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		Page
Policy Making and Policy Deficit: Role of the Sociologists	- Bipul Kumar Bhadra	3
Reproductive Health Issues Among Adolescents in Nigeria	- Tinuola Femi Rufus	39
A Note on Multidimensional Study of Social Integration in a Rural Society	-Swati Sadhu and Kumar Chattopadhyay	55
Globalisation and Crime	-Usman Ahmad Karofi and Jason Mwanza	70

Research Note

Factors Affecting Students' Performance A Case of Private Colleges	- Syed Tahir Hijazi S.M.M. Raza Naqvi	90
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Policy Making and Policy Deficit: Role of the Sociologists[•]

Bipul Kumar Bhadra^{**}

I. INTRODUCTION

Social scientists cannot avoid doing research which is relevant to policy because their disciplines deal with facts about which policies are made, and they cannot avoid this as long as they interest themselves in society. There are differences in degrees of 'relevance to policy'. Some work in the social sciences deal directly with those facts and factors with which politicians and civil servants are immediately concerned. Other work, if it is intellectually significant and does not deal directly with the things in which politicians and civil servants are interested at the moment, surely deals with things which should be taken into account by any one who wishes to arrive at a serious and responsible judgment. *In that sense all social science is potentially relevant to policy, however empirical or theoretical it might be.*¹

This is how Edward Shils brings home the changing role of the social scientists including sociologists while he was expounding the subtle as well as contested relationship between sociology and social or public policy in his much celebrated classic work *The Calling of Sociology and Other Essays on the Pursuit of Learning*. Indeed, there is a number mention worthy instances that show that social scientists took up the public roles of policy makers. Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), a Professor of Political Science, became the President of the United States of America (1913-1921). Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1931-), a Professor of Sociology, became the President of Brazil (1995-2002). Henry Alfred Kissinger (1923-), who was a member of the Faculty at Harvard University, both in the Department of Government and at the Center for International Affairs, became the Secretary of State of the United States (1973-1977). Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1927-2003), a Sociologist and a Harvard Professor, became an Assistant to the American

[•] The present paper is the original and unrevised version of the symposium lecture delivered in 2003 at the XXIXth All India Sociological Conference held in Udaipur, Rajasthan, India. All suggestions and comments are highly welcome.

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¹ Edward Shils, *The Calling of Sociology and Other Essays on the pursuit of Learning* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 286-7. Emphases added.

President for Urban affairs before his appointment to India as US Ambassador (1973-1975). But that was not the case always. Until recently the position of social sciences^{2[2]} was far from agenda setting in so far as their role in making or shaping policies is concerned. Controversies surrounding the public role of the social sciences in policy making and implementation and, correspondingly, the role of the social scientists including sociologists are yet to show signs of abatement in the concerned literature. Viewed against this background it is no surprise that this issue became the theme of the 85th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association in 1990. It was entitled "Sociology and the Public Agenda". More than a decade later, in 2003, social policy (along with the issues of governance and mobilization) became the leading theme for the XXIXth All India Sociological Conference held at Udaipur in Rajasthan.

The relationship between the social sciences and the organizations (public and private) has been always less than satisfactory. In particular sociology is accumulating increasing deficit in the policy-making arena in view of the fact that it is yet to demonstrate its utility and relevance to society either in the amelioration of societal and/or individual problems or in promoting society's developmental goals. Sociologists, whether in India or elsewhere, are yet to convince the government and other organizations that their expert knowledge and skill can be productively fed into the policy making process to deal with diverse social issues and problems, viz., rural and urban poverty, inequality, unemployment, housing, pollution control, crimes, education, family disorganization, transportation, energy, urbanization, health care, displacement due to development projects, and so on. To get an idea of the policy deficit, which sociology and other social sciences have accumulated, one needs only to have a cursory look at some of the publications such as those by Lyons, Lynn Jr., and Scott and Shore.^{3[3]} The policy shortfall also grew because of the resistance offered by the sociologists themselves, those who oppose the practical application of sociology on purely pragmatic grounds. They argue "it is good that sociological research draws very little attention from policy-makers and the media because it both insulates the discipline from outside pressures to pursue certain research topics, particularly those that are topical, and protects the discipline from being sanctioned by the state if the research does not support a particular political agenda or ideology."^{4[4]} But this kind of rationale is self-defeating for longer-term interests of sociology. The reason is that, as Wilson argues correctly, "the more

sociology is ignored by policy makers and the media, the less attention it receives as an academic discipline and therefore the more removed it is from the decision-making arena, the fewer students it attracts, and the more difficulty it has in trying to obtain funding support from private foundations and government agencies."^{5[5]} The result is sociology's ever-increasing accumulation of policy deficit.

^{2[2]} In this essay social sciences and sociology are interchangeably used although my own focus is basically on how sociology plays out or will shape its role as a policy actor in the public agenda at the national, regional or local levels of governance.

^{3[3]} L.M. Lyons, *Uneasy Partnership: Social Science and the Federal Government in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Russell Sage, 1969); L. Lynn Jr., *Knowledge and Policy The Uncertain Connection* (Washington D.C: National Academy of Sciences, 1978); and R.A. Scott and A.M Shore, *Why Sociology Does not Apply: A Study of the Use of Sociology* (New York: Elsevier, 1979).

^{4[4]} W.J. Wilson "Can Sociology Play a Greater Role in Shaping the National Agenda?" in W.J. Wilson, *Sociology and the Public Agenda* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1993), p.6.

^{5[5]} *Ibid.*

Against this backdrop the present paper makes a modest attempt, within the relevant historical context, to explore the role, both real and potential, of the sociologist to become an actor in the policy making and policy processes in the modern society. The strategy of presentation of the arguments is as follows. In the second section I trace, from the perspective of historical sociology, how the much-publicized and so-called impasse emerged through depoliticization of social science or sociology. In other words, I show how sociology and other social sciences came to be stripped of their policy making potential and were subsequently dissociated from policy related research and studies in spite of their embodied value relevant evaluative content. This includes a brief discussion of the nature and scope of social policy or, synonymously stated, public policy. In the third section I take up what follows from my discussion in the preceding section. That is, I take up Weber's methodological prescriptions and undertake a critical assessment of Weber's plea for a value free sociology. In the fourth section I briefly sketch the contemporary trends underlying the application of social and especially sociological researches to the fields of public and social policies—two fields being used interchangeably for my purposes here. It also includes a brief discussion of the historical background for the growing alliance between sociology on the one hand and public policy or social policy on the other. The final section contains concluding remarks including a brief review of the position of the Indian sociologists in respect of social or public policy.

II. DEPOLITICIZING SOCIOLOGY AND RISE SOCIAL/PUBLIC POLICY SCIENCE

The rise of value free sociology and its conversion into a virtual professional ideology

of the sociologists is not accidental. In fact it is integrally connected with the consolidation of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century onwards and its growing linkage with modern science and technology. From now on only that knowledge and research can be carried on which does not, above all, question the exploitative institutional structures -- political or otherwise -- of capitalism and its attendant science and technology. Inevitably, sociology, along with some other disciplines, suffered a notable historic set back. In the late 1930s J.D. Bernal, a Marxist scientist, thus woefully pointed out:

It is becoming increasingly apparent that we need to bring up what may be called the left wing of science - biology and still more, sociology and economics -- to the level of earlier development of physics and chemistry.

This is not merely a matter of providing more funds for the study of these subjects or attracting into them workers of great ability. The great trouble about biological and, still more, sociological sciences, and the basis of the feeling that they are not real but pseudo-sciences, is that they have no adequate positive relation to practical life. The physicist or the chemist is discovering techniques which, if they are internally efficient, have every prospect of finding their way into direct application for human welfare. ... For the biologist there is still considerable possibility of application in medicine. The agriculturist, however, is now faced with a world where restriction, and not development, is the order of the day, and the enormous potentialities of biological discovery have no prospect of being realized in practice. *With sociology it is far worse. Not only are all sociologists removed from any executive power, so that sociology cannot become experimental science, but the very inquiries which are made into social forms are blocked when it appears that they would lead to a criticism of the existing order of society and diverted on to a sterile and merely descriptive academic plane.*^{6]}

However, as I said, in the beginnings of social thought the situation was quite otherwise. There was unity between production of knowledge and its application in practice. The classical figures of social thought from Aristotle and Plato down to Nicolo Machiavelli, Adam Smith or G.H. Hegel, among others, always thought that it was their task to define the ends of society and lay down, accordingly, the obligations of both citizens and rulers. The social philosophers occupied, until the modern times, the roles of the counselor, adviser, and instructor in relation to both the

policy makers and the citizens.^{7]} But this coalescence of knowledge and policy making was ruptured by the social scientists when they began blindly imitating natural scientists. The latter studying the natural world was interested to discover the laws that exhibit the enduring patterns in the realm of natural phenomena. Like them the social scientists became interested in using reason to discover social laws that govern and explain the human behavior and social phenomena in the social world. What is more important, if not distressing, is that even when they studied social issues or problems and suggested remedies to cure them, they paradoxically refrained from defining the proper aims of policy except by doing "scientific research". In other words social sciences including sociology went through the process of depoliticization.

What it boils down to is that a social scientist cannot perform the role of a social scientist if he or she engages in any of the tasks related to the policy process that will invariably contain political implications. The resultant consequence of this disjuncture was that, argues Shils,

social scientists became less 'political', in that sense that they attributed less efficacy to the desires and will of governments and the politicians who were in charge of them. They did not think that the decisions of rulers, princes, prime ministers, presidents and legislators could be decisive; such power to change or to maintain existing social arrangements, in so far as it lay with human beings at all, lay in 'deeper social forces' and in public opinion. It was therefore to the latter that social scientists addressed their work as well as to the more restricted social circles of their like-minded

^{6]} D. Bernal, *The Social Function of Science* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1940), p.331. Emphases added

^{7]} Shils, *The Calling of Sociology and Other Essays on the Pursuit of Learning*, p.260.

professional colleagues. Only by a better understanding of the 'deeper forces' at work in the processes and structures of society could the course of society be affected. The main task therefore was to create a scientific social science.

