

ISC Class 12 Sociology Specimen Paper 1

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Maximum Marks: 80 | Time Allowed: Three hours | Reading Time: 15 minutes

Section A is compulsory. From Section B attempt any five questions. This paper carries 80 marks, the remaining 20 being for the project work.

General Instructions

Write your answers on the separate answer paper provided. The first 15 minutes are for reading the paper and you may not write during that time. Section A is compulsory and must be attempted in full. From Section B you must attempt any five of the eight questions, and no credit is given for a sixth. Marks for each question, or part of a question, are shown in brackets. Answers should be in your own words and of a length suited to the marks offered, a one-mark part needing no more than a sentence and a four-mark part needing a short developed argument. Use sociological terms accurately and illustrate general statements with examples wherever you can. Where a question asks you to examine arguments on both sides, credit is given for presenting each side fairly, not for the side you prefer. No diagrams, tables or printed extracts are used in this paper. This paper carries 80 of the 100 marks for the subject, the remaining 20 being for the project work.

SECTION A (30 Marks)

Attempt all parts of Question 1 and all parts of Question 2.

Question 1 [20]

Each part carries 1 mark. For the parts that offer four choices, write only the option you choose. For the rest, answer in a single sentence or give the single word, name or term asked for.

- (i) The writer who coined the word sociology and who proposed a law of three stages in the development of human thought was:
 - (a) Herbert Spencer (b) Auguste Comte
 - (c) Emile Durkheim (d) Karl Marx
- (ii) Name the concept Durkheim used for the condition of a society in which the regulation of desires and expectations has broken down.
- (iii) The approach that treats society as an organism whose parts each contribute to the working of the whole is:
 - (a) conflict theory (b) symbolic interactionism
 - (c) structural functionalism (d) postmodernism
- (iv) Name the German term Weber used for the interpretive understanding of the meaning an actor attaches to his action.
- (v) In Marx's account of capitalist society, the two main classes are:
 - (a) bourgeoisie and proletariat (b) nobility and peasantry
 - (c) patricians and plebeians (d) masters and apprentices
- (vi) Explain in one sentence what is meant by the sex ratio.
- (vii) A sample in which every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected is called:
 - (a) a quota sample (b) a purposive sample
 - (c) a snowball sample (d) a simple random sample
- (viii) Name the research method in which the investigator lives among the people studied over a long period and records what he observes.
- (ix) A family consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children is described as:

- (a) a nuclear family (b) a joint family
(c) an extended family (d) a polygynous family
- (x) Give the term for the rule by which a person must marry within his own group.
- (xi) Descent traced through the mother's line is called:
(a) patrilineal (b) bilateral
(c) matrilineal (d) ambilineal
- (xii) State in one sentence what is meant by social stratification.
- (xiii) The sociologist who gave Indian sociology the concept of Sanskritisation was:
(a) G. S. Ghurye (b) A. R. Desai
(c) Irawati Karve (d) M. N. Srinivas
- (xiv) Distinguish in one sentence between sex and gender.
- (xv) Movement from one position to another at the same level of a stratification system is called:
(a) vertical mobility (b) horizontal mobility
(c) intergenerational mobility (d) structural mobility
- (xvi) Name the process by which a child learns the ways of the society into which he is born.
- (xvii) The agency of socialisation that a child encounters earliest is usually:
(a) the school (b) the peer group
(c) the family (d) the mass media
- (xviii) State in one sentence what sociologists mean by a social movement.
- (xix) The term used for the practices and beliefs a group inherits from the past and continues to follow is:
(a) tradition (b) modernisation
(c) secularisation (d) westernisation
- (xx) Name any one social movement in India concerned with the environment.

Question 2 [10]

Each part carries 2 marks. Answer each part in two or three sentences.

- (i) Distinguish between a society and a community. [2]
- (ii) State two differences between a caste and a class. [2]
- (iii) Give two reasons why the joint family has declined in urban India. [2]
- (iv) Distinguish between a primary group and a secondary group. [2]
- (v) State two functions performed by religion according to a functionalist account. [2]

SECTION B (50 Marks)

Attempt any five questions from this Section. Each question carries 10 marks.

Question 3 [10]

- (a) Explain Durkheim's distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity. [3]
- (b) Explain what Weber meant by the ideal type, and give one example of his use of it. [3]
- (c) Explain the main propositions of conflict theory, and compare them with those of structural functionalism, stating what each is better able to explain. [4]

Question 4 [10]

- (a) Explain three features of the symbolic interactionist approach. [3]
- (b) Explain the feminist criticism of classical sociology. [3]
- (c) Explain what postmodernist writers mean by their scepticism about grand theories, and set out the objections raised to the postmodernist position. [4]

Question 5 [10]

- (a) Explain the difference between quantitative and qualitative research, with one example of each. [3]
- (b) Explain three problems a researcher faces in using the interview as a method. [3]
- (c) Explain the uses and the limitations of participant observation, and state the ethical questions a researcher using it must consider. [4]

Question 6 [10]

- (a) Explain three functions of the family. [3]
- (b) Explain the difference between a lineage and a clan, and explain what is meant by the rule of exogamy. [3]
- (c) Explain the changes that have taken place in marriage in India in recent decades, and examine the arguments made about whether these changes have improved the position of women within marriage. [4]

Question 7 [10]

- (a) Explain three features of the caste system as it was traditionally described. [3]
- (b) Explain what is meant by Sanskritisation and by dominant caste. [3]
- (c) Explain the arguments made for and against reservation in education and public employment in India, and state what the disagreement turns on. [4]

Question 8 [10]

- (a) Explain three ways in which gender inequality appears in the Indian economy. [3]
- (b) Explain what is meant by the feminisation of poverty and by the double burden. [3]
- (c) Explain the main explanations offered for the low and declining child sex ratio in parts of India, and examine the arguments about how far law has been able to address it. [4]

Question 9 [10]

- (a) Explain the difference between culture and civilisation, and state what is meant by material and non-material culture. [3]
- (b) Explain three ways in which the school acts as an agency of socialisation. [3]
- (c) Explain what is meant by secularisation, and examine the arguments made for and against the view that Indian society has become more secular. [4]

Question 10 [10]

- (a) Explain three features that distinguish a social movement from a crowd or a riot. [3]
- (b) Explain the difference between modernisation and westernisation, with an example of each. [3]
- (c) Explain the main features of the movements of agricultural workers and of peasants in independent India, and examine the arguments made about whether development projects that displace populations can be justified. [4]

ANSWER KEY AND MARKING SCHEME

Marks shown at the end of each answer are the step marks an examiner would award. Answers are given in full so that a candidate may see what a complete response looks like, and a shorter answer that carries the same substance earns the same marks. Where a part asks for arguments on both sides, no mark is attached to the view the candidate holds, and the marks go to the fair statement of each position and to the evidence offered. Accept any correct alternative example or any correct alternative reason not printed here.

