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## Lecture No. # 03 Perspectives On Population

**Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur** 

Now, in this lecture we will talk about certain perspectives in sociology, which have been used by social demographers or sociologists of population in explaining population trends, now the first point that students have sociology would very much appreciate either sociological findings are interpretive,

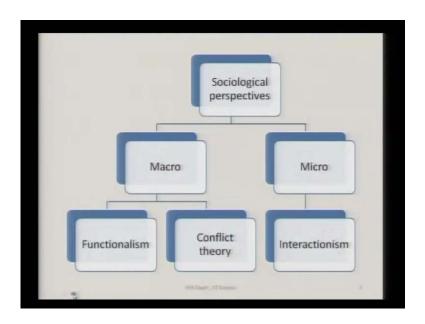
## Module 1: Lecture 3: Perspectives on population Sociological findings are interpretive. Therefore, perspectives are as important as data. Depending on their perspective on society, different sociologists have looked at advantages and disadvantages of population growth (also at implications of change in composition and distribution of population) in different ways. This lecture covers a few major sociological perspectives on population. Theories of population such as Malthusian or optimum population theory will be covered at a later point.

any student of sociology understands it very well that social phenomena are not having natural laws like laws of physics and chemistry, because of subjective meanings and meanings attached to their action by human beings social findings become interpretive. So, sociologists use certain perspectives for them perspectives are as important as data.

And depending on their perspective on society different sociologists have looked at population growth, advantages, disadvantages of population and implications of population change for different aspects of society in different ways, this includes implications of changes in composition and distribution of population.

Now, this lecture covers a few major sociological perspectives on population, theories of population such as Malthusian and optimum population theory will be covered at a later stage when we are exactly talking about population theory, the purpose of this lecture is to only focus on sociological perspectives, in studying population trends.

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You know that broadly speaking there are two types of sociological perspectives, or there are two types of theories or paradigms or models, some are called macro, some are called micro, in macro an attempt is made to explain social phenomenon at aggregate level or societal level, national level, regional level, at the level of castes, group's means aggregates.

And in micro sociology, we tried to explain social phenomena at the level of individuals, then these macro and micro perspectives can further be divided into certain category, the major categories are the macro perspective we have functionalism and conflict theory, and in micro we have interactions or ethno methodology they are some more advanced perspectives which we are not dealing within in this course or in these lectures because population scientists have generally not used them.

You know that some of the early theories of sociology were functional in nature, Emilee Durkheim, tailcoat parsons or anthropologists like Radcliffe brown or Murkowski they use functional perspective. In functional perspective we equate society with a biological

organism and we focus on order, consensus, equilibrium etcetera. In conflict theory we look at change and divide society into a number of groups.

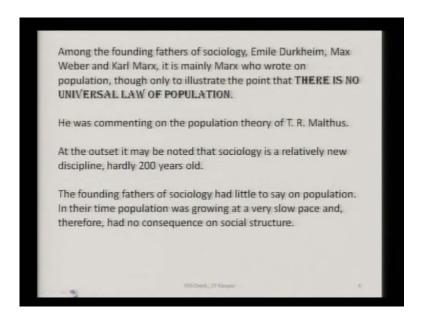
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By and large sociologists population and demographers have worked in functionalist perspective, some sociologists have used Marxist theory I remember one social scientist (()) to promotion of contraceptives and reduction in fertility while Khanna studies showed that government strategies to promote contraceptive work.

Manhood Mandeni was very critical of that theory and he looked at population trends in terms of class structures. So, he use Marxist theory of population, now, since population is analyzed mostly at the aggregate level there is very little application of interactionism interactionism is micro perspective or harmonistic or subjective meanings or these things they come under interactionism.

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Among the founding fathers of sociology Emilee Durkheim, Max Weber and Karl Marx it was mainly Marx who wrote on population explicitly, though only to illustrate the point that there is no universal law of population, in this lecture we are not talking about Malthus, but in seventeen ninety eight in one of the first important works on population Malthus published his book on the principle of population, an essay on the principle of population.

In which he was trying to say that population follows some universal laws or all population, population of men, animal, plants are governed by some natural laws, which we will see later. And Karl Marx said that no Malthus Malthus's principles are not applicable to all societies and he was more interested in demonstrating that Malthusian theory of population was written from a bourgeois perspective, that was written to legitimize capitalism or to maintain status quo.

While the real causes of population problems or perceived population problems were structural in nature, class division of society, class conflicts or class contradictions. So, Marx was commenting on the population theory of T R Malthus and in certain chapters in the capital Marx's famous book capital you find detailed discussion of Marx's theory of population which we will do a little later.

And the outside it may be noted that sociology is a relatively a new discipline, hardly 200 years old, and the founding fathers of sociology had little to say on population, in

their time population was growing at a very slow pace and therefore it had no consequence on social structure.

When I talk about world population growth I will show how for millions of years world population remained almost stable, and in the last lecture I said that in 1820 for the first time word population is first billion mark. So, since up to 1820 or even till the later part of the 19 century population was growing at a very slow pace, it had therefore no consequence on other aspects of society polity, economy or social integration or culture or religion.