The social science became 'depoliticized'; the study of politics turned to the production of specific recipes for administrative practice and the description of governmental processes. The other social sciences -- economics and the slowly growing sociology and anthropology -- were substantively and methodologically apolitical. The desire to establish their disciplines as rigorously scientific and their belief that political preconceptions and passions would hinder this drew them away from politics and politicians.⁸^[8]

The social scientist can be a counselor to the politician or the civil servant. He can even enlighten public opinion about problems or the state of his society. And if he does so, he may be doing it as a technician or citizen who is utilizing his specialized sociological knowledge and skill. But, to be sure, as a social scientist he has nothing to do with the ends of policy to be framed and pursued. Neither can he make political or ethical recommendations and decisions. As a social scientist he is ethically neutral who does not mix up facts with values or colors judgments of facts with those of (ethical and/or political) values, whatever the value- relevance or implication of those statements of facts might be in reality in the society.

It is against this general background one can appreciate the methodological prescriptions recommended by Max Weber (1864-1930) for the exclusion of values from (scientific) sociological work. This helps him also to understand why the sociologist or the social scientist cannot at the same time be a policy maker or policy scientist because policy is above all an embodiment of this or that set of values which can be defined here as those ideas or conceptions which are shared by the people in a society about what is good and bad, right and wrong, or desirable and undesirable. In a culture the values typically come in a pair, so that for every positive value there is a negative one.⁹^[9]

Dunn points out that, etymologically, the term "policy" comes from three different languages. The Greek root polis (city-state) and the Sanskrit root pur (city) evolved first into the Latin *politia* (state) and then into the Middle English *policie*, meaning the conduct of public affairs or the administration of government. Two other words such as police and politics have also the same etymological origin as that of policy. This is also the reason why some other modern languages like German and Russian, for instance, have only one word (*politik*, *politika*) to mean both politics and policy. Finally, this is also the reason why boundaries of such disciplines as political science, public administration, and policy sciences -- all of which heavily concentrate on the study of politics and policy—are not clearly demarcated. In point of fact policy making is, in one way or another, a political process.¹⁰^[10] Moreover Dunn suggests that "policy analysis is embedded in political processes that reflect conflicting values of different segments of the community as

⁸^[8] *Ibid.* 261

⁹^[9] David Popenoe, *Sociology* (Englewood Cliffs: New Jersey, 1989), p.58.

¹⁰^[10] William N. Dunn, "Policy Analysis and Applied Social Science", in T. Mayakawa (ed.), *The Science of Public Policy Essential Readings in Policy Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2000), Part-1, Vol.1. pp. 29-30.

they have pursued their own visions of social improvement.”¹¹[11] Sutton reminds us that policy making is as much political as it is analytical and also problem solving.¹²[12]

Similarly, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to have a definition of policy which is accepted by all. In fact, while trying to define the term, various scholars have emphasized various dimensions of policy. For David Easton, policy refers to a web of decisions and actions that allocate “values.”¹³[13] According to W.I. Jenkins, public policy is “a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of these actors to achieve.”¹⁴[14] W. Parsons regards policy as an expression of political rationality. “To have a policy is to have rational reasons or arguments, which contain both a claim to an understanding of a problem and a solution. It puts forward what is and what ought to be done. A policy offers a kind of theory upon which a claim for legitimacy is made.”¹⁵[15] Finally, I may quote as well J.E. Anderson who defines policy as “a goal-directed or purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in an attempt to deal with a public problem.”¹⁶[16] Whatever the subtle differences among these ways of conceptualizing it, it is notable that policy is not something that belongs to the realm of the private. It is either social policy, which is more frequently than not, is in usage in European, particularly Britain, or public policy, which is more prevalent in social sciences parlour of America. Both of them belong to or are integrally connected with the rising discipline called policy science, policy sciences or policy studies. Daniel Learner and Harold D. Lasswell made the first systematic attempt to emphasize the need for scientific analysis of policy in 1951.¹⁷[17]

What is social policy? There is no agreed definition of social policy. It is an omnivorous concept that will embrace of all sorts of welfare and well-being issues that confront the individual and his society: social service, social security, working conditions, health and safety concerns,

education, poverty and unemployment, social exclusion and marginalization of the least privileged groups, housing and urban affairs, crime and criminal justice, community care, environment and pollution, employment for the disabled, families and children, vocational training for the young and youth policy, elderly people, equal treatment for men and women, and, today, even citizen participation on partnership basis with public and private institutions and agencies. Simply put, social policy stands not only for the

¹¹[11] *Ibid.*, p. 53

¹²[12] See Rebecca Sutton, *The Policy Process: An Overview* (London: Overseas development Institute, 1999), Working Paper No.118, p.32.

¹³[13] David Easton, *The Political System* (New York: Knopf, 1953), p. 130.

¹⁴[14] Quoted in T. Miyakawa (ed.), *The Science of Public Policy: Essential Readings in Public Policy Sciences II* (London: Routledge, 2000), Vol.5,Part-I, p.44.

¹⁵[15] W. Parsons, *Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis* (Cheltenham: Edwar Elgar, 1997), p. 15

¹⁶[16] James E. Anderson, *Public Policy-Making: Decisions and Their Implementation* (New York: Praeger, 1975), p. 3.

¹⁷[17] See Daniel Learner and Harold D. Lasswell, *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951).

policies which governments use for furthering social welfare (i.e. well-being, range of services, financial assistance, utility, etc) and social protection (i.e. protection in certain conditions such as childhood, sickness, disability, old age, unemployment, etc) but also for the ways and means by which they are achieved and developed. It includes making and choosing alternative courses of actions. All of these are basically equivalent to the tasks of the welfare state.¹⁸^[18] By social policy Titmuss refers to “the study of the range of social needs and functions, in conditions of social scarcity, of human organizations traditionally called social service or social welfare systems to meet those needs.”¹⁹^[19]

Recently Anne West, the Convener of the Social Policy program in the Department of Sociology at LSE, points out in her introductory remarks that as a discipline social policy is both applied and interdisciplinary covering a large number of other social scientific disciplines such as economic, sociology, psychology, geography, history, philosophy and political science. “Social Policy is focused on those aspects of the economy, society and polity that are necessary to human existence and the means by which they can be provided. These basic human needs include: food and shelter, a sustainable and safe environment, the promotion of health and treatment of the sick, the care and support of those unable to live a fully independent life; and the education and training of individuals to a level that enables them fully to participate in their society. The study of Social Policy is designed to reflect on the ways in which different societies have developed ways of meeting these needs, or have failed to do so. Some societies rely on informal or family institutions, some on private markets and individual actions, some on governmental actions through what is often termed the welfare state.”²⁰^[20] While this sums up the broad sphere of concerns and purposes as rationale of social policy as a discipline, the coverage of this discipline as an academic course has comprehensive similarities with what is usually the subject matter of sociology.

Social policy cannot be discussed in a social vacuum and it is hardly meaningful without situating it within the actual context of the society and its culture -- the realms of sociological investigation. As Titmuss points out:

It is clear that the study of social policy cannot be isolated from *the study of society as a whole in all its varied social, economic and political aspects*. An essential background for the study of social policy is a knowledge of population changes, past and present and predicted for the future; the family as an institution and the position of women; social stratification and the concepts class, caste, status and mobility; social change and the effects of industrialization, urbanization and social conditions; the political structure, the work ethic and the sociology of industrial relations; minority groups and racial prejudice; social control, conformity, deviance and the uses of sociology to maintain status quo.²¹^[21]

¹⁸^[18] Thus George T. Martin, Jr. talks of welfare state social policy whose distinctive feature is that “access to its resources depends on its political status (being an entitled citizen) rather than on market status (having money to purchase benefits). The major limitation of the market provision of welfare is that access to resources depends on income, which is unequally distributed.” See his *Social Policy in the Welfare State* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1990), p.8.

¹⁹^[19] R. Titmuss, *Commitment to Welfare* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1968), p.20.

²⁰^[20] <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/socialPolicy/introduction.htm> (Visited 4 December 2005).

²¹^[21] R.M. Titmuss, “The International Perspective”, in B. Abel-Smith and K. Titmuss (eds.), *Social Policy: An Introduction* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), pp. 15-6. Emphases added.

If this description of the subject matter of social policy is accepted, then it can also very well be the subject matter of sociology, regardless of academic emphases given to the respective disciplines. It means that there are enormous trade-offs between the two. The social policy is parallel to, if not equivalent of, what is called public policy, which is considered a “process of making choices among competing demands, especially when there are scarce resources.”²²^[22] However, unless otherwise is indicated, public policy refers to what the governments do. Anderson, Brady and Bullock III point out that public policies are developed by governmental institutions and officials through the political process or politics. They are the outcome of actions of legitimate authorities in a political system and these authorities may be, for instance, the elders, paramount chiefs, executives, legislators, judges, administrators, councilors, monarchs, and the like who engage in the daily affairs of the political system. They are the ones who are recognized by the people to have the legitimate power of taking binding actions in the form of public policies for achieving specified goals or objectives.²³^[23]

In this light Anderson and others specifically points out five essential features of public policy. First, public policy is a purposive-goal directed action rather than chance or random behavior. Second, public policy consists of courses of action performed by government officials, and certainly not a result of separate and discrete decisions or actions. Further, a policy involves not only a decision to enact a law but also follow-up decisions to enact other subsequent acts to implement, interpret, and enforce the law. Third, policy does mean what the government intends to do or what it will do. It means what the government does in fact with regard to a problem such as cleaning up the environment, redistributing income, or controlling inflation. Therefore, for instance, the enactment of food distribution policy means that the government has actually done to provide food to the hungry and needy but not what it intends to do because the hungry and needy cannot eat the government’s intentions, however good. Fourth, a public policy can be positive or negative. In the former case, the government takes an action that affects the particular problem. In the case of negative public policy the government does not act where a government action is sought apparently because the government decides not act following a laissez faire or hands-off policy. Fifth, public policy is based on law and hence non-compliance invites punishment. Policies of non-governmental organizations lack this power of legitimate coercion. Finally, how the public policies will be formed depends on the way the politics of public policy is played out.²⁴^[24]

A related concept that is useful in the context of this essay is what is called policy-making or, in specialized technical vocabulary, the “policy process”, i.e. the various methods, strategies and techniques by which policies are actually formed. The policy process is very crucial to the

²²^[22] Robert M. Moroney, *Social Policy and Social Work: Critical Essays on the Welfare State* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1991), p.18.