Question 1 [20]

- (i) (b) Auguste Comte. He gave the subject its name and held that human thought passes through theological, metaphysical and positive stages, the last being the scientific.

Correct option 1.

- (ii) Anomie, the state in which the norms that ordinarily limit what people expect and desire lose their hold, so that individuals are left without adequate moral regulation.

Anomie named 1.

- (iii) (c) structural functionalism. The approach asks what each institution contributes to the maintenance of the whole and treats society as a system of interdependent parts.

Correct option 1.

- (iv) Verstehen, the interpretive understanding of social action which requires the investigator to grasp the meaning the action holds for the actor himself.

Verstehen named 1.

- (v) (a) bourgeoisie and proletariat. The first owns the means of production, the second owns only its labour power and must sell it.

Correct option 1.

- (vi) The sex ratio is the number of females per thousand males in a population, or in a stated age group within it, and it is used as an indicator of the relative position of women and men in a society.

Number of females per thousand males correctly stated 1.

- (vii) (d) a simple random sample. Because selection is by chance alone, the sample is unbiased in principle and the laws of probability may be used to estimate the error.

Correct option 1.

- (viii) Participant observation, often described as fieldwork or as the ethnographic method, in which the investigator takes part in the life of the group while recording what he sees.

Participant observation named 1.

- (ix) (a) a nuclear family. It consists of the married pair and their unmarried children living as a single household.

Correct option 1.

- (x) Endogamy, the rule requiring marriage within a defined group such as the caste, the sub-caste or the religious community.

Endogamy named 1.

- (xi) (c) matrilineal. Descent, and commonly the inheritance of property, pass through women, as among the Nayar of Kerala and the Khasi and Garo of Meghalaya.

Correct option 1.

- (xii) Social stratification is the arrangement of the members of a society in layers of unequal rank, so that groups differ in a settled way in their access to wealth, power and prestige, and the inequality is passed on rather than created afresh in each generation.

Ranked and enduring inequality between groups correctly stated 1.

- (xiii) (d) M. N. Srinivas. He developed the concept from his study of the Coorgs and used it to describe the imitation by a lower caste of the customs of a higher one.

Correct option 1.

- (xiv) Sex refers to the biological differences between male and female, while gender refers to the roles, expectations and attributes that a society attaches to those differences and that vary between societies and

over time.

Biological difference distinguished from socially constructed roles 1.

- (xv) (b) horizontal mobility. The person changes occupation or place without rising or falling in rank, as when a schoolteacher moves to a clerical post of comparable standing.

Correct option 1.

- (xvi) Socialisation, the lifelong process by which a person learns the language, norms, values, skills and roles of his society and so becomes a member of it.

Socialisation named 1.

- (xvii) (c) the family. It is the first group into which the child enters, it supplies the earliest care and language, and its influence is reinforced by the emotional attachment between its members.

Correct option 1.

- (xviii) A social movement is a sustained and organised collective effort by a body of people to bring about, resist or reverse a change in some part of the social order, carried on outside the ordinary routine of institutional politics.

Sustained, organised collective action directed at change correctly stated 1.

- (xix) (a) tradition. The word denotes inherited practice handed down and accepted on the authority of the past.

Correct option 1.

- (xx) Any one of the following is acceptable: the Chipko movement in the Himalayan region, the Narmada Bachao Andolan against large dams on the Narmada, the Silent Valley movement in Kerala, or the Appiko movement in Karnataka.

One correct movement named 1.

Question 2 [10]

- (i) A society is the whole web of relationships among a population that shares a way of life and a system of institutions, and the term is used for a large and comprehensive unit such as Indian society. A community is narrower. It is a body of people living in a particular locality who share a sense of belonging together and a common life, so that a village, a neighbourhood or a small town is a community, and the feeling of being one, which sociologists call the we-feeling, is its distinguishing mark. A society may therefore contain very many communities within it.

Society explained as the whole system of relationships and institutions 1. Community explained with its locality and its sense of belonging 1.

- (ii) First, membership of a caste is determined by birth and cannot ordinarily be changed, whereas a class position rests on economic standing, on occupation, income and education, and may be altered within a lifetime, so a class system permits mobility that a caste system in its classical form denied. Second, caste is a closed status group with ritual content. It carries rules of endogamy, restrictions on commensality and a traditional association with particular occupations, and it ranks groups by purity and pollution, while class carries no ritual ranking and no rules about marriage or eating, and class boundaries are matters of degree rather than of prescription.

Ascription by birth against achievement and mobility 1. Ritual ranking with endogamy and occupational association, against purely economic standing 1.

- (iii) First, the change in the organisation of work. Employment in offices, factories and services is individual, is paid by wage or salary rather than drawn from a common holding, and frequently requires a move to the place where it is found, so the economic basis of the joint household, a jointly held property worked together, is absent in the city. Second, the cost and the shortage of urban housing, which makes accommodation for a large household difficult and expensive to find, and to these may be added the smaller number of children, the spread of education and the wish of educated younger couples for independence in their own decisions.

Change in the organisation of work, with individual wage employment and migration 1. Housing constraint, or the wish of younger couples for independence 1.

- (iv) A primary group is small, its members meet face to face, the relations between them are personal and valued for their own sake, and the group has a lasting influence on the formation of personality. The family and a

group of close friends are the usual examples. A secondary group is larger and more impersonal. Contact in it is indirect or occasional, relations are specific to a purpose and are governed by rules and offices rather than by affection, and a member is replaceable without the group being changed. A trade union, a political party or the staff of a large company are examples.

Primary group described, with its intimacy and its formative influence 1. Secondary group described, with its impersonal and purpose-specific relations 1.

- (v) First, religion is held to promote social integration. Shared beliefs and common ritual bring the members of a group together, remind them of what they hold in common and strengthen the collective sentiments on which the group depends, and Durkheim argued that in worshipping the sacred a society is in a sense expressing its own unity. Second, it is held to supply norms and to support social control, since conduct is prescribed in religious terms and is enforced by conscience and by the opinion of the group rather than by the state alone. A third function often given is that religion offers meaning and consolation in the face of death, illness and misfortune, which no other institution supplies in the same way.

Integration through shared belief and common ritual 1. Support of norms and social control, or the provision of meaning and consolation 1.

Question 3 [10]

- (a) Durkheim used the pair to contrast the basis on which two kinds of society are held together. Mechanical solidarity is found in small societies with little division of labour. The members resemble one another closely in occupation, belief and experience, individuality is slight, the collective conscience is strong and uniform, and the cohesion comes from likeness itself, so that an offence is felt as an injury to the whole group and the law is repressive, punishing the offender in order to reaffirm the common belief. Organic solidarity belongs to societies with an advanced division of labour. Here the members are not alike but specialised, and the cohesion comes from their need of one another, as the organs of a body are held together by their different contributions to its working. Individuality is pronounced, the collective conscience is weaker and more general, and law becomes restitutive, concerned with restoring a broken arrangement, enforcing a contract or compensating a loss rather than with punishment. The movement from the first to the second is for Durkheim the central fact of social development, and he warned that it is not automatic. Where the division of labour is forced, or where change outruns the growth of new regulation, the result is anomie, so a society of specialists requires moral and legal rules of its own if interdependence is to produce solidarity rather than disorder.

