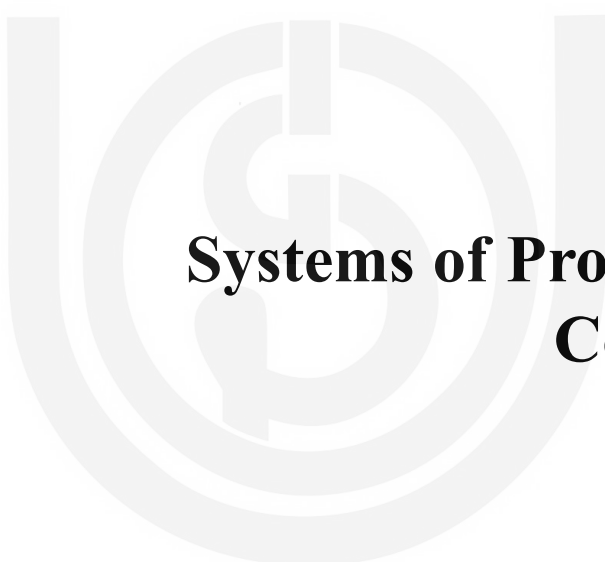


The logo of Ugnou University, featuring a stylized 'U' and 'G' intertwined within a circular design.

Block 3

Systems of Production, Circulation and Consumption

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UNIT 6 HUNTING AND GATHERING*

Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Hunting and gathering
- 6.3 Characteristics of hunting and gathering societies
 - 6.3.1 Family as primary unit
 - 6.3.2 Larger territories
 - 6.3.3 Headman as legal authority
 - 6.3.4 Natural resources as the source of food
 - 6.3.5 Exchange relations
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- 6.4 Economic aspects of hunting and gathering societies
 - 6.4.1 Survival strategies of hunters and gatherers
 - 6.4.2 Tools in hunting and gathering societies
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 - 6.4.4 Right over natural resources
- 6.5 Social organization of hunting and gathering societies
 - 6.5.1 Simple social system
 - 6.5.2 Patterns of sharing food
- 6.6 Political organization of hunting and gathering societies
 - 6.6.1 Extremely simple political organization
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- 6.7 Socio-cultural dynamics among hunters and gatherers
- 6.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 6.9 References
- 6.10 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

6.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- describe the notions of hunting and food gathering and the nature of these societies.
- discuss the characteristics of hunting and gathering societies.
- explain the economic aspects of hunters and gatherers.
- discuss the social and political organization of hunters and food gatherers; and
- explain the socio-cultural dynamics of hunting and gathering societies.

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6.2 INTRODUCTION

Hunting and gathering is a way of living characterised by their mode of subsistence. This unit primarily focuses on living patterns of hunting and gathering societies. It elucidates the basics of hunting and gathering societies through pointing out their chief characteristics. The unit also informs about the mode of economy of the hunting and gathering societies through exploring various activities that hunters and gatherers engage in. These activities which ranges from the survival tactics they use to the use of tools to the bounded environment which determines the rights of hunters and gatherers over the available resources. It illustrates the socio-political set up of these societies in addition to throwing light on the socio-cultural aspects of these societies.

6.2 HUNTING AND GATHERING

Human beings since ages have survived a varied number of different types of societies. Scholars who attempted to study these societies since beginning usually refer to six different forms of societies. These societies are characterised by the use of technology. One such society is hunting and gathering society. Human beings categorised under the hunting and gathering societies rely heavily on animal hunting, fishing, or collecting seeds and other plant extracts for their survival. They exploit natural resources which are their chief modes of survival, and anthropologists call such category of people as hunters and gatherers (Bettinger, 1991). These societies were completely dependent on their immediate natural surroundings. Hunters and gathers strive collectively to get a hunt. They would equally divide their work (the hunting practice) among its members and store some part of their hunt for consumption in times of crisis (Testart, 1982). The hunt includes animals as well as fruits and vegetables from the forest. These societies are also characterised by gendered division of labour. While the male members generally travel larger distances for a big hunt, females would gather plants, hunt small animals, and engage in household chores such as child rearing. Female members would also aid in the protection of their tribe from the rivals. Also being identified as tribal groups, the members of hunter and gatherer societies share an inherited legacy as well as shared traditions. In order to sustain their culture, they would go to any extent even to sacrificing their individuality.

Box 6.1

Archaeological excavations in recent times, using laser technology and other improved satellite techniques discovered that the notion that women were not engaged in big animal hunting was not actually correct, since some of the human skeletons discovered associated with large or big animal hunting were found to be that of females rather than males. Therefore modern technologies have refined the earlier scientific beliefs or contentions.

Hunters and gatherers are the tribal nomads who keep moving from place to place in search of animals. During hunting, they live in caves or set up their shelter from the branches and leaves of big trees and settle down as communities. They settle down at a place where they anticipate the environment will offer

sufficient food to them. They would rely on natural environment for manufacturing tools such as stone, wood, bone, etc and the method of making tools was simple. Hunters and gatherers were knowledgeable people in the sense that they would understand the behaviour of animals as well as the growing process of plants (Pappu, 2004). They would trade their natural extracts with other forms of societies such as agriculturalists and pastoralists and thus establish an exchange relationship with them.

6.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF HUNTING AND GATHERING SOCIETIES

From the discussion detailed above, we can derive the following characteristics of hunting and gathering societies:

6.3.1 Family as Primary Unit

Primarily, the basic component of a society consists in a collection of people who stay in small numbers within a single family. Different groups in a society share common kinship ties. These societies are predominating among other social organizations which exist in the closest vicinity. This kind of social structure was found among hunters and gatherers only and it sustained only until the arrival of agricultural societies.

6.3.2 Larger territories

Hunting and gathering societies are generally spread over larger distances. Every unit in hunting and gathering society camps at a distance from the other. The total population of each society is far less than was found among the succeeding form of society. Hunters and gatherers rely on natural resources both wild animals and wild plants for food and the primary site for these resources is the territory they occupied.

6.3.3 Headman as legal authority

No single unit in hunting and gathering societies have any prescribed formal laws. However there are collectively elected headmen usually two in number in each hunting and gathering group, who hold the position and govern them (Maisels, 2005). The headmen generally are more authoritative than other men. Headmen however cannot order members of his band to get his wishes fulfilled. Each group has its own behavioural codes, which at times apply to all the groups in the larger hunting and gathering society.

6.3.4 Natural resources as the source of food

Food is the centre of discussion while one engages with hunting and gathering societies since it determines their way of living. The main source for the collection of food among hunters and gatherers is the natural environment where they gather or hunt. It is not cultivated or produced by these societies. However, there are few hunters and gatherers found in countries other than India who engage in crop cultivation also but their primary mode of subsistence is hunting and gathering.

6.3.5 Exchange relations

Hunting and gathering societies preserve certain food resources but there is a limit to it. At the same time, each hunting and gathering band has access to some particular type of natural resource which they consume as food. Therefore to acquire other varieties of food, they exchange the food they have more access to with other bands having access to different resources. This exchange system takes place through reciprocity and in the form of gifts. This kind of exchange relationship is significant since it does not involve exchange for money but it is more of a commodity in exchange of commodity.

6.3.6 Division of labour

Among hunters and gatherers, there is a gendered division of labour i.e. between two sexes rather than within one sex. However, aging is also sometimes a reason for the unequal division of labour among them. Adult males from various units almost perform the same. Similarly, adult women from various units perform the same. However the nature of performance varies from male to female adults. Women usually engage in the collection of plants for food. They care and nurture their children. Men on the other hand take up the task of hunting big animals in the wild. There are also aged males, who usually do not engage in any labour.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define hunters and gatherers?
.....
.....
2. What is their primary mode of survival?
.....
.....
3. Hunters and gatherers are non-nomads. True () False ()
4. The prime authority in hunting and gathering societies is called
5. Mention six main features of hunting and gathering societies.
.....
.....

6.4 ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF HUNTING AND GATHERING SOCIETIES

The primary modes of economy for hunting and gathering societies comprises their methods of subsistence such as hunting, gathering, collecting weeds, fishing, and so on. Other than the forest produce which they consume and trade for economic purposes, hunters and gatherers also rely on rivers and sea as the sources of food. However, they have no control over these resources. What are their survival strategies; what tools do they use; their nomadic character; as well as property rights are discussed below?

6.4.1 Survival strategies of hunters and gatherers

Hunting and gathering societies are often identified through ways they collect their food. The means of subsistence is the defining character of these societies. This criterion to define the hunting and gathering societies also determines their means of economy (Jochim, 1981). However their means of economy cannot be narrowed down to the means of subsistence only. Hunters and gatherers also engage in other activities for economy such as tools making, handicrafts, baskets, clothes, weapons, and so on. Generally, people belonging to hunting and gathering societies engage in various economic activities which can be grouped into three broad forms: (i) collecting food resources; (ii) transformation and preservation of food resources and (iii) the production of other items of daily use. Hunters and gatherers during the pre-historic times engaged in all these three economic activities however their survival strategy involves the collection of food resources only among these three economic activities.

6.4.2 Tools in hunting and gathering societies

From the pre-historic times, hunters and gatherers made tools out of stones. They would carve the stones to transform them into sharpened ones and use them for cutting purposes. However there was refinement in the technology used for hunting and gathering in the latter periods. Stone technology was replaced by bone technology. Hunters and gathers used bones to invent bow and arrows, fish hooks, harpoons, and so on in addition to the domestic tools such as ivory needles. The invention of these tools in itself saw transformations in terms of their shifting phases which differ over different periods in the history such as from rough tools in paleolithic period, microlithic tools in Mesolithic period and polished tools in Neolithic period (Maisels, 2005). The latter stages of hunters and gatherers can be characterised through the use of metallic tools which too had a chronology in terms of their usage by these societies such as hunters and gatherers initially relied on copper for making tools and the corresponding stage is called as copper age. This was followed by bronze age and finally the iron age.

Activity 1

Visit a Natural History Museum and record the details about evolution of life on earth and human societies. Discuss with your peer in the Study Centre and write an essay on it.

6.4.3 Geographical flexibility

Hunters and gatherers generally travel from one region to another depending upon the availability of resources. This regional movement ensures the least depletion of food resources around various geographical locations. They move from high altitude regions to low altitude regions seasonally following the depletion of resources at either of the sites. Such a kind of mobility is called as radiating mobility and occurs due to the deficiency of resources. However the depletion in the kind of resources acts as a forcing agent to look for alternate resources, which is a kind of compensation for the reduction in resources. Relying on alternate resources involves hunters and gatherers shifting their food resource preferences. For example, the deficiency in forest crops may force them to rely more on animal hunting. However they simultaneously engage in crop collection

which is not available in abundance. This kind of mobility is found among hunters and gatherers having various means of subsistence.

6.4.4 Right over natural resources

Hunting and gathering societies are generally small collection of people who have a collective right over the resources available within the geographical landscape they inhabit. Members from other hunting and gathering societies are not allowed to hunt or collect wild crops into a territory occupied by others. They however exchange the products with other hunting and gathering societies and this exchange takes place in the form of gifts. Thus their relationship with the members of neighbouring societies is jovial. Since hunters and gatherers rely heavily on the land they dwell in for their survival, therefore they are very cognisant about the right to use land resources. However because the resources are most often scattered across vast land, therefore different hunting and gathering societies have access to either only one form of resource or they may have access to varieties of resources however there is always a dominating. For example, if a band has more access to fishing, another band will most likely have least access to fishing because of their occupation of a territory. Within their territory, they may have more access to other resources say wild plants or wild animals. Such a circulation of access to resources ensures cordial relations among various groups through the exchange of goods and through the formation of marital ties.

There are however instances when hunters and gatherers exclusively own resources. This aspect of rights over resources becomes apparent when resources are available in abundance.

6.5 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF HUNTING AND GATHERING SOCIETIES

The social organization of hunters and gatherers can be determined through their kinship ties and the patterns of sharing resources. These are discussed below:

6.5.1 Simple social system

Hunting and gathering societies generally form extremely simple social systems and these societies are capable to satisfy their subsistence requirements. Due to this feature of hunters and gatherers, Sahlin calls them original affluent society. Various units within a particular hunting and gathering society are categorized through kinship ties especially the ones recognised through paternal lines however kinship sometimes is formed through female lineages also. Kinship ties are the foremost feature of these societies and an important source of social organization. Hunting and gathering societies rely more on kinship ties because of their collective surviving strategies. There are no specific roles for a particular member of these societies which could benefit them economically. As such there are certain members who engage in arrow-making or any other activity but these activities are for collective interest. Their primary role for economic gains is hunting and gathering. The other basis for a specialized role entails the gendered division of labour as mentioned earlier according to which men go for hunting while women collect forest vegetation. Other than this, women also engage in a kind of skilled labour involving stitching of clothes for members of a band. In general, both men and women contribute to their mode of subsistence.

6.5.2 Patterns of sharing food

At the same time, hunters and gatherers extensively share their food and other resources with members of their kinship group as well as with those they have friendly ties with. Kinships are at the base of formation of bonds among hunters and gatherers which is realized through marital ties. These ties sometimes serve as a means of subsistence when there is depletion of natural resources and the hunters return empty-handed. In such critical situations, other members of who got sufficient resources for consumption likely share it with those who got nothing. There are other critical instances also where none of the band's members able to go for hunt. In such cases, they request members of other groups to hunt for them and allow them to collect resources from their territory.

6.6 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF HUNTERS AND GATHERERS

Political organisation amongst the hunters and gatherer societies have varied from being based on simple social organisations to quite complex social organisations. Here we have explained the different features of both.