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In the nineteenth century social thinkers could see that in the developed countries death rates had begun to fall and as a result of that population had started growing. This growth of population started affecting society and economy. This produced interest in studying population.

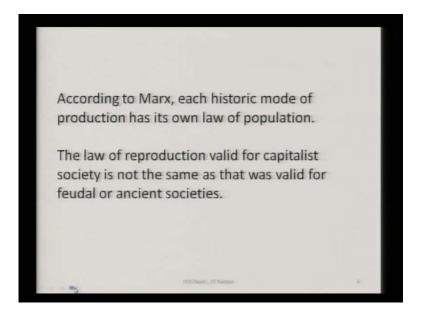
Population-society link became a hot subject in second part of the twentieth century when the population of the developing countries started growing at an UNPRECEDENTED RATE.

So, it is natural that sociologists did not have much theorization or much deeper understanding of population trends, in the 19th century social thinkers could see that in the developed countries death rates had begun to fall and as a result that population had started growing this growth of population started affecting society and economy and this produced interest in studying population.

This population society link became a hot subject in the second part of the 20th century means after 1950, when the population of the developing countries starts of the 2th century, growth of population was confined to developed countries only and in less developed countries, population was either stationary or growing at a very slow pace. So, even in 20th century theoretical, thinkers, intellectual, sociologists did not feel a need to study the link between population and society.

But when the population started growing at unprecedented rate 2 percent 3 percent 4 percent, some of the Latin American countries grew at more than 4 percent and several Asian countries grew at 3 percent or more even our own country started growing at 2 percent rate per year.

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So, at that time population cause certain problems and sociologists took keen interest in than in discussing population trends. So, according to Marx each historic mode of production has its own law of population, Marx wanted to say that the law of population which is valid for a feudal society is not valid for a capitalist society, the law of population which is valid for a capitalist society will not be valid for socialist society or communist society.

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The law of reproduction valid for capitalist society is not same as that was valid for feudal or ancient societies, then Emilee Durkheim Emilee Durkheim is another sociologist who has written on population, trends and impact of population growth on other aspects of society not many student of sociology know that, sociology students know that only T R Malthus and Karl Marx have written on population, but there are many sociologists other than Marx also who have written on population issues.

Emile Durkheim believed that growth of population increases physical density of population, that is number of persons per square kilometer, physical density of population is defined as number of people per square kilometer, when physical density increases what he calls as moral density.

This was a term given by Emilee Durkheim, moral density moral density of population also increases, by moral density Durkheim means the number of interactions between people, for example if the number of people at a given time is N, the number of 1 to 2 interactions is N C 2 or N into N minus 1 by 2, to give an example if there are two persons then 2 C two means 1.

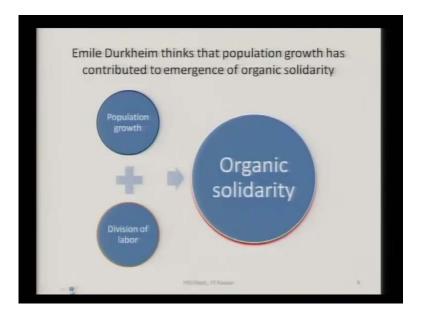
There is only one interaction relationship between two person there is only one relationship, if there are three persons then the relationship number of relationships 1 to 1 relationships among three persons will be 3 C 2 or 3, if the number of persons somewhere is 4 then the number of 1 to 1 relationship will be 4 C 2 or 6.

And you see that this implies that the number of interactions increases much faster than the size of population. So, when physical density of population is increasing the moral density of population produces a high degree of moral density increases much faster than physical density and this increase in moral density produces a high degree of competition and anomie.

Emile Durkheim was more worried in anomie or namelessness in society, in the western industrially advanced societies they responded by producing division of labor, the division of labor saved society from falling into anarchy at a given state of population. Now, since there was a division of labor so people performed different types of specialize task, in this way they could minimize competition among all sections or all individuals in society.

Then there was more competition within the groups rather than between groups, for between group relationship there developed interdependence for which Emilee Durkheim uses the term organic solidarity. So, Durkheim we may say that he thought that with growth of population there will be change over from mechanical to organic solidarity that is social integration based on homogeneity to social integration based on interdependence between different industrial and occupational groups.

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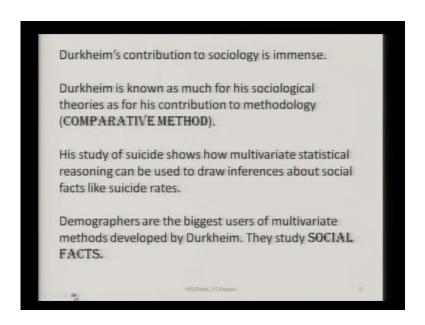


This was a very profound observation on the part of the sociologist, that in western society when population increase this could have produced an Anarchy, Normlessness

anomie, but because division of labor came to our rescue so that as the diagram shows this diagram is made by me to illustrate what Emilee Durkheim wants to say, to present Durkheim's use on population may require a more sophisticated diagrammatic representation.