Mechanical solidarity explained, resting on likeness and a strong collective conscience 1. Organic solidarity explained, resting on the division of labour and interdependence 1. The accompanying change in law from repressive to restitutive, or the risk of anomie in the transition 1.

- (b) An ideal type is a deliberately constructed mental model in which the essential features of a social phenomenon are drawn out and stated in a pure and consistent form. It is not an average, since it does not describe what is most common, and it is not an ideal in the sense of something desirable, since one may construct an ideal type of a thing one deplores. It is an instrument of comparison. The investigator builds the model by emphasising those elements that seem decisive, and then measures actual cases against it, the interest lying precisely in the direction and the extent of the divergence. Weber's purpose in using it was to make comparison across very different societies possible without claiming that any one case matched the model exactly. His best known example is the ideal type of bureaucracy, in which he set out a hierarchy of offices, written rules, files and records, selection and promotion by qualification, a salaried career, the separation of the office from the person holding it and the separation of official from private property. No real administration shows all of these in full, and the value of the construct lies in letting one ask how far a given administration departs from them. He used the method again in his types of authority, traditional, charismatic and rational-legal, and in his account of the spirit of capitalism.

Ideal type defined as a constructed model of essential features, not an average and not a value judgement 1. Its use as an instrument of comparison and of measuring divergence 1. One correct example, such as bureaucracy or the three types of authority, with its content 1.

- (c) Conflict theory takes its starting point from Marx and has been developed since in a number of directions. Its main propositions are these. Society is marked above all by the unequal distribution of scarce resources, of property, power and prestige, and groups are formed by their position in that distribution. The relation between

such groups is one of opposed interest, since what one gains the other loses, so conflict rather than consensus is the normal condition of social life. Those who hold the advantage use their control of the state, the law, education and the means of communication to protect it, and the beliefs that pass for common sense in a society therefore tend to serve the interests of the dominant group, which is the sense in which ideology is said to make an unequal order appear natural or just. Change comes from the working out of these conflicts rather than from gradual adjustment, and the apparent stability of a society may rest on constraint rather than on agreement. Structural functionalism begins from the opposite end. It asks what each institution contributes to the working of the whole, treats society as a system of interdependent parts with a tendency towards equilibrium, holds that the members of a society share values which are transmitted by socialisation and that this sharing is what makes orderly cooperation possible, and explains persistence by the useful consequences an arrangement has for the system. Each approach is better at some things than the other. Functionalism is better at explaining why institutions persist, how the parts of a society fit together, how order is maintained and how the young are brought into it, and it accounts well for the routine, settled aspects of social life. Its weaknesses are that it tends to treat whatever exists as serving a purpose, which can slide into justifying it, that it finds change hard to explain except as disturbance, and that it gives little weight to power and to the question of whose interests an arrangement serves. Conflict theory is better at explaining inequality, change, resistance and the use of ideology, and at asking who benefits from an arrangement, which is the question functionalism neglects. Its weaknesses are that it can underestimate the extent to which people in very unequal societies do share values and cooperate willingly, that not all social relations are reducible to opposed interest, and that it has difficulty accounting for long periods of stability. Many sociologists therefore treat the two as complementary, and later writers have tried to join them by showing how an institution may at once perform a necessary function and serve a particular interest.

Three sound propositions of conflict theory, including unequal resources, opposed interests and the part of ideology 1. The contrasting propositions of structural functionalism, including interdependence, shared values and equilibrium 1. What functionalism explains better, with its weakness 1. What conflict theory explains better, with its weakness, and both treated fairly 1.

Question 4 [10]

- (a) First, the approach begins from meaning rather than from structure. Human beings do not respond to things as they are but to the meanings things have for them, and those meanings are not fixed properties of objects but arise in the course of interaction with others, so a gesture, a word or an object has the meaning that the participants in a situation give it. Second, it works at the level of the small-scale encounter. Where functionalism and conflict theory look at institutions and whole societies, interactionism studies the conversation, the classroom, the queue and the clinic, and holds that the larger social order is built up and maintained out of these countless encounters rather than existing above them. Third, it treats the self as social and as emergent. Through language and through taking the attitude of others towards oneself, a person acquires a self, becomes an object to himself and can therefore plan and revise his conduct, which is why interactionists stress that action is interpreted and constructed in the course of being performed rather than merely released by a stimulus or dictated by a role. Related to these is its characteristic method, since an approach concerned with meaning must use observation, informal interview and the study of personal documents rather than the questionnaire, and its characteristic subjects, among them the labelling of deviance, the management of impressions and the career of the person who comes to be treated as an outsider.

Meanings arising in interaction and governing conduct 1. Focus on small-scale encounters as the stuff of which the social order is made 1. The self as social and emergent, or the methodological preference that follows from the approach 1.

- (b) The feminist criticism is that classical sociology, while claiming to study society as a whole, in fact described it from the standpoint of men and left women largely out of the account. Four strands may be distinguished. First, the subjects chosen were those of public life, the economy, the state, bureaucracy, religion, class and the division of labour in industry, while the household, child rearing, unpaid domestic work, care of the sick and the old, and the relations within the family were treated as natural arrangements rather than as social institutions with a history and a structure of power, so that an enormous field of work and of authority escaped

examination. Second, where women appeared they appeared as wives, mothers and dependants, defined by their relation to men, and the difference between men and women was referred to biology rather than analysed as a social product, so what later writers distinguished as gender was not separated from sex. Third, the central concepts were built without women in view. Class was assigned to a household on the basis of the occupation of its male head, which made the position of women invisible by definition, and stratification, work and mobility were measured in the same way, while the evidence collected rested on male respondents and was generalised to everyone. Fourth, the very few women who wrote sociology in the period, and the writing of women on social questions more generally, were omitted from the canon the discipline handed down, so the exclusion was reproduced in the teaching of the subject. From these criticisms feminist sociology drew its positive programme: to make gender a basic category of analysis alongside class, to bring the household and unpaid work into the study of the economy, to treat patriarchy as a structure of power open to investigation, and to use methods that let women describe their own experience.

The charge that classical sociology described society from a male standpoint and omitted the private sphere 1. Women treated as dependants and difference referred to biology rather than analysed as gender 1. Central concepts and evidence built on male subjects, with the positive programme that followed 1.