6.6.1 Extremely simple political organization

In hunting and gathering societies, there is a headman who is recognised as an authority in a band. Headman is the one among the members of a band who is the most senior and possesses charismatic qualities. Headman in hunting and gathering societies cannot issue orders but convince members of his band. Generally the decisions are quite egalitarian. Opinions from both the sides, in times of dispute, are properly heard. However to claim that all hunting and gathering societies have simple political organization is not true. There are certain hunting and gathering societies found in Northwest Coast who engage in salmon fishing. They preserve salmons which are available to them easily. These societies have commanding chiefs as their leaders and therefore their political system is not simple. Lack of leader in times of intra-group and inter-group disputes are sometimes fatal. Some scholars claim that these disputes may sometimes result in murders and this is common among both politically simple and complex hunting and gathering societies. These societies are considered as peaceful societies, but their murder rate is quite high the result being the difference of opinion with the leader. Inter-familial disputes often result in splitting of larger groups who consequently create their own groups which are small in size.

Activity 2

Go to a library and get the books by Sir E.Evans Pritchard on “The Nuers”
Read the book and write an essay of two pages on their political organization.
Discuss this with your Academic Counsellor and your peers at the Study Center.

6.6.2 Problems in inter-band or intercultural relations

Hunting and gathering societies are characterised by the kinship relations and this keeps them bounded within a territory. This inter-band relationship is not governed by any representative authority. Every neighbouring band has its own

headman who shields the entire band and implements certain prescribed rules or punishes its members who do not conform to their rules. However there were conflicts between different hunting and gathering bands which were mostly based on resources. There was competition among different bands also with regard to the nature of resources they hunt or gather in the wild. For example the competition was among various hunting groups. The locus of competition was who can hunt bigger animals or who would collect quality crops from the forest and in large quantity. As a result of this competition, scholars have often pointed out that there was a fair amount of inter-band conflict existent among hunters and gatherers. This conflict oriented competition over resources was prevalent among neighbours who do not fall in their kinship group. However owing to minimal political effectiveness, the conflicts would not last long. This unfriendly relationship among non-kinship bands in hunting and gathering societies did not affect their exchange relationship with non-kinship bands.

6.7 SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS AMONG HUNTERS AND GATHERERS

Hunting and gathering societies live in remarkably peaceful manner. They generally promote self-reliance at an individual level however they sometimes perform for the entire band or lend their hand to the neighbouring bands also. They do not follow any strict mode of punishment in cases of inter-band or intra-band conflicts. Hunters and gatherers have quite extreme demands to promote individual hunting and gathering activities (Price and Brown, 1985). They nurture their children in a manner that learn to respect the headman who is the powerful authority in a band. This patterns of socialization favours very well to the living patterns of hunters and gatherers.

At the same time, there are other hunting and gathering societies, small in size, who do not have specialization in particular activities. They learn through certain cultural practices such as carving stones or artwork on bones which they preserve in the form of culture. This artistic handiwork which only a few band members happen to learn is lost over a passage of time due to the lack of interest in the preservation of culture. A common example of this sort of cultural negligence is found among the hunting and gathering societies in Tasmania who later borrowed their culture from Australian hunters and gatherers but lost them gradually.

Members in any hunting and gathering band obtain cultural traits through social learning, a process which involves both imitating the elders and other senior members as well as through practice involving experiments. Due to their inhibiting political character, there is the cultural persuasion over the kind of political organization they have. Material culture possesses greater amount of artistic information and therefore it may be least affected by environmental and global conditions in relation to the performance traits.

Check Your Progress 2

1. What are the means of economy for hunting and gathering societies?

.....

.....

2. What kind of tools were used in Mesolithic period?

.....

3. What do you mean by radiating mobility?

.....

.....

4. Members of any band can hunt and collect crops from the territory of others also.

True () False ()

5. The political organization of hunting and gathering societies is generally

.....

6.8 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we discussed the fundamentals of hunting and gathering societies. The unit offers a basic overview of the overall living patterns of hunters and gatherers. It points out the basic characteristics of hunting and gathering societies and also traces the economic aspects prevalent among hunters and gatherers through the ways they carry their surviving strategies and the tools they use in order to hunt and collect resources from their territory which is bounded. Hunting and gathering societies have both social and political organizations. The unit enlightens about their social organization through focussing on the two main aspects of their social organization and further takes us into the political organization among hunters and gatherers. Towards the end, the unit briefs about the socio-cultural dynamics of hunting and gathering societies.

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6.10 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. Hunters and gatherers are the tribes characterised by their mode of subsistence.
2. The primary mode of survival for hunters and gatherers include hunting wild animals and collecting crops from natural habitat.
3. False
4. Headman
5. 1) Family as primary unit 2) Larger territories
3) Headman as legal authority 4) Natural resources as the source of food
5) Exchange relations 6) Division of labour

Check Your Progress 2

1. The means of economy for hunting and gathering societies are tools making, handicrafts, baskets, clothes, weapons in addition to hunting and crop collection.
2. Microlithic tools
3. Radiating mobility means movement from high altitude to low altitude regions on a seasonal basis due to the depletion of resources.
4. False
5. Simple

UNIT 7 PASTORALIST AND HORTICULTURALIST*

Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction to pastoralists
- 7.2 Pastoralist distribution in India
 - 7.2.1 Pastoralism along the drylands of Western India
 - 7.2.2 Pastoralism along Indian Himalayas
- 7.3 Forms of pastoralism
 - 7.3.1 Nomadic pastoralism
 - 7.3.2 Transhumant pastoralism
- 7.4 Major problems of pastoralists
 - 7.4.1 Himalayan region
 - 7.4.1.1 Government's reaction to pastoralism
 - 7.4.1.2 Denial of land rights
 - 7.4.1.3 Threat to livelihood
 - 7.4.1.4 Sedentarization
 - 7.4.2 Western region
 - 7.4.2.1 Declining pastures
 - 7.4.2.2 Lack of veterinary care
 - 7.4.2.3 Dependence on third party for trade
- 7.5 Introduction to horticulturalists
- 7.6 Horticultural societies in India
- 7.7 Divisions of horticulture
 - 7.7.1 Pomology
 - 7.7.2 Olericulture
 - 7.7.3 Ornamental
- 7.8 Technology based horticulture
 - 7.8.1 Traditional simple horticulture, and
 - 7.8.2 Advanced horticulture
- 7.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.10 References
- 7.11 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you will be able to:

- discuss pastoralism in Western India and Himalayas and their problems,

- describe two forms of pastoralism and to distinguish between nomadic and transhumant pastoralism,
- explain the existence of horticultural societies in India,
- discuss the classification of horticulture into pomology, olericulture and ornamental, and;
- analyse the technology based division of horticulture.

7.1 INTRODUCTION TO PASTORALISM

Pastoralists are the ethnic groups or caste groups associated with the traditional occupation of livestock-keeping. Indian pastoralists are believed to be around 2000 years old. The practice of domestication or keeping livestock for production purposes as well as economic purposes is called as pastoralism. It is defined as a system of production based on the huge livestock. While it emerged as a natural management involving agricultural resources, however pastoralism is considered as an underrated production system and termed as unfriendly to environment. It has contributed considerably to the national economy through generating opportunities for employment and nutrition.

Pastoralism is a pattern of survival for the people involving domestication of animals. It is an effective means of transforming marginal environments into a high quality animal fodder. As a mode of economic adaptation, the parameters of pastoralism are ascertained by ecosystem. It is an adaptation to dry land with no scope for farming where pastoralists engage in economic practice through breeding cattle and extract produce out of them in the form of milk, wool, hair, etc. and also use them as the modes of transportation. Pastoralists extract these products from cattle on a regular basis and do not practice the extraction of final cattle products such as meat and skin. Pastoralists economic system as well as their survival depends on biodiversity.

7.2 PASTORALIST DISTRIBUTION IN INDIA

India is inhabited by diverse pastoral groups such as Kuruba, Dhangar in Karnataka, Kuruma, Golla in Andhra Pradesh, Raika, Gujjars in Rajasthan, Bharwad in Gujarat, Gujjars, Bakerwals and Gaddi along Himalayas, and so on. Pastoralism in India is found along the drylands in western India and Himalayan range of North India. Nomads prevalent in these parts possess a variety of livestock such as sheep, goat, buffalo, camel, yak, etc.

7.2.1 Pastoralism along the drylands in western India

Pastoralists of western India are the landless people involved in the pastoral activities such as domesticating animals and animal produce for trade. These pastoralists are found along the Aravalli hills. Western drylands receive a significant amount of rainfall per year and thus pastoralism in this zone is considered as the economic strategy.

Pastoralists inhabiting western India migrated from other neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. They share common culture with

their counterparts in north and belong to various caste categories however rearing cattle is their traditionally inherited occupation. Most of the pastoralists tame only one breed of livestock which they consider as their divine occupation. Examples of these specific categories of pastoralists include Raika taming camel and Charan taming cattle. Since taming is considered as an inherited occupation, pastoralists therefore act more responsible in caring for their animals. Slaughter or selling of domestic animals was forbidden among few pastoral groups. Certain caste groups are identified with the pastoral occupation however there are other pastoral groups who changed over from pastoralism to farming such as Ahirs of Junagarh. At the same time, there are certain agriculturalists also who switched over from crop cultivation to pastoralism because the latter yields good economic results. This category of pastoralists is opposite to the traditional pastoralism and is called as non-traditional pastoralism.

7.2.2 Pastoralism along Indian Himalayas

Pastoralists inhabiting Himalayan ranges in India engage in transhumance. They keep moving from lowlands to highlands on a seasonal basis to take advantage of the pastures available in the Himalayan belt (Bhasin 1988). In summers, with the melting of snow in the alpine zone, the pastoralists of the Himalayas go up in the high altitudes to feed their livestock. During monsoon, they return to the low altitudes and rely on available pastures during winters. These lowland and highland sites become the frequent seasonal base camps for the pastoralists. Examples of these migratory pastoralists include Gujjars of Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh rearing buffaloes, Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir with sheep and goat herds, Bhotias of Uttar Pradesh rearing sheep, Gaddis and Kaulis of Himachal Pradesh herding sheep and goat, Sherpas of Nepal rearing yak, and so on. All these pastoralists go up on Himalayas during summers and descend to the foot-hills of Himalaya during winters.

Certain Himalayan pastoralists practice agro-pastoralism. Agro-pastoralism entails domestication of livestock as well as agriculture. Agro-pastoralists derive most of their income from the livestock besides other activities such as trade, handicrafts, embroidery, and so on.

While western India and Himalayan range are the two zones inhabited by pastoralists, there are various forms of pastoralism which we will discuss in the following section.

Activity 1

Visit a Natural History Museum or Public Library in your city/town. Read a book on the way of life of one of the pastoralists; such as, Ban-Gujjars, Gaddis or Bakerwals. Write an essay on their “Contemporary Status and Life Opportunities of the pastoralists Today”. Share your essay with peers at your Study Centre.

7.3 FORMS OF PASTORALISM

There are varied forms of pastoralism however most common among them are nomadic pastoralism and transhumant pastoralism.

7.3.1 Nomadic Pastoralism

Nomads are the migratory communities who keep moving from one place to another and stop anywhere depending upon the ecology of the location. However nomadism is not just about migration. The movement of these communities is for the pursuit of economy, which is central to pastoralism. However, these movements of pastoralists and their livestock are irregular but they have an established route and pre-identified sites to temporarily stop at.

These pre-identified sites are the outcome of their past experiences relating to pasture, market access, rainfall, boundaries, and so on. Sudden change in weather such as rainfall often forces pastoral nomads to shift to a different site. Gujjars of Himachal Pradesh and Gharwal, Uttranchal as well as Changpas in Ladakh move along with their families and livestock from one site to another. Being non-cultivators, they rely heavily on non-pastoralists for goods cultivated through the extensive exchange of commodities. There are other semi-nomadic pastoralists who simultaneously cultivate land also. Among them include Bhotias and Gaddis of North-western Himalayan range and Bhuttias and Monpas of Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh respectively who migrate to pastoral lands for a certain period of time and come down for agricultural activities. This two-fold engagement with live-stock and agriculture is seasonal. Nomadic pastoralists, besides keeping livestock, also engage in hunting, basket weaving and other occupations thus sharing a symbolic relationship with the non-pastoralists.

7.3.2 Transhumant Pastoralism

Transhumance is a grazing practice found among pastoralists across the globe especially in Europe, Africa, Asia and South America. As a common practice, transhumant pastoralism involves movement of pastoralists along with livestock between the seasonal pastures. The livestock is usually taken by men hired for this purpose but they are also sometimes accompanied by owners themselves with or without the whole family regardless of long term or short term movements. Pastoralists of this category have permanent settlements usually along low-altitude regions. While they move with their livestock, they follow the same patterns of movements on a regular basis from highlands in summer to lowlands in winter.

Transhumant pastoralists engage in land cultivation at different locations during summers however they limit their agricultural activities to the level of subsistence only. In addition, they trade the animal produce through exchange system against grains and other commodities which they do not cultivate or produce but are important for their sustenance. Transhumant pastoralism can be of two types, that is, vertical transhumance and horizontal transhumance. Vertical transhumance is practiced in hilly regions characterized by movement from higher pasture during summer to lower pastures in winter. Prominent along the Himalayan ranges, the herders take the animals with them to pastoral sites. Vertical transhumant pastoralists are prominent along the Himalayan range, Niti Valley, Nanda Devi, Western Ghat and Buffer Zone. Horizontal transhumant pastoralists on the other hand move with their herds from summer pastoral sites far away from their home to the winter pastoral sites near their home. This form of transhumant pastoralism is easily disturbed by climate or socio-economic changes.

Transhumant pastoralists gain profits from the elevated pastures available to them whether or not they engage in agricultural activities. While they move from one

pasture to another seasonally with their animals, they have their living arrangements at both the seasonal sites. Each pastoralist household rear their own flock of animals and the number of animals in the flock keeps increasing which results in their economic growth as well.

