mention of demands for the reduction in rents as distinct from land revenue, or for the cancellation or reduction of peasant indebtedness in the eleven points put forward by Gandhi to the Viceroy clearly prove that the nationalists’ class sympathies are already with the landowners rather than the peasantry.

But it is quite other with the proletariat. They are the only class which has nothing to lose but everything to gain from the Indian revolution. They are the only class which can lead the peasantry, can achieve in co-operation with the peasantry the aims of the Agrarian Revolution, can, if drawing in the reserves of the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the expropriated artisans, and the

revolutionary intelligentsia, carry on that All India revolutionary emancipatory struggle for freedom from the yoke of British imperialism and for the achievement of the aims of the bourgeois democratic revolution so ignominiously abandoned by the Indian bourgeoisie. Then by wielding power in co-operation with the peasantry in the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, they can march forward towards the social revolution.

That this perspective is no idle dream, but is being daily confirmed by facts, is shown on the one hand, for instance, by the acknowledgement of the leadership of the proletariat by the Peshawar peasant tribesmen in the adoption of the insignia, of the first Workers' Dictatorship, and of certain though still unclear and confused use of proletarian ideas; by the constantly increasing use of proletarian slogans in the mass demonstrations now transcending the defeatism of the national reformists, the Indian bourgeoisie; in the open acknowledgement of the spread of Communism and the fear of the party of violence by these same bourgeoisie; and finally in the obviously leading part taken by the proletariat in the attempted seizure of power at Sholapur; on the other hand by the tremendous importance obviously attached by the British imperialists to the trial of the Meerut prisoners if only to prevent them finally exposing the national reformist betrayal of the Indian Revolution by themselves consolidating its leadership in the hands of the proletariat.

To insure above all that this leadership is finally consolidated is in fact the central and most urgent task of the Indian proletariat—to organize a strong revolutionary party to act as the vanguard of the proletarian hegemony in the Indian revolution.

Gender and Family

Family Ideals

In India, people learn the essential themes of cultural life within the bosom of a family. In most of the country, the basic units of society are the patrilineal family unit and wider kinship groupings. The most widely desired residential unit is the joint family, ideally consisting of three or four patrilineally related generations, all living less than one roof, working, eating, worshipping, and cooperating together in mutually beneficial social and economic activities. Patrilineal joint families include men related through the male line, along with their wives and children. Most young women expect to live with their husband's relatives after marriage, but they retain important bonds with their natal families.

Despite the continuous and growing impact of urbanization, secularization, and Westernization, the traditional joint household, both in ideal and in practice, remains the primary social force in the lives of most Indians. Loyalty to family is a deeply held ideal for almost everyone.

Large families tend to be flexible and well-suited to modern Indian life, especially for the 67% of Indians who are farmers or agricultural workers or work in related activities. As in most primarily agricultural societies, few individuals can hope to achieve economic security without being part of a cooperating group of kinsmen. The joint family is also common in cities, where kinship ties can be crucial to obtaining scarce jobs or financial assistance. Numerous prominent Indian families, such as the Tatas, Birlas, and Sarabhais, retain joint family arrangements even as they work together to control some of the country's largest financial empires.

The joint family is an ancient Indian institution, but it has undergone some change in the late 20th century. Although several generations living together is the ideal, actual living arrangements vary widely depending on region, social status, and economic circumstance. Many Indians live in joint families that deviate in various ways from the ideal, and many live in nuclear families--a couple with their unmarried children--as is the most common pattern in the West. However, even where the ideal joint family is seldom found (as, for example, in certain regions and among impoverished agricultural laborers and urban squatters), there are often strong networks of kinship ties through which economic assistance and other benefits are obtained. Not infrequently, clusters of relatives live very near each other, easily available to respond to the give and take of kinship obligations. Even when relatives cannot actually live in close proximity, they typically maintain strong bonds of kinship and attempt to provide each other with economic help, emotional support, and other benefits.

As joint families grow ever larger, they inevitably divide into smaller units, passing through a predictable cycle over time. The breakup of a joint family into smaller units does not necessarily represent the rejection of the joint family ideal. Rather, it is usually a response to a variety of conditions, including the need for some members to move from village to city, or from one city to another to take advantage of employment opportunities. Splitting of the family is often blamed on quarrelling women--typically, the wives of co resident brothers. Although women's disputes may, in fact, lead to family division, men's disagreements do so as well. Despite cultural ideals of brotherly harmony, adult brothers frequently quarrel over land and other matters, leading them to decide to live under separate roofs and divide their property. Frequently, a large joint family divides after the demise of elderly parents, when there is no longer a single authority figure to hold the family factions together. After division, each new residential unit, in its turn, usually becomes joint when sons of the family marry and bring their wives to live in the family home.

Variations in Family Structure

Some family types bear special mention because of their unique qualities. In the sub-Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh, polygyny is commonly practiced. There, among Hindus, a simple polygynous family is composed of a man, his two wives, and their unmarried children. Various other family types occur there, including the supplemented sub polygynous household--a woman whose husband lives elsewhere (perhaps with his other wife), her children, plus other adult relatives. Polygyny is also practiced in other parts of India by a tiny minority of the population, especially in families in which the first wife has not been able to bear children.

Among the Buddhist people of the mountainous Ladakh District of Jammu and Kashmir, who have cultural ties to Tibet, fraternal polyandry is practiced, and a household may include a set of brothers with their common wife or wives. This family type, in which brothers also share land, is almost certainly linked to the extreme scarcity of cultivable land in the Himalayan region, because it discourages fragmentation of holdings.

The peoples of the northeastern hill areas are known for their matriliney, tracing descent and inheritance in the female line rather than the male line. One of the largest of these groups, the Khasis--an ethnic or tribal people in the state of Meghalaya--is divided into matrilineal clans; the youngest daughter receives almost all of the inheritance including the house. A Khasi husband goes to live in his wife's house. Khasis, many of whom have become Christian, have the highest literacy

rate in India, and Khasi women maintain notable authority in the family and community.

Perhaps the best known of India's unusual family types is the traditional Nayar *taravad*, or great house. The Nayars are a cluster of castes in Kerala. High-ranking and prosperous, the Nayars maintained matrilineal households in which sisters and brothers and their children were the permanent residents. After an official prepuberty marriage, each woman received a series of visiting husbands in her room in the *taravad* at night. Her children were all legitimate members of the *taravad*. Property, matrilineally inherited, was managed by the eldest brother of the senior woman. This system, the focus of much anthropological interest, has been disintegrating in the 20th century and in the 1990s probably fewer than 5 percent of the Nayars live in matrilineal *taravads*. Like the Khasis, Nayar women are known for being well-educated and powerful within the family.

Malabar rite Christians, an ancient community in Kerala, adopted many practices of their powerful Nayar neighbors, including naming their sons for matrilineal forebears. Their kinship system, however, is patrilineal. Kerala Christians have a very high literacy rate, as do most Indian Christian groups.

Large Kinship Groups

In most of Hindu India, people belong not only to co resident family groups but to larger aggregates of kin as well. Subsuming the family is the patrilineage (known in northern and central India as the *khandan*, *kutumb*, or *kul*), a locally based set of males who trace their ancestry to a common progenitor a few generations back, plus their wives and unmarried daughters. Larger than the patrilineage is the clan, commonly known as the *gotra* or *got*, a much larger group of patrilineally related males and their wives and daughters, who often trace common ancestry to a mythological figure. In some regions, particularly among the high-ranking Rajputs of western India, clans are hierarchically ordered. Some people also claim membership in larger, more amorphous groupings known as *vansh* and *sakha*.

Hindu lineages and clans are strictly exogamous--that is, a person may not marry or have a sexual alliance with a member of his own lineage or clan; such an arrangement would be considered incestuous. In North India, rules further prohibit marriage between a person and his mother's lineage members as well. Among some high-ranking castes of the north, exogamy is also extended to the mother's, father's mothers, and mother's mother's clans. In contrast, in South India, marriage to a member of the mother's kin group is often encouraged.

Muslims also recognize kinship groupings larger than the family. These include the *khandan*, or patrilineage, and the *azizdar*, or kindred. The *azizdar* group differs slightly for each individual and includes all relatives linked to a person by blood or marriage. Muslims throughout India encourage marriage within the lineage and kindred, and marriages between the children of siblings are common.

Within a village or urban neighborhood, members of a lineage recognize their kinship in a variety of ways. Mutual assistance in daily work, in emergencies, and in factional struggles is expected. For Hindus, cooperation in specific annual rituals helps define the kin group. For example, in many areas, at the worship of the goddess deemed responsible for the welfare of the lineage, patrilineally related males and their wives join in the rites and consume specially consecrated fried breads or other foods. Unmarried daughters of the lineage are only spectators at

the rites and do not share in the special foods. Upon marriage, a woman becomes a member of her husband's lineage and then participates regularly in the worship of her husband's lineage goddess. Lineage bonds are also evident at life-cycle observances, when kin join together in celebrating births, marriages, and religious initiations. Upon the death of a lineage member, other lineage members observe ritual death pollution rules for a prescribed number of days and carry out appropriate funeral rites and feasts.

For some castes, especially in the north, careful records of lineage ties are kept by a professional genealogist, a member of a caste whose traditional task is maintaining genealogical tomes. These itinerant bards make their rounds from village to village over the course of a year or more, recording births, deaths, and glorious accomplishments of the patrilineal descent group. These genealogical services have been especially crucial among Rajputs, Jats, and similar groups whose lineages own land and where power can depend on fine calculations of pedigree and inheritance rights.

Some important kinship linkages are not traced through men but through women. These linkages involve those related to an individual by blood and marriage through a mother, married sisters, or married daughters, and for a man, through his wife. Anthropologist David Mandelbaum has termed these "feminal kin." Key relationships are those between a brother and sister, parents and daughters, and a person and his or her mother's brother. Through bonds with these close kin, a person has links with several households and lineages in many settlements. Throughout most of India, there are continuous visits--some of which may last for months and include the exchange of gifts at visits, life-cycle rites, and holidays, and many other key interactions between such relatives. These relationships are often characterized by deep affection and willingly offered support.

These ties cut across the countryside, linking each person with kin in villages and towns near and far. Almost everywhere a villager goes--especially in the north, where marriage networks cover wide distances--he can find some kind of relative. Moral support, a place to stay, economic assistance, and political backing are all available through these kinship networks.

The multitude of kinship ties is further extended through the device of fictive kinship. Residents of a single village usually use kinship terms for one another, and especially strong ties of fictive kinship can be ceremonially created with fellow religious initiates or fellow pilgrims of one's village or neighborhood. In the villages and cities of the north, on the festival of Raksha Bandhan (the Tying of the Protective Thread, during which sisters tie sacred threads on their brothers' wrists to symbolize the continuing bond between them), a female may tie a thread on the wrist of an otherwise unrelated male and "make him her brother." Fictive kinship bonds cut across caste and class lines and involve obligations of hospitality, gift-giving, and variable levels of cooperation and assistance.

Neighbors and friends may also create fictive kinship ties by informal agreement. Actually, any strong friendship between otherwise unrelated people is typically imbued with kinship-like qualities. In such friendships, kinship terms are adopted for address, and the give and take of kinship may develop. Such bonds commonly evolve between neighbors in urban apartment buildings, between special friends at school, and between close associates at work. The use of kinship terms enhances affection in the relationship. In Gujarat, personal names usually include the word for "sister" and "brother," so that the use of someone's personal name automatically sounds affectionate and caring.