But this is just for students of interactive course and population society, the diagram shows that organic solidarity developed in western society because of two reasons population growth and division of labor. Without population growth there is no need for division of labor, division of labor saved society from falling prey to conflicts and competition and Normlessness.

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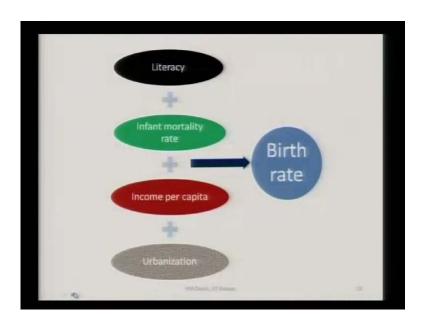


Durkheim's contribution to sociology is immense, Durkheim is known as much for sociological theory this is his theory that population growth produce increase moral density and that led to a division of labor and then to organic solidarity, but apart from that Durkheim is known for his contributions to methodology as much as his contribution to theory, he is the founder of comparative method, his study of suicide shows how multivariate statistical reasoning can be used to draw inferences about social facts like suicide rates. Suicide rate differ from one group of population to other there are differences in suicide rates between married persons and unmarried persons urban and rural areas army men and civilians, protestant an and catholic.

So, if all these factors determine suicide rate or affect suicide rate one would also like to know that a given point of time in history or a given society which factors affect suicide rates more and why, and this can be done by using multivariate statistical methods.

Demographers are the biggest users of multivariate methods developed by Durkheim, recently I read one article in population and development to in which the author tried to explain homicide rates in terms of socio economic and cultural characteristics that reminded me of suicide a study of Emilee Durkheim exactly the same.

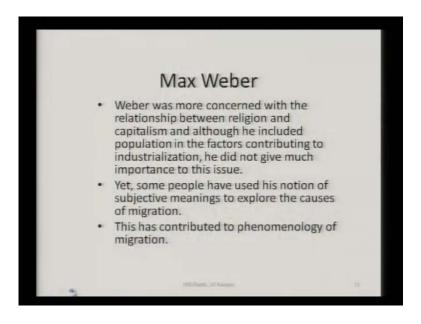
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The only thing that now that study of homicides uses statistically much more sophisticated multivariate method then was the case with Durkheim study of suicide. Now, this is an example that how multivariate technique can be used to explain one social fact in terms of other social facts, here birth rate is one social fact that may be called the dependent variable because in this study an attempt is made to explain increase or decrease or change in birth rate.

In terms of other social facts like literacy, infant mortality rate, income per capita, urbanization later on we will see that there is a theory of demographic transition which explains changes in death rates, birth rates in terms of urbanization, industrialization and economic development, when we explain one fact like birth rate in terms of literacy, infant mortality, income, urbanization or other social facts we are basically using Durkheim's method of multivariate analysis.

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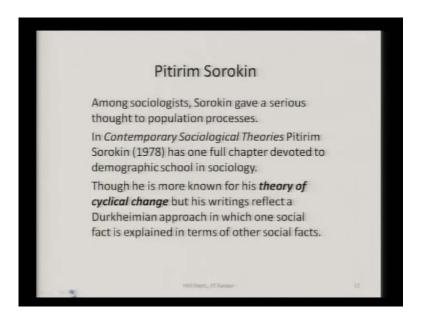


Apart from Karl Marx and Emilee Durkheim there is another sociologist whose name should be mentioned although he had not contributed to building theory of population much, Max Weber Max Weber was more concerned with the relationship between religion and capitalism and although he included population in the factors contributing to industrialization he did not give much importance to this issue.

Yet some people have used his notion of subjective meanings to explore the causes of migration, I have seen in some studies of migration which later produced sub discipline of population studies we call it phenomenology of migration in which the idea of subjective meanings was used to explain why do in the same conditions some people migrate and others do not migrate.

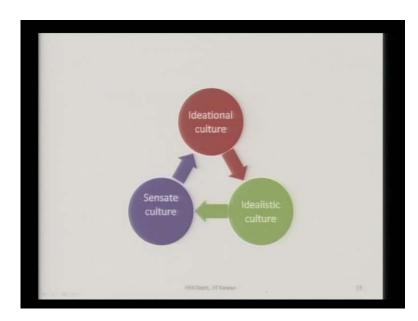
I would say that among sociologists Sorokin gave a more serious thought to population process, in his book contemporary sociological theories

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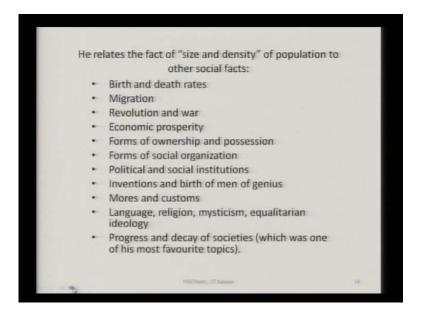
Sorokin has one full chapter devote to demographic school in sociology, though he is more known for his theory of cyclical change, but his writings reflect a Durkheim approach in which one social fact is explained in terms of other social facts. Sorokin was actually more concerned with cultural

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ir civilization changes a large fundamental changes in culture he say that at one time society was idealistic and reality was supposed to be super sensory, super rational then we are moving to sensate stage, in which reality is considered to be sensory and rational and this sensate culture is creating various types of problems for mankind and for development of society.