- (c) By a grand theory is meant an account that claims to explain the whole course of social development from a single principle and to hold good for all societies and all periods. Marxism, with class conflict and the succession of modes of production, and evolutionary accounts of progress from the simple to the complex, are the usual examples, and postmodernist writers have called such accounts metanarratives. Their scepticism rests on several grounds. They argue that these theories were the product of a particular time and place, nineteenth century industrial Europe, and that in projecting its experience as the path of humanity they took a local history for a universal law. They argue that knowledge is always produced from some position and is bound up with power, so a theory that claims a view of the whole from nowhere is making a claim it cannot support, and that the claim has in practice been used to dismiss the understanding that people have of their own lives. They point to the diversity and the fragmentation of contemporary societies, in which identity is formed from many sources at once, class, region, language, religion, gender, consumption and image, so that a single master variable will not order the field. They therefore prefer accounts that are local, partial and plural, attend to language and representation, and treat the categories of social science themselves as constructions to be examined. The objections raised are substantial. If no account can claim general validity, the postmodernist position is itself an account and must fall under its own rule, which is the charge of self-refutation. If all knowledge is equally situated, there is no ground for preferring a careful study to a careless one or a true statement to a false one, and sociology loses its claim to be more reliable than opinion. Critics add that the position is politically disabling, since inequality and exploitation are facts about large structures, and a doctrine that declines to speak about structures and treats every claim as one narrative among many leaves those who suffer by them without an argument. They observe that the universal theories were not as uniformly wrong as the criticism suggests, that class, state and capital remain necessary for explaining what happens in the world, and that the attention to fragmentation itself describes the experience of a comparatively comfortable part of the world's population. A moderate position, held by many sociologists, accepts the warning against single-cause explanations and against mistaking the history of one region for the history of mankind, while retaining the ambition to explain and the standards of evidence by which explanations are judged.

Grand theory or metanarrative correctly explained with an example 1. Two sound grounds of the postmodernist scepticism 1. Two sound objections, including self-refutation and the loss of a standard for judging claims 1. Both positions stated fairly, with a moderate conclusion and no verdict imposed 1.

Question 5 [10]

- (a) Quantitative research is concerned with what can be counted and measured. It works with numerical data, uses large samples so that the findings may be generalised to a population, states its questions in advance in the form of variables and hypotheses, and uses statistical techniques to establish the strength of a relationship. Its characteristic instruments are the structured questionnaire, the census and the official statistical series, and its claims are about frequency, distribution and correlation. A survey of several thousand households measuring the relation between the education of the mother and the enrolment of her daughters in

school is an example. Qualitative research is concerned with meaning, process and context. It works with words, with what people say and do, uses a small number of cases studied in depth, allows the questions to develop as the work proceeds, and seeks to understand a situation as the participants understand it. Its characteristic instruments are participant observation, the unstructured or semi-structured interview, the life history and the case study. A study of one village over a year, living in it and recording how families reach decisions about the schooling of daughters, is an example. The two are complementary rather than opposed. The first establishes the extent of a pattern and the second explains how it comes about, and much good work uses both.

Quantitative research described, with measurement, large samples and generalisation 1. Qualitative research described, with meaning, depth and small numbers 1. One apt example of each 1.

- (b)** First, the interviewer himself affects the answers. His age, sex, dress, caste or community, accent and manner are read by the respondent, who adjusts what he says to the person in front of him, and the way a question is put, the tone used and any hint of approval or disapproval can steer a reply. Second, respondents do not always answer truthfully, and not from dishonesty alone. On matters of income, caste, drinking, voting, religious observance or the treatment of women within the household, the reply given is often the one the respondent believes to be respectable, which sociologists call the bias of social desirability, and some respondents give an answer to any question rather than admit that they have no view, while memory is unreliable for anything in the past. Third, there are practical and structural problems. Those who refuse, those who are not at home and those who cannot be found differ systematically from those who are interviewed, so the achieved sample is not the one designed. Interviews in a household are rarely private, so a woman may answer in the presence of her husband or mother-in-law, and matters of translation arise where the question was framed in one language and the interview conducted in another, since a term may not carry the same sense in both. Interviewing is also slow and expensive, which limits the number of cases, and in the unstructured form the record depends on the interviewer's notes and therefore on his selection.

Interviewer effect, with the characteristics of the interviewer and the framing of questions 1. Untruthful or shaped answers, including social desirability and the limits of memory 1. A third problem, such as refusals and non-contact, the absence of privacy, difficulties of translation, or cost 1.

- (c)** Participant observation is the method in which the investigator joins the life of the group he studies, over months or years, taking part in its activities while observing and recording them. Its uses are considerable. It is the best means of learning what people actually do rather than what they say they do, since the two frequently differ, and of catching the practices that no one would think to mention in an interview because they are too obvious to the participants. It allows meaning to be understood in its context, lets the investigator follow a process as it unfolds instead of taking a single reading of it, and makes it possible to study groups that would not answer a questionnaire, whether because they are not literate, because they distrust officials or because their activities are unlawful. It is also the method most likely to discover something the investigator had not thought to ask about, which is why it is valuable in the early stage of research on an unfamiliar subject. Its limitations are equally clear. The number of cases is very small, usually one, so there is no way of knowing how typical the findings are, and the method cannot establish how widespread a pattern is. The presence of the observer alters the behaviour observed, at least at first. The record depends almost entirely on one person's perception, memory and judgement of what mattered, and no other investigator can repeat the study to check it, so reliability is weak. There is the familiar risk that the observer identifies so closely with the group that he loses the distance needed for analysis, and the opposite risk of remaining so detached that he never understands it. The method is slow, costly in time, and demands skills of language and temperament not everyone has. The ethical questions arise chiefly from the closeness of the relationship. Whether the group has been told the truth about the investigator's purpose is the first, since covert observation obtains information from people who have not consented to give it and who may be embarrassed or harmed by its publication, while full disclosure may change the behaviour or close the field altogether, so most codes require consent and permit concealment only where the research could not otherwise be done and the subject is of real importance. The investigator must also protect those who helped him, by disguising names and places, because a published account can expose individuals to the anger of their own community or of the authorities, and must consider the limits of what should be published at all when he has been admitted to private matters.

He must weigh what he owes to people among whom he has lived and who have treated him as a friend, must avoid taking part in acts that harm others or involve him in illegality, and must consider whether anything is owed in return to the community studied.

Three uses of the method, including access to actual behaviour and to meaning in context 1. Two limitations, such as the problem of generalising from one case and the dependence on a single observer 1. Two further limitations, such as the observer's effect on behaviour, the risk of over-identification, or the cost in time 1. The ethical questions, including consent and the protection of informants, correctly set out 1.

Question 6 [10]

- (a) First, the regulation of sexual relations and the reproduction and rearing of children. Every society restricts sexual access through rules of marriage and prohibition, and the family is the arrangement within which children are conceived, borne, fed and brought to the point of looking after themselves, a period longer in human beings than in any other species. Second, socialisation and the transmission of culture. The family teaches the child language, the elementary rules of conduct, the distinction between right and wrong, the roles attached to age and sex, and the beliefs and practices of its community, and in doing so it places the child in a position in society, since caste, class, religion, language and often occupation are inherited through it. Third, economic functions and the provision of security. The family is a unit of consumption and in many settings of production, holds and transmits property, pools income, and supports those who cannot support themselves, the very young, the very old, the sick and the unemployed, which in a society without comprehensive public provision is of the first importance. To these should be added the provision of affection, companionship and emotional security, which writers on the modern family regard as having grown in relative weight as other functions have passed to schools, employers, insurers and the state.