Family Authority and Harmony

In the Indian household, lines of hierarchy and authority are clearly drawn, shaping structurally and psychologically complex family relationships. Ideals of conduct are aimed at creating and maintaining family harmony.

All family members are socialized to accept the authority of those ranked above them in the hierarchy. In general, elders rank above juniors, and among people of similar age, males outrank females. Daughters of a family command the formal respect of their brothers' wives, and the mother of a household is in charge of her daughters-in-law. Among adults in a joint family, a newly arrived daughter-in-law has the least authority. Males learn to command others within the household but expect to accept the direction of senior males. Ideally, even a mature adult man living in his father's household acknowledges his father's authority on both minor and major matters. Women are especially strongly socialized to accept a position subservient to males, to control their sexual impulses, and to subordinate their personal preferences to the needs of the family and kin group. Reciprocally, those in authority accept responsibility for meeting the needs of others in the family group.

There is tremendous emphasis on the unity of the family grouping, especially as differentiated from persons outside the kinship circle. Internally, efforts are made to deemphasize ties between spouses and between parents and their own children in order to enhance a wider sense of harmony within the entire household. Husbands and wives are discouraged from openly displaying affection for one another, and in strictly traditional households, they may not even properly speak to one another in the presence of anyone else, even their own children. Young parents are inhibited by "shame" from ostentatiously dandling their own young children but are encouraged to play with the children of siblings.

Psychologically, family members feel an intense emotional interdependence with each other and the family as an almost organic unit. Ego boundaries are permeable to others in the family, and any notion of a separate self is often dominated by a sense of what psychoanalyst Alan Roland has termed a more inclusive "familial self." Interpersonal empathy, closeness, loyalty, and interdependency are all crucial to life within the family.

Family resources, particularly land or businesses, have traditionally been controlled by family males, especially in high-status groups. Customarily, according to traditional schools of Hindu law, women did not inherit land or buildings and were thus beholden to their male kin who controlled these vital resources. Under Muslim customary law, women are entitled to inherit real estate and often do so, but their shares have typically been smaller than those of similarly situated males. Under modern law, all Indian women can inherit land.

Matrilineal Descent & Patrilineal Descent

Matrilineal societies are societies in which descent is traced through mothers rather than through fathers. In matrilineal societies, property is often passed from mothers to daughters and the custom of matrilocal residence may be practiced. In matrilineal societies, the descendants of men are their sister's children and not their own, who belong to their mother's matrilineage. Matrilineage is sometimes associated with polyandry or group marriage where women have a variety of sexual partners and lines of male descent are uncertain.

Ancient societies are known to have recognized matrilineal descent. Matriliney is not the mirror image of patriliney. Matrilineal societies differ from both patrilineal and bilateral societies in that the institution of marriage tends to be, relatively weak.

In a gerontocratic matrilineal society, women's influence and prestige tended to increase with age and were usually expressed in informal settings, although there were offices of formalized informality such as "mothers" of matrilineages. Matriliney required the subordination of marriage and conjugal duties to loyalty to and participation in the descent group. This, combined with economic activities, farming, artisan work, and trading, gave women considerable independence. Women (like elders) had prestige in the matrilineal home town, where black stools symbolized the "seat of power." In a matrilineal society, women generally have a greater autonomy in terms of sexuality and reproduction than their counterparts in male dominated societies. The woman in a matrilineal society represents the clan and her children carry on the name of her clan.

Patrilineal Descent is a system in which family descent is reckoned through the blood links of males. Typically names and property follow the male line of descent. A man's descendants are his own children, and women are little recognized as ancestors.

CULTURE

Culture-Definition

Broadly, it is a social heritage of a group (organized community or society). It is a pattern of responses discovered, developed, or invented during the group's history of handling problems which arise from interactions among its members, and between them and their environment. These responses are considered the correct way to perceive, feel, think, and act, and are passed on to the new members through immersion and teaching. Culture determines what is acceptable or unacceptable, important or unimportant, right or wrong, workable or unworkable. It encompasses all learned and shared, explicit or tacit, assumptions, beliefs, knowledge, norms, and values, as well as attitudes, behavior, dress, and language.

Popular Festivals in India

Being a highly spiritual country, festivals are at the heart of people's lives in India. The numerous and varied festivals that are held throughout the year offer a unique way of seeing Indian culture at its best. The following popular festivals in India will provide you with a truly memorable experience.

1. Diwali

One of the grandest festivals celebrated across the world is Diwali. It is celebrated all over India with equal enthusiasm and zeal. The festival symbolizes the victory of good over evil, and lamps are lit as a sign of celebration and hope for mankind. Diwali is the corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Deepavali', which means 'rows of lights'. It usually falls in month of October-November. According to the Hindu calendar, it is celebrated in the last days of Ashvina and at the beginning of Kartika, exactly twenty days after Dussehra. It is celebrated to honour the return of Rama and Sita to their kingdom of Ayodhya, after fourteen years of exile. It is a composite

festival, which includes other small festivals as well. There are few popular legends associated with Diwali and different parts of India have their version to explain.

- ☐ Some believe it to be the celebration of the marriage of Lakshmi with Lord Vishnu.
- ☐ In Bengal, the festival is dedicated to the worship of Mother Kali, the goddess of strength.
- ☐ In Jainism, Deepawali has an added significance to the great event of Lord Mahavira attaining the eternal bliss of nirvana.

It is a five day festival

First day

☐ **Dhanteras:**

Dhan means "wealth" and teras means 13th day. Thus, as the name implies, this day falls on the 13th day of the first half of the lunar month. It is a belief that, Goddess Lakshmi, an opulent goddess, fulfills all the wishes of her devotees who worship her on this day. A very interesting story about this day is of the sixteen-year-old son of King Hima. As per his horoscope, he was doomed to die by a snake-bite on the fourth day of his marriage. On that particular fourth day of his marriage, his young wife did not allow him to sleep. She laid all the ornaments and many gold and silver coins in a big heap at the entrance of her husband's room and lighted innumerable lamps all over the place. Then, she went on telling stories and singing songs. When Yam, the god of Death, arrived there in the guise of a Serpent, he was blinded by the dazzle of brilliant lights and he could not enter the Prince's chamber. So, he climbed on top of the heap of the ornaments and coins and sat there whole night listening to the melodious songs. In the morning, he quietly went away.

Thus, the young wife saved her husband from the clutches of death. Since then, this day of Dhanteras came to be known as the day of "Yamadeepan" and lamps are kept burning throughout the night in reverential adoration to Yam, the god of Death.

Second Day

☐ **Naraka Chaturdesi:**

On this day, it is believed, that the demon Naraka was defeated and vanquished by Divine Lord Krishna. This day is also called Chhoti Diwali or Chopda Puja or Kali Chaudas. The story goes that the demon king Narakasur, ruler of Pragjyotishpur (a province to the South of Nepal), defeated Lord Indra. He had also snatched away the magnificent earrings of Aditi, the Mother Goddess and imprisoned sixteen thousand daughters of the gods and saints in his harem. On the day previous to the Narakachaturdashi, Lord Krishna killed the demon and liberated the imprisoned damsels and also recovered those precious earrings of Aditi. As a symbol of that victory, Lord Krishna smeared his forehead with the demon king's blood. Krishna returned home in the very early morning of the Narakachaturdashi day. The womenfolk massaged scented oil to his body and gave him a good bath to wash away the filth from his body.

Since then, the custom of taking bath before sunrise on this day has become a traditional practice, especially in Maharashtra. On the previous day of the Naraka Chaturdashi, people offer prayers to the vessel in which water is being heated for bath. Hindus light fireworks, which is regarded as the model of Narakasura who was killed on this day. Naraka is personified as Hell. He is assumed as the monsoon which deluges the countryside with excessive rain. The death of Narakasura signifies the end of monsoon; and Diwali is the celebration of this event.

Another legend is about King Bali, son of Virochan and grandson of Prahlada, the nether world mighty power. By his sacrifice and valour, he became very powerful and gained dominion over the three worlds - the Heaven, the Earth and the Hell. Indra, the king of celestials was deprived of his abode. Indra and the gods propitiated Lord Vishnu (the Preserver god of the trio of gods of the Hindu pantheon). They pleaded to him for their rescue, as there was danger of the three worlds being overrun by the asuras. Vishnu agreed to help them.

The asura (demon) king was very pious and generous. Though an asura, he liked acts of kindness. He was very generous and his fame for generosity was widespread. Anyone coming to the king with his wishes was never returned empty-handed. But, it was not easy to kill Bali because he was one of the staunch devotees of Vishnu. In order to curb his powers, Lord Vishnu was born as Vamana, a dwarf, in the house of a Brahmin called Kashyap. Bali had arranged a yajna (sacrificial fire) and Vishnu, as a dwarf, went to the sacrifice and begged for alms. King Bali asked for his wishes. Vamana asked for space equal to three of his strides. Bali thought of it as a rather strange wish and insisted Vamana to ask for something else and something more. However, Vamana told him that he needed just that amount of land, nothing more and nothing less than that. Bali agreed and took some water in his right hand and passed it to the Vamana's right palm, and ordered the wish to be granted.

With this, the Vamana grew in size and took his first step. His foot covered the Heaven. He now raised the other leg and said, "With the second, I take away the earth." By now, King Bali had realized that it was Lord Vishnu in the guise of the Vamana. After the second, stride there was no space left for his third stride. Then, the Vamana asked, "Where should I keep the last step, to have my wish fulfilled?" Bali, the king of asuras surrendered and said with absolute humility, "Lord, keep your foot on my head because it is the most valuable to me than all of my possessions."

Vishnu lifted his foot and pushed Bali to the Patallok (underworld or nether regions). Impressed by Bali's generosity, Lord Vishnu gave him the lamp of knowledge. He was allowed to return to earth once a year to light millions of lamps to drive away the darkness and ignorance and spread the light of love and wisdom. In this form, Vishnu is called Trivikram and is shown in black or gold colour with one leg raised. The three strides of Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation are believed to be the rising, the culmination and the setting of the sun.