7.4 MAJOR PROBLEMS OF PASTORALISTS

Pastoralists mainly face problems which are based on their resources however they equally face other problems such as political and social. These problems are almost common to all the pastoralist groups and so they need not be classified separately. However for a better understanding of the problems of pastoralists, we will deal with them separately as per the geographical distribution discussed earlier, that is Himalayan region and Western India.

7.4.1 Himalayan region

Pastoralists in the Himalayan region have a reservation in the government services and they are liable to other facilities also under this reservation. However they face severe problems in following their traditional patterns of living. Major problems that pastoralists face include how government reacts to pastoralism, unacceptable rights on pastoral land and growing population.

7.4.1.1 Government's reaction to pastoralism

Pastoralist's patterns of living are considered as non-prolific and uncivilized as compared to those having settled living styles (Saberwal, 1999). This partiality has its roots in the documents framed in the historical times as a result of which pastoralism was looked upon as a hindrance to the tax collection and population control. Not only this cultural stereotyping, pastoralists were marginalized through denial of their fundamental rights. Pastoralists' along the Himalayan region are looked upon as a threat to environment because of their overgrazing and increase in the livestock. Because of this, pastoralists have witnessed their dislocation from certain restricted areas.

7.4.1.2 Denial of land rights

Pastoralists consider themselves as the proprietors of the pastures because they traditionally used these pastures for grazing their livestock (Chakravarty, 1998). Their traditions and other norms about the distribution of pastures help them manage and distribute the resources. For this reason, they claim hereditary rights over the pastures. But this inheritance is undocumented and therefore unrecognized by the officials. This debars them from being stakeholders in land resources. One example of this debarment is the allotment of pastoralist land to the landless people in Himachal Pradesh.

7.4.1.3 Threat to livelihood

The threat to the livelihood of pastoralists can be two-fold. One is reduction in the pastures. The misinformed protection policies as well as the denial of rights over the pasture lands resulted in a decline in the pastures for pastoralists. The rising population which is the cause of increase in the use of pastoral land along lower Himalayan altitudes has trimmed down the winter pastures. The factors that contribute to this reduction in the pastoral land include construction of roads,

agricultural practices, afforestation and establishment of defense camps. There are examples of summer pastures also in the high altitude Himalayan range such as Changthang in Ladakh, Lachung in Sikkim, Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh which pose a threat to the livelihood of the pastoralists. The other is the blockage of migratory routes. Himalayan states have developed vividly in terms of inflation in tourism, construction of power projects and other structures. Consequently, pastoralists along with their livestock have to change their routes while they migrate from summer to winter pastures and vice-versa during which they lose their livestock to either road accidents or thefts.

7.4.1.4 Sedentarization

Due to the non-supportive migration of pastoralists in Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, they have many a times attempted to settle down permanently at some location, which is hostile to the very essence of pastoral migration along Himalayan regions. At the same time, there are government policies which play pivotal role in reducing pastoralism by marginalising pastoralists culturally and excluding them in policy-making. This has discouraged pastoralists to continue with the occupation of pastoralism. There are no legal provisions for land rights of the pastoralists, which again has suppressed pastoralists in the Himalayan regions. Also, there has been an economic change from agro-pastoral economy to an economy based on agriculture or horticulture. Part of the reason for this economic change is the shutting down of winter pastures by the Forest Department. As a result of this, agriculture or horticulture is considered by pastoralists as an assured occupation for sustenance of their livestock and a secure occupation for their upcoming generation.

7.4.2 Western region

Like pastoralists in Himalayan region face several problems, the pastoralists in the western region also face certain severe problems as discussed below:

7.4.2.1 Declining pastures

One of the most threatening difficulties facing pastoralists in the western region includes the loss of grazing rights. There are various reasons to this loss such as forest enclosure, inflation of irrigation based agriculture, separation of village institutions and deteriorating pastoral land. The enclosure of forest range has been considerable in Aravalli which prohibits the grazing of sheep, camels and other livestock. Agriculture based on irrigation especially in Rajasthan state led to the expansion of cultivation on pastoral land with rotational crop cultivation has reduced the pastoral land for grazing. At the same time, there has been the detaching trend in the village institutions from the previously traditionally regulated common pastoral land in villages to the current panchayat directives which directed this common grazing ground as free for all. Pastoral land has deteriorated due to the growth in the number of livestock, certain pastures such as ones in Barmer, Jaisalmer and Bikaner in Rajasthan and Bani pastures have vanished.

7.4.2.2 Lack of veterinary care

Healthcare of animals and reasonable cost of medicines for animals is yet another constraint facing pastoralists. Pastoralists have witnessed deaths of their livestock in the past. As a result of this, they escape vaccination drives meant for their

animals to avoid further loss of livestock. They instead use their traditional methods to cure and prevent the ailing animals. But pastoralists also use modern medi-care in extreme cases to cure certain diseases which highly impacts their economy. However pastoralists being unaware of the instructions for using modern medicines, there is an inappropriate utilization of medicines in the sense that they either give over-dosages to animals for quick cure or half dosages to save petty amount. At the same time, duplicate medicines are sold at an enormous price which adds to the veterinary problem of pastoralists.

7.4.2.3 Dependence on third party for trade

Pastoralists do not directly trade animals or animal products. They depend more on the third parties for marketing. This directly affects their profit making process and leaves little margin in their profits. Usually, these third parties include people other than pastoralists, however sometimes these middlemen or third parties in trade are from the same pastoral people. As a result of this practice through third parties, pastoralists consider themselves as marginalized.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define pastoralism?

.....

2. Name the two regions of pastoralism in India?

i) ii)

3. Who are nomadic pastoralists?

.....

4. Threat to livelihood is a major problem among pastoralists of western region.

True () False ()

7.5 INTRODUCTION TO HORTICULTURALISTS

Horticulture is a form of agriculture in which people cultivate plants which are used for various purposes such as food, decoration, medicines, and so on. It is a profession involving gardening and those concerned with this activity are called as horticulturalists. Horticulture as a profession emerged in 18th century however gardening as such has been in practice among people for much longer than the horticulture. Unlike pastoralist, societies where they domesticate livestock especially animals, horticulturalists domesticate plants so that they can use them for subsistence. At the same time, horticultural societies cannot be considered as agrarian societies. They differ from agrarian societies also in the sense that horticulturalists do not use ploughs or animals to tilt their land. Horticulturalists, who engage in gardening, do not use heavy machines or instruments such as plough or tractors majorly used by agriculturalists to till their land spread over larger distances. Farming practices of agriculturalists include domesticating plants,

used to feed themselves and also raise farm birds such as chicks which they use for economic gains. They sometimes enter into exchanging practices by selling their products to get in exchange the commodities that they otherwise fail to produce by themselves. Sometimes, horticulturalists also hunt animals in the wild or forage seasonal plants in the wild in order to fulfil their nutritional requirements. Horticulturalist societies, because of their extensive trade opportunities, are larger than other types of societies such as pastoralists.

7.6 HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES IN INDIA

The emergence of horticulture in India can be traced through its development from previously existing hunting and gathering societies. During the past, horticulturalists would preferably engage in three main horticultural practices, that is growing of fruits, gardening (such as herbs and vegetables) and domestication of ornaments (such as flowers). William Carey founded horticulture in India during early 19th century. But before his founding, Mughal emperors in India practised horticulturalism. William Carey took this initiative to develop and promote agro-horticulturalist community in India so as to bring in varieties of horticultural products in the market. Prior to horticulture coming into being, Indian markets had a shortage of horticultural products and its derivatives were scarcely available in the market, however after its emergence, these products were easily available to all.

Gradually, India became major contributor of horticulture through increasingly contributing to the national economy. This is not to say that India has stepped into its adulthood stage in the horticulture field. There is no end to harness the potentials of the horticulture as a profession. The horticultural products such as, fruits, vegetable, same roots, mushrooms etc. are available seasonally. The market prices of these products are always in flux. Majority of the consumers for horticultural products are the urban masses who consume vegetables and fruits more than people in the rural areas who are more involved in agricultural practices and therefore depend less on the horticultural produce available in the market. Horticulture, having its roots in agriculture, entails nurturing of plants that primarily yield food, however horticulturalists also engage in cultivating other types of plants used exclusively for art works, ornament or medicine.

Activity 2

Search on the internet information on Govt. Of India schemes during the last ten years, to promote horticultural activities and funds available under them to promote production of different plants/vegetables/honey etc. By the farmers

After your research write a note of one page and share this note with your peers and Academic Counsellors at your Study Centre.

7.7 DIVISIONS OF HORTICULTURE

Horticulturalists engage in various activities however the primary ones which satisfy the needs of consumers include technological, scientific and production. Horticultural produce can be divided into three distinct parts such as:- (i)

pomology, (ii) olericulture and (iii) ornamental. This categorization is based on the division of horticultural crops. This division is also based on the usage of the horticultural produce. Otherwise there would not be any such classification of horticulture acceptable under any condition.

7.7.1 Pomology

Pomology includes planting, harvesting and trading of fruits and nut. Horticulturalists categorise fruits into tree fruits and fruits produced on shrubs. Fruits produced on the former are generally called large fruits while those on shrubs are called small fruits. Both these types of fruits are extracted from evergreen plants. But horticulturalists categorize fruits into true fruits and false fruits. True fruits, also called as simple fruits, include those developed solely from tissues of one ovary only. Examples of true fruits include peach, orange, plum, and so on. False fruits include strawberry, apple, pear, and so on. These false fruits are composed of both tissues and ovary.

7.7.2 Olericulture

Olericulture is the horticultural area involving the cultivation of food crops such as vegetables. It is a profession involving the cultivation of vegetables such as tomatoes, beans, corn, etc. for trade. Olericulture basically includes two types of produce both falling within the herbaceous category however the difference between the two lies in their usage by people. First includes those crops which cannot be consumed before being cooked while the other does not need to be cooked before consumption (for example salad). Olericulture is not confined to the traditional method of cultivation in small gardens. It is being cultivated now over an extremely wider land and used for commercial purposes.

7.7.3 Ornamental

Horticulturalists grow plants which are used for artistic purposes. This form of horticulture involves using green plants and that is why it is also called as green industry. Any plant termed as ornamental is used for its aesthetic value as it fulfils the desire for beautification. Though every plant grown has its aesthetic value such as apple or mango tree as fruit trees however they are not used for ornamental purposes. Their aesthetic value is determined on other fronts. There are two forms of ornamental horticulture. The first is floriculture involving using of floral products such as potted plants and flowers. The other is landscape horticulture which involves growing of ornamental plants for the decoration of outdoors. Examples of landscape ornamentals include oaks, honeysuckle, maples, etc.

7.8 TECHNOLOGY BASED HORTICULTURE

Horticulturalists use multiple tools to carry out their horticultural practices. On the basis of the usage of tools, horticulture can be divided into two main forms, that is, simple and advanced horticulture.

7.8.1 Traditional Simple horticulture

Simple horticulturalists traditionally relied on various pre-modern technological innovations which can be categorised into mechanical, biological, chemical and

managerial. Among these, mechanical holds much significance in traditional horticultural practices. Horticulturalists would use tools that existed during paleolithic age such as stone made axes to get firewood from the forests, spades and sticks for digging so as to cultivate maize, sugarcane and other forms of horticultural plants and crops. Gradually as they domesticated animals, horticulturalists used plough for the cultivation of their lands. This enabled the expansion of cultivation for its low cost and at the same time there developed relations among the landlords and the workers. Among all the mechanical means of horticulture, plough brought in sweeping changes on the socio-economic front. This innovation in the mechanical means elucidates the horticultural technology available in the past. During the course of time, changes occurred in the use of tools by the horticulturalists and these changes continued from one generation to next leading to improvement in the horticultural technology, and thus came the advanced horticulture.

7.8.2 Advanced horticulture

Advanced horticultural practices involve using complex means of crop production. The complexity of crop production is determined through increase in the seed production, controlling pests, using high quality fertilizers, modern means of tilling such as tractors, and so on. These modern technological innovations retain the essence of horticultural practices and at the same time save money, time and energy. Using mechanical energy enables and ensures quick and easy cultivation of crops. Know how of the advanced tools, their usage, storage of horticultural produce, availability of market for trade extensively affect the horticultural practices and enhance profit for horticulturalists through improved productivity. As an industry, horticulture has seen an ever increasing demand because of the demand of horticultural products in the market. This has encouraged horticulturalists to design fresh tools which are portable and user friendly. Examples of such technological advances include trimming grass in lawns, maize, wheat, paddy and sugarcane cutting and other usages in farming. There are other tools used mostly in ornamental horticulture which are driven manually as well as power driven.

Check your progress 2

1. Define in your own words horticulture and who are horticulturalists?
.....
.....
2. Who is the founder of horticulture in India?
.....
3. Name three forms of horticultural practices prevalent in India?
i) ii)
iii)
4. Traditional horticulture involves modern means of technology. Tick the correct answer.

True () False ()

7.9 LET US SUM UP

Pastoralists and horticulturalists constitute an important part of economy in India. While pastoralism is concerned with domestication of livestock such as animals, horticulture involves domesticating plants utilised for various purposes. This unit is divided into two parts. The first part deliberates about pastoralists and the profession of pastoralism. It offers a distribution of pastoralist societies in India in addition to enlightening about the two main forms of pastoralism existent in India along Himalayan region and Western India. Due to the government intervention through its various agencies, pastoralists are facing various problems with regard to their livestock and seasonal movements. This unit provides an insight into the problems of pastoralists along the two regions in India. The second part of this unit deals with horticulture practices. Horticulture constitutes an essential part of food system both in India and globally. This unit briefs about the horticultural societies that exists in India. It offers a division of horticulture into three important forms depending upon the usage of the horticultural products. The unit also deals with the two distinct modes of horticulture based on the use of technological derivatives such as tools for farming.