²³^[23] J.E. Anderson, David W. Brady and Charles Bullock, III, “Introduction to Policy Study”, in Miyakawa (ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, Part I, pp.11-2.

²⁴^[24] *Ibid.*

analysis of policy, policy analysis or policy-making. It is this policy process that in the last instance translates a social issue into a social or public policy. The public policy process refers to, describes Miyakawa,

all the mechanisms through which the decision making and the implementation of public policy are made in our society It is a process in the sense that it involves a linked series of activities and events oriented to the achievement of one or more specific objectives. The policy process characterizes how a political system goes about transforming public demands for government actions arising from the socio-economic environment into a public policy. The policy process commences with the perception of an issue which calls for some kind of policy decision, the generation of ideas and the initiation of proposals, continues with some form of debate, analysis and evaluation for the making of formal decisions, and is followed by the implementation of the decisions made through designated actions. The process concludes with the evaluation of the policy outcomes, leading to the policy termination or feedbacks to the next policy cycle.²⁵^[25]

Just as there is no one grand theory of policy making, so also there is no single grand approach to the policy process. In fact there are different approaches that elucidate the policy process as the out of an womb in which many activities, factors and actors are embedded or involved in complex relationship of interdependence and interaction. Moreover, policy content is linked up with the policy-making process.

Anderson and others offer an introductory approach to explain what is involved in policy-making. They point out that public policy itself is a process but it is a single process by which policy is formed. The formulation of the policy consists of five stages or steps through which policy-making takes place. An important advantage of their sequential approach to policy making is that it chronologically follow the sequence of activities that occur in five stages. The first stage is problem formation. A problem is a situation that produces, as Jones argues, “a human need, deprivation, or dissatisfaction, self-identified or identified by others, for which relief is sought.”²⁶^[26] Only those problems – whether pollution, inflation, child abuse, or crime in the street – which cause so much dissatisfaction or difficulty for the people as to compel them to seek remedy and thus move them to action become problems for the policy maker. That is the problem must take on public dimension and importance. “The most important thing that distinguishes public from private problems is the number of people involved. Thus, public problems are those that have broad-ranging effects, including consequences for persons not directly involved (as in a labor-management dispute).”²⁷^[27] It seems that this view of problem is similar to Mills’ own conception of public issue, which is in turn the subject matter of Millsian sociology. More will be said later. In any case the second stage is policy agenda. Not all problems attract the attention of the government or the politician

²⁵^[25] Miyakawa (ed.), *op cit.*, Vol.5 Part 1, p. 3. Emphases added

²⁶^[26] Quoted in Anderson et al. in *ibid.*, p.13.

²⁷^[27] Anderson et al., *op.cit.*, p.13.

and hence they are not agenda setting. Put otherwise, only those problems, which receive serious attention from the policy makers, become itemized in the agenda. These problems achieve agenda status because particular groups, whose interests are affected, seek redress from the government. "Depending upon the power, status, and number of people in the group, the government may be compelled to put the problem on the agenda."²⁸^[28]

The third stage in the policy process is policy formulation and adoption. Policy formulation implies "development of pertinent and acceptable proposed courses of action for dealing with public problems". What is more important here is the fact that policy formulation does not automatically result in the adoption of what is formulated as policy, viz. a law, rule or order, for instance. The eventual adoption depends on whether the proposed policy or policies are acceptable to the people who make policy decisions on the one hand and also on whether prevailing contextual conditions are favorable to their adoption. In the long run, "certain provisions will be included and other provisions dropped, depending upon what builds support for the proposed policy."²⁹^[29] Moreover, what will ultimately be the form and nature of the adoption policy and thus the policy formulation will depend upon "how many branches of government are involved in the adopting process."³⁰^[30] In principle the law, rule or order once adopted becomes, in the fourth stage, what is called public policy. Then again, argue Anderson and others, "the content and effect of public policy may be greatly changed during the implementation stage. Thus, the implementation or administrative stage of the policy process is doubly important because without application the policy has no effect, and the application of policy proposals sometimes changes the nature of policy itself."³¹^[31] Needles to add, in the implementation process the legislatures and the courts are also important players although it is the administrative agencies that are the primary agencies of implementation. The final stage in the policy process is policy evaluation or appraisal of the content of policy and its effect. That is, the evaluators try to determine whether or not the concerned policy has worked. Policy appraisal may necessitate additional policy-making, thus starting the policy cycle all over again. There are two types of evaluation. The first is called seat-of the pants or political evaluation, which are basically impressionistic, being based on fragmentary, evidenced and often ideologically slanted. The second type of evaluation is systematic evaluation of policies and programs. It seeks "to objectively measure the societal impact of policies and the extent to which stated objectives are met. Systematic evaluation focuses on the effects a policy has on the problem to which it is directed. Thus, it gives all concerned with the policy process some feeling for the impact of policy."³²^[32]

An important point to remember about this five-stage sequential approach to policy-making, although only one among many advanced by others, is the emphasis Anderson and others put on the context within which policy-making activity is undertaken. There are different contexts that are relevant in

²⁸^[28] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁹^[29] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁰^[30] *Ibid.*

³¹^[31] *Ibid.*

³²^[32] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

this respect: historical context, environmental factors like political culture, public opinion, social and economic systems, and finally the institutional context, viz. federalism, separation of powers and the party system in the democratic constitutional setup. Furthermore the policy-making takes place at different levels. It may occur at the level of micropolitics in which case a few individuals or companies, for instance, ask for favorable government action for their benefit (viz. tax benefit). Another policy level is subsystem politics “which are usually focused on a particular policy or functional area, such as commercial air transportation, agricultural extension activity, river and harbor development, the management of public grazing lands, or the granting of patents.”³³^[33] Lastly the policy-making may happen at the level of macropolitics involving “the community as a whole and the leaders of government generally in the formation of public policy – whether to combat inflation, provide for an adequate supply of energy, or reform the welfare system.”³⁴^[34] Participants in the macropolitical arena can range from the president or the prime minister down to an intellectual group. Major changes or developments in the public policy normally happen at this macropolitical level.

Let me briefly mention the historical origins of the social or public policy. In tracing this genealogical ancestry of the discipline I need not start from the time of Mesopotamian civilization which in the city of Ur, situated in Southern Iraq, produced one of the first legal codes in the twenty first century B.C., some two thousand years before Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), Confucius (551-479 B.C.), and Kautilya (circa 300 B.C.).³⁵^[35] An important historical watershed in the production of policy relevant knowledge as relatively an autonomous area, resting on scientific procedures and free from interests and prejudices of everyday politics, occurred with the coming of the Industrial Revolution and Enlightenment in the latter part of the eighteenth century. These two epochal events witnessed the rise of an all-pervasive the belief in human progress, to be achieved through increasing use of science and technology. These events had profound impact

among the policy makers and those who advised them. “It is in this period that the development and testing of scientific theories of nature and society were gradually seen to constitute the only possible objective means to understand and resolve social problems. Mysticism, magic, and divination gave way to modern science. In the realm of policy analysis, this meant the production of policy-relevant knowledge according to the canons of empiricism and the scientific method.”³⁶^[36] However, in the twentieth century the social scientific disciplines including sociology came under the process of professionalization. From now on, the producers of policy were “no longer the heterogeneous group of bankers, industrialists, journalists, and scholars who guided the early statistical societies and other institutions for policy research. They were, rather, university professors who specialized in teaching and research and were increasingly

³³^[33] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³⁴^[34] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁵^[35] For fascinating historical details see Dunn, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 30-52.

³⁶^[36] Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp.33-4.

called upon by governments to provide practical advice on policy making and government administration. In background, experience, and motivation they were also members of social science profession.”³⁷^[37]

In the context of the present essay the contributions of two particular sociologists are important as far as policy sciences are concerned: Karl Mannheim (1893-1947) and Max Weber (1864-1920). Dunn regards their contributions as “foundational studies in the policy sciences.”³⁸^[38] Dunn categorically asserts that the development of the policy sciences in the postwar era owes much to such ‘early methodological contributors as Weber and Mannheim’. Mannheim contributed to the policy studies in his *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (1929) and *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (1940). Mannheim outlined, among other things, the importance of specialized knowledge for planners and policy makers. In his *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* Mannheim criticized the planners because they emphasized “functional rationality” at the expense of what he called “substantive rationality”. Functional rationality signifies relationship of means to certain ends, while substantive rationality is concerned with the appropriateness of the ends or goals themselves.³⁹^[39] Thus, to put it in the words of Moroney, “the analyst who operates within the process approach to policy formulation assumes that his or her role is purely technical and that questions of substantial rationality belong only to the decision makers. Mannheim used Germany of the 1930s as an example of functional rationality in its extreme. The analyst’s function was not to question the decisions of those in power: it was solely one of implementation of the ‘final solution’.”⁴⁰^[40] But the other sociologist, Weber, who actually championed the doctrines of ethical neutrality and the separation of the realm of empirical knowledge from that of values, is also the one who contributed to the growth of value-relevant social research. This is why Dunn contends that Weber’s aim was not to create “a gulf between social science and social policy, the latter of which inevitably involved value judgments; it was rather to show the various ways that empirical science can help to clarify value questions.” Thus Dunn concludes:

Contrary to much scholarly opinion, Weber did not conceive of social science as a value-free enterprise and was himself engaged in a number of controversial policy research projects in the 1890s, as a member of the German Association for Social Policy. Weber did insist, nevertheless on a rigorous distinction between empirical knowledge and value judgments, precisely because so much of the scholarly work of his day contained value judgments masquerading as value-free science.⁴¹^[41]

It is to this dimension that I now turn to evaluate Weber’s so-called but celebrated distinction between empirical knowledge and value judgments in sociology and their bearing on the policy-making role, whether potential or actual, of the sociologists today in the twenty first century.

³⁷^[37] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁸^[38] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁹^[39] For details see Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1936).

⁴⁰^[40] Moroney, *op.cit.* p.26.