In ancient times, the festival of Bali was celebrated on the first day of bright half of Kartika, the day following Diwali. In South India, the story widely associated with this day of Diwali is that of Narasimha, the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu. According to a legend, Hiranyakshipu was an evil demon king. He was unjust and cruel to his people. However, he was almost invincible. He had received a boon from Brahma that he would be killed neither by beast nor man and nor by any God, neither inside nor outside, neither during the day nor at night, neither by any weapon,

nor by any natural cause, neither on land nor in space and neither by fire nor by water. When his atrocities became unbearable, the gods sought Vishnu's help. Lord Vishnu appeared in the form of Narasimha, the man-lion. Lord Vishnu, in this fifth incarnation, killed Hiranyakshipu with his claws on the threshold of his palace, just before daybreak, hence steering clear of the boundaries of the boon. Kerala is probably, the only state in India where even Hindus do not celebrate Diwali. The major festival there is Onam. In West Bengal, Kali Puja is performed on Diwali. It is believed that on this day Kali killed the wicked Raktavija. In Hindu mythology, the Skanda, the guardian of heaven, destroyed many demons who were against the rule of Gods. He, along with other gods, could not kill the demon Raktabija. Raktabija's each drop of blood transformed into another demon when it touched the ground. Within a few minutes of attacking this asura (demon) with their weapons, the gods would find the entire battlefield covered with millions of demon clones. In despair, the gods went to Shiva. But, Shiva was lost in meditation, so they turned to his consort Parvati. The goddess immediately set out to fight this dreaded demon in the form of Kali. She rode into the battleground on her lion, and Raktabija experienced fear for the first time in his demonic heart. Kali ordered the gods to attack Raktabija. She then spread her tongue to cover the battlefield. This prevented even a single drop of Raktabija's blood from falling on the ground. Thus, Raktabija could not reproduce demons. Drunk on Raktabija's blood, Kali ran across the cosmos killing anyone who dared cross her path. She adorned herself with the heads, limbs and innards of her victims. To pacify her, Shiva threw himself under her feet. This stopped the goddess. She calmed down, embraced her husband, and shed her ferocious form.

Third Day

Diwali The actual day of Diwali, is celebrated on the third day of the festival, when the moon completely wanes and total darkness sets in the night sky. Diwali is the day when Rama's coronation was celebrated in Ayodhya after his epic war with Ravana, the demon king of Lanka. Ayodhya and Mithila, the kingdom of which Sita was princess, and many other cities bordering these kingdoms were lit up with rows of lamps, glittering on dark nights to welcome home the divine king Rama and his queen Sita after 14 years of exile, ending with an across-the-seas war in which the whole of the kingdom of Lanka was destroyed.

It is believed that the people lit oil lamps along the way to light their path in the darkness. Every house in Ayodhya was illuminated to welcome Him. The illuminations symbolize the removal of spiritual darkness from the country and the expression of Ram Rajya, the rule of Rama. In North India, the festival is held on the final day of the Vikram Calendar. The following day marks the beginning of the North Indian New Year, and is called Annakut. According to Vishnu Bhagawatham, the devas and asuras churned the Milky Ocean to extract Amrut (nectar of immortality) from it. During the process Goddess Lakshmi was born of it. Attracted by the beauty and form of the Goddess all groups offered their best possessions as their gift. This day is celebrated as Diwali.

After this, was held the occasion of her Swayamvar (A marriage ceremony when a young woman chooses one person from among the gathered prospective grooms). All people present then offered themselves as suitors for the Goddess who was free to choose. Born wise, Goddess Lakshmi weighed the nature of each group and finally selected Lord Vishnu to the surprise of all. She found Rishis had enough Thapas (penance) but had little control over their anger. Chandra was beautiful and handsome but had a mind full of lust. Indra though a King of heavens and had

everything, had unfulfilled desires (greed). But, Lord Vishnu was contented, calm and serene, with no desires. She decided he would provide her utmost safety. Lord Vishnu also gave her the best spot of his Vakshathala -chest. From that position she could see Lord's face all times. It is said that the Lord's kindness, compassion, easily approachable quality, and mercy are always there due to Goddess Lakshmi. This event too adds to the importance of Diwali. During the Deepawali day, people follow the tradition of gambling. There is a tale associated behind gambling. There is a prominent belief that Goddess Parvati played dice with her husband, Lord Shiva, and ordained that any person on earth who will gamble on Diwali night will flourish throughout the following year. This tradition of playing cards- flush and rummy with stakes on this particular day continues even to-day.

On this day, Lord Shri Krishna discarded his body. The entire story of our great epic, Mahabharat, is centered around Lord Krishna. He is the philosopher, who preached Karmayog through his Geeta to Arjun on the battlefield of Kurukshetra. One very interesting story about this Diwali day is from Kathopanishad. It is a story of a small boy called Nichiketa who believed that Yam, the god of Death was as black as the dark night of Amavasya. But, when he met Yam in person he was confused seeing Yam's calm countenance and dignified stature. Yam explained to Nichiketa on this Diwali day of Amavasya that man sees the light of highest wisdom only when he passes through the darkness of death and then only his soul can escape from the cage of his mortal frame to merge with the Supreme Power without whose will not a ton moves in the world. And then, Nichiketa realised the importance of worldly life and significance of death. Nichiketa's all doubts were set at rest and he whole-heartedly participated in Diwali celebrations.

The full moon day in Kartik, the first month of the Indian calendar, brings in the festival of Dev Diwali. For the Jains, it is the day of 'Nirvana' of Lord Mahavira, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara. Lord Mahavira attained Nirvana at Pavapuri. They worship Mahavira on this day, Agams (Jain holy books) are read and homes and temples are illuminated. Lamps are lit under the moonlight sky and a family feast celebrates this day.

Thousands of Jain pilgrims from all over India visit the sacred Mount Girnar in Gujarat. Special celebrations are held on this day. It is said that the first scriptural reference to Diwali is found in the Jain scripture, Harivamsha Purana, by Acharya Jinasena. None of the principal Hindu scriptures mention the festival in particular. This has made some people to believe, that Diwali was originally a Jain festival and later adopted by Hindus as a festival of their own.

According to Jain legends, the first disciple of Mahavira, Ganadhar Gautam Swami, also attained complete knowledge on this very day. Thus, Diwali is a really special occasion for the Jains. The Jains celebrate Diwali in a different way. There is a note of asceticism in what ever the Jains do and the celebration of Diwali is not an exception. The Jains celebrate Diwali during the month of Kartik for three days. During this period, devoted Jains observe fasting and chant the Uttaradhyayan Sutra which contain the final pravachans of Lord Mahavira and meditate upon him.

Swami Ramtirth, the beloved "Ram Badshah" of millions of Indians was not only born on this day and took "Sanyas" but also took "Samadhi" on this day. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, founder of Brahma-Samaj, with his superb yogic powers freed his soul from his body and became one with divinity on this auspicious day of Diwali.

Fourth day

□ Padwa:

Padwa, is the beginning of the New Year. As the name suggests, this day is celebrated as the New Year's day amongst Hindus. People visit temples and elderly people to seek their blessings and good wishes so that new year passes with ease. This day is celebrated in commemoration of the lifting of Mount Govardhan by Krishna. According to a legend, before Krishna was born, Indra, the Rain God, was the chief deity of Braj. Then, Krishna urged the people of Braj to stop worshipping Indra. Indra wanted to show his power over Krishna and flooded the countryside for many days. People were afraid of the non-stop rain and feared that it was the result of their disregard to Indra worship. But, Krishna assured them protection from any harm. He lifted the Govardhan mountain with his little finger and shielded them from the rain. This gave him the epithet Govardhandhari. Then, Indra accepted the supremacy of Krishna.

Fifth Day

Bhaubeej:

On this day, brothers and sisters meet to express their love and affection for each other. The legends goes that Lord Yamraj, the God of Death, visited his sister Yamuna on the 'Shukla Paksha Dwitiya' day in the Hindi month of 'Kartik'. When Yamraj reached Yamuna's home his arrival was celebrated in a special way. His sister welcomed Him by performing his aarti, applying 'Tilak' on his forehead and by putting a garland around His neck. Yamuna also cooked varieties of dishes and prepared lots of sweets for her brother and offered all those to Him. Lord Yamraj ate all those delicious dishes and when He was finished He blessed Yamuna and gave her a boon that if a brother visits his sister on this day he would be blessed with health and wealth. This is why, this day of Bhayya Duj is also known by the name of 'Yam-Dwitiya'.

And thus, it has become a tradition that on the day of Bhai-Dooj brothers visits their sisters' home and offers them gifts. Sisters also make various dishes for their brothers and also give gifts to them and wish for their long life, health and prosperity. Another legend is that of Lord Krishna and his sister, Subhadra. After destroying Narakasur, Lord Krishna went to his sister. Subhadra welcomed her winner brother in the traditional way by performing His 'aarti', flowers and sweet and applied a holy 'Tilak' on His forehead. This day gained importance as a celebration of the relationship between a brother and sister.

One more story behind the celebrations of Bhai-Duj is that when Bhagwan Mahavir attained 'Nirvana', his brother Raja Nandi-Vardhan became very sad. He missed Bhagwaan Mahavir very badly. Then, it was his sister Sudarshana, who comforted him. Since then, women have been revered during this festival. This day helps to strengthen the ties between brothers and sisters.

Celebrations & Significance

□ Diwali is celebrated whole-heartedly by Hindus all over. Everybody in his own way celebrates Diwali. Lighting up entire house, decorating it, making rangolis outside the porch of the house,

shopping for new clothes, bursting crackers distributing sweets are the spirits tagged to Diwali. The North Indian business community usually starts their financial new year on Diwali and new account books are opened on this day.

□ To add to the festival of Diwali, fairs called Melas are held throughout India. A mela generally becomes a market day in the countryside. There are plenty of activities that take place at a mela. These activities include performances from jugglers, acrobats, snake charmers and fortune tellers. Food stalls, selling sweet and spicy foods, are set up. A variety of rides are present during the fair.

□ This festival is quite popular with the kids as they get to buy new clothes, can have tempting delicacies and burst loads of crackers.

□ The first day of Diwali, Dhanteras, is celebrated in honour of Dhanwantari the physician of Gods. He is believed to be a minor incarnation of Vishnu and arose out of the ocean of Milk, carrying pot of Amrita, the drink of immortality. He is considered the father of the Indian system of medicine called Ayurveda. Dhanteras is part of Deepawali celebrations and not a festival on its own right. People bathe early in the morning. A fast is observed which is broken only after sunset, when the housewife lights an earthen lamp at the gate.

□ Small footprints are drawn with rice flour and vermilion powder all over the houses. This is a sign of arrival of Goddess Lakshmi, the Goddess of Fortune, Beauty, Prosperity and Wealth. Lamps are kept burning all through the nights during Diwali. Women believe this day to be auspicious and purchase some gold or silver or at least one or two new utensils. "Lakshmi-Puja" is performed in the evenings when tiny diyas (lamps) are lighted in a small clay vessel to drive away the shadows of evil spirits. "Bhajans"-devotional songs- in praise of Goddess Laxmi are sung and "Naivedya" (offering of food) of traditional sweets is offered to the Goddess. There is a peculiar custom in Maharashtra to lightly crush dry coriander seeds with jaggery and offer it as Naivedya.

□ On the second day, Narak Chaturdashi, the sun enters his second course and passes Libra which is represented by the balance or scale. Hence, this design of Libra is believed to have suggested the balancing of account books and their closing. Though, this day falls on an Amavasya day it is regarded as the most auspicious.

□ This day also called, Chhoti Deepawali -minor Deepawali- when after puja(worship) five lamps are lit at five strategic places in the house: the gateway, the barn, the well, the peepul tree and the kitchen. Traditionally, these lamps are of earthenware, filled with clarified butter into which cotton wicks are immersed. These days oil or wax is used instead of clarified butter. Nowadays, more people prefer candles to earthen lamps.

□ In South India, the victory of good is celebrated in a peculiar way. People wake up before sunrise; prepare blood by mixing Kumkum in oil. Then, break a bitter fruit that represents the head of the demon King that was smashed by Krishna. After this, they apply the mixture of kumkum on their foreheads. Then, they have an oil bath using sandalwood paste.