Regulation of sexual relations with reproduction and the rearing of children 1. Socialisation, the transmission of culture, and the placing of the child in society 1. Economic function and the care of dependants, or the provision of emotional security 1.

- (b) A lineage is a group of people who trace descent from a common ancestor through a known series of links, so each member can in principle state the steps that connect him to the founder and to every other member. The genealogy is actual rather than assumed, the group is therefore of limited depth and size, and it commonly acts as a unit in holding land, in arranging marriages, in performing rites for the dead and in settling disputes among its members. A clan is larger and the descent it claims is putative. Its members believe themselves to be of one stock and behave towards one another as kin, but the connecting links cannot be traced, and the identity rests instead on a common name, a common totem, deity or place of origin and on shared observances. A clan is usually made up of several lineages, and in many Indian communities the clan, variously called gotra or kul, is the unit within which marriage is forbidden. Exogamy is the rule requiring a person to marry outside a defined group, which may be the lineage, the clan, the village or a range of kin fixed by the reckoning of prohibited degrees. It is the counterpart of endogamy, which requires marriage within a group, and the two commonly operate together, as where a person must marry within the caste but outside the clan. The usual explanations are that the rule prevents marriage between close kin, that it obliges each group to seek spouses from others and so creates ties of alliance between groups that would otherwise stand apart, and that it keeps the relations inside a descent group free of the competition that courtship would introduce.

Lineage defined by traceable descent from a known ancestor, with its functions 1. Clan defined by assumed common descent with a shared name, totem or place of origin 1. Exogamy defined, with its effect of creating alliances between groups 1.

- (c) The changes are of several kinds. The age at marriage has risen, particularly for women and particularly among the educated and in the cities, and the law now sets minimum ages, though marriage below them has not disappeared. Education and employment have given a growing number of women an income of their own and a say in whom and when they marry, and the practice of consulting the young people concerned has spread, so that arrangement by the family increasingly takes the form of introduction and negotiated consent rather than of decision without reference to them, while marriages contracted by the parties themselves, including some across caste and religion, have become more common in urban middle-class settings without becoming the general pattern. The grounds for divorce have been widened by legislation and divorce is somewhat less rare and somewhat less disgraceful than it was, maintenance and a share in matrimonial

property have been provided for, and the rights of a widow and of a daughter in family property have been strengthened, most notably by the amendment giving daughters an equal share in ancestral property in the Hindu law of succession. The law has been used against particular practices, dowry, child marriage and cruelty within the home, and new forms of household, the couple living away from both sets of parents, the wife employed outside, the marriage postponed for a career, have appeared in the cities. At the same time caste endogamy continues to govern the great majority of marriages, dowry has in many communities grown rather than diminished and has spread to groups that did not practise it, and family and increasingly the matrimonial advertisement and the website remain the usual route to a spouse. On whether the position of women within marriage has improved, those who argue that it has point to the later age at marriage, which leaves a woman more mature and better educated when she enters it, to the fall in the number of children borne, which reduces the burden and the risk of childbearing, to the earning of an independent income, which gives a woman an alternative and therefore a stronger bargaining position within the household, to the legal remedies now available against cruelty and desertion and the right to maintenance, which mean that a marriage is no longer a relation from which there is no exit, and to the recognition of a daughter's equal claim to property, which alters her standing in her natal family and so her position in her marital one. Those who argue that the improvement has been limited point out that rights on paper are reached only by those who can afford a lawyer and withstand the social cost of using them, that a woman who leaves a marriage still faces the loss of her children, of her income and of her standing, that employment has in many cases been added to domestic work rather than substituted for any part of it, so that the woman carries both, that dowry and the demands that follow it have intensified with rising consumption, that decisions about her earnings, her mobility and her fertility frequently remain with the husband or his family, and that the measured rate of women's participation in paid work has not risen in step with their education. Most observers accept both sets of facts and disagree about their relative weight, holding that the change has been real but uneven, greatest for educated urban women with an income and least for women without either, and a candidate should present it in those terms rather than deliver a verdict.

Three changes correctly described, such as the rise in age at marriage, wider grounds for divorce, and the strengthening of women's property rights 1. The elements of continuity, including caste endogamy and the persistence of dowry 1. The case that the position of women has improved, stated fairly with evidence 1. The case that the improvement has been limited, stated fairly, with the conclusion left open 1.

Question 7 [10]

- (a) First, membership was determined by birth and was unalterable. A person was born into a caste, remained in it for life whatever his wealth or attainment, and his children belonged to it after him, so the system was closed and status was ascribed rather than achieved. Second, the castes were ranked in a hierarchy ordered by ritual purity and pollution, and from that ranking followed restrictions on contact: rules about who might accept cooked food or water from whom, about physical proximity, about entry to temples and to sources of water, and at the lowest end the disabilities of untouchability. Third, each caste was associated with a traditional occupation, which was hereditary and from which a member was not expected to depart, and the castes were linked by the exchange of such services in the village, an arrangement described in some regions as the jajmani system. To these may be added caste endogamy, by which marriage was required within the caste or sub-caste, and the authority of the caste council or panchayat, which enforced the rules and could impose penalties including expulsion.

Determination by birth, with status ascribed and unalterable 1. Hierarchy based on purity and pollution, with the restrictions that followed from it 1. Hereditary occupation and the exchange of services, or endogamy and the authority of the caste council 1.

- (b) Sanskritisation is the process, named by M. N. Srinivas, by which a caste low or middle in the hierarchy takes over the customs, ritual, diet, dress and beliefs of a caste above it, most often a twice-born caste, in the hope of raising its own standing. The group may give up meat or liquor, adopt vegetarian food, take up the sacred thread, employ Brahmin priests, alter its marriage practices and claim a higher origin in its own account of itself. Two points about it are usually emphasised. It is a claim to a higher position within the existing order rather than a challenge to the order itself, since the group accepts the scale of ritual purity and merely disputes its own place on it, and the claim succeeds only if other castes come to accept it, which is a slow

business and may take more than a generation, so a caste's position in the local reckoning can change while the system of ranking stands. A dominant caste is a caste which, in a particular village or locality, holds a preponderance of economic and political power whatever its ritual rank. Srinivas listed the conditions: a large share of the cultivable land, strength of numbers, a position in the hierarchy that is not too low, and in the modern period education, government employment and political connections. Such a caste settles disputes, controls the labour and the tenancies of others, carries weight in the panchayat and in elections, and its customs tend to be imitated locally. The concept matters because it shows that ritual rank and actual power need not coincide, and because a dominant caste that is not itself at the top of the ritual scale may become a model for Sanskritisation in its own area.