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He also thought that if this society is to be saved from chaos then we have to develop an additional culture which will be a kind of combination of idealistic culture and sensate culture. Sorokin relates the fact of size and density of population to other social facts; he is using two dependant variables.

One is size of population and another is density of population to what other social facts he relates size and density they are birth and death rates, in demographic study birth and death rates are taken as dependent variables, but Sorokin sometimes studies effect of size and birth rate, sometimes effect of birth rate on size there is a kind of inter relation between them.

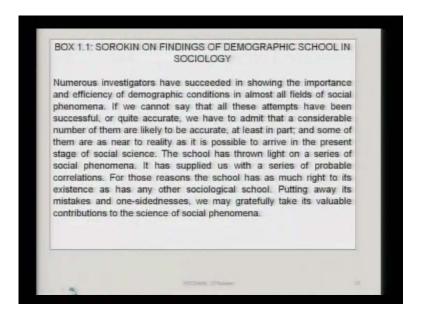
He studies relationship between size and density with other factors like migration. Basically he is trying to say what happens to birth and death rates as size of population increases or density of population increases, we have to distinguish between size effect on birth rate and density effect on birth rate, then effect of size and density of population on migration effect of size and density on revolution and war, he was worried that excessive growth of population could lead to revolutions and wars.

He also examines relationship between size and density of population with economic prosperity, with forms of ownership and possession, with forms of social organization, does population size or does increase in density of population lead to social disorganization, then effect of size and density on political and social institutions, state, family, other institutions of society, inventions and birth of men of genes, mores and customs.

Then effect of size and density on language, religion, mysticism, equalitarian ideology, does growth on population promote equalitarian ideology or it promotes authoritarianism, it is an interesting question you may agree with Sorokin's ideas or not it is interesting to read Sorokin on relationship between size and density and some of these variables.

And as said right in the beginning that in sociology laws depend on perspectives and laws may change. So, we do not have to agree all we require empirical data to confirm, reconfirm to falsify, corroborate ideas presented by Sorokin, but one thing cannot be questioned that there is a relationship between size and density of population and all these socio economic political and cultural variables.

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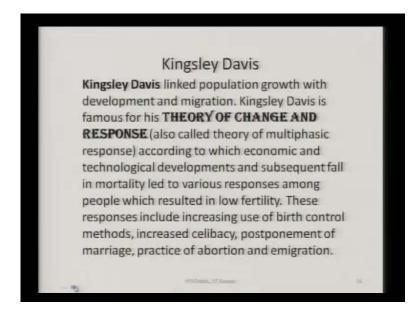
Ultimately Sorokin was concerned with whether growth of population will lead to progress or decay of societies, is it good or is it bad, is population growth good for society or is population growth bad for society in larger sense in the sense of civilization changes, to quote Sorokin numerous investigators have succeeded in showing the importance and efficiency of demographic conditions in almost all fields of social phenomena.

That is why he is taking of so many phenomena. Political, Cultural, Social, Structural, Mores, Customs, wars, Violence, Countries, Ideologies if we cannot say that all these attempts have been successful or quite accurate we can question them we have to admit that a considerable number of them are likely to be accurate at least in part and some of them are as near to reality, as it is possible to arrive in the present stage of social science.

Social science is not suppose to be exact science at least in present stage when comet thought that sociology will be queen of all sciences, he also thought that sociology will be queen of all sciences only when it will be possible to understand the physical, Chemical, Biological, Political, Economic all processes all factors all causes behind human behavior, but that is not the case yet.

Sorokin's theory has supplied us with a series of probable correlations, Sorokin is saying that for those reasons the school has as much right to its existence school means demographic school as has any other sociological school, putting away its mistakes and one sidedness we may great fully take its valuable contributions to the science of social phenomena.

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In recent timers one sociologist who has contributed to building theory of population maximally is Kinsley Davis, Kinsley Davis is a sociologist and some of you may have read his book Human Society a fundamental elemementry a fundamental book of sociology, his perspectives are this he is a functional sociologist, Kinsley Davis linked population growth with development and migration.

He thought that there is a positive connection between population growth on the one hand and development and migration on the other. So, growth of population in society is good for development, and it is good for migration, population growth will promote development, population growth will promote migration.

Population growth will promote industrialization, population growth will promote urbanization. Kinsley Davis is famous for his famous for his theory of change and response also called theory of multiphase response, according to which economic and technical developments and subsequent fall in mortality led to various responses among people which resulted in low fertility.

He was referring to situation in country like Japan where economical and technological developments produce lower fertility, he wants to know what happened what happened because of which economic development produce lower fertility, to him these responses include increasing use of birth control, responses means what are the means by which people tried to control fertility.

The means were increasing use of birth control methods, increases celibacy; celibacy means not marrying or not having sexual inter course within marriage. So, increased celibacy postponement of marriage, practice of abortion and emigration, these are all factors which resulted in lower fertility when society developed.