□ In Maharashtra also, traditional early baths with oil and "Uptan" (paste) of gram flour and fragrant powders are a 'must'. All through the ritual of baths, deafening sounds of crackers and fireworks can be heard. Children enjoy these sounds while bathing. Afterwards, steamed

vermicelli with milk and sugar or puffed rice with curd is served. Deepawali is celebrated on the darkest night of the month. The houses, shops, places of work etc., are lit through the night, lest Lakshmi turn her back on the house that is dark. Since she will not enter a dirty place, the houses or the place of work is thoroughly washed and cleaned. Lakshmi has an elder sister called Jyeshtha Devi, who loves squalor and dark and dingy corners. There is an understanding between the two sisters that either will not enter a house if the other is present.

□ This custom of washing the houses may have started in ancient times when people realized that the rains following the hot summer made the houses unairy and damp and led to the growth of germs. The germs were killed by washing the houses with lime water.

□ In the olden days in South India, Deepavali was once called as 'Kaumudi Mahostavam'. The kings used to supervise the festivities of Diwali during the nights. People eat black gram leaves, and other such customs are followed since those days. Lamps are distributed. Women bring out their household weapons like dustpans, mops, etc, late in the night to drive away 'Jyesthadevi', the Goddess of penury.

□ It is believed that on Amavasya (no moon day), Goddess Lakshmi is present in sesame oil, and Gangadevi (Goddess of river Ganga) is present in all wells, lakes, and ponds. Sesame oil is used for taking bath.

□ This day is the most important and eagerly-awaited part of the Diwali celebrations. After bathing, people receive new clothes and gifts from their elders. They wear these new clothes and then, the family prays to Vishnu for its well-being and prosperity. After the prayers, the main celebrations start. People burst crackers and light candles. This is known as atishbaji. References to the word "atishbaji" or "crackers" are found even in ancient literature. According to one belief, the sound that resounds throughout the universe makes all aware of the great homecoming of Rama. At day break, all celebrations end. People then visit friends and relatives and exchange sweets.

□ Yama is worshiped facing the South. It is believed that this helps in preventing untimely death and in giving peace to the departed souls. In the evening, lamps are lightened almost everywhere in the town including the temples, hills, graveyards, etc.

□ On Deepawali night, first Lakshmi is worshipped and silver coins are offered to her. Clay figurines of Lakshmi, Vishnu and other gods are also worshipped. Lamps are placed on the roofs, along the walls, at the doorways. The entire house is brightened with lights. The lamps are also meant to welcome the souls of the departed ancestors who are believed to visit the family on Deepawali night. The lighting of lamps on the night of Deepawali is important. Even when a family is mourning and no festivities take place, they light five lamps at strategic places in the house.

□ On this night, people play cards and gamble. It is the same custom as Dyutapratipada observed in ancient times on the Shukla pratipada (the first day of the bright half of Kartika). On this day, people used to gamble in the morning and believed that it would be a prosperous year, if one wins the game. The same tradition is followed and believed till today. Evenings were spent with friends and family.

- The day after Diwali is celebrated as Govardhan Puja. Mount Govardhan is a small hillock in Braj, near Mathura. On this day of Diwali, people of Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar build cow-dung, hillocks, decorate them with flowers and then worship them.
- This day is observed as Annakoot, meaning mountain of food. In temples specially in Mathura and Nathadwara, the deities are given milk-bath, dressed in shining attires with ornaments of dazzling diamonds, pearls, rubies and other precious stones. After the prayers and traditional worship, varieties of delicious sweets are ceremoniously raised in the form of a mountain before the deities as "Bhog" (the offering of food) and then the devotees take Prasad from the Mountain of Food.
- At homes, people stay awake the whole night and cook fifty-six different types of food as the bhog to Lord Krishna. The bhog is piled in the form of a mountain. Various types of food - cereals, pulses, fruit, vegetables, chutneys, pickles and salads - are offered to Lord Krishna. Then, this food is distributed as Prasad to the devotees.
- On this day, newly-married daughters with their husbands are invited for special meals and given presents. In olden days, brothers went to fetch their sisters from their in-laws' home for this important day.
- The word Padwa is analogous to the Sanskrit word for crop, which is Pradurbhu. Padava might be a corrupted form of the original word for "crop" which was used to term the new year festival. The term 'padwa' or 'padavo' is also associated with Diwali. It is another New Year celebration that comes at the end of the harvesting season. Thus, this validates the agricultural link to the festival.
- For Farmers, this is a festival marking the end of one Harvest and the beginning of another. Gudi Padava is also considered as a new year in some parts of India such as Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Andhra coming in the month of Chaitra (March-April).
- On this day, courtyards in village houses are clean and covered with fresh cow dung. Even in the city, people take the time out to do some cleaning. Women and children draw rangoli designs at their doorsteps. Everyone dresses up in new clothes and it is a time for family gatherings.
- This fourth day of Diwali falls on the first day of Karthik Masa of the Indian calendar. It is known as Varshapratipada or Pratipad Padwa. VarshaPratipada that is the coronation of King Vikramaditya and Vikaram-Samvat was started from this Padwa day. Business-men start new account books and every kind of transaction, receipt or payment and business is postponed. On this day, many people gamble. This day is considered as the most auspicious day to start any new venture.
- In many Hindu homes, the wife applies the red tilak on the forehead of her husband, garlands him and does his "Aarati" with a prayer for his long life. In appreciation of all the tender care that the wife showers on him, the husband gives her a costly gift. This Gudi Padwa is symbolic of love and devotion between the wife and husband. On this day, newly-married daughters with their husbands are invited for special meals and given presents.
- Bhaiya Duj is the last festival associated with Diwali. It is known as Tikka in punjab. In Vedic times, it was called Bhartri-dvitiya. It falls on the second day after Diwali i.e. on 'Shukla Paksha

Dwitiya` in the Hindi month of `Kartik`. `Dwitiya` means `Duj` or the second day after the new moon. It is known by different names such as `Bhai-Dooj` in north India, `Bhau-Bij` in Maharashtra, `Bhai-Phota` in Bengal and `Bhai-Teeka` in Nepal.

□ On this day, sisters observe fast till they apply auspicious Tilak or Teeka -saffron or vermilion and rice rains- to the forehead of their brothers. The tilak is applied to protect them from evil and to wish them long life and prosperity. They decorate a puja plate with chandan paste (sandal wood), kajal, morning dew, green grass and paddy seeds or dhan along with sweets, rice and coconut. Brothers sit on a carpet and sisters light puja lamp, utter some mantra, apply tilak of chandan/roli on the forehead, kajal and dew water with their little finger of left hand and give blessings with green grass and paddy seeds (dhan and durba). They perform Aarti of their brothers by showing them the light of holy flame. Sisters sweeten their mouths with sweets, specially made for the occasion. Brothers and sisters then exchange presents with each other.

□ Women celebrated Diwali with their in-laws. But, this festival allowed them to come to their parent's home. They got a chance to meet their family. And, it gave their parents an opportunity to give them gifts, an opportunity they did not often get. Nowadays, among many communities, Bhai Duj is observed by both married and unmarried sisters.

□ The red mark on the forehead suggests the third eye of Lord Shiva and is believed to keep the evil away and thus protect the wearer. This custom of applying tilak to the forehead is significant from the time since the North India was engaged in constant wars. Mothers, wives and sisters applied tilak to the men to protect them from harm.

□ As a festival of light and beauty, it encourages artistic expressions through home-decorations and stage-plays. At some places, people organize elocution competitions singing and dancing programmes. Delicious sweet-making competitions and gift-making competitions are arranged. This helps in discovering new talents of younger people. This results in the coming together of innumerable communities with varying cultures and customs and makes Bhai Dooj celebrations a very happy occasion for all.

□ This day is also called `Yam-Dwitiya`. On this day, the people of `Kayastha` community of Hindus worship Lord Chitragupta, the God who maintains the records of life and death of the creatures. The `Kayastha` community also worships the pen, paper and ink on this day in the honour of Lord Chitragupta.

□ Fireworks and crackers are let off not only for enjoyment but also to scare away the evil spirits that are assumed to wander about on this night.

□ During these days, the sky is packed with magnificent fire crackers lighting up entire sky. According to one belief, the sound of fire-crackers is an indication of the ecstasy of the people living on earth, making the gods aware of their affluent state.

□ On Diwali days, shops, houses, streets, buildings, temples, etc are beautifully decorated, and surrounding sounds of firecrackers bursting in the air makes the entourage look more festive. Diwali is a season where people tend to forget all their distress, and anguish, and celebrate the festival with immense pleasure and joy.

□ The excited taste buds are soothed by many mouth-watering preparations. Royal vermicelli kheer, rice kheer, carrot halwa, Besan ka laddoo, chilled curd idlis, lentil salad, gram dhal vada, gujia, malpua, dhudh peda, kesar bhat, jalebi, chocolate chip cookies etc., are some of the preparations.

□ It is one of the main festivals of the trader community. The markets are beautifully decorated and lit up. Many safety measures and precautions are telecast on television and radio, especially for children.

□ The fire departments are on an alert, and the municipal corporations of bigger cities also organize buckets and tankers of water at strategic locations.

Diwali is just not about lights, crackers, sharing sweets and worship of Lakshmi but it is also a chance for reconciliations. There are social gatherings and people exchange wishes. It teaches us to destroy ignorance and remove the darkness that covers the light of knowledge. This is a festival for young and the old, men and women, rich and poor - for everyone. Irrespective of their religious and economic background, the festival is celebrated throughout the country.

Diwali is also celebrated outside India mainly in Asia, Africa, Britain, Fiji, Guyana, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mauritius, Myanmar, Nepal, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago and Thailand. Diwali is celebrated in South America and among the Hindus the entire world over.

2. Ganesh Chaturthi

The spectacular eleven day Ganesh Chaturthi festival honors the birth of the beloved Hindu elephant-headed god, Lord Ganesha. The start of the festival sees huge, elaborately crafted statutes of Ganesha installed in homes and podiums, which have been especially constructed and beautifully decorated. At the end of the festival, the statutes are paraded through the streets, accompanied by much singing and dancing, and then submerged in the ocean.

3. Holi.

The darkest hour is just before the dawn'; a saying which truly signifies the Indian festival called Holi. It symbolizes dawn, light, life, a surge of energy. Holi, a festival which begins at night suggests destruction of evil and a hope of good. In the beginning it was celebrated as festival of fertility and harvest but today it is also celebrated in the commemoration of some Hindu legends. It symbolizes rebirth. Earth casts off her darkness and is ready to get entrenched in bright colours of happiness.

It is celebrated in the month of March or in the month of Phalgun(Hindu calendar) or Masi (mid-Feb to mid-March). Holi is also called Kamadahana (destruction of passionate desires). It lasts for two or five days in different parts of the country. It is even celebrated for sixteen days at few places. A fire, Holika, is lit at night nearly at 10.00 pm .People offer coconuts, flowers to the Holika.

The origin of holi is not specific, though many mythological legends are described for its celebration. It is older than the current legends explained for its origin.