⁴¹^[41] Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

III WEBER, AND VALUE - FREE SOCIOLOGY: POLICY

DEFICITS IN THE ROLE OF SOCIOLOGIST

While discussing the social functions of science function Bernal argued:

Science, conscious of its purpose, can in the long run become a major force in social change. Because of the powers which it holds in reserve it can ultimately dominate other forces. But since, unaware of its social significance, becomes a helpless tool in the hands of the forces driving it away from the directions of social advance, and, in the process, destroying very essence, the spirit of free inquiry. To make science conscious of itself and its powers it must be seen in the light of the problems of the present and of a realizable future. It is in relation to these that we have to determine the immediate functions of science. ... It is the function of science to study man as much as nature, to discover the significance and direction of social movements and social needs.⁴²^[42]

Understandably the sociologist, for the Marxist scientist Bernal, is not simply a social scientist who carries on his scientific activity devoid of any policy implications. For him sociologist is someone who, as a scientist, does his science not for its own sake in the abstract but for the valued ends in the long- run so that the existing society becomes a better place for all of us to live in. Sociologist is a policy-maker at least in the sense that his sociology generates suggestive policy implications and recommendations which, if included in the social and/or public policy content, would bring about a welcome societal change and at the same time serve the needs of the citizen. This is not the position in the case of Weber, not because he was unaware of importance of value-relevance of empirical social research but because of the theoretical and methodological positions that marked his sociology. Weber occupied bourgeois class position and he himself admitted that by saying this: "I am a member of the bourgeois classes. I feel myself as such and I am educated in its views and ideals."⁴³^[43] Therborn rightly states that Weber "modelled his sociology on liberal marginalist economics" and "marginalist economics starts from the individual actor calculating how to realize his goals with a scarcity of means, and therein seeks what can be called an explanatory understanding of the regularities of the market."⁴⁴^[44] While more will be said latter, it suffices for now to say that from this standpoint, along with Weber's other theoretical and methodological prescriptions, it is difficult for the social scientist or, for that matter, the sociologist to emerge as policy-maker or contribute to policy-making. The task then for the moment is to summarize briefly what Weber said in this connection in this regard.

⁴²^[42] Bernal, op. cit., p.410-11

⁴³^[43] Cited in Goran Therborn, *Science, Class and Society* (London: NLB, 1977), p. 311.

⁴⁴^[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 296 and 292.

In a way, Weber had to confront the relationship between social research and issue of policy-making in view of the situation that existed in the then Germany where many social scientists took for granted the validity of their claim to relate their research to one or more dimensions of policy making: providing relevant data that would be relevant for making policy, evaluating consequences of alternative courses of policy actions that may be considered, the recommending the preferred ends of policy or suggesting the best policy alternative to be pursued. In the context of the present paper, these are questions concerning the role of the sociologist in the making of social or public policies of his/her society. That is, to what extent, if a sociologist in the making of social or public policies of his/her society. That is, to what extent, if

at all, can the sociologist take on the role of the policy maker? In Weber's words: "What is really at issue is the intrinsically simple demand that the investigator and teacher should keep unconditionally separate the establishment of empirical facts (including the 'value-oriented' conduct of the empirical individual whom he is investigating) and his own practical evaluations, i.e. his evaluations of these facts as satisfactory or unsatisfactory (including among these facts evaluations made by the empirical persons who are the objects of investigations). These two things are logically different and to deal with them as though they were the same represents a confusion of entirely heterogeneous problems. ...The social sciences, which are strictly empirical sciences, are the least fitted to presume to save the individual the difficulty of making a choice, and they should therefore not create the impression that they can do so."⁴⁵ It is quite clear that for Weber wanted free social science research of potential abuses implicit in the value-judgments of the social scientist. He firmly advocates that

it can never be the task of an empirical science to provide binding norms and ideals from which directives for immediate practical activity can be derived. ... An empirical science cannot tell anyone what he *should* do -- but rather what he *can* do -- and under certain circumstances -- what he wishes to do. ... The capacity to distinguish between empirical knowledge and value-judgments, and the fulfillment of the scientific duty to see the factual truth as well as the practical duty to stand up for our own ideals constitute the program to which we wish to adhere with ever increasing firmness.⁴⁶

How does Weber view the status of social policy (i.e. "statements of ideals")⁴⁷ from this standpoint of fact-value dichotomy, implying at the same time the nature of relationship between the social scientist and the policy-maker? Here too, Weber rules out the inclusion of the social policy within the scope of social scientific study in view of their value relevance. As Weber states: "The distinctive characteristic of a problem of social *policy* is indeed the fact that it cannot be resolved merely on the basis of purely technical considerations which assume already settled ends. Normative standards of value can and must be objects of *dispute* in a discussion of a problem of social policy because the problem lies in the domain of general *cultural* values."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. Trans. and ed. E. Shills and H.A. Finch (New York: The Free Press, 1949), pp.11 and 19. Emphasis in original

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54 and 58. Emphases in original

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

From this point of view the sociologist as a scientist can hardly afford to become a policy-maker or policy analyst.

Does all this mean that values or value judgments do not have any place in social scientific research? Are values irrelevant to social sciences? Can the social scientist have a value-determined standpoint, anyway? It is of importance to note that Weber, in spite of the gulf between science and values that he created, nevertheless did not underrate the role of values either in social science or in human life. He points out that the specificity of the historical and cultural sciences lies in their being disciplines of cultural significance. The concept of culture stands singularly for values, the presence of which makes the undertaking of scientific endeavor worthwhile and significant.

The problems of social sciences are selected by the value-relevance of the phenomena treated. ... The concept of culture is a *value-concept*. Empirical reality becomes 'culture' to us because and insofar as we relate it to value ideas. It includes those segments and only those segments of reality which have become significant to us because of this value-relevance. Only a small portion of existing concrete reality is colored by our value-conditioned interest and it alone is significant to us. It is significant because it reveals relationships which are important to us due to their connection with our values... All knowledge of cultural reality, as may be seen, is always knowledge from *particular points of view*. When we require from the historian and social research worker as an elementary presupposition that they distinguish the important from the trivial and that he should have the necessary 'point of view' for this distinction, we mean that they must understand how to relate the events of the real world consciously or unconsciously to universal 'cultural values' and to select out those relationships which are significant for us.⁴⁹^[49]

Furthermore, the central object of study of (interpretative) sociology, in contrast to the natural sciences, is human behavior to which the behaving individual attaches cultural significance.⁵⁰^[50]

Be that as it may, Weber's methodological prescriptions created what Gouldner called a myth in his Presidential Address delivered at the meeting of the Society for the Study of Social problems in 1961, more that forty years ago. Although many sociologists since then have evaluated Weber's stand on the concerned issue, Gouldner's assessment still remains

substantially valid even if he did not directly deal with the policy making role of the sociologists as such. To begin with, Weber's value-freedom principle has indeed performed its historic functions. It did enhance the cohesion and autonomy of the discipline *vis a vis* political and religious constraints in the societies of its origin and expansion, Europe and America, and thus enabled the discipline to freely pursue its basic problems and concerns. The Weberian principle was useful in promoting cohesion and autonomy of the modern university, the modern citadel of reason and enlightenment, that was now depoliticized by putting in place a *modus vivendi* among politically committed academicians.⁵¹^[51]

⁴⁹^[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 76 and 81-2. Emphases added.

⁵⁰^[50] Therborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 292.

⁵¹^[51] Alvin W. Gouldner, "Anti-Minotaur: The Myth of A Value Free Sociology", in M. Stein and A. Vidich (eds.), *Sociology on Trial* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 38-9 and 41.

More significant from the point of view of the present paper is the contradictions and confusions which Weber's value-freedom doctrine introduced into the discipline and profession of sociology. Some of the pertinent contradictions and confusions that will have negative, rather than positive, effect on sociology and its development may be raised.⁵²^[52] These are, among others, are follows: Does the acceptance of objective and value free sociology mean that sociologists cannot make value judgements in matters where they have competence or where they can acquire competence by doing it? Should they be morally and politically indifferent to implications of their work? Are they not entitled to deduce value implications of their factual judgments in their work and make them part of their such work or make them public? Or can they make judgments of fact if they simply point out that those judgements are different from so-called factual statement? Isn't the principle value free doctrine a sort of *carte blanche* that empowers the sociologist to pursue his private agenda facilitating, at the same time, the abdication of his public responsibilities as a citizen? Is it not the case that the sociologist could have given, in the absence of the so-called value freedom principle, a rather credible account of value-relevance of the factual accounts of his sociological research?

Particularly if the teachers, who are also sociologists, ought not to express "their personal values in the academic setting, how then are students to be safeguarded against the unwitting influence of these values which shape the sociologist's selection of problems, his preferences for certain hypotheses or conceptual schemes, and his neglect of others. For these are unavoidable and, in this sense, there is can be no value-free sociology."⁵³^[53] Indeed, Weber offers us no guide as to how to ensure value-free results just because the investigator openly declares his intention not to mix up his value judgments with the empirical knowledge because all stages of research process are in one way or another connected with valuations the investigators consider, whether consciously or unconsciously, appropriate and relevant.⁵⁴^[54] To state otherwise, facts to be investigated do not exist in their own right but are organized and determined through the moral spectacles that the investigator uses to look at them and the world.

Parkin states that Weber's belief in the supposed capacity of the researcher to distinguish between empirical knowledge and value judgment is like the belief of the newspaper editors in their capacity to distinguish between news and comment. They claim that in presenting news they scrupulously stick to recording facts, while editorial columns are judgments on the facts. But media sociologists inform us "what counts as 'news' is in fact the end product of a very selective social process. In recording some events and suppressing others, as well as in the moral vocabulary employed in the manufacture of news, certain biases and preconceptions are quietly at work. What purports to be an impartial recitation of factual events is thus a thoroughly loaded presentation. The biases may operate in a more subtle and subterranean fashion than they do in the case of editorial comment, but that makes them all the more effective."⁵⁵^[55]

⁵²^[52] For details see especially *Ibid.*, pp.36-7.

⁵³^[53] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵⁴^[54] Frank Parkin, *Max Weber* (Chichester: Ellis Horwood, 1982), p. 32.