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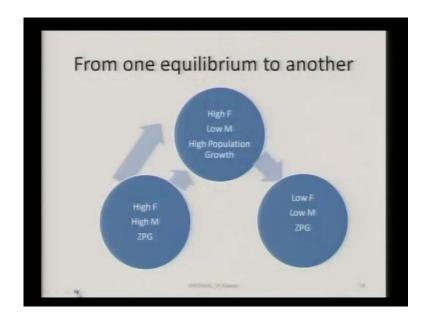
Improvement in mortality in Japan and pretransitional Europe increased family size and as time passed people could perceive the stress of increasing family size on family resources (Davis, 1963). In this context, people started exploring various ways of limiting family size. Davis is a functionalist and he shows how disturbance created by a factor of social change (e.g. mortality) leads to changes in individual behaviour (limiting family size) which eventually restore the equilibrium (ZERO POPULATION GROWTH).

Improvement mortality in Japan and pre-transitional Europe here he is explaining why did this happen, so improvement in mortality in Japan and pre-transitional Europe increased family size, you know at one time when fertility was high mortality was also high. So, may be in a family 10 children were born, but out of ten children may be 4 or 5 survived, with improvement in mortality if 10 children are born 7 or 8 are surviving, 9 are surviving may be in some fortunate cases 10 ten are surviving.

So, as time passed people could perceive the stress of increasing family size on family resources, in this context people started exploring various ways of limiting family size now that mortality has declined, the effective family size has increased and So there is greater stress on family resources and something has to done to limit the family size.

What is to be done that (( )) already explained abortion, celibacy, postponement of marriage, abortions etcetera. Davis is a functional sociologist and he shows how disturbance is created by one factor of change like mortality, improvement in mortality was a change and how this improvement in mortality leads to other changes in individual behavior like limiting family size which eventually restore equilibrium in society.

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So, society moves from one kind of equilibrium to another kind of equilibrium, this can be shown in terms of a diagram, there was a time when like here when fertility is high mortality is also high, high fertility high fertility was sustained or what is the meaning of high fertility, low fertility or high mortality, low mortality that can be devoted.

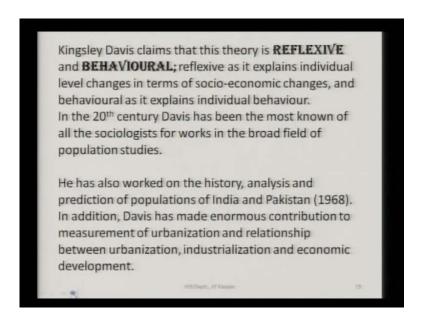
High fertility normally when fertility was high 11 to 12 children were born, and high mortality means that the average life expectancy was only 20 years. In that situation population was stable more children were born and more persons died. So, eventually growth rate of population was 0. Z P G Z P G stands for 0 population growth.

90 percent time in human history we had 0 population growth, now with economic development and industrialization mortality started improving, So we come here low M low mortality, fertility remains high it is much easier to reduce mortality than to reduce fertility, mortality could be reduced by improving health programs, by economic development, by creating labor loss, social security.

Human economic development and scientific developments would lead to reduction in mortality, but reduction in fertility requires behavioral changes at the level of individual, cultural changes, changes in value systems and therefore fertility remains, now in this period when mortality is low and fertility is high you have high population of growth, and eventually when mortality is low and fertility has also declined low fertility, so again you have 0 population growth.

So, we started with 0 population growth there was equilibrium and this equilibrium must have remained in force for millions of years, and that is why population did not grow in initial times, and in much of 20th century population grew because mortality started declining fertility remained high, and gradually as more and more development took place and fertility also declined, we are moving towards 0 population growth.

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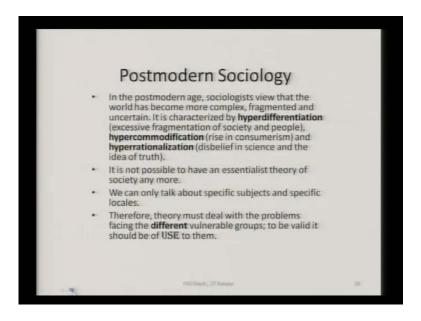
So, from one equilibrium of high time we are moving towards another equilibrium of low time, this is what Kinsley Davis says a functionalist as used that is society always remain in equilibrium the nature of equilibrium may however change, Kinsley Davis claimed that his theory is reflexive and behavioral it is reflexive as it explains individual level changes in terms of socio economic changes and it is behavioral as it explains individual behavior.

In the 20th century Davis has been the most known of all the sociologists for his works in the broad field of population studies, I remember when we were students of population all of us used his studies framework of intermediate variables in which Davis and Blake has given a list of factors intermediate factors through which changes in socio economic sphere cause changes in birth rate or changes in family size.

Kingsley Davis was also worked on the history analysis and prediction of population of India and Pakistan. In addition Davis has made enormous contribution to measurement of urbanization he has given various indices of urbanization, that include simple thing

like proportion urban or what proportion is living in urban areas and weighted indices of urbanization in which higher weight is attached to cities of larger size.