□ It is said, that Hiranyakashipu , daitya Raja (demon king), wanted to avenge the death of his

brother who was also a demon. His brother was killed by Varada (one of the avatars - a god or goddess appearing in a bodily form on the earth - of Lord Vishnu - the preserver God of the trio of Gods in Hindu pantheon) for terrorizing Gods and Goddesses. Thus, Hiranyakashipu performed a great penance to make his powers equivalent to that of Lord Vishnu. Lord Brahma (the creator God of the trio of Gods in the Hindu pantheon) was pleased by his tapas (penance) and asked him his wishes. Hiranyakashipu requested Brahma to grant him an eternal life. Brahma refused and urged him to ask for something else. So, he thought over and asked for something that will protect him from any kind of death. He said, "Let I be killed, neither by any weapon nor by any natural cause; neither during day nor during night; neither on land and nor in the air; neither by fire nor by water; neither inside his home and nor outside it; neither by a human nor by an animal and not by any God". Thus, Brahma granted him the boon.

He became arrogant with the possession of such powers and wanted to see his sole rule on Heaven, Earth and Underworld. He hated Lord Vishnu and his name. He threatened and terrorised the bhaktas (devotees) of Lord Vishnu. When Hiranyakashipu was performing penance Gods ransacked his city and also had destroyed his palace. His wife was expected a child and hence she was sent by Gods to Sage Narada's Ashram (Hindu religious accommodation). Narada muni (sage) taught her that Lord Vishnu was the all-pervading and the true creator; the essence of all things; the soul of the souls. Pralhad, the child to be born to the queen absorbed all the lessons though he was in the womb.

Hiranyakashipu came back and took his wife back to the city. Pralhad was born. Pralhad though born in a demon's family was very pious and was wholly devoted to Lord Vishnu. Once Hiranyakashipu asked his son about the best thing in the universe. He was shocked at what he heard. Pralhad had replied that, to renounce the world and take refuge in Lord Vishnu is the best thing in the universe. Hiranyakashipu then appointed a guru (tutor) to take care of him because he thought that the Gods were secretly persuading his son to worship Lord Vishnu. When Pralhad returned, his mind had not changed. He still worshipped Lord Vishnu and felt nothing more important than Him. Hiranyakashipu tried to convince him of his own greatness and strength. But, Pralhad was totally taken on by Lord Vishnu's bhakti (devotion) and he did not accept his father as 'the Greatest'. Hiranyakashipu didn't want the people to follow his son and become devotees of Lord Vishnu.

Thus, he tried to kill his own son. He attempted to kill him by throwing him down the mountain cliff. Pralhad was to be trampled by elephants. But, something stopped the elephants. He was also kept in a room filled with hungry and poisonous snakes. He was made to hold hot pole. He was also administered poison. But, everytime Pralhad emerged out safe. Several such attempts failed and he couldn't make child Pralhad to change his mind. Pralhad was always engrossed in his Lord Vishnu. All throughout this torture too, he kept on chanting 'Om Namo Narayan' (Hail Lord Vishnu).

Hiranyakashipu had an evil sister, Holika. She was immune to fire. This power was gained after a long penance. Now was the time to use her powers, Hence, she agreed to her brother's request. This day, celebrated as Holi is day when Holika sat on a pyre with Pralhad on her lap. But, the expected did not happen. Pralhad with the protection of his faith in Lord Vishnu came out of the fire alive and scar-free. Holika was burnt to death. Her powers lost their effect before

Pralhad `s faith. Later, Hiranyakashipu was killed by Lord Vishnu.

□ Another narrative of the love of Lord Krishna (8th incarnation of Lord Vishnu) and Radha is prevalent. He teased Radha and Gopikas (milkmaids of Mathura); broke their pots full with water; stole their clothes and hung them over trees while they had their baths. He was known for his pranks and playful nature. Though the Gopis got annoyed, they liked him and his pranks. Lord Krishna often told his mother, Yashodha, about Radha who unlike him was fair in complexion. So one day, his mother told him to try some colour on her, to see a change in her complexion. Thus, Krishna took different colours and coloured Radha and the Gopis. Radha and Gopis were reluctant to play with colours but they enjoyed it. They liked Krishna, mischievous boy of Gokul. He used to play with pichkaris (big syringes tused to sprinkle water) This instance thus, became an occassion of merry-making every year. Krishna continued this festival in Vrindavan , Gokul, Nandgaon, Barsana. This celebration introduced colours to Holi. It is this mischievous spirit of courtship that enters this festival. Holi thus honours the divine love of Radha and Krishna.

□ In Tamil Nadu, people honour the sacrifice of Kama Dev (God of love or the Indian cupid). He is active during spring season and wanders through forests, valleys, plains in search for a victim of his arrows. He shoots at insects, birds, animals and man. His bow is made up of sugarcane. The string- line is of humming bees. His arrows are of flower-shafts which are tipped with passion. Parvati (main Goddess of Hindu pantheon), daughter of Himavantha (The chief of all Himalayas), wanted to marry Lord Shiva (The destroyer God of the trio of Gods of the Hindu pantheon). . She was an ardent devotee of Lord Shiva since her childhood days. She performed meditation and worshipped Lord Shiva. She used to serve him during his penance. But, he didn't even look at her. The marriage of Lord Shiva and Parvati was necessary.

□ Tarakasura, a demon born to Vajranga(demon born to sage Kashyapa and his wife Diti) and Vajrangi(demoness). He performed great penance and secured two boons from Lord Brahma. One, nobody be more powerful than him and two, he be killed only by the son of Lord Shiva. He threatened angels and they behaved as slaves to him. He did not let anyone to acquire knowledge. People were permitted to drink as much they desired. He did not like benevolence, charity, good, sacrifices. He was growing arrogant. He did not let anyone to meditate and destroyed the kutirs(smalls huts where sages carry out meditation. Only Lord Shiva was allowed to meditate and it was his own advantage. Tarakasura knew that Shiva was in penance and does not intend to get married.

□ Lord Shiva had lost his wife, Dakshayani (daughter of King Daksha). King Daksha did not appreciate her marriage with Lord Shiva. Once he arranged for a Yajna. He called all Gods and Goddessess. But he did not call Shiva and his own daughter. Even after much dissuasion from Lord Shiva, Gauri (another name of Dakshayani, also known as 'The yellow-hued one') attended the function. There, Daksha spoke insultingly of Lord Shiva at the Yajna. Gauri, unable to bear the insult of her husband, threw herself in the fire. She had yogic powers by which she destroyed herself in this manner.

Parvati, the daughter of Himavantha, was a reincarnation of Gauri. Hence, in this life it was necessary to marry her to Lord Shiva. For one, She was very much devoted to him and two, it was indispensable for the destruction of Tarakasura. All the Devas(Gods), Dootas (angels) decided to

take the help of Manmatha (another name of Kama Deva). He was called upon to arouse a feeling of love for Parvati in Shiva's heart. He was aware of Shiva's third eye which emits out fire and was ready to give his life for a good cause.

Once, Parvati was singing a song in praise of Lord Shiva. Lord Shiva was pleased with Parvati's devotion and her sweet voice was stopped his meditation and was going to look at Parvati. In order to disrupt his penance, Kama Dev shot five of his arrows of love at Lord Shiva's heart at the moment when he was looking at Parvati with his half-open eyes. This interrupted his penance. Thus, furious Shiva opened his third eye and instantaneously Kama Dev was burned to ashes. Lord Shiva smeared his forehead with Kama Deva's ashes and disappeared. At the request of Rati (Kama Deva's wife), Kama Deva was brought back to life but in a form visible only to Rati and Shiva. This incident of burning off Kama Dev is called kamadahana or Holi. The posture of God burning kama is called kama dahana murthi (Shiva's murthy facing south) and is one of the 25 maheshvara murthis .

□ Devaki (Lord Krishna's mother) was going to marry a Vasudeva. Kansa (Devaki's brother) loved his sister and upon learning this he urged to be the charioteer of the bride and groom on their wedding day. It so happened that, he was riding them to the palace when they heard a voice from the skies. It said that the eight children born to Devaki will destroy him. As he was merciless, he was ready to kill his sister at that moment. Vasudev interfered and pleaded for some mercy. So, he put the couple in prison.

Whenever Devaki gave birth to a child the guards would inform Kansa and he would take the child and hurl the child to the ground. Six of Devaki's children were killed this way. The seventh child, while still in Devaki's womb, was miraculously transferred to the womb of Rohini (another wife of Vasudeva). Kansa was told that Devaki gave birth to a still baby. On the 8th day of the Hindu month Shravan (July- August) just before the midnight Vasudeva was forewarned by gods and instructed to take the child immediately on birth to his friend Nanda's house. Nanda was herdsman and lived on the other side of the river Yamuna. He was asked to bring the girl child of Yashodha (Nanda's wife) so as to avoid suspicion. Thus, he was instructed to lie to Kansa presenting the girl as his eight child. When Krishna was born at midnight, the Gods put all the guards of the prison to sleep and Vasudeva's shackles opened. This enabled him to do just as he was foretold. Noticing a girl child Kansa still didn't stop and threw the child to the ground. Before hitting the ground the child flew up in the air and said, "The Eight child of Devaki and your slayer is already born and was alive." She was a Goddess.

The next day, Kansa heard news that a child named Krishna was born in Gokul. Kansa got suspicious and was not ready to take any chances. He called a demoness named Pootna. He ordered her to kill every child born in the month of Shravan. Pootna using her powers changed into a beautiful lady. She applied poison to her breasts. Then, she went on from house to house looking for a baby boy born in the month of Shravan. She appeared a good lady and was welcomed in the houses. She acted as if playing with the baby and then covertly fed the baby. Immediately the baby died. She similarly killed many babies. Then, she found Nanda's house and was welcomed there. She acted to play with baby Krishna and tried to feed him. But, Krishna being divine sucked out her life.

□ Holi is celebrated to remember this event of joy and pride, when Krishna destroyed Pootna.

□ In Bhavishya puran, it is stated that in the kingdom of king Prithu; Dhundi, a Rakshasi(ogress) liked to devour children. She was immune to weapons. The village children were very frightened of her. Once a grandmother of one of the village children went to a sage. He told her that, even though she was immune to the weapons, she was not immune to the abuses, pranks and foul language of the young boys owing to a curse of Lord Shiva. So, the old lady went back to the village and gathered some young boys. She told them Dhundi's weakness. These boys had bhang and went behind the ogress beating drums, dholaks, making a huge noise, hurling insults at her. Being susceptible to such things, she ran away for her life. People of the village celebrated this event with a hug bonfire that night. Since then the day came to known as Adada or Holika.

One can call Holi by any name he wants but the spirit of Holi can never change. It is called Latthmar holi in Barsana, Nandgaon, Mathura; Dulandi holi in Haryana; Ranpanchami or Shimga or Shimgo in Maharashtra and Goa; Basanti Poornima or Vasant Poornima in Shantiniketan; Dol Poornima, Dol Jatra in West Bengal and Orissa; Hola Mohalla in Punjab; Phagu Poornima or Phagwa in Bihar; Kaman Pandigai in Tamil Nadu.

Fire marks the beginning of Holi. The customs and traditions to lit holika vary slightly in some parts of the country. Earlier it was celebrated all over India for five days. Holi is just not about light, colours and sweets; it is also about wishes, love, friendship. The celebration of Holi; though it is loosing its religious aspect; doesn't differ from ancient Indian celebration.