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7.11 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. Pastoralism is defined as a system of production based on the ownership and of core huge livestock.
2. Drylands in Western India and Indian Himalayas.
3. Nomadic pastoralists are migratory communities moving from place to place and camping anywhere depending upon the ecology i.e. the grasslands and available for food for their livestock in that location.
4. False

Check Your Progress 2

1. Horticulture is the cultivation of plants used for food, decoration, medicines, etc. and those involved in this activity are called as horticulturalists.
2. William Carey founded horticulture in India.
3. i) Pomology, ii) Olericulture, and iii) Ornamental
4. False

UNIT 8 DOMESTIC MODE OF PRODUCTION*

Structure

8.0 Objectives

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Modes of production

8.2.1 Asiatic mode of production

8.2.2 Ancient mode of production

8.2.3 Feudal mode of production

8.2.4 Capitalist mode of production

8.3 Domestic mode of production

8.4 Forces of production

8.5 Relations of production

8.6 Critique to domestic mode of production and the responses.

8.6.1 Domestic mode of production never existed

8.6.2 Forces, relations and means of production were missing in patriarchal family

8.6.3 Difficult to trace the transition from lineage to domestic mode of production

8.6.4 Men never became the heirs of production

8.7 Politics in domestic mode of production

8.8 Let us sum up

8.9 References

8.10 Specimen Answers to Check your progress

8.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- Describe the mode of production and its various forms.
- Describe the fundamentals of domestic mode of production.
- Discuss various forces of production and the relations of production.
- Explain the Marxist critique of domestic mode of production and the responses; and
- Understand about the politics in domestic mode of production.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit 7, you learnt about the pastoralists and the horticulturalist; their life and ways of survival and nature. In this unit we will explain to you about the domestic mode of production.

Society has witnessed various shifts in its evolutionary stages which can be understood through its transition from one mode of subsistence to another each characterised by different economic patterns. One such mode is domestic mode of production. This unit will enlighten about the basic notions of mode of production and its various forms. The unit will shift from a general understanding of the modes of production to the domestic mode of production. It offers various facets of the domestic mode of production such as the social relations, forces and means of production as well as relations of production. It highlights some of the critiques that domestic mode of production has faced and a response to each. This unit also enlightens about the political aspects of the domestic mode of production.

8.2 MODES OF PRODUCTION

Mode of production is one of the key ideas in economic sociology in which human labour is converted into energy through using various technologies that existed in human societies since long. Various technologies involved in the modes of production include tools, skills, knowledge, manpower, and so on. Marx believed that various stages of human societies cannot be determined by what they produce but by the means and forces of production (Rosenswig, 2012). This indicates that the determining factor of various stages of society's evolution is how they produce as well as the means of producing material goods. There is no single mode of production in a given society. There can simultaneously be two or more modes of production (Jessop, 1990). However there is one dominating mode of production which determines the overall economic nature of that society. Here we will briefly discuss four modes of production as identified by Marx.

8.2.1 Asiatic mode of production

Asiatic mode of production is explicitly an original mode of production that existed in human societies and is distinct from other pre-capitalist mode of production characterised by slavery. Asiatic mode of production existed in the primitive communities where people collectively own the land and thus there was an equal distribution of all the produce. Social relations in this mode of production were kinship based and it was a classless society. Scholars argue that this mode of production does not help understand the history of Indian society.

8.2.2 Ancient mode of production

Ancient mode of production is the preceding mode of capitalist mode of production. Unlike Asiatic mode of production, this form of production mode is characterised by slavery wherein master owns the slave and appropriates all the material goods produced from the labour of slaves. Slaves were deprived of their right to reproduce. Their reproduction depends on how capable the society is to get newer slaves. Therefore growth rate of the slaves is determined through the total number of newer slaves. Rate of production never determines the growth rate of slaves. Also, they are considered as aliens and thus denied the right to have offspring.

8.2.3 Feudal mode of production

Feudal mode of production refers to a mode of production which is primarily concerned with the 'existence' of labour in which ruling class appropriates what

is produced by the labour. Like capitalism, this mode of production also involves the exploitation of tenants by the feudalists i.e. the landlords. In this mode of production, tenants had no property rights. They were forced to sell their labour as well as the products of their labour and so they could not meet the required level of products for their subsistence. They were also forced to fulfil the demands of the feudal landlord either in the form of money or labour. In addition to this, they had to pay taxes for their family belongings. Paying rent constitutes an important part of the feudal mode of production. The exchange of agricultural products and other products in markets was introduced in feudal mode of production (Karanti, 2014). This aspect of feudal society laid the foundation for the capitalist mode of production according to Marx.

8.2.4 Capitalist Mode of Production

Capitalist mode of production refers to the mode of production which involves selling the produce for making profit. In this form of production, the ownership lies with the dominating class of capitalists. There is an exchange of labour power against money in the form of wages. Labourers are hired on contract basis by the employers and they are paid for their labour. The control over all the material goods so produced by the labourers is in the hands of the capitalists. Karl Marx considers capitalist mode of production as a historical stage in the evolutionary process of society which he believes will be taken over by socialism. You will learn more about capitalism in the next few latter units.

8.3 DOMESTIC MODE OF PRODUCTION

One of the key concepts in economic sociology is the production system. The underlying notion of the domestic mode of production is the fact that its origin can be traced from the evolutionary stages of society. Domestic mode of production was one such stage in the evolutionary phases of a society characterised by social relationship, especially kinship. Members of these societies work collectively to convert natural energy into domestic commodities by using human labour, knowledge, through having skills and through the use of tools. The level of production and the amount of consumption among members of a family is determined through their requirements and there is always a restriction on production and consumption.

Domestic mode of production is not all about the production but it is also about consumption and circulation of the produce (goods). Unlike capitalist mode of production characterised by disparity in the dominant and the dominated, domestic mode of production is quite distinct from it. In domestic modes of production, the level of consumption is of prime importance and is the basis for any prevailing discrimination. Also what distinguishes capitalist mode of production from the domestic mode of production is that the former involves wages or payments for production as well as consumption while as the latter entails no paid production but it is rather maintained; since domestic mode of production is kinship based production and therefore kinship ties are maintained through production and consumption levels. It means that there is an interrelationship between production and consumption of goods; and circulation of goods does not depend on the monetary exchange. Also the selection and consumption of goods does not depend on the value of these goods. Mode of production of goods involves circulation of

goods also. Since kinship is the chief feature of domestic mode of production, the circulation of goods is among the kins from the male side only, and governed through inheritance rules most of the times.

Mode of production originated from the anthropological work of Eric Wolf, who was inspired by Karl Marx. However domestic modes of production originated from the works of Meillassoux who published "*Maidens, Meal and Money: Capitalism and the domestic community*" in 1981. Domestic mode of production has family and lineage as primary production and reproduction units (Meillassoux, 1981). This kind of production is for self-sustenance where social relations are not determined through the means of production but through controlling the means of human reproduction. Marx also stressed that human consciousness is determined through labour works. However, labour in domestic mode of production is organized on the basis of kinship ties and, therefore, there is no domination or power relation. For this reason, domestic mode of production is also called by many as kinship based production. A common example of this form of production can be subsistence producers such as cultivators who cultivate to feed themselves and their families rather than to earn money out of the produce. In this production system, for example, male members of a family perform the tougher roles in the farm such as clearing the fields. Other members of family engage in sowing the seeds. Children protect the crops from being stolen. Men pick out the non-cultivated plants to let the crop plants grow and harvest them. Women dry the produce so as to store it for consumption in future. This is an illustration of how labour and the process of production are organized by the families depending primarily upon gender and age.

8.4 FORCES OF PRODUCTION

Forces of production stand for the means through which products are yielded from the natural resources. It refers to the extent to which nature is controlled by humans. Control over nature depends upon the availability of human power and their skills besides other equipments. Therefore, with the advancement in the forces of production, there is a greater control over the nature; and the less the manpower, lesser will be the control over nature. These means of production include all types of tools used for production such as machines, labour, skills and other forms of technology. Besides, technological advancement, changing processes of labour, new energy and working knowledge are also considered as the forces of production. There are some scholars who consider geographical sites also within the category of forces of production. Any change in these modes of the forces of production will affect the production process.

Societies practicing domestic modes of production witness changes continuously in the production forces due to the prevailing social order. Causes of these changes are natural such as soil erosion, deforestation, drying of rivers, and so on. However, changes can sometimes occur due to the technological advancement paving way for the new forces of production in the form of new instruments. But this advancement informs about the extent to which people struggle in order to convert natural resources in the sources of livelihood through using labour. This struggle is an attempt by the people to overcome scarcity of resources through the development of forces of production which further makes their lives better.

Forces of production also steers the human knowledge in terms of how to increase the natural resources. The more the development of productive forces, more developed are the social relationships. During the course of this development and at a certain point through this development, conflict between the social relations and forces of production start due to the instability in social relations to control the forces of production. This results in the class struggle between the skilled and unskilled classes, wherein the former is fit for the prevailing economic market. Therefore, it is the development of the forces of production that enlightens about the history of socio-economic relationships. Forces of production actually correspond to the powers of society to produce more from the natural resources.

Activity 1

Interview members of two families in your neighbourhood. Find out which profession they are involved in i.e. the adult population.

Based on your interview results prepare a list of occupations and modes of production and write a brief essay on “modes of production in my neighbourhood”. Discuss it with your peers at the Study Centre.

8.5 RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

The origin of domestic mode of production lies in the construction of patriarchy as the root of class based society, a revolution continuing till today. This social revolution transforms societal structure into the forces of production. Scholars argue that male dominance in the production system has taken over the female dominance that existed in hunting and gathering societies. This brings an end to the idea of communism and collective rights over natural property. This transformation was encouraged by the idea that male members must preserve natural wealth through circulation on patrilineal ties instead of matrilineal ties. As a result of this, males gained dominance over the females. This overtaking of the female right changed labour into a form of slavery (Leacock & Safa, 1986). This further transformed men and women into classes based on non-market social relationship which is controlled by ideology and power which appropriates the labour of women. Some scholars argue that the shift from female dominance to male dominance helps maintain efficiency in the modes of production. In their attempts to appropriate female labour, there is a violent struggle over the latter. On the other hand, the efficiency of male labour brought in changes in the marital rules, which advocated patrilocal marriages for interests through exchanging women and further exploiting their labour. In this way, females turned out to be a new class in the domestic modes of production in which men became the dominating class.

Domestic mode of production does not offer economic aspects of the subordination of women. Neither does it offer other forms of women's subjugation such as sexual violence. There are other varied forms of violence against women in the domestic mode of production which are oriented towards appropriating women labour. Child rearing is also included in women's labour. However to escape this kind of labour, females put a limit on the number of births. But the control over birth limitations lies with men only by putting a ban on abortions. Also, terming

class relations in the domestic mode of production as purely gender based is wrong. Because class relationships were also governed by ideology, therefore ideologically some males were excluded from the newly categorised ruling class in the patrilineal system of production. They were considered as slaves to engage in labour work of different kinds other than those of women. In fact, class as a dichotomous model is not free from its shortcomings. But still it applies to the socially constructed dichotomies such as male and female, child and adolescents, aged and adult, and so on.

Box. 8.0

What Is Primitive Communism?



Meat sharing by Mbendjele hunter-gatherers is an example of a primitive communist practice.

(Source: <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-is-primitive-communism.html>).

The idea of primitive Communism is based on the principles of custom and belief system that govern the production of goods and services in society. This is found in society based on traditional agriculture, hunting, gathering, and fishing where barter system is the primary mode of exchange. The idea of Primitive Communism was propounded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels where social relations were based on egalitarian and common ownership pattern. Further, the social relations are based on a collective right to basic resources in society. Hence it does not encourage private ownership of property as the food produce generated is consumed collectively without leaving behind any surplus of food. Thus, in society every abled person is engaged in food production and consumption on an equal footing no matter the modalities of collection of food be it through hunting and gathering. The tools and houses are communally owned. The division of labour is equally shared by both men and women. While women are engaged in gathering activities, the men are involved in hunting activities. People with vulnerabilities such as young, old and pregnant women are protected. The decision making is equally shared by men and women. (Source: <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-is-primitive-communism.html>).

Relations of production are actually the social relations which can be categorised into two broad types. The first is the technical relations and the second is relations

controlling economy. The former has significance in the production processes while as the later are concerned with the property ownership. Relations of production are not to be misunderstood as the relations between the labour class and the employer class. In domestic mode of production, social relations are among the members of a particular community who engage collectively in the production process. Taking labour process from relations of production point of view, it entails the appropriation of products, a process which involves the members of one particular group. Members of other groups or some stranger, so to say, cannot appropriate the products. However, if there is some stranger who is not member of a particular group, he can appropriate the products only if he falls within the relations of production of that group. But generally, only people among the kinship group can be considered to be in the relations of production in the domestic mode of production.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Define mode of production?

.....

.....

- 2) Pick the odd one out among the modes of production: Asiatic, Feudal, Capitalist, Ancient, Modern.

.....

- 3) What is domestic mode of production?

.....

.....

- 4) Domestic mode of production is a non-kinship based mode of economy. True or False

.....

.....

- 5) In domestic mode of production, circulation takes place through which type of relationships?

.....

.....

8.6 CRITIQUE TO DOMESTIC MODE OF PRODUCTION AND THE RESPONSES

Domestic mode of production has suffered severe critique in the discipline of sociology. A few important ones and their counters are discussed below:

8.6.1 Domestic mode of production never existed

There are some scholars who believe that Marx and Engels could only discover the capitalist mode of production and therefore domestic mode of production never existed. Since Marx and Engels belonged to a period characterised by

capitalism in which women and children were exploited, this exploitation had its roots in the domestic mode of production. There are few others who argue that Marx and Engels though discovered the domestic mode of production however, they could not categorise it as a different mode because it has many traits in common with the capitalist mode of production.