Sanskritisation correctly defined, with examples of the practices adopted 1. The point that it claims a higher place within the hierarchy rather than rejecting it, and requires acceptance by others 1. Dominant caste defined, with the conditions of numbers, land and power, and the divergence of ritual rank from power 1.

- (c) In favour of reservation it is argued, first, that the groups for whom it is made were not merely poor but subjected for centuries to disabilities imposed by the social order itself, denied education, denied the use of common wells and roads, confined to degrading occupations and excluded from positions of authority, so the disadvantage is the product of a historical wrong and the state that abolished the disabilities owes a remedy for their effects. Second, that formal equality of opportunity is not equality where the starting points differ so widely. A competitive examination measures the schooling, the language, the coaching and the family support a candidate has had as much as his capacity, so a rule that treats unequals alike reproduces the inequality, and the Constitution expressly permits special provision for this reason. Third, that representation is itself valuable, since an administration, a judiciary and a legislature drawn from a narrow section govern without knowledge of the conditions of most of the population, and that the policy has demonstrably produced an educated and employed section among groups that had almost none, which changes what the next generation can expect. Fourth, that the presence of such officers and professionals weakens the assumption of incapacity on which the exclusion rested. Against reservation it is argued, first, that it distributes benefits by birth, which is the very principle the Constitution set out to abolish, and that it has the effect of keeping caste alive in public life and of giving every group an interest in being classified as backward. Second, that the benefit is captured by the better-off within the reserved categories, the children of those who have already secured education and employment, so that it does not reach the poorest, while the cost falls on individuals of other groups who are themselves poor and had no part in the historical wrong. Third, that selection otherwise than by measured performance may lower standards in institutions and services where competence matters directly, and that it stigmatises those who enter through it. Fourth, that it treats the symptom and not the cause, since what the disadvantaged most need is schooling, nutrition and health from the earliest years, and that effort put into reservation at the point of entry to colleges and services is effort diverted from building the capacity to compete. The disagreement turns on a small number of questions which the arguments do not settle. The first is what justice requires when a present inequality is the consequence of a past wrong, whether the proper unit of the remedy is the group that suffered or the individual who suffers now. The second is factual: how far the benefit has in fact reached the poorest within the reserved groups, and what the policy has done to the efficiency of institutions, on which the evidence is contested and incomplete. The third is about duration, since a measure justified as remedial must in principle have an end, and there is no agreement on what test should determine when a group no longer needs it. A candidate should set these out rather than decide the matter.

Two sound arguments in favour, including historical disability and the inadequacy of formal equality 1. A third argument in favour, such as the value of representation and the results achieved 1. Two sound arguments against, such as classification by birth and capture of the benefit by the better-off 1. The disagreement identified as turning on group against individual remedy, on contested evidence and on the question of duration, with no verdict 1.

Question 8 [10]

- (a) First, in the division of work itself. A very large part of what women do, cooking, cleaning, fetching water and fuel, care of children, the sick and the old, and unpaid labour on the family farm or in the family shop, falls outside the definition of economic activity used in official statistics, so it is neither counted nor paid, and the

measured rate of women's participation in the labour force is consequently much lower than the amount of work they actually perform. Second, in occupational segregation and in earnings. Women are concentrated in a narrow range of occupations, in agricultural labour, in construction, in domestic service, in the garment and food trades, in nursing and in school teaching, and they are heavily over-represented in casual and home-based work with no written contract and no social security, while they are thinly represented in supervisory and managerial posts; within the same occupation the daily wage reported for women is generally below that reported for men. Third, in the ownership of assets and in access to the means of production. Land, houses, livestock and business premises stand very largely in the names of men, and although the law has been changed to give daughters an equal claim in ancestral property, the practice of a daughter relinquishing her share at marriage is widespread, so women have less collateral, less credit and less security in old age. To these may be added unequal access to training and to technology, interruption of employment for childbearing and care without any corresponding provision, and restrictions on mobility that limit the work a woman may take.

Unpaid domestic and care work excluded from measured economic activity 1. Occupational segregation, concentration in informal work, and lower reported earnings 1. Unequal ownership of land and other assets, with its consequences for credit and security 1.

- (b) The feminisation of poverty is the observation that women form a disproportionate share of the poor and that poverty among women has particular features. Households headed by a woman alone, through widowhood, desertion, divorce or migration of the husband, are among the poorest, because such a household has a single earner who is likely to be in low-paid work, who must also do the domestic work and care, and who has little property and little access to credit. Within households that are not themselves the poorest, resources may be distributed unequally, so that a woman's share of food, of health care and of schooling is smaller than that of the men, which means that measuring poverty by household can conceal poverty among women. The concept also draws attention to the fact that women's poverty is bound up with their lack of independent entitlement to land, to a house and to a pension, so that a woman's security depends on her relation to a man and collapses when that relation ends. The double burden, sometimes called the double day, is the situation of a woman in paid employment who continues to carry the whole or almost the whole of the unpaid domestic and care work of her household. Her day is in effect made up of two working shifts, the second of which is unpaid, unrecognised and not reduced when the first is taken up. The consequences recorded are a longer total working day than that of men in comparable employment, less time for rest, for training and for anything else, and a constraint on the kind of job a woman can accept, since work far from home, work with irregular hours and work requiring travel become impracticable, which in turn limits her earnings and her advancement. The concept is used to argue that the entry of women into paid work does not by itself produce equality unless the domestic work is redistributed or provided for publicly.

Feminisation of poverty explained, with female-headed households and unequal distribution within the household 1. The connection with the absence of independent entitlement to assets 1. The double burden explained, with its consequences for the kind of employment a woman can take 1.

- (c) The explanations offered are several and most writers treat them as acting together. The first is the economic and social valuation of sons. In a system in which property passes through sons, in which the son is expected to support his parents in old age and to perform their funeral rites, and in which the daughter leaves at marriage to belong to another household, the son appears as an asset and the daughter as an expense, and this expense has been increased by the growth of dowry, which makes the marriage of a daughter a formidable charge on a family of modest means. The second is the structure of kinship and marriage in the regions where the ratio is lowest, where village exogamy and the practice of the daughter marrying away mean that she contributes nothing to her natal household after marriage, which writers contrast with parts of the south and north east where kinship is reckoned differently and the ratios are generally better. The third is the fall in desired family size combined with an unchanged wish for a son. When families expected six or seven children a son was likely to arrive in the course of nature, whereas a family that wants two children and still wants a son among them faces a conflict, and this is the mechanism by which smaller families and a persisting preference for sons can together produce a worse ratio. The fourth is the availability of technology for determining the sex of a foetus, which turned the preference into something that could be acted upon