Holi is a very old festival of Aryans. It is described beautifully in the seventh century play Ratnavali written by Harshdev. Dashkumar Charit and Garud Puran also state about Holi. In olden days Holi was celebrated as Vasantotsav (spring festival). It is called Madanotsav by Mahakavi Kalidas. The Bhavbooti in his play 'Maltic Madhav' stated that King happily celebrated Holi with his subjects. It is described in Vedas and Puranas of Narada. Jaimini's Purvamimamsa-sutras a voluminous work which has twelve chapters and Kathakagriha-sutras are two other very old religious works that mention Holi. explaining its celebration. Lunar calendar can be assessed in two ways : Purnimanta and Amanta. According to, Purnimanta the full moon of Phalgun purnima was the last day of the year while Amanta accepted the new moon of Phalgun as the last day. The latter belief is more accepted today. The 16th century sculpture found at Hampi (when it was the capital of Vijaynagar), shows maidens ready to play Holi with the royal couple. The king and the queen are surrounded by the dasis (maids) ready to spray coloured water through pichkaris. The syringes or pichkaris were made of bamboo. Other such example of Holi is the 16th century paintings of Ahemadnagar demonstrating Vasnt Ragini (spring music). The royal couple is sitting on a garden swing and a maiden playing music is seen on one side and other maidens spraying water at the pair are seen on the other. Painting of Mewar (circa 1755) shows the king with his courtiers. The king is distributing some gifts to the people, beautiful dance is going on and there is a tank filled with coloured water. There are some other Rajput paintings which show royal Holi celebrations. The miniature painting of Bundi (Rajasthan) shows a king seated on an elephant on some more elephants on both the sides of the royal elephant. Some dasis (maids) are seen showering gulal (colour) on the king.

The 18th century painting at Bundi shows Radha and Krishna in the middle and the gopis on either side. The gopis are with drums, veena, colours and syringes. The sky is clear blue and the grass, lush green. Something round like the modern day water-balloons is seen in the paintings at Kangra (Himachal Pradesh). It shows Krishna with the gwalas (cowherd boys) and Radha with her

playmates. There are dance and music and also sprays of colours. Indian people are excited with the nearing of spring. It marks Holi. The day is also celebrated as the birthday of Sri Krishna Chaitanya (A.D. 1486-1533), mostly in Bengal, as also in Puri (Orissa), Mathura and Vrindavan (in Uttar Pradesh). It starts on Dwadashi (12th day).

In Bihar people clean their houses. A week before Holi people start collecting twigs, unnecessary furniture, chopped wood of araad, redi and holika tree and pile it up at some place. They keep on adding up some wood while passing by. Preparation of natural Holi colours starts one month before. On the first day of Holi, thalis of colour and a pot of liquid colour are arranged. In early days Purohit (priest) was invited to begin the celebrations. Now, the responsibility is taken over by the elders. The elder member of the family applies some colour on the forehead of each member in the family. Each family member repeats the same. Youngsters apply colours to the feet of their elders. People gather together for the Holika fire. In UP effigies of holika are burnt. On the night of Holi (Phalgun Poornima) it is lit with the chanting of Raksogna Mantras from Rigveda (4.4.1-15; 10.87.1-25 and so on). People offer Holi (prayer) to the fire and pray for a good harvest. This day is also called as Purno.

They offer gram and stalks from the harvest along with coconuts and flowers to render gratitude. It is believed that Holi is named after fried cereals or parched grains called as Holla in Sanskrit. It is also a tradition to offer wheat and oat. Scorched coconuts are taken home as Prasad. At some places like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh they throw cow-dung and shout insults at holika. Embers of this fire are carried home and they light fire at home. It is said that, to keep away the evil Vibhuti (sacred ashes) obtained from this ritual is applied to the forehead. The Vibhuti is called Bhumi Hari.

Colour all; colour yourself; colour your life, says Holi. This is the second day of Holi and is also known as Parva or Dhulandi. Atmosphere is covered up in clouds of beautiful colours. These colours can be used dry or mixed with water. Newly married girls make silver and gold colours from powders available in the market. Gulal, Abeer and other natural colours made from flowers of Tesu are used. Tesu is also called flame of forest or palash. Its flowers are red and give red colour and when mixed with water produce saffron colour. The mixture considered good for health, probably because of the red glow it leaves on skin and it is also considered to keep away contagious diseases. Natural colours come with fragrances. Abeer is made from crushed pieces of mica. These are mixed with gulal to give it a shine. People use pichkaris to sprinkle colours. Some places they arrange gatherings. Common liquid-colour tanks are also built at these gatherings. Water balloons are real fun for all during holi but for the ones who stand them.

During this period, people are prone to fever and cold due to seasonal transition. The natural colours used during Holi, prepared from Neem, Haldi, Tesu have medicinal uses. Holi is welcome in such a season when people feel a little lethargic due to the transition from cold to warm. The screaming and loud talks, quick movements and loud music help to revitalize people. Some biologists assume that liquid dye or Abeer penetrates the pores of our body and strengthens the ions making our body healthy. People gather in groups and colour each other and the other people passing by saying only one thing, "Bura na mano aaj Holi hai" (don't mind, it's Holi).

At some places, there is a custom in the undivided Hindu families that the women of the families beat their brother-in-law with her sari rolled up into a rope. This is done in a mock rage as the

brother-in-law tries to douse her in colour. In the evening, he brings her sweetmeats. It is a tradition, at few other places, to invite son-in-laws for meals. They are presented with Pyalas - a crisp note of any denomination from rupees five to five hundred along with a glass of a drink. Married daughters are given Kothli or travel -money by their mother-in-laws or the eldest lady in the family. At few places, mothers give their daughters new dresses. It is a custom in some families that a new bride has to play pranks. She is to lure someone, especially, her parents-in-law into a room and locks them in. The bride then demands a gift for setting them free. The bride is supposed to sing a song specially composed for the occasion, in which she demands her gift. The gift is usually a saree or a piece of jewelry.

At Mathura, Sanjhi (an art form) is practiced everywhere. It is like a stencil. A scene is made on a paper and made by cutting out along the lines drawn. During Holi, some artists put sanjhi in a basin and fill colours. Then, it is removed and a beautiful picture is left behind. Krishna is the favourite figure of these paintings. Scenes of Krishna standing on Kalia (a large snake in Hindu mythology) and Krishna holding a colour-pump instead of a flute. Holi scenes can also be seen at Madhubani folk Paintings in Bihar. During Holi, everything is colourful; from faces of children to the faces of elders; from corridors to streets; from posters to newspapers.

Holi greetings have developed a new way of conveying wishes. Some are full of wishes and short poems while some simply made in colours. Sweets are an inseparable part of any festival. During the day of Holi boys enjoy Bhang (drink made from leaves of marijuana [cannabis sativa]). It gives one a feel of ecstasy. Thandai from Gujarat is a sweet drink made from milk is also a favourite of the people. After a boisterous activity people feast on vegetarian or non-vegetarian meals. But the quiet evenings are marked by visits of relatives and friends. Here, sweets are exchanged which demonstrate a sharing attitude. Puranpoli, a very favoured dish from Maharashtra is liked by people all over India. Other sweets such as gujiya, mathri, petha, malpua, dahi badas, bara, gulgula, phulourie, bigany, mango or tamarind chutney, potato ball, prasad, channa, ghoja, mahambhoog, kheer or sweet rice are also prepared at Holy gatherings in temples.

Celebration of Holi differs in various parts. Thus, we see different moods of Holi. The aggressive mood in Nandgaon and Barsana; the serene in West Bengal. There is much adrenaline flow in Punjab during Holi. Dol Jatra or Dol poornima is what we call Holi in Bengal. People put on yellow clothes and attend Jatra. It is a peaceful ceremony. It is celebrated as the birthday of Mahaprabhu Chaitanya. People decorate the idol of Lord Krishna and Radha and carry it on the streets in a beautifully decorated palanquin. The elder member of the family observes fast and performs puja. They offer prayers to Lord Krishna and Agnidev (one of the highly venerated Gods in Aryans).

The importance of Holi as a spring festival (Vasantotsav) was encouraged again by Rabindranath Tagore, the famous saint-poet and the Indian Noble laureate. The students of Bishwabharti University wear yellow clothes, wear garlands and perform cultural programmes at Shanti Niketan. The programmes bring out various beautiful and colourful faces of this spring festival. It's a dramatical and musical ceremony. The students and teachers together play Holi with abeer and gulal. Liquid colour is forbidden here.

People of Orissa also celebrate Holi in a similar way. They worship God Jagannath and visit the Puri temple in Orissa on this day. Idol of Lord Jagannath is placed in the decorated palanquin and a

procession is taken out in the main streets. People take turns to swing the palauquin and women dance around the palauquin singing devotional songs. The men spray coloured water and coloured powder at them.

Gwalas(milk men) carry the palauquin on their shoulders as Krishna belonged to their clan. They play games such as Dandi Khela .They set up special tents,Jhoolan mandap, to place the idol of Lord Jagannath at night. Next morning people apply gulal to the idol and enjoy the whole day by having sweets like pethas, laddoos of puffed rice and sesame seed. They play with colours and towards evening they take the idols for a dip in a pond. Then, the idols are taken back to the temple.Like other places, Holika fire is lit in the evening. Other morning, newly married women carefully sweep the ashes and mark that place with drawings made of powdered sundried rice and water.

Initiated in the 18th century with Vaishnavism, Manipuris celebrate holi for 6 days. An amalgamation of Holi and another very old festival called Yaosang is observed.in the Holi played here.A thatched hut of mud and clay is made to be burnt, in the evening.Youths perform thaabal chongba.(folk dance) for all the 6 days of Holi. It gives the boys and girls achance to meet. In Manipur, boys have to pay girls to play Holi with them. Dances, devotional songs, cultural programmes are organized at temples. Devotees gather in white dresses and yellow turbans and play with colours in front of the temple. Large procession is taken to the Krishna temple near Imphal on the last day.

The other tribes of North west India have their own ways celebrating this spring festival. They light fire on the eve of Holi. These tribes worship the goddess. They have preserved some of the Hindu customs. Tribesmen offer kesudo and mango spring flowers and grains to the Holika.

Young men and women are able to make contacts which further give way to marriages. Thus, these young people look forward to this festival with great interest.Holi in Bihar is celebrated with the same enthusiasm like the rest of the country. They put dung cakes, wood of araad, redi and Holika tree and grains of fresh harvest and fallen leaves in the Holika fire. The eldest member or a purohit(preist) lights the fire.

At some places mud baths are prepared. This is something that is fun to do and creates a jovial atmosphere. High- pitched folk songs, use of dholaks along with bhang (drink made from marijuana) is characteristic of this state.Latthmar Holi, another name of Holi as is called in Braj. It's a two-week long festival enjoyed with Hori (folk songs) and Ras Lila (folk dance). The preparations start a week before than the rest of India. It is really a severe form of Holi played in honour of Radha and Krishna. Role-reversal is the spirit of Holi here. The men-folk of Nandgaon go to Barsana to tease and play Holi with the women-folk. They also have to pull up their flag flag at the famous Shri Radhikaji temple. The women strike back with long sticks and men have to save themselves; hence the name Latthmar.They have to make way to the temple to hoist their flag. They are well-padded and are trained not to retaliate. But, they shouldn't get caught at the hands of women. The ones who are caught are made to wear womens attire and make-up and made to dance.