8.6.2 Forces, relations and means of production were missing in patriarchal family

Marx and Engels argued that forces, means and relations of production were missing in the patriarchal family. However neo-marxists claim that what are various forces of production in the domestic mode of production is not difficult to identify. Some of the important types of forces of production as pointed out in the previous section are tools, labour, resources, and so on.

8.6.3 Difficult to trace the transition from lineage to domestic mode of production

To counter this argument, it is claimed that the transition from lineage mode of production to domestic mode of production was the result of certain obstacles that blocked the development of production forces. However social revolution cleared off all the blockages in social relations. There was equal circulation and consumption across the society. The growing surplus was the result of the emergence of new forces of production. The existing social relations did not allow any single lineage group to accumulate the growing surplus. The male elders in the existing relations let the surplus to be taken over by the patriarchal families. As a result of this, the means of production previously controlled jointly went into the hands of male members of the family and so went the surplus.

8.6.4 Men never became the heirs of production

Since men took over to control various means and forces of production, they became rulers in their respective societies. Part of the reason for this change lies in the sex-specialised roles which excluded women from carrying out certain activities due to their gender (Murdock & Provost, 1973). Women generally took over household chores only. This form of gendered distribution of work is termed as 'natural division of labour' (Brown, 1970). However in hunting and gathering societies, both men and women were equally involved in the social production. There was no gendered division of labour. The structure of household comprised the entire community within which both men and women were involved in the production process for the livelihood of entire community.

8.7 POLITICS IN DOMESTIC MODE OF PRODUCTION

Domestic mode of production is in itself an egalitarian form of production system. However, the notions of patriarchy determined through ideology and power reproduces this mode of production. The historical basis of domestic mode of production can be restructured in a way to fill the gap in analysing the oppression against women. The importance of this historicity lies in overcoming the difficulties in developing further the kinship relations which further augments

the production forces. There has to be some political force that can enhance the domestic produce beyond the level of consumption. In early societies, there were headmen, who though did not depart from the kinship based social relations, were more convincing towards producing surplus for use in times of crisis. There was a kind of reciprocity between the headmen and the people which obscured the exchange of goods between them particularly from people to headman. But the headman's approach towards society is always collective and welfaristic in approach than how people can individually think of their families (sahlins, 1972).

There are various political forces that accelerate the production process in myriad ways. In some societies characterised by domestic mode of production, men as dominating characters exploit their own groups. They rearrange the produce in their extended groups in order to accomplish political status. In some parts across the globe, there are leaders in lineage groups who control all the resources collected jointly. Due to their political influence, these headmen organised feasts out of the collective resources thus exploiting the labour of others in the social relations. Domestic mode of production thus remained a subordinate way of production among other modes of production and its chief feature being the availability of unpaid labour.

Check your progress 2

- 1) Mention the reason why Marx and Engels believed that domestic mode of production never existed?
.....
.....
- 2) Marx and Engels were of the view that forces and relations of production existed in patriarchal families. True or False
.....
.....
- 3) Domestic mode of production is characterised by (equal/unequal) circulation of goods.
.....
- 4) What do you understand by natural division of labour?
.....
.....
- 5) Which force can enhance the domestic produce beyond the level of consumption? Domestic force, Political force or Production force
.....

8.8 LET US SUM UP

Domestic mode of production is a kinship based production system characterised by labour relations. It is a collective mode of production for subsistence. Though there are various modes of production that existed in our societies which have

been briefly discussed, however this unit particularly deals with the domestic mode of production. In any mode of production, there are means, forces and relations of production. This unit informs about the forces and relations of production that prevailed in the domestic mode of production. It defends some of the major critiques that domestic mode of production suffered. The unit further enlightens about the political aspects in the domestic mode of production.

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8.10 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. Mode of production is a process of converting human power into energy through the use of technology.
2. Modern
3. Domestic mode of production is a way of subsistence involving production and reproduction of resources.
4. False
5. Patrilineal

Check your progress 2

1. Marx and Engels though discovered the domestic mode of production but they could not categorise it as a different form of production than capitalist mode of production.
2. False
3. Equal
4. Natural division of labour refers to the division of labour based on sex or gender of the person.
5. Political force

UNIT 9 PEASANT ECONOMY*

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Peasants and peasant economy
- 9.3 Indian peasants and peasant structure
- 9.4 Characteristics of peasant economy
- 9.5 Peasantry as economy and culture
 - 9.5.1 Farmland as the basis of livelihood
 - 9.5.2 Family labour
 - 9.5.3 Accumulation of capital
 - 9.5.4 Production for subsistence/consumption
- 9.6 Political economy of peasants
- 9.7 Peasant Movements
 - 9.7.1 The first stage 1857 - 1921
 - 9.7.2 The second stage 1923 - 1946
 - 9.7.3 Post-independence stage
- 9.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.9 References
- 9.10 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- describe learn about who are the peasants and what is meant by peasant economy;
- discuss the peasants in India and their structure;
- discuss the characteristics of peasants and the economical and cultural aspects of peasantry;
- outline the political economy in peasant societies; and
- discuss various stages of peasant movements in India.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit on “Domestic Mode of a Production” you learnt about modes of production in different economics including the domestic. Here in this unit you will learnt about Peasant Economy.

Peasant societies had existed across the globe. Their primary mode of economy is agriculture. In this unit, we will discuss the general notions of peasants and peasant economy. This unit also offers an insight into the peasant societies that existed in India. It deals with the agrarian structure of peasantry in India which is categorised into three basic forms – the Maliks, the Kisans and the Mazdoors. Through this detailed overview, the unit derives the characteristics of peasant economy. It throws light on how peasantry can be both a mode of economy as well as culture. In doing this, it discusses four aspects of peasantry such as, (i) the land as a source of livelihood, (ii) family labour, (iii) capital and subsistence. With the emergence of market system, peasants were politically exploited by the external forces. To resist this exploitation, there were mass agitations throughout. The unit discusses peasant movements and categorises various peasant movements into three stages to ease our understanding of various movements of peasants in India.

9.2 PEASANTS AND PEASANT ECONOMY

Before delving into the notions of peasant economy, we will understand a key concept associated with it that is ‘who is a peasant’ and then shift our focus to ‘peasant economy’. A peasant is a person who engages in land works. In other words, a peasant can be any person who is involved in agricultural work in its various forms such as owns the land, landless labourer, a tenant, crop sharer, and so on. Many scholars from social science disciplines consider peasants as a heterogeneous group. However, there is a disparity in its understanding among other scholars who believe that a peasant is a homogenous group. There was an ambiguity in the meanings attached to peasantry by various scholars which differed from one another. A.L. Kroeber in 1948 published his work ‘*Anthropology*’ in which he made an attempt to define the term peasant. Kroeber (1948) treated peasant as a homogeneous group who share an economic relation with the market. He defined peasants as “part societies with part cultures” (Kroeber, 1948). This definition indicates that peasants attach themselves to the larger society however they retain their cultural identities, their engagement with the farm and so on, which marks their distinction from the rest.

Box 9.0

Origin of the term “Culture” derives from a French term, which in turn derives from the Latin “colere” which means belonging to the earth and grow or cultivation and nurture. “It shares its etymology (i.e. origin) with a number of other words related to actively fostering growth” (De Rossi said, 12, July 2017) <https://www.livescience.com/2147>. Therefore, we can clearly say that the term culture emanates from agriculture.

Peasants have since very long suffered subjugation and other forms of coercion. But their socio-economic condition has led to a major transformation in a society. The 18th century peasants’ mode of production detached them from the rest in a society. During the latter centuries, there was unequal distribution of land, income and their relationship patterns with the market. This inequality prevailed strikingly among the working and non-working peasants. The former was identified as the supporters of working class while as the latter supported the capitalists. These

are the revolutionary kind of support towards the working class and the capitalist class which created class and power relations between them.

Peasant economy on the other hand implies a kind of rural economy with distinct characteristics. It comprises an array of agrarian associations where household is the basic unit of production. Household is the principal factor to ascertain the amount of production, the level of consumption and the surplus. The main source of income in household economy is agriculture where the members of a household invest their own labour. Peasant economy is adapted in such a way that it deals with a varied number of dimensions of the problems concerning peasant's livelihood such as cultural, social and physical dimensions.

9.3 INDIAN PEASANTS AND PEASANT STRUCTURE

In India, majority of people live in rural areas and their primary source of livelihood is agriculture. Peasant structure in India is based on caste, ethnicity, religion, language and so on. Thorner (1966) while studying the agrarian class structure in India and the nature of Indian agriculture used three-point formulae to distinguish between various forms of agrarian classes. The three-point formula includes the type of income received from the soil (such as rent, fruits of own cultivation and wages), the nature of rights (such as ownership and tenancy, sharing of crops or no rights) and the amount of field work done (such as not working at all, partial working, work done using family labour, work done so that others may earn wages). This criterion, according to Thorner (1966), helps in the identification of the existence of three fundamental categories of Indian agrarian classes. In India, these three categories include Maliks, Kisans and Mazdoors. Maliks are basically landlords and Thorner (1966) categorised Maliks into big and rich landlords. Kisans are the farmers who either own the land or carry out farming as tenant and there are two sub-categories of Kisans, that is, 'small landowners' and 'substantial tenants'. The third categorization of agrarian class in India includes the Mazdoors comprising three sub-categories of peasants. They are 'poor peasants', 'sharecroppers' and 'landless labourers'.

Activity 1

Read a novel or stories authored by Munshi Premchand; or Shri Lal Shukla the noted Hindi literature. You may choose a counter part in your own regional language also. Write a note of one or two pages on depiction of village in his or her writings. Share your ideas with others at your Study Center.

According to Daniel Thorner (1966), the primary source of income for landlords is their property right on the land. Maliks always lease the land on high rents to procure higher interest and they reduce the wages of the Mazdoors. Big-landlords do not engage in any kind of farming or management of the land to make it more fertilized. The other category of Maliks, as mentioned earlier, includes the proprietors possessing a large amount of land especially within their surrounding environment. These rich landlords do not engage in any farming activity. They only perform the role of supervision while the labourers cultivate the land and also look into management issues. Kisans either have traditional land rights or they can also have legal right over the right. But they are not at par with the Maliks. Among the Kisan subcategories, there are small land owners who

themselves engage in farming activities. They do not hire labourers from the outside except during the harvesting time. On the other hand, the substantial tenants have a holding on the large mass of land which is above their level of sufficiency. Also they have the assured rights on the land as tenants and these rights are quite protected. The third categorisation of Indian peasants, that is, Mazdoors make their living by working as labourers on other's land. The poor Mazdoor peasants have tenancy claims which are less secure. They possess small portions of land which suffices their daily livelihood. They do not earn much from their land than they earn from selling their labour. The sharecroppers as the second sub-category of Mazdoors carry out agricultural activities on land for the interest of others. The last sub-category of Mazdoors is the landless labourers. They sell their labour for money. They carry out all the labour activities in other's land in order to receive wages they utilize for their subsistence.

9.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF PEASANT ECONOMY

From the above discussion on peasants and peasant economy, following characteristics can be derived:

- 1) In peasant economy, the primary unit of production is family regardless of its size.
- 2) The size of family in peasant economy is determined through technical requirements and also economic requirements of a particular family.
- 3) The generally found sizes among peasants are large extended families comprising three generations at the most and a nuclear family comprising father-mother-and un-married children.
- 4) The amount of involvement required in agricultural practices depends largely on the models of inheritance.
- 5) Peasants are intensive agriculturalists who completely engage in farm work for cultivation and therefore are sedentary that is; they are placed where the land exists than non-nomadic tribes. This distinguishes them from other forms of economic societies that existed before the peasant mode of production.
- 6) Peasant societies are generally small, the members of which rely more on traditions and they resist any kind of change either in their household or in their economy.
- 7) Peasants are treated as inferior folk societies living in rural hinterlands, rather than other section of society. The reason being their isolation from urban society. This inferiority further leaves them ignorant and makes them poor. Some scholars claim that peasant poverty is the causal factor for their being dependent throughout and this dependency is inherent among peasants.
- 8) The chief characteristic of peasant economy is the division of labour based on gender and power relations among members which again is determined through gender.

1) Who is a peasant?

.....

.....

2) What is the basic unit of production in a peasant society?

.....

3) Daniel Thorner has identified three fundamental categories of Indian agrarian classes. Name them.

.....

.....

.....

4) Peasants are generally called as pastoralists. True or False

.....

5) Peasants are a group (homogenous or heterogeneous).

9.5 PEASANTRY AS ECONOMY AND CULTURE

Peasantry or peasant economies are complex and may appear in varied forms, which are difficult to study altogether. The reason for this is that each form of peasant economy exhibits a distinct set of attributes. Some of these attributes are similar to those found in pre-peasantry societies. However, there are certain dimensions to comprehend the living patterns of peasants and their modes of economy. These dimensions include social, cultural and physical dimensions. Peasantry is mostly prevalent in rural areas and therefore their wealth and power is governed through their contact with the government. Some scholars who conducted studies on peasantry studied its various traits and laid emphasis on the significance of the modes of economy as well as socio-political condition of peasants. There are, however, others who understood peasantry as culture and economy used certain distinct factors as discussed below:

9.5.1 Farmland as the basis of livelihood

Peasant societies rely heavily on the resources available to them through their farm because of their engagement with the farm activities. Their livelihood depends on the resources obtained from the land. This reliance on the farm resources distinguishes them from landless labourers. One of the significant features of peasant economy is that the distribution of land for cultivation does not depend on the criteria set for market economy. Most of the peasant societies have traditional rights on land and these traditional rights on land are undeniable. However, there are few peasant societies where land is transferred outside of the family structure. Land in a peasant society is a source of production. There is a price to every piece of land, which secures the livelihood of peasants.