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And relationship between urbanization, industrialization and economic development in later part of 20th century and now in 21st century, we have new brand of sociology it is called as post modern sociology, in the post modern age sociologists view that the world has become more complex, fragmented and uncertain, it is characterized by hyper differentiation a term which is used for excessive fragmentation of society and people. Division labor to which Emilee Durkheim was referring to was simple fragmentation, just to give you an example like initially all knowledge or philosophy then philosophy got divided into disciplines or subjects like physics, chemistry, social sciences.

Now, today social sciences are further divided into sociology, psychology, political science, philosophy and all that humanity, broad subjects of humanity and social science, there are too many within sociology there is not one sociology there are so many sociologies depending on perspective, and you are familiar with sub disciplines like sociology of religion, urban sociology, family sociology, sociology of education, social demography and so on. Even in sub discipline like social demography not everyone is studying same thing.

There are sociologists more interested in fertility; there are some more interested in mortality, some in reproductive health and they are not in talking terms. So, and in in this

situation when the specialization or division of labor has increased so much that in the same discipline people are perusing different interest and are not in talking terms then they are talking to others in other disciplines this is the situation of hyper differentiation, excessive fragmentation of society and people then hyper co modification, rise in consumerism, and hyper rationalization, disbelief in science and in the idea of truth and emergence of supernatural, mystical, religious, mythological and traditional element this is post modern time, and post modern sociologists say that it is not possible to have an essentialist theory of society any more.

It is not possible to have a grand narrative; the term that they use for essentialist theories of Marx, Weber, Durkheim, parsons and others that today you cannot have one single theory of society which is applicable to all types of societies. So, we can only talk about specific subjects and specific locales, we can talk about Indian society and why India we can still go down further to say dhalit, other backward classes, north India, south India Kerala, Goa, Himachal Pradesh this situation socially structures and population trends are so very different that it is almost impossible to bind all of these differences into one single suggestive system or develop one single law.

There was a time when hundred the ages of demographic transition we used to say that demographic exchanges are explained by economic development, but then came the problem of Kerala that Kerala which had low per capita income had the lowest levels of fertility and there it was explained in termed in terms of social development, and for a long time when demographers in India and outside started talking about Kerala model of family planning or Kerala model of demographic transition then Goa.

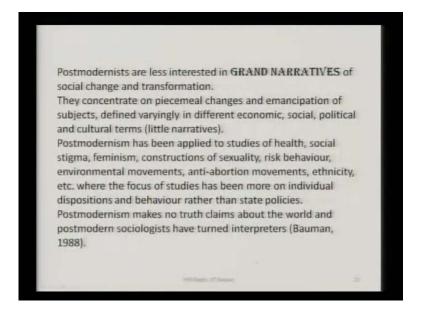
And then in country like Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Malaysia in various other parts it was found that it was not economic development it was something else which explain decline in fertility rates or improvement in contraceptive practice. Now, you have new situations like the last national family has survey showed that Himachal Pradesh is a new state which has joined the group of below replacement fertility.

What has declined fertility in Kerala does not explain define infertility in Himachal Pradesh, then what this simply means that for different settings, different subjects, different locales and different historical times you require different theories, and essentialist theories. So, post modern sociologists are saying that we must deal with the problems facing the different vulnerable groups.

To be valid it should be of some use to them, so the issue is not whether a theory of some something theory of population or theory of religion or theory of exploitation is philosophically or logically valid for some group or not, a more important question is whether that theory is of any use to them, whether a theory helps in advocating the interests of some vulnerable group.

This also shows that there will be different sociologies or different theories depending on how vulnerable groups are defined, where do the post modern sociologists interested in advocacy you vulnerable group focus, vulnerable groups can be say dhalit in our context women, OBC's backward areas, remote areas, sexual minorities and the problems can also be of different types, economic, political and social and you require different types of theories which actually help in advancing advocating speaking on behalf of these vulnerable groups nobody interested in mathematical or just universal or scientific kind of essentiality theories.

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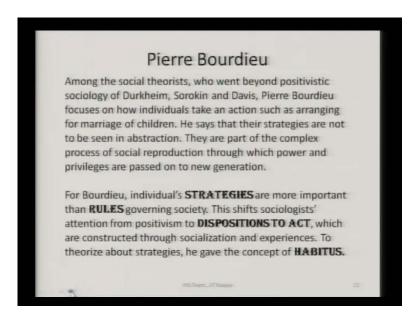
Theory must be of some use. Post modernists are less interested in grand narratives social change and transformation they concentrate on piecemeal changes, small changes, isolated changes, isolated specific changes and emancipation of subjects defined varyingly in different economic social political and cultural terms, and they use a term

for that little narrative they are more interested in little narratives rather than in grand narratives.

In case of population studies it means that while those interested in grand narratives they want to explain foreign fertility in terms of industrialization and urbanization, those who are interested little narratives, they would be more interested in how through what mechanics fertility declines in some very specific groups in a particular setting. So, I was referring to situation in Himachal Pradesh. A theory of fertility declined in Himachal Pradesh would be a little narrative it will be a little narrative Himachal Pradesh.