The next day, it is the turn of men of Barsana. They visit Nandgaon showering colours of reds. These are natural colours made from flowers of Kesudo (a naturally occurring orange-red dye).

They are similarly beaten up by the women-folk of Nandgaon. The streets are heavily crowded.. It is just a mock battle of sexes. It is celebrated in Vrindavan, Gokul, Nandgaon, Barsana. In Dauji in Nandgaon, people beat men with whips made from old clothes. It is presumed to have been started by King Indradyumna in Vrindavan. It starts from Shukla Chaturdashi of Phalgun. Here, it is celebrated for three to five days. It is essentially a religious celebration venerating Lord Krishna and Agni. The fire lit on the first day is kept burning till the 21st day. In Himachal Pradesh thousands of people gather at Ponta-Sahib, a holy shrine in the Sirmour district on the banks of river Yamuna. People here are more enthusiastic about playing colours. Children bring pichkaris in innovative designs. Fascinating Ice Holi is played in Kulu. People gather at the Slang Pass and make colourful snowballs by mixing colour and snow.

In north India they also arrange hasya-kavi sammelans and biggest fool awards Holi Mohalla is an annual festival in Punjab's Sikh community and was started by Guru Gobind Singh (The tenth Guru). It is fair starting on second day of Holi at Anandpur Sahib in Punjab. It is a three-day festival. It incorporates events such as standing on two running horses, bare-back horse riding, mock fights (Gatka) and tent-pegging. The aim of this was physical strengthening. Music and poetry competitions light up the atmosphere. Kirtan and religious lectures are arranged in durbars in the presence of Sri Guru Granth Sahib. On the last day a procession is led by Panj Pyaras from Takht Keshgarh Sahib (one of the five Sikh religious seats). This procession passes through several important Gurudwaras (Sikh place of worship) like Qila Anandgarh, Lohgarh Sahib, Mata Jitoji and terminates at the Takht. For people visiting Anandpur Sahib, langars (voluntary community kitchens) are organized by the local people as a part of sewa (community service). Villagers living nearby provide wheat flour, rice, milk, sugar and vegetables. Women help with cooking and other people help with the cleaning of utensils. A pilgrim sits on ground in a row and is served a traditional cuisine. In Rajasthan and North India, especially Kankaria and Jamalpur in Ahmedabad Holi atmosphere is lively. The people here play with colours and use pichkaris (big syringes used to spray colour), perform folk dances. The celebration is more enthusiastic than most of the country. In Jaipur, an exciting celebration of Holi is seen. They arrange royal elephant sports and also play Holi. It's really a spectacular.

The colourful Holi in Gujarat is significant for tribals of Garasia and Bhil Adivasis. They get together at Darbargarh and also arrange fairs at Chhota Udaipur and the Rajpipla hills. Dangs Darbar, Satpura and north Gujarat are full of fairs even after Holi. Holi in Gujarat is also known as Hulosani. They light Holika with the fire brought from the temple of Mata. People offer, raw mangoes, coconut, corn, toys made of sugar, khoya to the Holika. The ash from the pyre of Holika is used in the preparation of idols of goddess Amba. Young women wishing for a handsome groom decorate these idols with flowers.

In Jaisalmer and Banswara, people throw stones at each other. It is said that, women throw stones at men and the man who bleeds the most is considered lucky. Young boys and girls move in tolis (processions). Boys doused in coloured water make pyramids. Hundreds of people participate and hundreds of on-lookers gather. This is performed to break the pot full of buttermilk tied on a rope at a height. This tradition originated from the legend of Lord Krishna who used to steal buttermilk from any house in his village. They also put prizes on the pot. The on-lookers throw water over the human pyramids. The person who breaks the pot is crowned the Holi King of the year. Madhya Pradesh celebrate Holi for Five days, usually in Indore. The festival was started by Marathas, the Holkars who conquered the state. They brought

the marathi tradition of playing colours on the fifth day, Rangapanchami. Thus, the last day here is called Pancham Holi. A colourful Holi in Maharashtra is known as Shimga. It is significant in fisherman community. The folk songs, folk dances, colours are the essence of Holi here. People let out their repressed feelings through this dance. People also make an unusual sound by striking their mouth with the back of their hands.

Puranpoli is a sweet exclusively prepared in Maharashtra. People drink sugarcane juice and eat watermelon juice. Rowdiness during Holi is observed in many parts of Maharashtra. It was on this day that Jijabai, daughter of Lakhooji Jadhav splashed coloured water on young Shahaji, son of Malajirao Bhonsale. Their engagement was announced that day. They were married and later Jijabai gave birth to Shivaji, founder of the great Maratha empire.

In Goa, a procession is carried which plays religious and mythological stories. Here too, Holi is called Shigmotsav, Shigmo. People of Goa perform Naman (collective obeisance) from the 9th moon day to the full-moon day and avoid non-vegetarian food and alcohol. From the 11th day of Holi, people decorate their door frames with torans (garland). Some village groups wear most colourful dresses and gather at the village temples at the beat of drums and the sound of flutes. They dance and sing in the temple court yard. The 5th day is the day of fun and is called Rangapanchami. Celebrations are different at various places. Usually gulal and neel is used.

In south India Holi is known as Kaman Pandigai, Kamavilas, Kama-dahanam. Here, there are no enormous and loud celebrations but rather there are religious ceremonies. It is generally celebrated to honour Kama Dev. People offer sandalwood mixed with abeer in and Chandan (sandalwood paste) to Holika. Such an act is performed traditionally to honour Kama Deva's sacrifice and as an act to relieve Kam Dev of his burns. The next day people apply this mixture to their forehead and eat it after mixing it with young leaves and flowers of Mango tree.

In Tamil Nadu, songs sung here are stories of grief at the loss of her husband Kama Deva. In Andhra Pradesh; the Banjara tribes celebrate Holi in their own way. The colours which rise in air have flown unrestricted and can be seen the world over. An Indian settling in other part of the world, away from his motherland, tries to remain attached to his country by celebrating different Indian festivals.

Today, Holi is not restricted to the Indian boundaries alone. The U.S., U.K., south Africa, Trinidad and Tobago islands, Surinam, Guyana are few places where Indians along with the citizens of these countries celebrate Holi on ostentatiously. The colours applied during Holi suggest something. The message clearly stated is to shed the blacks from our lives and take up the yellows, reds and greens. It means to discard the pessimistic view of life and behold the brighter, the golden side.

4. Navaratri, Dussehra and Durga Puja

The first nine days of this festival are known as *Navaratri*, and are filled with dance in honor of the Mother Goddess. The tenth day, called Dussehra, is devoted to celebrating the defeat of the demon king Ravana by Lord Rama. It also coincides with the victory of the revered warrior Goddess Durga over the evil buffalo demon Mahishasura.

In eastern India, the festival is observed as *Durga Puja*. Huge statues of the Goddess are made

and immersed in the holy Ganges River. The festival is an extremely social and theatrical event, with drama, dance, and cultural performances held throughout the country.

5. Krishna Janmashtami/Govinda

Krishna Janmashtami, also known as Govinda, commemorates the birthday of Lord Krishna. An extremely fun part of the festival involves people climbing on each other and forming a human pyramid to try and reach and break open clay pots filled with curd, which have been strung up high from buildings.

6. Kerala Temple Festivals

The south Indian state of Kerala is filled with temples that are renowned for their exotic temple festivals. The large processions of elephants, resplendent in ornaments, are the main attractions of these festivals. The processions are accompanied by colorful floats, drummers and other musicians.

7. Onam

Onam is one of the Festivals celebrated in kerala. As India is true multicultural country it is having countless numbers of festivals. There some are popular where others are limited to local village and districts. Onam is celebrated all over kerala and it is considered as State Festival.

Onam Legend

Onam is connected to a myth or story of old king (Mahabali) said to be ruled Kerala 1000's of years before. As Hindus considers Lord Krishna has born around 5000 years back and this story supposed to be happened 1000s of years before the birth of lord Krishna as Vishnu took Vamana form before lord Krishna form.

The incidents in that time made lord Vishnu to come to earth in the form of Vamana and press Mahabali to world under earth with his leg. Before pressing him to under earth Vishnu blessed Mahabali that every year on Thiruvonam star of chingam (Malayalam month) which falls in August or September. So the keralites (popularly known as Malayalees their mother tongue is Malayalam) Celebrate that day with lot of food and dance to welcome their king who is visiting from world under earth.

Onam awaits one very special visitor, Kerala's most loved legendary Asura King Mahabali(Maveli). He was the King who once gave the people a golden era in Kerala. The King is so much attached to his kingdom that it is believed that he comes annually from the nether world to see his people living happily. It is in honour of King Mahabali, affectionately called Onathappan, that Onam is celebrated.

Onam Pookalam

Onam Pookalam is the art works done by flowers in front of kerala house for Onam. It will start from Atham star and ends on Onam. The pookalam has to be removed everyday morning, clean the floor and put fresh one in next day with fresh flowers. In olden days the Kerala was totally an agricultural country and the month of chingam is just after the monsoon. So there was plenty of Flowers available to do pookalam in a grand colour. The flowers which were unique in kerala like Thumpapoo, Kakkapoo which were available at large at olden days. But these flowers are

not even able to seen nowadays. So the creation of pookalam is greatly depends on imported flowers from neighboring states like Tamilnadu. It is normal that price of flowers going up on Onam season. Lot of Onam pookalam competition will be conducted by associations in Kerala and outside -in other states and in abroad. We can expect onam of current year also will mark lot of onam competition of that particular year.

Onam Celebration

Normally in Kerala the onam is celebrated in houses but in outside Kerala onam functions will be conducted/celebrated by Malayalee associations. Lot of malayalee associations declares their onam celebration for the current year well in advance. All this function will host lot of cultural programmes like bharatnatyam, mohiniyattam, and thiruvathira kali and other traditional art forms of Kerala and with traditional Onassadya . Onam celebrations in Middle east countries like UAE, Kuwait, Oman and other countries like, Singapore, USA, Australia will be done in bigger manner. Normally either film stars or famous writers will be attended this functions.

Vegetables

As the demand of vegetable in onam season usually increase. Due to this the price of Vegetables will go up. To control this, normally kerala government under its civil supply corporation use to start Onam market known as Onachandha. These markets will be stopped after the season. Usually There will be heavy rush and crowds in this market as vegetable will be considerably cheap in these market. Since we face global shortage of food and vegetable it will be very difficult for the government to provide the vegetable at fair price. However we can hope that presence of these markets will control the price of vegetable and commodities to a certain level during onam season.