⁵⁵^[55] *Ibid.*, p.33

Louis Wirth and Robert Lynd, two of those sociologists who were associated with the unmasking tradition in American sociology, point to the same conclusion. Wirth, writing in the *Preface* to Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*, has reminded that assertions in the social sciences, no matter however objective they may be, have "ramifications extending beyond the limits of science itself" and accordingly points out that truth itself, not being a simple correspondence between thought and existence, is "tinged with the investigator's interest in his subject matter, his standpoint, his evaluations, in short the definition of his object of attention."⁵⁶ Lynd has advised sociologists to be more candid about their 'motivations/ and not to hide behind "the aloof 'spirit of science and scholarship'"⁵⁷ The fact that values are extra-scientific or non-scientific and that they are elusive of logical formulation does not free the social scientist from moral, political and intellectual implications underlying his methodological commitment to objective detachment. Science itself is, as Michael Polyani says, "a system of beliefs to which we are committed."⁵⁸ There is little doubt to the fact that values arise from various possibilities and are involved in all stages of sociological studies and research.⁵⁹ Thus Mills writes, echoing Gouldner, Parkin and others cited above: "Values are involved in the selection of the problems we study; values are also involved in certain of the key conceptions we use in our formulation of these problems, and values affect the course of their solution."⁶⁰

A few examples of how values or value judgments are involved in sociological studies and research may be mentioned here for purposes of illustration of the point I am pursuing so far. Let me cite an example from the area of sociology theory. Jeffrey C. Alexander, a contemporary sociological theorist of international prominence, clearly states that evaluative elements, values or nonfactual/non-empirical elements are an integral component of theory defined as "a generalization separated from particulars, an abstraction separated from a concrete case."⁶¹ A theory has, according to Alexander, two components in its content: factual and nonfactual elements. What is the weight or importance of nonfactual/non-empirical component in Alexander's concept of sociological theory? Let me quote Alexander:

Theories, then, are generated as much by the nonfactual or nonempirical processes that precede scientific contact with the real world as they are by this 'real world' structure. By nonfactual processes I mean such things as graduate school dogma, intellectual socialization, and the imaginative speculation of the scientist, which is based as much on his personal fantasy as on external reality itself. In the construction of scientific theories, all these processes are modified by the real world, but they are never eliminated. There is then a double-sided relation between theories

⁵⁶ Louis Wirth, "Preface," in Mannheim, *op. cit.*, pp. x and xviii.

⁵⁷ Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (New York: Grove Press, 1964), p. 178.

⁵⁸ Michael Polyani, *Personal Knowledge* (New York: Harper 7 Row, 1964), p.171.

⁵⁹ For details, see Bipul Kumar Bhadra, *The Political Sociology of C. Wright Mills* (Calcutta: Minerva Associates, 1989), pp. 39-44.

⁶⁰ C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 78.

⁶¹ Jeffrey C. Alexander, "What is Theory", in his *Sociological Theory Since 1945* (London: Hutchinson, 1947), p. 2.

and facts. *I will call the nonempirical part of science the a priori element. This element is carried not through observations but by traditions.* Such a claim might strike you as rather odd. You would normally view science, the prototype of rationality and modernity, as antithetical to tradition. In my view, however, science— even when it is rational—vitality depends on tradition. Sociology is an empirical social science, committed to rigorous testing, to facts, to the discipline of proof and falsification. *Yet all these scientific activities, in my view, occur within taken-for-granted traditions which are not subject to strictly empirical evaluation.*⁶²^[62]

The nonempirical/nonfactual elements consist of presuppositions that refer to general assumptions which every sociologist makes when he encounters reality – be it action or order, for instance. The presuppositions about action and order are the foundations on which sociology rests. Whether theorists or not, sociologists have to make presuppositional decisions and live with their consequences as well.⁶³^[63] Furthermore, theory is not only evaluative but also politically value-relevant and determined. To quote Alexander: “Sociological theories are not simply attempts to explain the world, but also efforts to evaluate it, to come to terms with broader questions of meaning. *Because they are existential statements and not just scientific ones, they invariably have enormous political implications.*”⁶⁴^[64]

Another example of the role of the values in sociology can be cited from the recently arisen sub-field of sociology: feminist sociology. It makes amply clear how (male) values have virtually affected the entire corpus of sociology. Feminist sociology points out that until recently sociology was not a science of society but rather a science of male society. The male-bias, which was built into the mainstream sociology, made it malestream sociology. It interfered with “our knowledge-based understanding of the way our society operates.”⁶⁵^[65] The sexist bias in sociology was all- pervasive. Thus, argues Bernard, “practically all sociology to date has been sociology of the male world. The topics that have preoccupied sociologists have been the topics that preoccupy men: power, work, climbing the occupational ladder, conflict, and sex – but not women – or women only as adjuncts to men. When women have been dealt with in this sociology of male society, it has usually been in a chapter or a footnote on ‘the status of women’, thrown in as an extra, almost beside the point, rather than as an intrinsic component of a total society.”⁶⁶^[66] They were basically hidden from the sociological gaze since the modern sociology was and still is a male-dominated discipline. In contrast, the emergent feminist sociology is one that is for women. It challenges

⁶²^[62] *Ibid.*, p. 6. Emphases added.

⁶³^[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 10 and 15.

⁶⁴^[64] *Ibid.*, p. 16. Emphases added.

⁶⁵^[65] Jessie Bernard, “My Four Revolutions: An Autobiographical History of the ASA”, in Kristen A. Myers et al. (eds.),

Feminist Foundations: Toward Transforming Sociology (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998), p. 9.

⁶⁶^[66] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

and confronts, argue Pamela Abbott and Claire Wallace, the patriarchal supremacy that institutionalizes women's inequality in the society.⁶⁷^[67]

They cite, to give an example, how recent sociologists have questioned the traditional view that medical science has progressed because of the application of scientific method, which has also enabled the acquisition of objective and unchallengeable facts and value-free body of knowledge. But the fact is that this view grossly ignores or underrates the role of society in shaping modern medicine:

Marxist feminists have highlighted inequalities in health care and the ways in which the health care system serves the needs of a capitalist society. A 'cultural critique' has questioned the view that medicine, as a science, is value-free and objective, that doctors as professionals are knowledgeable and concerned with meeting the health care needs of clients, that medical intervention is always of benefit to clients and that the dramatic reductions in ill health and general improvements in health achieved in industrial countries in last 100 years are due to advances in medical knowledge.⁶⁸^[68]

Indeed it is pointed out that malestream scientific knowledge, as also malestream sociology, has ignored, distorted or marginalized women. It has excluded women from positions of power and authority in all major institutions, including the political and economic, of the society. That is why "feminist knowledge, including sociology, challenges the objectivity and truth of that knowledge (which is presented as neutral) and seeks to replace it with more adequate knowledge – more adequate because it arises from the position of the oppressed and seeks to understand that oppression."⁶⁹^[69] Moreover the feminist theory or sociology is "*also political: it sets out not just to explain society but to transform it.* Feminist theories are concerned to analyze how women can transform society so that they are no longer subordinated, by understanding how patriarchal relations control and constrict them."⁷⁰^[70] The value-laden conception is thus built into the very definition of feminist knowledge and sociology

Finally let me cite a few examples from the sociology of science and technology to illustrate how sociocultural values shape even modern science and technology with the corresponding suggestion that they are not necessarily and purely outcome of the judgments of facts on which the scientists and technologists claim to depend for doing what they do.

Thomas Kuhn argues that 'normal science' operates according to a paradigm. It stands for a consensus among a community of scientists concerning model solutions -- 'exemplars' -- to the problems -- puzzles -- which they deal with. Put otherwise, scientists carry on their activities in 'normal science' within the framework of a given paradigm accepted by the scientific community at large. The scientists' commitment to the paradigm is rooted in their training and shared value system. Scientific revolution takes place when a new paradigm, accepted by the scientific community, replaces the old one in view of the latter's inability to solve an increasing number of perplexing anomalies. The paradigm shift

⁶⁷^[67] Pamela Abbott and Claire Wallace, *An Introduction to Sociology: Feminist Perspectives* (London: Routledge,

1990), p. 10.

⁶⁸^[68] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁶⁹^[69] *Ibid.* p.203.

⁷⁰^[70] *Ibid.* Emphases added

takes place and the normal business of science proceeds along the new paradigm. It is apparent from this point that the distinction between the normal science and crisis (or revolutionary science) is socially constructed.⁷¹^[71] According to this Kuhnian analysis of scientific change, knowledge does not exist independently but is socially constructed within an alternative set of assumptions accompanying the new paradigm. Restive thus states “in a sense, Kuhn’s discussion of social factors in scientific change in the early 1960s was a significant departure from positivistic and idealistic histories and philosophies of science.”⁷²^[72]

In his classic study of automation, *Forces of Production* (1984), David Noble illustrates how technological development is guided and shaped by ‘patterns of powerful and cultural values’. He argues that the

concepts of ‘economic viability’ and technical viability’, which are often used to explain technological change, are inherently political. ... A major goal of machine tool automation was to secure managerial control, by shifting control from the shop floor to the centralized office. There were at least two possible solutions to the problem of automating machine tools. Machining was in fact automated using the technique of numerical control. But there was also a technique of automation called ‘record-playback’ which was as promising as numerical control yet it enjoyed only a brief existence. Why, asks Noble, was numerical control developed and record-playback dropped? It was the post-war period of labor militancy that provided the social context in which the technology of machine tool automation was developed. Record-playback was a system that would have extended the machinists’ skill. Although the machines were more automated under this system, the machinists still had control of the feeds, speeds, number of cuts and output of metal; In other words, they controlled the machine and thereby retained shop floor control over production. Numerical control on the other hand offered a means of dispensing with these well-organized skilled machinists. The planning and conceptual functions were now carried out in an office because the machines operated according to computer programs. The machinist became a button pusher. Numerical control was therefore a management system, as well as a technology for cutting metals. It led to organizational changes in the factory which increased managerial control over production because the technology was chosen, in part, for just that purpose.⁷³^[73]

The same bias based on the dichotomy between male and female values also shapes contemporary architectural practice. Thus, Margrit Kennedy argues “there would be a significant difference between an environment shaped mainly by men and male values and an environment shaped mainly by women and

⁷¹^[71] See Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970), *passim*.