9.5.2 Family labour

One of the fundamental economic features of peasant society is its dependence on family labour, which distinguishes it from the capitalist society. Family labour is at the core of the subsistence strategy adopted by peasants. Members from each household perform in the farm lands in order to produce for their own consumption or for economic purposes. However sometimes, family labour is supplemented by the hired labour especially during harvesting time which demands higher concentration of man-power. Hired labour is especially required when the farming is done to for commercial purposes. Peasants usually utilize family labour to maintain the level of their self-consumption.

9.5.3 Accumulation of capital

The demand for and accumulation of capital is primarily an attribute found in capitalist production. However there is an ambiguity in defining capital in the form of profit for the production in peasant societies because in peasantry, the peasants perform for their livelihood rather than for commercial purposes (Ellis, 1988). There is thus a clear distinction between the profit (an attribute of capitalist society) and return back (an attribute of peasant society wherein family labour is utilized for production). Families purchase certain forms of capital for two purposes, that is, production purposes and consumption purposes. The production purposes involve ploughing the land, water pump for irrigation, or grain refinery. The consumption purposes include transportation, carriage for firewood, and so on. There is no predefined rate of return in peasantry and this is another feature that distinguishes it from capitalist society.

9.5.4 Production for subsistence/consumption

One of the striking features of peasant societies pointed out by socio-economists is their mode of subsistence. Subsistence defines the amount of production from the land and consumed by a family. They do not sell their production to generate income. As a result of this, peasants are also called by many as subsistence farmers. Their level of subsistence is the cause of their partial integration in the market economy. Globally, families working in their land are highly skilled and produce goods as commodities even for trade rather than for their own consumption, they are nonetheless termed as peasants. There is reciprocity to all the trade they carry and the transactions mostly take place among two or more households. Reciprocity is a cultural transaction characterised by the exchange of dissimilar goods or services. Also the transactions do not take place according to the market price of the goods and services which attaches cultural meaning to these transactions.

9.6 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PEASANTS

The political economy of the peasants results in their political exploitation by the external bodies, especially the larger market economic system. To resist this political exploitation or surrender to the politics of market, peasants struggle to safeguard their land than to succumb to the forces from outside. They do not enter into long term economic deals with the market or completely accept their ideologies. They instead are very considerate with their daily affairs of livelihood. The leaders in peasant societies are objective in nature and therefore they cease

to bring in some political affairs in peasant economy. Generally, the political nature of peasant societies is determined through their division into households which compose the integrated bunch of the rural peasants. Among the peasants, the landlords as well as the rich peasants occupy the highest place in the hierarchical structure and are therefore dominating than those at the bottom of this hierarchy, who are the poor landless peasants. The latter are not integrated, there is no sign of unity among them. This is because of the fact that they are governed by landlords. Those who occupy the central place in the peasant hierarchical structure have the potential to bring about a revolution in the peasant economic system and thus initiate a movement.

The idea of political economy entails the control of resources; and the control over resources results in its redistribution. Peasants' rights over the land do not signify an absolute division of land ownership. Their ownership is determined through traditional rights on the use of land but the actual ownership in legal terms may lie with them or with the entire peasant society, or the landlord. The prevalence of power relations within the peasant societies vis-a-vis political organizations highly affects the functioning of peasant economic system. Still whatever the type of ownership, there is an interdependence of land and power which means that power is derived from land and land is translated into power.

Peasants do not only suffer exploitation from land owners. There are other stakeholders also such as the mediators who play a role in the political economy of this form of production. These mediators fall between the powerful and the powerless classes and they always drift their exploitative drives towards peasants.

Activity 2

You must have read about or watched the news on the three Farm Laws passed. Also, a strong objection to these laws by a large section of farmers from all parts of India.

Write a short note of two pages about this movement unfolding in urban areas by farmers to analyse the role of peasant economy and the people associated with it. Share with others at your Study Centre.

9.7 PEASANT MOVEMENTS

Peasant movements in India can be traced from the early 19th century in East Bengal where zamindars, in order to take away the land from the farmers, began exploiting them by using force. However there was a strong resistance by farmers to their exploitation. The farmers united to resist the use of force and to safeguard their ownership rights. The enactment of the Tenant Act of 1885 was the outcome of this resistance movement by the farmers. As such, peasant movements can be understood through its three stages. The first stage (i.e. from 1857 to 1921) saw the sporadic rise of such movements during the times when peasants had no leadership. The second phase (1923 to 1946) saw that peasants were becoming class conscious and peasants collectively struggled to highlight the problems of kisans. The third phase (that is, post-independence phase) witnessed government's failure to resolve the problem of peasants. We will now discuss all these stages of peasant movements separately.

9.7.1 The first stage 1857-1921

The exploitation of kisans and the increase in the land revenue prices by the British resulted in various uprisings across the country during this stage. This stage also saw frequent incidents of famines and economic downfall which provoked the peasants to intensify their revolts. Some of the famous movements of this stage include Santhal rebellion against the British, the Deccan riots, the Bengal tenants' revolt, the Oudh insurrection, the Punjab struggle, etc. During the latter part of this stage, there were two other notable movements which erupted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. These are Champaran movement in Bihar and Satyagraha movements of peasants in Kheda. However, prior to the rise of these two movements, the policies of the congress were directed towards protecting the interests of landlords. But these latter two movements erupted against the exorbitant rates on land revenue imposed by the British. They were not directed against the exploitation by zamindars.

9.7.2 The second stage 1923-1946

While the Congress tried to protect the interests of capitalists, the kisans realised that congress was concerned about the protection of capitalist interests. This resulted in the evolution of kisan based leadership and independent class organization so as to protect their own interests. These kisan organizations emerged across the country. In 1935, All India Kisan Sabha was established to suggest the needs and desires of peasants. This Sabha was supported by both socialist and communist parties of India. Some of the prominent movements led by Kisan Sabha to being an end to various forms of oppression that Kisans were facing include 'anti-settlement agitation of Andhra', abolition of zamindari system in Bihar', 'revolt against tyrannical forest laws in South India, and other agitations against zamindars in other states of India. These movements put a lot of pressure on the ruling party and Congress Agrarian Programme was thus formed. Despite this, Congress failed to come into compromise with the peasants to fulfil their demands due to the extremity of pressure imposed by the zamindars.

9.7.3 Post-independence stage

Even after the independence in 1947, government failed to resolve the problems of kisan peasants. However it succeeded in taking further the agrarian capitalists which instigated the kisans to intensify their struggle. The agrarian policies made after the independence offered nothing to the kisans, they instead magnified their agonies. Thus there were a series of revolts by the peasants across the country such as Indigo movement, Moplah revolt, Tebhaga movement, Telangana movement, and so on. In Andhra Pradesh, the Congress led Andhra Provincial Kisan Sabha strived to halt the movement but failed because it only promoted the interests of zamindars. However the Communist party stood still to unite and promote the interests of poor kisans and labourers. But the overall welfarist measures towards the lower strata in the peasant structure were most often too less.

Check Your Progress

- 1) What are the three dimensions that help in understanding the economy and living patterns of peasants?

1. 2. 3.

2) What is the basic source of livelihood for peasants?

.....

3) What do you understand by family labour?

.....

.....

4) There are two purposes of capital purchased by peasant families. Name them.

.....

.....

5. Name four important movements that erupted in India after independence.

1. 2.

3. 4.

9.8 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we discussed the general notions of peasants and their mode of economy. We also discussed the structure of peasants as they existed in India. Peasantry can be understood in term of both economy and culture. This chapter offers an insight into the aspects of peasantry that determine how peasantry can be comprehended as economy and culture. It derives the characteristics of peasant economy and discusses the political aspects of peasant economy. It also offers an insight into various peasant movements that erupted in India and which can be traced through three stages. The unit overall delves into the major aspects of peasant economy.

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9.10 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) A peasant is a person or a homogenous group who engage in land work especially agricultural work for their livelihood.
- 2) Household
- 3) Malik, Kisan and Mazdoor
- 4) False
- 5) Homogeneous

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Social, cultural and physical dimensions
- 2) Land
- 3) Family labour means labour in which members of a family use their energy in the production process.
- 4) The two purposes for which families purchase capital are production purposes and consumption purposes.
- 5) Indigo Movement, Moplah Movement, Tebhaga Movement and Telangana Movement.

UNIT 10 CAPITALISM*

Structure

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Basic notions of Capitalism

10.3 Dimensions of Capitalism

10.3.1 Private property ownership

10.3.2 Self interest

10.3.3 Competition

10.3.4 Price mechanism

10.4 Division of labour and the labour production

10.4.1 Enhances the knowledge

10.4.2 Skill development

10.4.3 Efficiency in production through learning

10.4.4 Using machines in the production process

10.5 Economic inequality under capitalism

10.6 Various forms of capitalism

10.6.1 Private capitalism

10.6.2 State capitalism

10.6.3 Mixed capitalism

10.7 Let us sum up.

10.8 References

10.9 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

10.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you should be able to:

- describe the basic notions of capitalism;
- explain various elements of capitalism;
- discuss how labour is produced and² the division of labour;
- analyse the idea of economic inequality; and
- to distinguish between various forms of capitalism.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

You learnt in Unit 9: Peasant Economy about the peasant economy and culture. This unit conceptualised the term capitalism and offers an insight into the capitalist

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form of economy. It gives us a general understanding of the notions of capitalism as it existed globally as well as in the Indian context. The unit discusses various dimensions of capitalism. One of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism is the division of labour. The unit provides an understanding of the division of labour and the production of labour. It discusses various factors involved in the division of labour. Capitalism as basis of inequalities among people in a society can exist in its various forms depending upon who owns the production and who controls it. The unit discusses three important types of capitalism.

10.2 BASIC NOTIONS OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism is a form of economic system which involves three elements, that is, (i) labour (working for wages), (ii) private ownership of means (such as farmland, machines, offices, and so on) (iii) and producing goods for exchange and interest. There is a class of people who are the owners of the means of production and they are called the capitalist class or bourgeoisie. On the other hand, there are those who sell their labour for wages and they are the working class called proletariats. This classification of bourgeoisie and proletariat as classes is given by Karl Marx. One of the fundamental features of capitalism lies in making profit. This is to say that capitalism in its simplest way means investing money in order to make more money. This process of money making is central to capitalism (Schumpeter & Sweedberg, 1991[1918]). For example, when the owners hire more labour, the motive is to have more profit. Here the profit comes in the form of money. Thus, the invested money generated more money and so we can say that money functions as a capital. This increase in money results in the expansion of economy and this is called as capital accumulation (Marx, 1974). However, it is not to be understood that more money is produced through exchanging it, the profit in the form of money depends upon the production. The more the production, more will be the profit (mostly in the form of money). So the exchange that occurs involves exchanging goods against money. And the ability to work and the capability to produce are crucial to the accumulation of capital. This is to say that there is no magical play to transform money into more money but it requires ample amount of labour.

There is always resentment between labour and money. Capitalists hire labourers at lower rates, they increase their working hours, force them to work at a faster pace. The labourers try to defy these motives of capitalists covertly or overtly. The former involves taking breaks in the middle of the work, spending some time in chatting with fellow workers, leaving early and so on. All this happens in the absence of capitalists. The latter involves holding strikes collectively, slowing the working pace as a mark of protest, and so on. This results in conflict between the working and non-working classes and is called as class-struggle. Class struggle entails the oppression of the labour class by the owners of the production. In this struggle, labour class protests against the oppression of the owners (Smelser & Swedberg, 1994). The notions of class struggle have been borrowed from Marx's theory of class society. In Marxian terminology, this struggle is between proletariats and bourgeoisie. In this categorization, proletariats are the powerful class while as bourgeoisie are the non-powerful labour class.

10.3 DIMENSIONS OF CAPITALISM

The whole idea of capitalism has its roots on the following dimensions:

10.3.1 Private property ownership

Property does not only mean owning the tangible things but property also involves a person's right to life and right to liberty. At the same time, private property ownership refers to the ownership rights of labour class over the goods that they produce through their labour. Private property is not to be confused with the individual property. It can be owned by either an individual or by a group. The idea of private property is not something distinctive in capitalism but an essential component for its smooth play. Owning private property elevates the industrial societies further, ensures reciprocity and advocates trust and honesty. People derive more value from the goods that they own. These goods are meant for the best interests of both the private owners as well as for the larger society to which they belong.

10.3.2 Self interest

One of the finest encouragements of capitalism is self interest. Self interest means people working for their own interests, aims, purposes and ambitions. This does not mean that capitalism encourages greediness. Interest and greed are two different notions. Greed involves caring for self interests and ignoring the interests of other people. It does not involve any regard for the legal provisions. On the other hand, self interest is an inherent attribute of humans and there is no survival without it. Capitalism harnessed self interest but this does not mean that people pursue their own benefits individually but they also pursue benefits for their families and others they care about. Not only this, people also team up with others and share interest among all the collaborators. These collaborators are mainly those belonging to the same group.

Activity 1

Visit a library in your neighbourhood and read Ayn Rand's book "The Fountainhead". After reading the book write a short essay on the author's main focus and how it is reflective of a capitalist society.

Please share your essay with the Academic counsellor and your peers at your Study Center.

10.3.3 Competition

Competition is yet another significant element of capitalism. The advocates of capitalism have little knowledge about the working of competition. Competition is a continuing process to improve, adjust and innovate, which are considered by many as the greatest benefits of competition. Competition is important for the accumulation of capital. In a free market, competition implies offering the best services to customers than the opponents. The opponents as such are not the enemies, but the competition has its base on production and on the values available to consumers. The focus of the competitors is more on price, innovations, methods, originality, quality, quantity and so on. The idea is to compete in economic terms

than on other fronts. The underlying idea of competition is to push the producers to raise their production standards through maintaining the quality of essentials and curbing the prices on goods.