Onam Greeting Cards

Normally sending of greeting card for onam has become a tradition in between Malayalees. Lots of cards are available in the shop, with various subject like Vallam kali (Boat race), Kathakali, and sceneries from various parts of kerala. Not only that almost all online greeting card sites are given a fair importance for this festival. Almost all of them is having minimum of 10 cards to cater the needs of Onam. Below card site is having Some Good cards

Onam Celebration in Kerala

One mention of Kerala and the memory of 'Onam' festival spring to mind in many Indians. Kerala, the South Indian coastal state regards Onam as a very important festival. This festival often falls around the month of September. If you ever visit Kerala around this festive period you can expect to be absorbed by the joyful festive mood which would go on for about ten days as the Onam festival's celebrations last for a period of ten days. The people in Kerala who celebrate Onam prepare for the festival by cleaning their houses and decorating them. On Onam, everybody in the family would be wearing new clothes. Delicious sweetmeats and favorite vegetarian dishes would be cooked and served on banana leaves. One important item that would be visible outside each house is the 'pookalam' a flower mat. This flower mat is like a symbol of welcoming the King Mahabali. During Onam, traditional rituals are performed and the people celebrate the occasion with a grand feast. One favorite dessert that would be served on the day is

'payasam' a sweet & tempting porridge.

During the celebrations of Onam, if you're a tourist in Kerala, you can never miss the colorful parade of elephants & fireworks. For entertainment, the popular Indian dance, 'Kathakali' dance would be performed and other spectacular events like carnivals and sports events would be some of the highlights for the festival as well. At night there would also be songs and dances to delight all. In fact, it has been noted that a high number of tourists would always visit Kerala around this period just to catch all the action and joyous celebrations of Onam.

Another attractive feature to watch out for during the festival Onam is the famous 'Vallamkali' or otherwise known as the great boat race. For this boat race hundreds of men row the boats to the beat of drums and cymbals. An interesting thing to note is that above each boat there is a scarlet silk umbrella and gold coins are hung from the umbrellas. There are various boats, which also include the 'Chundans': the snake-like long boats that are shaped like snakes. This event is a very popular with many as various types of boats compete with each other to win the race. Many usually crowd around to catch the boat race and some cheer for their favorites to win. One remarkable thing about Onam is that it is celebrated by all, not only Hindus but also by Christians and Muslims who are living in Kerala. It is one festival that unites all people regardless of race and religion.

Onam is the biggest festival of Kerala. But, there is a lot more to Onam than being just a festival. Onam reflects the faith of the people of Kerala; A belief in their legendary past, religion and power of worship. It shows the high spirit of the people who go out of the way to celebrate the festival in the prescribed manner and a grand fashion.

Best season and weather

Onam is also a harvest festival. It is celebrated at a time when everything appears so nice and good. The beautiful landscape of Kerala can be seen in its full radiance at this time of the Malayalam New Year. Weather, it seems, also seeks to be a part of the festival. It contributes by becoming pleasantly warm and sunny. Fields look brilliant with a bountiful harvest. Farmers feel on top of the world as they watch the result of their hard labour with pride.

Childrens Joys and Homecoming

Children eagerly wait for the arrival of the carnival. Why shouldn't they. It is time for them to get new clothes, toys and everything else they asked for or thought of. Numerous uncles, aunts and grandmas grace their wishes with delight. It is also a time for homecoming for people staying away from the families. Their arrival multiplies the joy of the festival several folds.

Womenfolk make special arrangements to welcome Onathappan. Flower carpets are laid in the front courtyards with dedication and full sincerity. A grand meal is prepared on the day of Thiru Onam. It is on this day that Maveli's spirit visits Kerala. Lip smacking meal consists of best of Kerala cuisine including avial, olan, kalan, sambhar, rasam, parippu and the payasam.

Cultural Extravagance

One of the most marvelous facets of Onam is the unfolding of its rich and well-established culture. We see not just glimpses but a whole gamut of it in the ten-day-long carnival. Pulikali,

Kaikottikali, Kummattikalli, Kathakali, Thumbi Thullal besides several other folk arts and traditions can be seen on one platform called Onam.

Unity and Team spirit

The beauty of the festival lies in its secular fabric. People of all religions, castes and communities celebrate the festival with equal joy and verve. Onam also helps to create an atmosphere of peace and brotherhood by way of various team sports organised on the day.

Onam is the passion of the people of Kerala. And, pride of India. Onam is undoubtedly the most spectacular festival of Kerala. One needs to experience its magnificence in person. Reading books, watching pictures or trawling net simply cannot present Onam in its entire splendor and breathtaking vistas. Right from day one of the festival, called Atham colours begin to emanate from this ebullient festival. Making of Pookalam, the exquisite flower mat starts from this very day and continues till Thiruvonam when the Aththa Poo reaches an overwhelming size and most elegant design. It's a brilliant feeling to walk in the streets of Kerala at this time. Meticulous Pookalam adorn the courtyards of every house and its fragrance wraps the very air. Well, there is lot more to Onam than word can describe. Spirit of this great carnival can only be felt. And, if experienced once...it is cherished for a lifetime.

Boat Race

Snake Boat Race or Vallamkali is the other most astonishing sight from the panorama of Onam. Here, a large number of snake-like-long boats embellished with festoons, silk umbrellas and gold coins present a charming spectacle in the mind blowing backwaters of Alappuzha. These boats are oared by more than a hundred oarsmen in a rhythm provided by beats of drums and cymbals. Energy of the boatmen passes on to thousands of spectators who come from distant places and even from far away foreign lands to watch the event in its full grandeur.

Onam Procession

Elephants adorned with gold plates on their forehead and umbrellas on top present a majestic sight to onlookers who gather in large number to watch the regal show. Thiruvathira (Kaikottikali)

Thiruvathira kali is one of the main dances for onam. It is performed by group of women with 8, 10, or 12 members. They will be dressed in Kerala Traditional dress (set mundu) and dance with rhythmic steps against thiruvathira songs. Thiruvathira songs will be usually Hindu devotional songs about Krishna or other gods.

Thumbi Thullal

Thumbi Thullal is a fascinating all women dance and singing event performed in Kerala on the occasion of Onam. While men engage themselves in energetic sports, womenfolk perform Thumbi Thullal and have their share of fun. Wearing their best sarees, stunning jewelery and fragrant gajras, a group of women sit in the formation of circle to play Thumbi Thullal. In the centre of the circle sits the main performer. Lead singer initiates a song in her melodious voice by singing the first couplet which is taken up by other women. The sequence continues song after song with the lead singer initiating the couplet every time followed by a chorus from other women. Joyful

clap dance also goes on in rhythm with the singing. It is a colorful spectacle to watch women in their carefree mood. The event continues amidst jeers and laughter till the day comes to its end.

Kummattikkali

Popular in some of the northern districts of Kerala, mainly Thrissur, Kummattikkali is a spectacular folk art form, which is performed during the onam season. The dancers wear wooden masks and adorn themselves with leaves, flowers and sprigs of grass. They go dancing from house to house enacting characters of Thalla (witch) and Hindu Gods and Goddesses. The songs for this dance form are mainly devotional in theme and have the accompaniment of Onavillu, a bow like musical instrument. No formal training is needed in performing this art and even the spectators can take part in it.

Pulikali(Kaduvakali)

Pulikali is a colorful recreational folk art from the state of Kerala. It is performed by trained artists to entertain people on the occasion of Onam. Pulikali, also known as Kaduvaakali, is a 200 year old art, carefully preserved by the artists of the state. Literal meaning of Pulikali is the 'play of the tigers' hence the performance revolves around the theme of tiger hunting. The folk art is mainly practiced in Thrissur (Trichur) and Palghat districts of Kerala. Best place to watch the show is Swaraj Ground at Thrissur on the fourth day of Onam, where Pulikali troupes from all over the district assemble to display their skills. Pulikali is a colorful recreational folk art from the state of Kerala. It is performed by trained artists to entertain people on the occasion of Onam.

Onasadhya

The grand meal served on Onam called Onasadhya gives as much delight to the sight as it does to the taste buds. Served on a soft and green banana leaf the colorful food looks even more appetizing. The meal is served in a creative way as people of Kerala have set rules of placing the different colored food on a specific space on the banana leaf. Well, there may be sound reasons, but from the point of color scheme, Onasadhya looks brilliant. It's a scene to watch (Of course one has to be a part too!) as people seat in rows on a mat laid on the floor to have the strictly vegetarian meal.

8. Pushkar Camel Fair

An astonishing 50,000 camels converge on the tiny desert town of Pushkar, in India's state of Rajasthan for the Pushkar Camel Fair. For five days, the camels are dressed up, paraded, shaved, entered into beauty contests, raced, and of course traded. It's a great opportunity to witness an old, traditional style Indian festival.

SYLLABUS

HY1B01 METHODOLOGY AND PRESPECTIVES OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

No. of credits: 4

No. of contact hours per week - 6

Aim of the course

The course intends to familiarize the students with the broad contours of social sciences and their methodology.

Objectives of the course

- ☐ Identify the main concerns of social science disciplines.
- ☐ Articulate the basic terminology and theories prevalent across disciplines.
- ☐ Understand qualitative and quantitative models within the social sciences.
- ☐ To learn to apply the methods and theories of social science to contemporary issues
- ☐ Critically read popular and periodical literature from a social science perspective.

UNIT I - Introduction to Social Sciences

- ☐ Emergence of social sciences - Thomas Hobbes - *Leviathan* - John Locke - English Revolution.
- ☐ Disciplinary diversification in the 19th century - Background of English Revolution - Study of society as an independent discipline - separation from philosophy and other sciences - Historical background.
- ☐ An analysis of the disciplines that make up social sciences - Basic principles and concepts - epistemology of social sciences.
- ☐ Relevance of the study of social sciences.
- ☐ Development of social sciences - Political Science - Sorrel, Simmel, Pareto - Sociology - Comte, Webber - History - Vico - Herder, Ranke and Hegel - Economics - Adam Smith, Ricardo, Marshall and Keynes.

UNIT II - Survey of Social Sciences

- ☐ Social Sciences - Interrelationship - differences - relationship with other fields of knowledge - Location of History in Social Sciences.
- ☐ Historical foundations of social sciences - social changes and social science - impact of Industrial Revolution - French Revolution- Arthur Young, Carlyle- Burke - Colonial and post colonial situations - Ethnography - Anthropology- Sociology - History - Colonial History.

UNIT III - Objectivity in Social Sciences and Its Limits

- ☐ Objectivity - the concept.
- ☐ Concepts of Fact, Evidence and Empiricism.
- ☐ Objectivity in Historical Sciences.
- ☐ Historical changes and social theories - tribal society, state and empire, feudalism, capitalism and imperialism - concepts and theories.
- ☐ Ethical issues in History and other social sciences.
- ☐ Individual - Group - Community - Society - Concepts.

UNIT IV - Some Social Structure - Case Studies of any Selected Problem

- ☐ Caste and ethnicity - community - in Indian society - e.g., Occupational Castes
- ☐ Class - e.g., Study of Peasantry as a class.
- ☐ Gender and family - e.g., Matriliney to Patriliney.
- ☐ Culture - e.g., Festivals as popular culture.

Class Room Strategies

Emphasis will be on the discussion of certain concepts and categories appearing in all disciplines that form part of social sciences, thus underscoring the interrelatedness of various disciplines. Effort will also be made to introduce to the students methodological devices that are commonly used in the different disciplines, thus emphasizing the interdisciplinary character of the study programmes. Effort will also be made to relate theory to the world of life and vice versa to help the student to move from experiential to conceptual levels, from concrete to the abstract as he/she progresses.

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Further Readings:

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