⁷²^[72] Sal Restivo, “The Theory Landscape in Science Studies”, in Sheila Jasanoff et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Science and Technology* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1995), Vol. 1, p.100.

⁷³^[73] Judy Wajcman, *Feminism Confronts Technology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 46-7. For details see also David Noble, *Forces of Production* (New York: Knopf, 1984).

female values.”⁷⁴ Kennedy suggests the following is a list of male and female values characterizes current architectural practices.⁷⁵

THE FEMALE PRINCIPLES

THE MALE PRINCIPLES

1. More user oriented	than	designer oriented
2. more ergonomic	than	large-scale/monumental
3. more functional	than	formal
4. more flexible	than	fixed
5. more organically ordered	than	abstractly systematized
6. more holistic/complex	than	specialized/one-dimensional
7. more social	than	profit-oriented
8. more slowly growing	than	quickly constructed

Male subjectivity is expressed in tall phallic towers, while female values are expressed in buildings, which are “round, enclosing, curving and low-rise.”⁷⁶ In the light of the foregoing

illustration of how values or value-determined decisions are shaping sociological studies and research, contrary to what Weber prescribed, it will not be prudent to insist on the maintaining the distance between facts and values. Indeed such an insistence is, both theoretically and on grounds of practical expediency, is quite suspect. What therefore is required is what Mills said in his *The Sociological Imagination* in the following, which outlines the viable methodological procedures one the one hand and insists upon appropriate calling that is wanting in the contemporary sociologist on the other:

So far as conceptions are concerned, the aim ought to be to use as many ‘value-neutral’ terms as possible and to become aware of and to make explicit the value implications that remain. So far as problems are concerned, the aim ought to be, again, to be clear about the values in terms of which they are selected, and then to avoid as best one can evaluative bias in their solution, no matter where that solution takes one and no matter what its moral or political implications may be. ... *Whether he wants it or not, or whether he is aware of it or not, anyone who spends his life studying society and publishing the results is acting morally and usually politically as well.* The question is whether he faces this condition and makes up his own mind, or whether he conceals it from himself and from others and drifts morally.⁷⁷

This is also the position of many other sociologists and social scientists who justly underline the abandonment of the value free sociology in the Weberian sense. If that is done, sociology will not be

⁷⁴ Cited in *ibid.*, p. 121

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Mills, *op. cit.*, pp.78-9.Emphases added.

alienated from the society which the sociologists study and within which they work. It is only then that sociology will become relevant for the society itself, can be concerned with human predicament, and will not, as Gouldner says, “ignore current human problems.”⁷⁸^[78] Myrdal states that the social scientist cannot free himself from his duty of making his values explicit in his reasoning simply just because methodologically ‘values are extra-scientific’ and because it is difficult to determine them by ‘logical procedure.’⁷⁹^[79] He goes on to state that ‘the factual analysis cannot be carried out except when guided by the value premise’ that should be openly introduced rather than kept hidden as tacit assumption.⁸⁰^[80] Myrdal vigorously claims that value premises “should be used not only as premises for our policy conclusions but also to determine the direction of our positive research. ... We employ and we need value premises in making scientific observations of facts and in analyzing their causal interrelation. Chaos does not organize itself into any cosmos. We need viewpoints and they presume valuations. A ‘disinterested social science’ is, from this viewpoint, pure nonsense. It never existed, and it will never exist. We can strive to make our thinking rational in spite of this, but only by facing the valuations, not by evading them.”⁸¹^[81]

It is to this dimension, public issues in Millsian terms, that Mills wants us to direct our sociological imagination. Sociology and politics, sociological calling and political commitment, all combine to promote what basically is the goal of policy making or public policy. To quote Mills:

*It is the political task of the social scientist – as of any liberal educator – continually to translate personal troubles into public issues, and public issues into terms of their human meaning for a variety of individuals. It is his task to display in his work – and, as an educator, in his life as well – this kind sociological imagination. And it is his purpose to cultivate such habits of mind among the men and women who are publicly exposed to him. To secure these ends is to secure reason and individuality, and to make these the predominant values of a democratic society.*⁸²^[82]

It is no wonder that contemporary sociologists, overcoming their self-doubts as to the usefulness of sociology beyond theorizing and empirical inquiries, are predicting the coming alliance between sociology and social policy. They are looking forward to practical application of sociological knowledge, along with empirical inquiries, to the solution of the public policy problems.

An American sociologist, I.L. Horowitz, among others, is quite optimistic about the sociologists’ emergent policy making roles in the contemporary societies. In 1979 he said that we have now reached “a historic watershed” in the profession of social sciences when many of the social scientists are being increasingly employed in different public policy-making sectors of the government. “For the most part, social science personnel are the bookkeepers of the soul. They are involved at the level of generating data, compiling facts, monitoring programs, and evaluating results; they are not central figures in the policy process or in decisions affecting future policy. Nonetheless, it is clear that a qualitatively new era in social science has begun, and requires

careful analysis in order to establish a better appreciation of the contours of social science, not only for the balance of the century, but for the twenty- first century.”⁸³^[83] An eminent British sociologist, Giddens,

⁷⁸^[78] Gouldner, *op. cit.*, p. 43

⁷⁹^[79] Gunnar Myrdal, “The Relation Between Social Theory and Social Policy”, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.4, 1953, p.229.

⁸⁰^[80] *Ibid.* p. 241.

⁸¹^[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 241-2. Emphases added.

⁸²^[82] Mills, *op.cit.*, pp. 187-8.Emphases added.

⁸³^[83] I.L. Horowitz (ed.), *Constructing Policy Dialogue with Social Scientists in the National Political Arena* (New York: Praeger, 1979), p.1.

in one of his nine theses on the future of sociology, has forecast in 1987 that “*there will be a deepening involvement of sociology with the formation of practical social policies or reforms. ... The point of doing social research, from practical angle, is simply to allow policy-makers better to understand the social world, and thereby influence it in a more reliable fashion than would otherwise be the case. From this standpoint research does not play a significant part in shaping the ends of policy-making, but serves to provide efficient means of pursuing already formulated objectives.*”⁸⁴^[84] In the light of this let me turn to brief discussion of the ways in which sociology or the sociologist can contribute to the tasks of policy- making arenas.

IV: RISING ALLIANCE BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL POLICY OR PUBLIC POLICY

To begin with, one must acknowledge that sociologists are not as yet very visible in any public or social policy arena for a number of reasons. First, there are still sociologists within the professional community of the discipline who have strong reservations against practical application of sociology. They are skeptical also of the actual utility of sociological knowledge or uses of sociological knowledge in real life in view of their allegiance to the pure theoretical and empirical aspects of the discipline. They think that their main task is not to sell sociology to the prospective buyers for money or for remedying a social problem. Second, many sociologists have a mistaken conception of the influence social research will have on the public or policy. They think that their intervention in the policy arena will farther increase the distance between research and policy in view of their respective goals. Third, other sociologists think that sociology has not yet attained the maturity that is required to become an important player in the public or social policy forum “because of its present orientation toward, approach to, and handling of research and scholarship relevant to issues of public concern.”⁸⁵^[85] Fourth, often sociologists are discouraged because of the difficulties they face while acting in aid of policy-making agencies. The relationship then becomes very precarious. “Sociologists are seldom called upon to help in making policy, and when they are they are not always very helpful. Poincare once said that

sociologists spent practically all of their time on their methods without ever applying them to anything. Today, sociologists spend much time talking about their potential for making policy without doing much about it. This is said not to discourage the dialogue among sociologists, but rather to point out that at the

⁸⁴^[84] Anthony Giddens, *Social Theory and Modern Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), p. 44-6. Emphases added.

⁸⁵^[85] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

moment their participation in policy-making is quite limited.”⁸⁶ Some sociologists would avoid doing applied research in view of the fact that they have to abide by the priorities of the funding agencies. They thus apprehend that their research findings would become tainted in view of their association with money interests and power structure. Finally, it is also common that politicians and civil servants often reject policy recommendations of the social scientists when they deem them politically or otherwise unfeasible or undesirable.⁸⁷

But all this has not been able to prevent the coalescence of sociology and social policy. Put otherwise, sociologists are on their way to taking on many roles that the so-called policy-makers occupy. The truth of the matter is that sociology has already emerged as policy science even if it has a long way to go to attain its maturity.⁸⁸ The reason is not far to seek. As Shils puts it:

Social scientists cannot avoid doing research which is relevant to policy because their disciplines deal with facts about which policies are made, and they cannot avoid this as long as they interest themselves in society. There are differences in degrees of “relevance to policy.” Some work in the social sciences deal directly with those facts and factors with which politicians and civil servants are immediately concerned. Other work, if it is intellectually significant and does not deal directly with the things in which politicians and civil servants are interested at the moment, surely deals with things which should be taken into account by anyone who wishes to arrive at a serious and responsible judgment. In that sense all social science is potentially relevant to policy, however, empirical or theoretical it might be.⁸⁹

This analysis of the transformation of social sciences into policy sciences, whatever may be the extent, is corroborated by claims and willingness of sociologists in different sub-fields of sociology to carry out and participate in social or public policy making. Take, for instance, the case of feminist sociology. Thus Myers and other feminist sociologists express their intention to take on their ‘feminist sociological imaginations and knowledge’ and also to become ‘policymakers themselves’. In view of increased decentralization policy decision making at the American federal level their chances for participation in the policy process has brightened. As individuals they have little access to the federal level. But, at the state and local levels, they have stronger networks and more access to the decision makers. It is against this background that they want to use their expertise and contacts to affect policy.⁹⁰

Similarly sociologists of science are claiming that science policy-making will be strengthened provided the decision making authority pays due importance to their research findings. There is no doubt that there is much that sociological analysis can offer to the science policy process. “Most importantly, it can encourage those involved in policy making and evaluation to be more reflexive about the assumptions they make. Sociology should help to refine the instrument of policy without becoming a slave to

⁸⁶ N.J. Demerath III et al. (eds.), *Social Policy and Sociology* (New York: Academic Press, 1975), p.9.