Post modernism has been applied to studies of health, social stigma, feminism, constructions of sexuality, risk behavior why do people indulge in risky behavior in the context of HIV Aids or may be other situations or environmental movements anti abortion movements, ethnicity, etcetera. Where the focus of studies has been more on individual dispositions and behavior rather than macro level or state policies.

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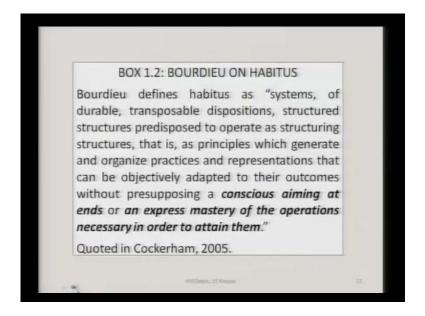
Post modernism makes no truth claims about the world and post modern sociologists have turned interpreters, now there are not many post modernists who are read or who are studied in population literature, but in recent times one intellectual or thinker Bourdieu has increasingly found a place in sociological writings and he is also talking about population trends in some of his works.

So, among the social theories who went beyond positivistic sociology of Durkheim, Sorokin and Davis and are more towards post modernism Bourdieu focuses on how individuals take an action such as arranging for marriage for children, he say that their strategies are not to be seen in abstraction you cannot have a law of how people arrange for marriage of children, which is valid universally for all types of societies, they are part of the complex process of social reproduction through which power and privileges are passed on to new generation, for Bourdieu individual's strategies are more important than rules governing society, while earlier sociologists or functionally even mares or other conflict theories focus more on rules governing society.

Post modernists or sociologists like Bourdieu put focus more on individual strategies, what do individuals do how do individuals decide their strategies in a given context, this shifts sociologists attention from positivism to dispositions to act these are the terms that boride has actually used in his literature, which are constructed through socialization and experiences.

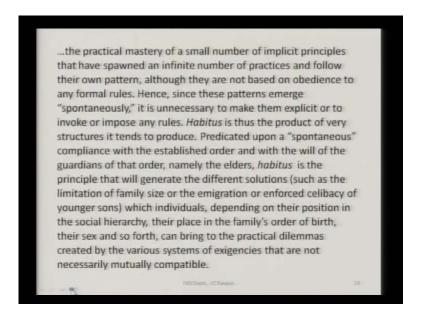
So, our dispositions to act our strategies, our choices, our preferences are part of our socialization and experiences, and that means that in different societies and cultures and settings we are socializations where experiences are different people have different dispositions to act you cannot generalize for all societies.

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To theorize about societies he gave the concept of habitués, to quote from Bourdieu; Bourdieu defines habitus quote systems of durable, transposable, dispositions, structured structures, predisposed to operate as structuring structures, that is as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.

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The practical mastery of a small number of implicit principles that have spooned an infinite number of practices and follow their own pattern, although they are not based on obedience to any formal rules. Here since these patterns emerge spontaneously it is unnecessary to make them explicit or to invoke or impose any rules.

Habitus is thus the product of very structures it tends to produce, predicated upon a spontaneous compliance with the established order and with the will of the guardians of that order namely the elders, elders are the guardian of that order, habitues is the principle that will generate the different solutions, such as the limitation of the family size or the emigration or enforced celibacy of younger sons what do people decide.

They decide to limit family size or they decide to migrate or they enforce celibacy on their younger sons. Which individuals depending on their position in the social hierarchy their place in the family order of birth their sex, and so forth can bring to the practical dilemmas created by various systems of exigencies that are not necessarily mutually compatible; that means it is not one factor that determines people choices.

Here are examples some of them mentioned family order of birth, sex, social hierarchy, position in social hierarchy, if you apply his ideas to Indian situation then it means the choice a individual will exercise in the present condition in the present structure would depend on what is his caste, what is his community, in which region he lives, what he income, what he social status, education all these factors affecting socialization and experiences will determine whether he will migrate from rural to urban areas or will limit family size or he will do something else to maintain his position.

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For Bourdieu the constraints of rules surrounding every choice are infinite.

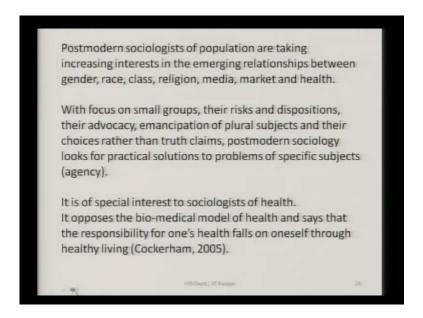
The choices and practices too are infinite. It is not possible for any individual to deal with all the norms and make the choices consciously.

Thus social conditions are like those of fencing and chess and decisions are like PARRIES and MOVES.

And this leads to structuring or restricting his society for Bourdieu the constraints of rules surrounding every choice are infinite, that since the factors which we consider in exercising our choices are infinite we cannot make a complete exhaustive list of all the factors which affect our choices, which affect our behavior.

Then the choices and practices too are infinite, it is not possible for any individual to deal with all the norms and make the choices consciously, can you ever decide to confirm to all norms of society all the times it is not possible. So, if it is not possible then what the social conditions are like those of fencing and chess and decisions are like parries and moves.