10.3.4 Price mechanism

Price mechanism is a system through which prices of goods can be ascertained by demand and supply. Thus price mechanism completely depends upon the producer and the consumer of goods. In other words, it depends upon the buyer of goods and the one who sells them. Price mechanism works in a free market in which the changing prices shape the quality and quantity of the production. But sometimes, it is not the buyer and seller of goods but the government which controls the market to make commodities available to poor at reasonable prices. In a free market, if there is scarcity of goods, the demand for goods increase while as the supply of goods goes down. In such situations, the price for the goods goes up. The higher price of goods reduces the demand which further results in the preservation of resources. The changing prices give opposing signals to both the producers of the goods and the consumers. It informs consumers to reduce the demands and move out of the market when the prices go high. It also informs producers to enter a market where the competition among various producers takes place. On the other hand, the reduction in the price encourages consumers' entrance into the market and discourages the producers to withdraw from the market.

10.4 DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE LABOUR PRODUCTION

Division of labour refers to the distribution of labour work among the workers based on their skills. People rely on the goods supplied to them for their survival and for their well being. The production of these goods depends on the labour force, which is divided on the basis of skills that labourers possess. The division of labour results in an increase in the production and enhances the efficiency of the productivity through the skills and through the knowledge that the labourers have gained. The process of production further enhances the knowledge of labourers, which creates specialised and sub-specialised forms of labour. Division of labour serves various functions as discussed below:

10.4.1 Enhances the knowledge

The process of production involves a wide variety of knowledge depending upon the skills of workers. For example, the producers of various goods, such as goods produced by industrial workers and non-industrial workers, possess varieties of knowledge of distinct specializations. Workers join hands together in industries to produce goods. A common example that clearly illustrates the way division of labour enhances the knowledge is the production of vegetables. In vegetable cultivation, farmers seek help of many persons. They seek help of people who can plough their land, tilt it, require water pump for irrigation, fertilizers for high produce, manpower for harvesting, and so on. There are various people involved in these specialised roles. Thus the production process involves more knowledge than possessed by a person alone or by a family. In modern societies, the knowledge

can come from other means also such as the more efficient mechanical means of carrying out multiple activities involved in the crop production process such as use of tractors, use of chemical fertilizers, and so on.

10.4.2 Skill development

Division of labour encompasses skill development through the aid of skilled and professional workers or employees. The lack of division of labour in a given economic society may force people to work and produce for themselves with the skilled ones more fortunate to produce quality goods than the unskilled. In contrast, the division of labour ensures that the skilled and more knowledgeable people invest their time in guiding and directing the unskilled for a better production of goods. This increases the rate of production for every member involved in labour work. Thus division of labour not only increases the knowledge of the unskilled but at the same time it also enables one to utilize that knowledge in meeting the standards set by the economic society through the skilled ones. This also enables people with minimal knowledge to engage in the production process through the knowledge of highly skilled persons. The same process follows for the later generations and this increases the level of production gradually.

10.4.3 Efficiency in production through learning

Division of labour increases the efficiency of the workers through the processes of learning and acquiring knowledge from the knowledgeable. Those who learn skills about some specific work utilize them in the production process more frequently depending upon the amount of time devoted in that kind of work. With the passage of time, while they continue using that knowledge in their work, they transform into professionally skilled and knowledgeable persons. This increases the rate of production because they do not have to wait for the knowledgeable people to direct and guide them in the production process. There is also the transformation of knowledge and skills into specializations and utilized by those who best suit these specializations. The assimilation of knowledge in the division of labour increases the efficiency in the production process.

10.4.4 Using machines in the production process

Division of labour paves way for the use of machines in the processes of production. As mentioned earlier, division of labour enhances knowledge among the workers which makes the use of machines in the production possible. This means that division of labour is essential for the use of machines which results in the extensive production of goods and the rise in economy (Misra, 1988). It would otherwise be difficult to raise economy through solely employing the manpower. The invention of machines itself requires the aid and knowledge of the specialized people. This is of advantage to the capitalists who would make more capital through using machines than human labour where they have to pay wages to them. Use of machines in the production process reduces the employment opportunities for the labourers and employs only the skilled and specialized ones who can operate machines on a daily basis. The specialised division of labour makes it possible that the use of machines increases the productivity.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Define a capitalist?

.....
.....

2) What are the three basic elements of capitalism?

.....
.....
.....

3) What is price mechanism?

.....
.....

4) Division of labour means the division of owners of production in a capitalist society. True or False.

.....

5) Division of labour serves certain important functions. Name any two functions?

1) 2)

10.5 ECONOMIC INEQUALITY UNDER CAPITALISM

Inequalities among human beings have existed since long when humans started producing surplus economies. Inequality weakens human solidarity and creates a divide between the strong and the weak such as on the basis of gender. In capitalism, there ought to be inequalities. Inequalities have its roots in the division between the owners of the means of production and the labourers who use their labour in the production process. This means that under capitalism, inequalities exist at two levels. One is the inequality of wealth and the other is inequality of income. Some scholars call these types of inequalities as **stock** inequality and **flow** inequality respectively. These inequalities exist among different kinds of actors who are involved in the production system such as the workers and the owners or among the workers itself or even among various owners.

Labourers or the working class is the largest group in capitalist society. Their labour power is the basis of all the productive property but they do not own productive property. Both the labourers and the production are owned by capitalists. In order to produce goods, both the labour class and the capitalists unite. Their unity rests on collective idea of acquiring economy. While labourers sell their labour for wages to make money, the capitalists own all the produced property which becomes their source of economy. The income difference among the two classes is determined by who owns the property (Patnaik, 2012). The property owners and the owners of the labour power are likely to have higher

income than those who collect wages in exchange to their labour power. These two forms of transactions are the basis of inequalities among the two classes.

Due to competition among various capitalists as well as among various organizations, economic inequalities are bound to exist. Economic inequalities does not only exist among the capitalists and workers or among various capitalists but also among the labourers and labour market involving men and women, skilled and unskilled, permanent and temporary, local and migrants and so on. These are the intrinsic inequalities that exist in capitalism. The inequalities in capitalism are due to the reason that capitalism creates a conflict between the capitalists and working class. Marx argued that inequalities are the construction of social class formation in capitalist arrangement of economy. This denotes that capitalism necessarily starts with inequality and ends also with inequality. Inequality is in fact called by many as the structural attribute of capitalism.

Activity 2

Talk to people in your neighbourhood and find out from at least five adult individuals about their occupation. Write a short note on the working people and their contribution to the economy.

Share your note with others at your Study Center.

10.6 VARIOUS FORMS OF CAPITALISM

Generally, there are two types of capitalism, that is, private or corporate capitalism and state capitalism. This categorization is based on the type of ownership and control over capital and distribution. Private capitalism is a form of capitalism where the means and distribution of production are controlled and owned by people who spend money in order to accumulate economy. On the other hand, state capitalism entails the regulation of market economy of the private capitalists in which state does not own or control the means of production. There is yet another type of capitalism in which there is the shared ownership and control of the private and state sectors over the means of production and distribution. These three types of capitalism are discussed below:

10.6.1 Private capitalism

Private capitalism is a kind of capitalism in which the hierarchical structures of capitalism as well as bureaucratic corporations control the means of production and the overall profit generated out of the production. In sociology and economics, this type of capitalism denotes the capitalist marketplace. Corporations dominate the marketplace and they do not function towards the interests of people and so many scholars, especially in sociology, argue that private capitalism functions against the standards of democracy. Private capitalism rejects the idea of equal power relations among the members of a given society. It works towards the interests of private corporations within a country.

10.6.2 State capitalism

State capitalism is one of the important types of capitalism and a misleading notion since it delivers the idea that the state controls the capital. However, the

case is a contrasting one. State capitalism means that the state takes over the important aspects of private capitalism. Under State capitalism, the market does not control the means of production and distribution. There is an interference of government under the state capitalism on the issues of trade freedom and freedom of labour. Thus the regulation and expansion of production lies with the state through both old and new codes of economic market. The utilitarian concept of state capitalism considers state as a powerful tool of ruling class. Those falling outside of this class are subject to suppression and domination.

10.6.3 Mixed capitalism

Mixed capitalism is a blend of both private capitalism and state capitalism. This form of capitalism involves an economic system in which both state and private sectors control the capital. Mixed capitalism is characterised by two kinds of economies, that is, market economy and planned economy. Market economy depends on the demand and supply of forces in which resource distribution is determined through price mechanism. In this type of economy, individuals are free in their choices. They take their own decisions in terms of where and who to work for, what is to be produced and so on. There is no state intervention in this type of economy. On the other hand, planned economy entails the control over production and resources by one person or a group. Various sectors work together to produce goods and the distribution is done by the government. Planned economy is also called as command economy because the controlling authority sets specific guidelines which are binding upon all. The reason it is called planned economy is the fact that whatever is needed by people is produced and the needs of all are fulfilled.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) What do you understand by economic inequality?
.....
.....
- 2) Inequalities between capitalists and labourers exist at two levels. Name them.
1) 2)
- 3) According to Marx, inequalities are the construction of
in capitalist arrangement of economy.
- 4) State owns and controls the means of production in private capitalism. True or False
.....
- 5) In state capitalism, government owns the means of production. True or False
.....

10.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have discussed the notions of capitalism and capitalist economy. In Marxian terminology, capitalism refers to a system in which there is an

economic relationship between two important class involved in the process of production. There are various dimensions of capitalism which are discussed in this unit. The economic system demands the division of labour for the quality and quantity of the output. What is the basis of this division and how labour is produced in capitalism are elucidated in this unit. The unit also offers an insight into the prevailing inequalities among the two classes in terms of wealth and income. The unit further discusses various types of capitalism thus distinguishing between private, state and mixed capitalism.

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10.9 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) A capitalist is the one who owns the means of production.
- 2) 1) Labour for wages, 2) Private ownership of means of production,
- 3) Producing goods for exchange and interest.
- 3) Price mechanism is a system through which prices of goods are determined by their demand and supply.

- 4) False
- 5) Skill development and enhancement of knowledge

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Economic inequality means difference in the income of two classes which is determined by the property ownership.
- 2) 1) Inequality of wealth 2) Inequality of income
- 3) Social class formation
- 4) False
- 5) False



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UNIT 11 SOCIALISM*

Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Basic Notions of Socialism
- 11.3 The Growth of India's Socialism
- 11.4 Prerequisites of Socialism
 - 11.4.1 Emphasis on Society
 - 11.4.2 Socialism Eliminates Capitalism
 - 11.4.3 Socialism brings in Equality
 - 11.4.4 Socialism abolishes Private Property Ownership
- 11.5 Varieties of Socialism
 - 11.5.1 State Socialism
 - 11.5.2 Military Socialism
 - 11.5.3 Christian Socialism
 - 11.5.4 Planned Socialism
- 11.6 The Scientific analysis of Socialism
 - 11.6.1 Dialectical Materialism
 - 11.6.2 Historical Materialism
 - 11.6.3 Theory of Surplus Value
 - 11.6.4 Dictatorship of Proletariats
- 11.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 11.8 References
- 11.9 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you will be able to:

- explain the notions of socialism and its basic ideas;
- discuss the growth of socialism in India;
- describe the four important pre-requisites of socialism;
- define the different varieties of socialism; and
- discuss the scientific analysis of socialism from the Marxian perspective.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit on Capitalism, you learnt about the basic notions of capitalism. In this unit, we have discussed the general notions of socialism from the socio-

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economic point of view as well as the growth of socialism in India. The unit provides an insight into various prerequisites of socialism the underlying idea of which is the abolition of capitalism through constructing a society which is based on the ideals of equality, justice, cooperation and so on. The unit offers the varieties of socialism thus providing the different facets of the term and how the term has been understood in different paths of social life. The unit also offers an insight into the scientific analysis of socialism from the Marxian perspective. It discusses four important factors such as dialectical materialism, historical materialism, surplus value and the shifting of power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariats.

11.2 BASIC NOTIONS OF SOCIALISM

Socialism is a concept that has its roots in the socio-economic doctrine. The term was coined by Saint Simon in early 19th century in the West. Although the attributes attached to socialism such as social cooperation, upliftment of the weaker sections in a society, struggle for social justice and so on, existed prior to 19th century but scholars argue that the current understanding of the term socialism evolved in the 19th century only. Generally, the term socialism is used in two different yet interdependent ways. One is that socialism denotes values, ethics and other principles of this sort of imagination. Socialism in this sense is characterised by the ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, social justice, classlessness, cooperation, abundance, peace and so on (See: Narayan, 1936). Second is that it signifies the practical aspects of socio-political institutions that also symbolize the socialist principles. Socialism at the level of institutions contrasts the capitalist mode of economy by marking a shift from the capitalist modes of ownership and control of the production to the public or collective ownership of the production system. This shift which is based on the notions of social justice and equality has grabbed the attention of socialists as well as others involved in the welfarist activities but these two notions do not alone represent socialism. There are a variety of meanings attached to the term socialism however, in this unit, we will focus on socialism in terms of its economic aspects and the welfare of human beings.

Before we move ahead to discuss the allied issues of socialism, the need is to understand socialism through the definitions offered by various social science scholars from time to time. Narayan (1934) defined socialism as the 'system of social reconstruction'. For him, socialism means reorganizing economic and social life through the process of socialization. This involves reorganization of the means of production and promoting collective means of ownership thus abolishing the private ownership. Russel (1938) defined socialism as 'the advocacy of communal ownership of land and capital'. By communal ownership is meant the democratic mode of ownership by the state which is for the common interest of all. M.K. Gandhi (1951), socialism as a society in which 'members of society are equal none low, non high'. All the definitions offered thus focuses on who benefits, the nature of control and the ideas of equality. Socialism generally means the production of goods to fulfil the needs of people and not for trade to obtain profit which is an attribute of capitalism. Thus there is also a transition from competition to cooperation. Through this transition, the disparities that existed among various people in a given society are eliminated and people are provided with equal opportunities.