⁸⁷ See Shils, *op.cit.*, p 270.

⁸⁸ See James S. Coleman, “The Emergence of Sociology as a Policy Science”, in Lewis S. Coser and Otto N. Larsen (eds.), *The Uses of Controversy in Sociology* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), pp. 253-61.

⁸⁹ Shils, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-7

⁹⁰ Myers et al. (eds.), *op. cit.*, p 410.

polycymaking: it must be capable of offering a critique of policy, to limit the extent to which misplaced assumptions produce ineffective policies.”⁹¹^[91]

There are others who use sociological concepts for social policy research. For instance Mooney use the concept of class from social stratification in his exploration of class inequalities as they bear on health and educational inequalities as particular areas of research concerns for social policy. As he justifies:

Class 'matters' to social policy in a myriad of ways: it continues to be a major factor in, for instance, the restructuring of health inequalities, in educational attainment, in relation to housing and health provision, and it underpins the distribution of poverty and economic inequality in modern capitalist societies. ... Using class in a relational sense should be a central feature in any attempt to *rethink social policy*. This enables us to comprehend both the class nature of the state and the reproduction of class inequalities in and through social policy. ... The recognition of class as a central agency, shaping and recreating the world, can help us to understand social policy, the nature of welfare provision, and struggles over both, in modern capitalist societies. While this may be an unfashionable idea in some quarters, through a focus on class relations we can begin to explore social policy as part of a wider social totality, as part and parcel of the relations and processes of exploitation and oppression.⁹²^[92]

The growing alliance between social sciences and policy-oriented social research in both the USA and the UK has been historically linked up with the expansion of the sphere of the activities of the modern state and its growing socioeconomic interventions as a welfare state in the public arena as a provider of social welfare for those who were left out on the margins of the society and thus who needed it most. Indeed the rise of the welfare state in the background created in turn ever-increasing demands on the social sciences which, at the same time, increasingly became more research oriented. The state and the social sciences came into closer relations with each other and this acted as a positive catalyst for the transformation of the professional sociologist into one who contributed more and more to the making of policies in matters that are basically within his domain of study and research. That is why the welfare state avoided incurring policy deficits on its part, while at the same time it smoothed the path for the sociologist to participate in the policy process and thus perform different tasks as a policy analyst and/or policy maker.

Skocpol describes the growing interaction between the state, on the one hand, and the social scientific theory and research, on the other hand, paving the way for the rise of the sociologist as policy maker, from the American social experience in the twentieth century:

States generally concern themselves with social order and with at least the external conditions for the smooth functioning of markets and production processes. Their needs to act on these issues in increasingly complex socioeconomic settings create growing demands both for general theories of how economies or societies function and for reliable and apparently impersonal statistical data or particular issues that seem problematic (such as the living conditions and likely behavioral responses of the lower classes). Public officials themselves may both demand and develop their own intra-governmental capacities to supply – social theories and statistical data. But demands and supply also come from economic enterprises and politically active groups. Indeed, liberal-democratic societies are almost certainly the most hungry for social knowledge, and the most congenial to the growth and political application of the social sciences. For, the rise of the modern 'public sphere', in which

⁹¹^[91] Andrew Webster, *Science, Technology and Society* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1991), p. 42.

⁹²^[92] Gerry Mooney, "Class and Social Policy", in Gail Lewis et al (eds.), *Rethinking Social Policy* (London: Sage Publications, 2000), pp.157-8 and 168. Emphases in original.

voluntary groups propose ameliorative measures in the collective interest or in their own interest, fuels the search for information and analysis about social problems. Such information and analysis, in turn, encourages demands for governmental interventions -- or abstentions! -- to improve social welfare. The government's interventions and abstentions themselves generate more problems and, directly or indirectly, more needs for social knowledge to help officials and politically active groups set things right. Things are never set entirely right, of course, so the process goes on and on."⁹³

But that is one aspect. The other aspect concerns the development of the social science profession itself in America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the nineteenth century American social scientists sincerely believed that their academic responsibilities -- the empirical discovery and analysis of social phenomena -- were intrinsically tied to their social commitment to active pursuit of social reforms. However, by the next century they were able to separate themselves from their role as reformers to take on new role as social scientists. Once they became secure in their insulated universities, "they began to act in new ways on enduring concerns for policy relevance. They looked for arms-length ways to have their 'objective' ideas and findings achieve beneficial effects through politics -- either via the enlightenment of the educated public of active citizens, or by offering 'expert' advice to strategically situated policy elites. ...By the 1920s, Herbert Hoover's nationally prestigious research conferences, and his officially encouraged overviews of 'Recent Economic Trends' or 'Recent Social Trends' seemingly allowed U.S. academic social scientists to be 'policy-relevant' while remaining true to their own academic standards and continuing to anchor their careers in the universities. Similar opportunities were also provided to academics when they served temporarily on advisory or regulatory commissions without permanent commitment to civil service careers."⁹⁴ By the 1960s and 1970s the relationship between the government and social scientists has become so much complex that they could not be untangled. But this was not the case in Britain where different factors such as uncongenial academic environments of the elite universities like Oxford and Cambridge, the unique political culture of interventionism of the British State in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and the bureaucratic attraction of the potential sociologists to join the politics and public administration retarded the professionalization of the academic social science.⁹⁵

Sharpe puts the difference in two societies nicely: "The epitome of the government's response to a policy problem in the United States is to select a professor with the highest reputation in the field, give him a generous research budget and put him on a contract. The epitome in Britain is to set up a committee of inquiry made up largely of distinguished practitioners in the chosen policy field with a token

⁹³ Theda Skocpol, "Governmental Structures, Social Science, and the Development of Economic and Social policies", in Martin Blumer (ed.), *Social Science Research and Government: Comparative Essays on Britain and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). p. 41.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.43-4.

academic who may or may not be invited by his colleagues to organize research.”⁹⁶^[96] Similarly, on the policy-deficit role of the British sociologists, Blumer states that “sociology in Britain has remained an occupation rather than a profession, tending to be on the margin as a provider of social criticism rather than in the mainline of professional activity.”⁹⁷^[97]

There are two dominant models of how sociologists can relate sociological knowledge to action or how they can apply sociological knowledge, procure evidence and recommend measure for solving a policy problem. The first model is called the “engineering model” which originated in the strong emphasis put on operationalism in the social sciences. It developed in the USA in the 1920s and 1930s. Powerful sociological figures like George Lundberg, Paul Lazarsfeld, R. K. Merton and H.L Zetterberg are associated with this approach. It also involves a sharp distinction between basic research and applied research. The task of the basic researchers is to develop and test a logico-deductive system of hypotheses and propositions. Theoretical contributions are required for systematizing knowledge and stimulating empirical research. Applied researchers are concerned with research applications of existing theoretical knowledge. Fundamentally the applied researchers have the task of collecting empirical data to enable solution of the problem. They are supposed to be skilled in the spot collection of empirical data, and must have the interpersonal orientation and skill to communicate their findings to the policy makers and professional practitioners. Janowitz called these practitioners of engineering model “social engineers.”⁹⁸^[98] From the point of view of working the model is linear. “A problem exists: information or understanding lacking either to generate a solution to the problem or to select among alternative solutions; research provides the missing knowledge; and a solution is reached. Typically a single study will be involved. This – with its data, analysis and conclusion – will affect the choices that decision-makers face. Implicit in such approach is agreement upon ends. It is assumed that policy-makers and researchers agree upon what the desired end-state should be. The role of research is to help in the identification and selection of appropriate means to reach that goal.”⁹⁹^[99] From this point of view there is little doubt that the sociologist emerges in a new policy making role by making available his important contribution to solving the given problem. The most important example of this model in Britain has been Lord Rothschild’s enunciation of the “customer-contractor principle” (1971) according to which the applied researcher provides technical expertise to produce necessary knowledge for use by the government or its departments and agencies which, to begin with, hired the applied sociologists and commissioned them.

The alternative model is called the “enlightenment model” which does not stress the distinction between basic and applied research. The sociologist in this case recognizes that he is part of the social process that he is studying, but not outside of it. This model rejects the view that sociological knowledge can produce definitive answers on which the policy or the professional practice can be based. Here the sociologist performs three interrelated functions that contribute to the decision making process. “First, sociologists collect descriptive data and chart social trends. These descriptive materials are a form of social intelligence which supply professionals and public leaders with a better ‘picture’ of the societal and institutional context in which they must operate. These data are concentrated forms of experience, which

⁹⁶^[96] L. J. Sharpe, “The Social Scientist and Policy-making in Britain and America: A comparison”, in Blumer (ed.), *Social Policy Research*, p. 305.

⁹⁷^[97] Martin Blumer, “Successful Applications of Sociology”, in C.G.A. Bryant and Henk A Becker (eds.), *What Has Sociology Achieved?* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990), p. 123

⁹⁸^[98] Morris Janowitz, “Sociological Models and Social Policy”, in Miyakawa, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 303.
⁹⁹^[99] Blumer, “Successful Applications of Sociology”, pp. 124-5

men can use according to their intelligence and capacities; Second, sociologists seek to test hypotheses about specific problems and institutions in their effort to develop generalizations. Sociologists make use of concepts which may stimulate new ideas and new approaches to problem solving. The testing of hypotheses is also designed to evaluate the relative effectiveness of the social costs of different strategies and policies of social control. The enlightenment model encompasses both the explication of 'causes' of social behavior and the systematic analysis of planned or managed efforts at social change. Third, the sociologist may be engaged in developing models or broad scale studies of the most complex social systems. The end results of such undertaking are new bodies of data and new models which may help society to clarify, or even alter, its social and political goals and objectives."¹⁰⁰^[100] Under this model the sociologist interacts with his subject and the public to which he remain responsible. His work will have impact on himself, and his findings will influence his subject and the public on an ongoing fashion. Finally, his work will not simply be the product of his client but becomes part of the broader culture of our society. "The enlightenment model assumes overriding importance of the social context, and focuses on developing different types of knowledge which can be utilized by policy makers and professions. While it seeks specific answers, its emphasis is on creating the intellectual conditions for problem solving. Its goal is a contribution to institution building."¹⁰¹^[101]

However, it is better to move beyond these two somewhat stereotyped models to a broader conception of diverse roles the sociologists may take on in response to the policy making demands in the modern societies. In fact the sociologist can be a policy actor in various roles. First, the sociologist, who was an outsider earlier, can be brought inside the government, for instance, as a consultant or adviser. In this capacity his primary responsibility in the practical public setting is to draw the attention of the politician or the civilian to the policy findings on different public problems and issues. He is also expected to interpret those findings to them in order to help them in the concerned policy matters. Second, the sociologist may again be an actor in the policy process when he tries to shape and affect policy making and policy outcomes by communicating with the community at large on issues of public interest. This he can do through the media, which are always at arms length from the public authorities. Needless to mention, both politicians and bureaucrats are sensitive to media. In this case "the successful application of sociology depends not only on the quality of the sociology product but on the acceptability of what is offered and on the effectiveness of the means by which it is communicated."¹⁰²^[102] Third, the sociologist may act as what Blumer terms as "illuminator" who throws light on the operation of society or any burning issue (such as the working of labor markets, the outbreak of a disease etc.) in his personal capacity even without seeking to participate actively in political or pressure group processes.¹⁰³^[103] Finally, a sociologist may be working inside the government and may act as an inside adviser or employee. Modern welfare states normally employ an army of professional experts such as statisticians, demographers, economists, architects etc.