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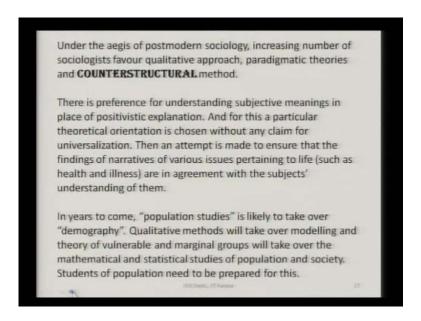


Bourdieu equates individual's decisions to parries and moves. Post modern sociologists of population are taking increasingly more interests in the emerging relationship between gender, race, class, religion, media, market, and health no wonder that Indian demographers are moving away from estimation of birth rate and death rate or studying causes of migration to issue connected with reproduction and health, empowerment of women, gender gap and problems of vulnerable section of society.

With focus on small groups their risks and dispositions, their advocacy, emancipation of plural subjects and their choices, plural subject in Marx's writing you find shift from human subjects to class. Now, plural subject mean that within the classes also on the basis of gender, race, religion, media, market and health there are differences, disparities, inequalities, and so the subjects have become more plural. It is no more possible to define subjects only in terms of class.

So, with focus on this small group their risks, dispositions, their advocacy, emancipation of plural subjects and their choices rather than truth claims, post modern sociology looks for practical solutions to problems of specific subjects agency, it is of special interest to sociologies of health, it opposes the bio medical model of health and says that the responsibility for one's health falls on oneself through healthy living.

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Under the aegis of post modern sociology increasing number of sociologists favors qualitative approach, paradigmatic theories and counter structural method, there is preference for understanding subjective meanings in place of positivistic explanation, and for this a particular theoretical orientation is chosen without any claim for universalization, then an attempt is made to ensure that the findings of narratives of various issues pertaining to life such as health and illness are in agreement with the subjects understanding of them.

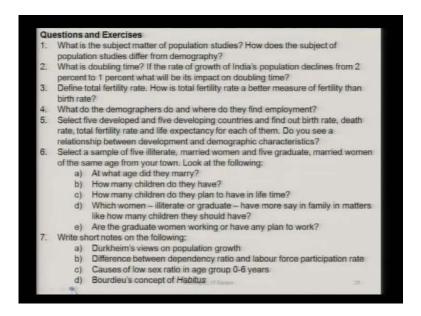
In years to come population studies is likely to take over demography, qualitative methods will take over modeling, and theory of vulnerable and marginal groups will take over the mathematical, and statistical studies of population and society, students of population need to be prepared for this.

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In the following module we will focus on characteristics of Indian society. Now, there are some questions and exercises.

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I hope that on the basis of this lecture you will be able to answer them, like what is the subject matter of population of studies, how does the subject of population studies differ from demography, what is doubling time, in the first lecture I talked about doubling time 70 by R if the rate of growth of Indian population declines from 2 percent to 1 percent

then what will be its impact on doubling time, when growth rate is 2 percent doubling time is 35 years.

When it declines to 1 percent then the doubling time increases to 70 years. Then define total fertility rate I said that you calculate age specific fertility rates, add them that is total fertility rate, and that is a better measure of fertility than birth rate, how do demographers do and where do they find employment in N G O's, university, researches institutions and so on, then you can do a small exercise select five developed then developing countries and find out birth rate, death rate, total fertility rate and life expectancy for each of them, do you see check whether you see a relationship between development and demographic characteristics, and you'll find that there is a relationship.

Then you can select a sample of 5 literate people married women, and 5 graduate married women of the same age group from your town, look at the following at what age did they marry you will find that there is a relationship between education and marriages educated women are marrying at higher ages than illiterate women, how many children do they have, you may find that educated literate women have lesser number of children uneducated illiterate women may be of some interest to you.

If I tell you that according to N f h s 3 although India has high fertility and north Indian states have high fertility U P, Bihar, Rajasthan, West Bengal also rural areas have high fertility, but if you calculate total fertility rate of women who are high school pass then the total fertility rate among them has already come to replacement level. So, education is important which women illiterate or graduate have more say where the education has any implication for decision making, empowerment and women say in family matters.

Are the graduate women working or have any plan to work, then you can try short notes on Durkheim use on population and difference between dependency ratio and labor force, causes of low sex ratio needs. I have answered all these things that sex ratio 0 to 6 is declining and that is declining largely because with the advancement of technology improvement in medical facilities, infrastructure, improvement per capita income and cultural changes, dowry is one factor.

Some preference more and more people are going for sex determination test and when if they find that a child is to be born is female many of them decide to go for feticide, that is how this sex ratio 0 to 6 called juvenile sex ratio is declining, and on the basis of this lecture you try to write a small note on Bourdieu concept of habitues.

I think it is not difficult for you to write a small note on habitues law, it deals with choices which are complex, ends are complex, context are complex, rules are so many. So, ultimately how on the basis of socialization and experiences people choose what they choose that is the question that Bourdieu is asking and this question can be answered on the locale thank you.