11.3 THE GROWTH OF INDIA'S SOCIALISM

The socialist approach developed in India during the freedom movement like other countries in the Asia. Indian socialism grew during the first and second world wars within the social and political context that prevailed during those times. However socialism did not have a smooth beginning during the initial phases of its growth in India due to resentment of the British and also due to the vicious transitions in the approaches of International Communist Party towards India's freedom movement. The radical views of Karl Marx grabbed the attention of Indian nationalists who desired to expose the economic difficulties of its country brought about by the British through drawing off the wealth. In doing this, they attempted to make public the shortcomings of the British.

Socialism became most influential during the Gandhian era of Satyagraha movement. During this period, various other influential leaders in India, such as Swami Dayanand, campaigned for promoting equality in India. Socialists generally dealt economically with the notions of equality but there are others who focussed more on promoting social equality such as Bankim Chandra. Gandhian model of socialism has its base on the ethical and reformatory factors. Gandhi advocated non-violence and argued that western democracy and communism were objectionable to the Indians for their lacking of the true freedom (Gandhi, 1951). The contributions of the nationalist thinkers highlighted the economic difficulties that existed in India without inhibiting the notions of socialism. The economic turmoil however helped in the growth of an ideology which is based on the ideals of socialism in India.

11.4 PREREQUISITES OF SOCIALISM

The underlying idea of socialism is to abolish the practices of capitalism and constructing a society which is based on equality, justice, cooperation, good for all, welfarist in nature and so on. Socialism also tries to bring an end to the exploitation of labourers by the capitalists. Socialist society as the name suggests can be constructed by people collectively and according to their needs and desires. In doing this, there are certain prerequisites which I will discuss here:

11.4.1 Emphasis on Society

Under the socialist economy, the emphasis is more on society than the individual alone. Socialism does not favour the interests of an individual but it promotes the interests of the society as a whole. This means that socialism lays much emphasis on the cooperation among the members of a society and works for their collective interests. Socialists argue that goods must be produced in accordance with the needs of the society. Under the socialist form of economy, individuals are free to produce goods as per their needs. It ensures that people engage in producing those products which they think will be of their interest. In establishing this socio-economic order, there is an equal opportunity provided to all the members.

11.4.2 Socialism Eliminates Capitalism

Because of the subordination, suppression, class conflict, unequal distribution and other blockades that existed in a capitalist society, capitalism is considered

by many as the enemy of socialism. These factors all stand as a hindrance to the idea of social justice. In trying to wipe out such odds from the society, socialists rejected the notions of capitalism. They instead promoted the factors such as social justice, equality, freedom, collective interests, individual freedom, cooperation, and so on (Russell, 1938). It abolished the patterns of ownership that existed in the capitalist society such as the rich aiming at making profits and owning the means of production in order to dominate the labour class.

Activity 1

Read the Preamble of Constitution of India and write a short note on the basic ideas mentioned in it. What kind of society does it enshrine? Discuss with other students at your Study Center.

11.4.3 Socialism Brings in Equality

Since there has been inequalities of different sorts, such as income, wealth, rights, profit, and so on, prevalent in the capitalist society, socialism aims at eliminating these inequalities which are the construction of capitalism. In socialism, there is no competition or subordination and therefore the idea of rich versus poor does not exist. The relationship between the means of production and the labour power is determined through the collective and common economic interests of all and so there is a mutual dependence. The system of production is controlled and regulated by the people jointly and is oriented towards the interests of all. Therefore, it will be precise to claim that socialism rests in the idea of equality unlike capitalism.

11.4.4 Socialism Abolishes Private Property Ownership

Property ownership has always been one of the crucial issues in a capitalist society. Only a few have been privileged to own the property depending upon who belong to which class. However, the evolution of socialist society has abolished the private property ownership. It has transferred the ownership of the means of production and distribution from capitalist ownership to social ownership. This has brought about a significant change in the type of ownership that exists in the socialist society. All members, regardless of the class, have become the owners of the property and this has paved way for their prosperous life and created an egalitarian mode of production system.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Define in your own words what socialism is?

.....
.....

- 2) Gandhian idea of socialism is based on

- 3) What are the pre-conditions for a socialist society to exist?

1. 2.
3. 4.

- 4) A socialist society is characterised by competition and subordination. True/False

.....

- 5) What are the factors that stand as a basis for the rejection of capitalism?

.....

.....

11.5 VARIETIES OF SOCIALISM

As we have understood from the above discussion that the fundamental feature of socialism is the control over means of production by the organised society. However, there are other features of socialism which are considered by many as significant to the idea of socialism. This indicates that socialism can exist in its various forms. In this section, an attempt will be made to discuss the various forms of socialism. As such, there can different varieties of socialism, but we will discuss here four important forms of socialism, that is state socialism, military socialism, Christian socialism and the planned socialism.

11.5.1 State Socialism

The concept of state socialist means involvement of the state in abolishing the discriminatory practices that existed in capitalism such as low wages and inequalities. State socialism promotes the idea of welfare state. It denotes a specific model of economic and political organization in a society and is based on the idea of collectivism. State socialism is not just an economic doctrine but some scholars argue that it is more of a moral and welfarist movement which is based on the ideas of justice and equality. State socialists argue that in order to abolish the exploitation from the production system and endorse social welfare, the state needs to interfere in the production state of affairs through legislative means which will serve the interests of the downtrodden. This demands the nationalization of the means of production in order to have an equal distribution of production among the workers. The state acts as an organ for the promotion of equality and equal distribution of resources and towards moral responsibilities, the state functions towards the upliftment of weaker sections in a society.

Activity 2

Interview at least two Government Servants on the issue of Protective Discrimination. Write their response and relate it to the notion of socialism in society in India. Discuss with your peers at Study Center.

11.5.2 Military Socialism

Military socialism is a term used in to denote the collective aim of the armed personnel during the war. In military socialism, income value and value of social status of the citizens is determined by the status held in the armed group. There is no claim of private ownership of the means of production. No individual in war can have individual aims, which would otherwise downgrade the essence of war. Military personnel usually stay in camps which are the communal arrangements.

They collectively partake in activities which give direction to their lives, including their familial matters.

11.5.3 Christian Socialism

Christian socialism is a kind of system that promotes the welfare of the people through combining the divine and what constitutes socialism. It is a kind of state socialism and therefore scholars argue that it is difficult to demarcate state socialism from Christian socialism. They further argue that it is also difficult to conclude whether an individual socialist belongs to the state or Christian socialism. Christian socialism operates on the idea that under the economic system, the profit making process which serves the material interests of the people does not disturb the smooth functioning of the system. The distribution of prices and wages as demanded by the people is equal and reasonably just in order to satisfy the needs of people.

11.5.4 Planned Socialism

While in capitalism, the capitalists engage in the production process to satisfy their own interests. Competition was also predominant in capitalism and it lacked coordination. But in planned socialism, there is a collective or what is also called as mixed ownership of the means of production by the public. Planning in socialism denotes planning to produce. In planned socialist economy, the coordination and distribution of production is carried out by the state through proper planning. Production in the socialist system is done to satisfy the needs and demands of people (See: Sahai, 1986). The distribution of production is based on the amount of contribution that people make in the production process. Under planned socialism, there are certain objectives fixed by the government. To achieve them, the state comes up with a planning. All the issues concerning the economy are covered under the plans of the government. The planning agency is generally called as Central Planning Authority and in India we read planning commission earlier and now we have the Niti Aayog who serves at this front.

11.6 THE SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIALISM

As mentioned earlier, socialism marks its evolution through the abolition of bourgeoisie order of the society. The scientific study of socialism is still undeveloped. Socialist scientists have so far not succeeded to take the science of socialism to a next stage. They have overlooked the functioning of economic system and also failed to comprehend the functioning of various economic institutions characterised by division of labour and private property ownership. Marx's concept of socialism is referred to as scientific socialism because Marxism is based on the study of past. Marx's socialism, which is also called as scientific socialism comprises three fundamental categories such as economics, politics and philosophy. Within economics, Marx propounded the theory of surplus value through value of labour theory. In political arena, Marx and Engels understood and analysed the principles of class struggle that existed in capitalism to create a new form of society called socialist society through one-party rule of proletariats. Within the field of philosophy, Marx borrowed Hegel's theory of dialectics to develop dialectical materialism, a theory which is now known as the theory of dialectical materialism.

Now considering Marxian concept of socialism, four foundational factors can be derived from three categories discussed above. These are dialectical materialism, historical materialism, theory of surplus value and dictatorship of proletariat. These are discussed as under:

11.6.1 Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical materialism is an approach derived from the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Materialism for them refers to the material world, which has an objective reality. This objective reality does not depend on spiritual or mental processes. Marx and Engels asserted that ideas could appear but only in materialist form. Both of them understood materialism in contrast to the notions of idealism. This creates a disparity in the way a theory can consider material as detached from mind and spirit or the existence of mind and spirit without the material. Consequently, they argued that integrating material with ideal may cause confusion and uncertainty if looked upon through the materialist approach. Marxian approach of dialectic materialism has shaped the Hegel's notion of dialectic. These two forms of dialectic differ from the other in terms of elements of ultimate reality. For Hegel, it is spirit or reason while as for Marx, the ultimate reality is matter in motion. Dialectical materialism thus is heading towards an organized society which is classless and there will be no exploitation on the basis of class.

11.6.2 Historical Materialism

Historical materialism is a theory according to which the organization and development of the modes of production are determined through its material conditions. This means society is influenced by the ways goods are produced which further changes the society during the course of time. It is actually a method of interpreting the history of a society economically. Historical materialism starts with the idea that the bases of economic activities are various institutions such as cultural, legal, political and so on. The theory is based on a simple idea that in order for a man to survive, he must produce. Production here is the most important aspect among all activities. Production system is the causal factor of all the socio-political changes that takes place in a socialist society. The underlying notion of historical materialism is primarily the fulfilment of basic needs of Mankind rather than pursuing science, art, religion, politics and so on. The basic needs include food, drink, clothing, shelter, etc. This idea will apparently mark the transition of capitalist society into a socialist society just as slavery was replaced by feudalism, feudalism by capitalism. In transiting from capitalism to socialism, the private ownership rights of capitalists on the means of production will be taken over by the social ownership which is a kind of common ownership. This will also bring an end to the powers, privileges, and exploitation of the ruling class.

11.6.3 Theory of Surplus Value

The theory of surplus value is given by Karl Marx in his book Das Capital. This theory breaks social classes into two classes, that is, capitalist class of those who own the property and the proletariats who are the labourers. Marx argued that these two classes differ in their interests which give rise to class struggle between the two classes which ultimately destroys the capitalist class. The surplus value is the outcome of the unpaid work of the labourers which becomes the profit of

the capitalists. This denotes that the profit of one class puts the other class at loss. Capitalists pay low wages to the labourers for all their labour and this keeps labourers attached to their work for capitalists. Surplus value in this sense can be defined as the difference in the value of goods and wages received by the labourers in producing these goods. The way surplus value is appropriated makes the capitalist system exploitative. It is in the backdrop of this theory that Marx used to prove that capitalism is exploitative in nature.

11.6.4 Dictatorship of Proletariats

The underlying idea of the dictatorship of proletariats denotes the shifting of power from bourgeoisie to proletariats to construct a socialist society. The transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society occurs through the class struggle between the two classes and power goes into the hands of working class. The working class exercises its power till the time it succeeds in taking over all other classes. Following this accomplishment, the dictatorship of the proletariats loses its vigour after the class system ceases to exist. Dictatorship of the proletariats has its basis on certain significant aspects. The first is that it is considered as an instrument of revolution. The use of revolution is to build a society which is classless. This is possible through the dictatorship of proletariats. Through the revolution, the proletariats can defeat the power of bourgeoisie. This can pave way for socialism but it can only be achieved through the dictatorship of the proletariats. The second is the democracy of the bourgeoisie. Understanding bourgeoisie democracy ensures the understanding of the democracy of proletariats. The former has its basis on the idea of inequality while as the latter emphasizes on the idea of equality and abolition of oppression and this latter is the third aspect of dictatorship of proletariats.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) What is meant by state socialism?
.....
.....
- 2) Christian socialism is the blend of and
- 3) What is 'planned' in planned socialism?
.....
.....
- 4) Name three fundamental categories of scientific socialism which existed in Marx's socialism.
 1. 2.
 3.
- 5) Discuss the underlying idea behind the dictatorship of proletariats in a socialist society?
.....
.....

11.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we discussed the general notions of socialism and briefly traced the growth of socialism in India. For a socialist society to come into being, there are certain pre-conditions. The unit offers an insight into four fundamental pre-conditions of socialism. Scholars across the disciplines of sociology and economics have been engaging with multiple varieties of socialism. However, this unit deals with four significant forms of socialism which offer an understanding of different contours of socialism. Given the Marxian notion of scientific socialism, the unit discusses four fundamental factors as pointed out by Karl Marx that lead to the growth of socialism. These include dialectical materialism, historical materialism, theory of surplus value and dictatorship of proletariat. The unit briefly discusses all the four factors for an understanding of the Marx's scientific socialism.

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11.9 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Socialism means reformation of the society which is based on the ideas of equality, justice, cooperation and public ownership and free from any exploitation.
- 2) Satyagraha
- 3) 1. Emphasis on society 2. Elimination of capitalism
3. Promotion of equality 4. Abolition of private ownership of property

- 4) False
- 5) The main factors behind the rejection of capitalism are subordination, suppression, class conflict, unequal distribution and private ownership of property, and so on.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) State socialism means involvement of state in the abolition of all discriminatory practices that existed in a capitalist society.
- 2) Divine and socialism
- 3) 'Planned' in planned socialism denotes planning to produce in order to satisfy the needs and demands of people.
- 4) Economics, politics and philosophy
- 5) Dictatorship of proletariats refers to the shifting of power from bourgeoisie to proletariats to construct a socialist society.



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