before birth, and the observation that the deficit is often sharper in prosperous and better-educated districts than in poor ones is taken to show that means and not ignorance is the operative factor. Alongside these must be set the earlier and continuing forms of neglect after birth, in food, in attention to illness and in the readiness to spend on treatment, which raise mortality among girls in the early years. On the law, those who hold that it has achieved something point to the statute prohibiting the use of prenatal diagnostic techniques to determine sex and the advertisement of such services, which made the practice an offence and registration of clinics compulsory, to the prohibition of dowry and of child marriage, to the amendment giving daughters an equal share in ancestral property, and to conditional transfers and scholarships intended to make a daughter less of a financial liability. They argue that these have established a public norm, that the decline in the ratio was arrested and in some states reversed after sustained enforcement and publicity, and that the law provides the ground on which campaigning organisations can act. Those who hold that the law has achieved little point to the small number of convictions compared with the scale of the practice, the difficulty of proving an offence that takes place between a doctor and a willing family with no complainant, the ease with which the test can be done quietly or across a state border, the absence of a victim able to testify, the collusion of medical practitioners whose associations have resisted enforcement, and the fact that a prohibition cannot alter the calculation that makes a son valuable. They argue that the law treats the act and not the reason for it, and that what would change the reason is a daughter's secure claim to property and to maintenance of her parents, employment that makes her an earner, and the removal of dowry, none of which legislation alone has been able to deliver. The two positions are not far apart on the facts and differ on what weight to give to law as against social and economic change, and a candidate is expected to present them in that way.

Two sound explanations, including the economic valuation of sons with dowry, and the pattern of kinship and marriage 1. A third explanation, the combination of smaller desired family size with a continuing preference for sons, and the part of technology 1. The case that law has achieved something, with the measures named 1. The case that law has achieved little, with the difficulties of enforcement, and the question left open 1.

Question 9 [10]

- (a) Culture in the sociological sense is the entire way of life of a people, everything learnt and shared and transmitted from one generation to the next, including language, beliefs, values, norms, art, skills, habits of eating and dressing, and the objects a society makes and uses. It is learnt rather than inherited biologically, it is shared, so it belongs to a group and not to an individual, and it is cumulative, each generation receiving what the last had and adding to it. Civilisation is used by many writers in a narrower sense, for the more advanced and complex stage of social development, marked by cities, writing, the state, a division of labour and technology, and in that usage every society has a culture while only some have produced a civilisation. Where the two are contrasted directly, following a distinction common in earlier sociology, civilisation refers to the material and technical apparatus of life, the tools, machines, buildings and means of transport and communication, which is cumulative, measurable and readily borrowed, while culture refers to the ideas, values, art and beliefs that give that apparatus its meaning and which cannot be judged better or worse in the same straightforward way. Within culture itself sociologists distinguish the material from the non-material. Material culture is the physical things a society produces and uses, from a plough to a mobile telephone, and non-material culture is the intangible part, the language, the beliefs, the values, the norms, the customs and the knowledge. The two are connected but do not change at the same pace, and the term cultural lag is used for the interval in which the non-material part has not yet adjusted to a change in the material part, as when a new technology is in general use before any settled rules about its proper use have formed.

Culture defined as the learnt, shared and transmitted way of life 1. Civilisation distinguished, either as the advanced stage marked by cities and writing or as the material and technical apparatus 1. Material and non-material culture distinguished, with the idea of cultural lag or another sound illustration 1.

- (b) First, through what it teaches directly. The school transmits the knowledge and skills a society regards as necessary, literacy, numeracy, the standard form of a language, the history and geography of the country, and in doing so it hands on a common stock of information and a view of the society's past, which is one reason the content of textbooks is so often disputed. Second, through the hidden curriculum, which is the body of habits and values a pupil absorbs from the way the school is organised rather than from its lessons. Punctuality, the division of the day by a timetable, obedience to a person in authority who is not a relative,

standing in a queue, competing with others of the same age, being assessed by impersonal marks and being rewarded for application are all learnt in this way, and sociologists observe that these are precisely the dispositions that employment in a large organisation requires, so the school prepares the child for a world ordered by rules and offices rather than by kinship. Third, through the peer group it assembles. The school brings together a large number of children of the same age and keeps them together for years, which creates the first society the child enters in which position is not fixed by his family, and in it he learns to make and keep friendships, to lead and to follow, to bargain and to handle exclusion and rivalry. The school is also the point at which a child meets children of other castes, communities and classes, and the terms on which that meeting takes place, how far it is equal, how far it is segregated by the type of school or by practice within it, have a lasting effect on his attitudes. It is worth adding that the school allocates as well as socialises, since the certificates it awards decide what occupations are open to the pupil, and the authority it carries is that of the wider society rather than of the family, which is why its influence may compete with that of the home.

Direct transmission of knowledge, skills and a shared account of the society 1. The hidden curriculum, with the habits and values learnt from the organisation of the school 1. The peer group, with the experience of a status not fixed by family, or the school's allocative function 1.

- (c) Secularisation is the process by which religion loses its hold over areas of life it once governed. Writers distinguish several strands within it: the withdrawal of religion from the institutions of public life, so that the state, the law, education, medicine and the economy are conducted on their own principles rather than on religious ones, which is called the differentiation of spheres; the decline of religious belief and practice among individuals; and the reduction of religion to a private matter of personal choice, one option among others, rather than an inherited and unquestioned framework. It was expected by much of classical sociology to accompany industrialisation, urbanisation, the spread of schooling and the growth of scientific explanation, on the reasoning that a world understood through natural causes and managed by expert institutions leaves less for religion to do. On whether Indian society has become more secular, those who argue that it has point to the Constitution, which established a state without an official religion, which guarantees freedom of belief and forbids discrimination on religious grounds, and to a legal and administrative order in which appointment, taxation and criminal justice proceed without reference to a person's faith. They point to the growth of school and university education in which subjects are taught on scientific grounds, to the spread of medicine, so that illness is now generally taken to a doctor where it was formerly taken to a priest or an exorcist, and to the practice of agriculture and industry on technical rather than ritual calculations. They point to the abolition of untouchability and to legislation on marriage, succession, dowry and the age of marriage, which has subjected matters once settled by religious prescription to statute, to the opening of temples and of public wells and roads, and to urban life in which people of different faiths live, study and work together and in which the pollution rules governing food and contact have very largely broken down in public places. They add that observance in the sense of ritual exactness has become more a matter of individual choice, particularly among the educated and the urban, and that many people now describe their religion as a private belief rather than as a rule of life. Those who argue that it has not point out that religious observance remains widespread and visible, that pilgrimage, festivals, fasts and the consultation of astrologers have grown rather than diminished and have been carried into the cities and into the professional classes, and that the spread of money and of television has made religious activity larger in scale and better financed than before. They point out that religion has become more important in politics rather than less, that parties and movements appeal to religious identity, that electoral calculation rests on the composition of the electorate by community, and that caste, which carries a religious foundation, remains central to marriage and to voting. They point to the continuance of personal law administered differently for different communities, to the recurrence of communal violence, and to the use of modern means, broadcasting, the internet, organised publishing, to propagate belief, which suggests that modern technology may strengthen religion as readily as weaken it. The usual conclusion is that the two sets of facts are not contradictory, because secularisation is not a single process. The differentiation of public institutions from religious authority has gone a considerable distance in India, while the decline of belief and practice at the individual level has not, and religion has at the same time become more prominent as a marker of political identity, which is a different matter again from either. A candidate should distinguish the strands in this way rather than answer yes or no.

Secularisation defined, with the distinction between institutional differentiation and the decline of individual belief 1. The case that Indian society has become more secular, with evidence from law, education, medicine and urban life 1. The case that it has not, with evidence from observance, politics, personal law and the use of modern media 1. The two reconciled by distinguishing the strands of the process, with no simple verdict 1.

Question 10 [10]

- (a) First, a social movement is sustained over time, whereas a crowd or a riot is an episode. A movement continues for months or years, survives the dispersal of any particular gathering, and its participants expect to act again, which is why it can learn from failure and change its tactics. Second, it is organised and has a leadership, a membership of some kind, a means of raising money and communicating, and a recognised set of spokesmen, while a crowd is a temporary assembly without office-bearers and a riot has no organisation that survives it. Third, it has an articulated aim and an ideology. A movement states what it wants changed and offers an account of why the present arrangement is wrong and what should replace it, and this account is what allows it to recruit people who were not present at any particular incident, whereas a riot is a reaction to an immediate provocation and its participants need share nothing beyond the moment. To these may be added that a movement generally works within some conception of legitimate method, including petition, demonstration, non-cooperation or litigation, and that its relation to violence is a matter of deliberate choice rather than of the momentum of a crowd, and that a movement has a public identity and a name that outlive its individual members. The distinction is not absolute in practice, since a riot may be the occasion out of which a movement grows and a movement may produce crowds and sometimes loses control of them.

Sustained character over time, against the episodic crowd or riot 1. Organisation, leadership and the means of continuing 1. An articulated aim and ideology, or a chosen conception of legitimate method 1.

- (b) Modernisation is the broad process by which a society acquires the characteristics associated with industrial life: machine production and the use of inanimate power, urbanisation, a complex division of labour, mass schooling and literacy, rational and bureaucratic administration, the use of science and technology in agriculture, health and industry, mobility between occupations and places, and an outlook that attaches weight to achievement, measurement and planning. It is a general process, is not tied to any one country's culture, and may take place through institutions of a society's own. Westernisation, a term given currency in Indian sociology by M. N. Srinivas, is narrower and refers specifically to the changes brought about in Indian society by contact with the West, and particularly by British rule, so it is the adoption of the ways of a particular civilisation rather than a general transformation. It may be seen in dress, speech, food and manners, in forms of entertainment and in domestic arrangements, as well as in values such as humanitarianism and equality which Srinivas regarded as among its more important effects. An example of modernisation is the introduction of a cooperative bank and of high-yielding seed, tested fertiliser and electric pumps into the agriculture of a district, with the keeping of accounts and the planning of a crop cycle that this requires. An example of westernisation is the adoption by a family of trousers and shirts, of English as the language of the household, of furniture and of the celebration of a birthday with a cake. The distinction matters because the two need not go together. A family may be thoroughly westernised in its manners without having any modern technical competence, and a village may be modernised in its agriculture, its school and its dispensary while its domestic life remains wholly unwesternised, and writers point out that much of what is called westernisation in India consists of changes in style rather than in the organisation of production or of administration.

Modernisation defined as the general acquisition of the features of industrial society 1. Westernisation defined as the adoption of the ways of the West through contact and colonial rule 1. One apt example of each, with the point that the two need not go together 1.

- (c) Movements of agricultural workers and of peasants in independent India have taken several forms and it is useful to distinguish them. Movements of agricultural labourers, who own little or no land and work for wages, have been concerned chiefly with the daily wage, with regular employment, with the abolition of bonded and attached labour, with access to the village common, the pond and the burial ground, and with freedom from the personal subordination that attaches to the labour relation in a village; because the labouring population in many regions is drawn largely from the Scheduled Castes, these movements have usually combined an economic demand with a demand for dignity and against caste disability, and they have organised through unions affiliated to political parties and through local associations. Movements of peasants, who hold land,

have been concerned with other matters: with security of tenure and the abolition of intermediaries in the decades after Independence, when the demand was for land to the tiller and ceilings on holdings, and later, as a section of the peasantry became commercial producers, with the terms of trade between agriculture and industry, which is to say the prices paid for produce, the prices and availability of fertiliser, seed, diesel and electricity, the remission of loans and the charges for canal water and power. The movements of this later kind, strongest among the landed middle castes of the more irrigated regions, have used the blockade of roads and markets and the withholding of produce, and have formed organisations outside the established parties, and writers have noted that their demands are those of producers rather than of the poorest in the village, so that the interests of the peasant and of the agricultural labourer may be opposed over the wage. Alongside both have run movements of tribal cultivators against the alienation of their land and against exclusion from forests on which they depend. On the justification of development projects that displace populations, those who defend such projects argue that a country with large unmet needs cannot do without irrigation, electricity, minerals, roads, ports and industry; that a dam or a mine serves a population very much larger than the one displaced, bringing water to drought-prone districts, power to towns and villages and employment to a region, so that the gain, though spread thinly over many, is real and substantial; that some displacement is unavoidable because the site of a resource is fixed by nature; and that the proper response is not to abandon the project but to compensate, resettle and rehabilitate those affected, and to give them a share in the benefit, through land for land, employment, a stake in the undertaking and the provision of services at the new site. Those who object argue that the burden and the benefit fall on different people, the loss being concentrated, immediate and borne largely by those least able to bear it, cultivators without formal title, forest dwellers and tribal communities, while the benefit is diffused among the better-off and the urban; that the loss is not fully compensable in money, since it includes a livelihood based on land, forest and river, a network of kin and neighbours, a place of worship and a way of life that cannot be reconstituted elsewhere; that the record of resettlement has in many cases been poor, with land not provided or provided late and of worse quality, payments delayed and families dispersed; that those displaced are seldom consulted before the decision is taken, so the people who bear the cost have no voice in whether it is to be borne; and that the projected benefits have sometimes been overstated and the environmental and social costs understated in the appraisal. The disagreement does not turn mainly on whether development is needed, which both sides accept, but on three questions: how the gains and losses of very different kinds are to be compared, what is owed to those who lose and whether anything short of their consent is enough, and who should decide. Legislation has moved some way towards the second and third of these by requiring social impact assessment, consent in certain categories of acquisition and rehabilitation as a condition of taking land, and the debate now turns largely on how far these requirements are observed in practice. A candidate should present the positions and the questions between them rather than decide the matter.

Movements of agricultural labourers described, with their demands on wages, bonded labour and dignity 1. Movements of peasants described, with the shift from tenure and land reform to prices, inputs and loans, and the possible conflict of interest between the two 1. The case for development projects, with compensation and rehabilitation, stated fairly 1. The case against, with the concentration of loss, the incompleteness of compensation and the absence of consent, and the questions left open 1.