¹⁰⁰^[100] Janowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-6

¹⁰¹^[101] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

¹⁰²^[102] Blumer, "Successful Application of Sociology", p. 138.

¹⁰³^[103] *Ibid.*

Nowadays sociologists are being appointed in various government departments whose functions extend beyond collecting data or marshalling them within a theoretical framework. They are expected to provide analysis and interpretation contentious and strategic policy issues and underline their positive and negative implications or consequences.

In the short-run the role of the sociologists as participants in the policy processes may be very visible because they are not in a position to provide panaceas for the treatment of different problems that the modern societies are suffering from. But it is also true that their role is acquiring increasing prominence in the public or social policy arena in view of the rise of what has been called postindustrial, information or knowledge society in our midst. Several features characterize the postindustrial society: the centrality of theoretical knowledge, the creation of new intellectual technologies, the spread of a knowledge class, shift from the production of goods to that of services, instrumentalization of science, and the production and use of information. The importance of the social or public policy matters has thus assumed a new dimension and is still subject to evaluation. One approach, called technocratic *guidance*, views that we need more analysts for producing more analyses if we want to improve the quality of public choice. Another approach, called *technocratic counsel*, holds that “the professionalization of policy analysis and related activities simply signifies new and perhaps more effective ways to enhance the power of policy makers and other dominant groups whose social positions continue to rest on wealth and privilege.”¹⁰⁴^[104] What is clear is that the policy process is certain to experience far-ranging transformations in keeping with the developments that are fast taking place in the postindustrial societies of North America and Europe. In view of this the role of the sociologist as a participant in the policy processes of postindustrial-knowledge societies is also going to undergo changes. Correspondingly this requires fresh evaluation of the opportunities which the sociologists will get to become major players in the social or public policy arena.

Wilson calls for programmatic action in order to bolster up the chances of sociology to play a greater role in shaping social or public policies especially in this critical era of intense national and international turmoil and change. He rightly suggests that, if we want to see our ideas and contributions enter the public policy domain, then we need to take on pragmatic grounds a more aggressive and positive orientation for greater role for sociology in the public

policy agenda. Sociologists themselves have to carry their own baton in order to promote the policy making the cause of sociology. The four measures that Wilson recommended for this in the context of American sociology deserve serious consideration from all concerned.

In the first place, sociologists need to broaden their conception of the use of policy relevant sociological data. This means that in order to expand the domain of policy relevant research and study in sociology, the sociologist need not wait for the availability of a data set that would unambiguously and incontrovertibly prove the validity or correctness of the sociologist’s application of his knowledge to the solution of the social ill. Wilson argues that “the issue here is not whether the data set are adequate to advance policy recommendations, or whether one can recast the terms of a policy debate with certain kinds of data. *Rather the issue is whether the description and sociological analysis of a problem that would be*

104^[104] Dunn, *op. cit.*, p.49.

considered important if fully recognized is sufficiently compelling and thought provoking to enlighten or raise the consciousness and concern of policymakers and the general public.”¹⁰⁵

Secondly, through its theoretical ideas, hypotheses, concepts, or findings, sociology can influence what the people think about a public issue or social problem and also what the government thinks or does with regard to those matters. On the basis of American social experience it is argued that “the public discourse on issues such as persistent poverty, urban planning, pollution control, and criminal justice has changed because of thought-provoking ideas from the social sciences, Theories of class conflict and mobility have influenced government policies in education, social services, and community development. Concepts such as participatory decision making, labeling, concentration effects, or maintenance of native language competence, have been incorporated in policy discussion concerning criminal justice, mental health, poverty, and education.”¹⁰⁶ Carol H. Weiss further points out:

Sociology has other effects, too. Policy actors sometimes use research to support positions that they already want to take; they use the research to provide legitimacy and justification for their cause. On occasion, they use sociology to help persuade others that the cause is right. It provides ammunition to mobilize supporters and develop coalitions. ... *Sociological ideas, more than discrete pieces of data, have influenced the way that policy actors think about issues and the types of measures they have been willing to consider. ... The concepts and theories of sociology make a difference.* They are helping to make public decision makers more sophisticated about social structure and group processes (less content with individual-level explanations for social phenomena), and they are gradually infusing political thinking with more complex and subtle notions of conflict, social disorganization, community norms, social movements, and other sociological constructs.¹⁰⁷

Thirdly, Wilson rightly says that there exist different mechanisms for communicating insights from sociological data, theories and concepts to policy actors. It is regrettable that, argues Wilson, “some of the best sociological insights never reach policymakers, however, because sociologists seldom take advantage of useful mechanisms to get their ideas out. Academic journals are infrequently read by officials of government. One of the best ways to communicate sociological knowledge is through the media. As Weiss points out, just as sociological ideas can influence a reporter’s perception and coverage of the news, so too do the articles of a reporter often influence the public policy agenda. Although occasionally an enterprising reporter will prepare a story based on an article in an academic journal, sociologists who conduct public agenda research should be encouraged to work with their university’s department of public information in preparing press releases and reports for the media.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Emphases added.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.10.

¹⁰⁷ Carol H. Weiss, “The Interaction of the Sociological Agenda and Public Policy”, in Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-

9. Emphases added.

¹⁰⁸ Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-2.

Finally, in expanding the domain of policy relevant scholarship, sociologists have to overcome what Stanley Lieberman has called the formalistic policy, i.e., the view that data for generating policy recommendations should be obtained from the use of certain formal procedures or techniques. In this view, nonquantitative research such as ethnographic research is said to be inappropriate for generating policy recommendations. Wilson refutes this formalistic fallacy: “Although all scholarly work should be subjected to critical review, concern should focus on the logic of inquiry – the structure of explanation, the significance of concepts, and the nature of evidence – not on the procedures or techniques used.”¹⁰⁹

V: CODA

We now know what we have to do in order to expand the domain of our discipline for strengthening the participatory role of the sociologist in the policy process. Sociology will certainly accumulate surplus rather than deficit, i.e. it will be enriched if sociologists have a bigger field of action than they have now. But, then again, there is last question that I must address: why should sociologists expand their domain for policy relevant scholarship? What are the justifications for sociology to get into the province of policy-making process? Why should the sociologist venture into an intellectual area that is fast becoming as specialized as sociology itself, leaving aside the political risks implicit in this venture?

There are indeed quite a few good reasons for answering all these questions in an optimistic mood.¹¹⁰ First, as sociologists we have a social, if not a moral, obligation to get involved in an area where we have the necessary knowledge and skill to deal with the problems of the society—society which we study as sociologists. We must understand that policy decisions will be made any way. If we are not in this process, others will certainly be in it even if they are not as good as we are in studying society and its different aspects, either singly or collectively as a professional community. Moreover, we learn something new by doing it, particularly when legislative bodies are nowadays making participation of social science experts somewhat mandatory in certain areas such as environment, poverty, marginalization and so on. Second, sociologists should get involved in the policy process for intellectual reasons. Their involvement

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.13. Although I have mentioned how sociologists should expand the policy-relevant area of their discipline to enhance their ability to mould public or social policy agenda, there are other things, left out here, that one should take note of, viz. how the public policy influences the sociological agenda for research and theorizing, and how government influences the sociological agenda, and how little sociology and government affect each other in their mutual interaction. For details see Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp.23-39.

¹¹⁰ For details see N.J. Demerath III, “Epilogue”, in his *Social Policy and Sociology*, pp. 345-6. For a very generalized discussion without any specific inclusion of concrete data on India see also Yogesh Atal, *Indian Sociology: From Where to Where* (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2003), pp. 138-57.

and experience might produce results that, if beneficial, could be integrated into the discipline of sociology to its own advantage. We know how biology benefits from medicine or physics from engineering. Third, from the point of view of the labor market, sociology's involvement with policy sciences will ease the pressure of finding jobs for the new PhDs in sociology with the development of an additional academic employment market. Even those who remain or choose to remain in the university and prefer doing pure/basic research are going to benefit because they will have an extra source of research funding when traditional sources are drying up in this era of structural adjustment and globalization. There is no point underemphasizing this reason for it above all involves the bread butter issue of everyday existence.

These points are particularly applicable to India where unemployment of the MAs and PhDs in sociology is quite chronic. Although recent data in this regard is not available, Mohan and Pillai mention that by the 1970s and 1980s sociology as an academic discipline and as a profession exhibited characteristic expansion both in quality and size. But, even then, unfortunately sociology graduates "have not been employed in the sociology profession. In 1971, 60 percent of the graduates were employed; a majority of these graduates were women who were not seeking employment."¹¹¹ However, the prospect of the Indian sociologists for assignments in the disciplinary domain of the policy sciences is simply not bright, if it exists at all, as far as one can ascertain. On the one hand, Indian sociologists are yet to enter into the field of policy processes concerning the country's development This is so even if one leaves out their active participation, if at all, that exists in other (policy) fields – such as health care, ageing, science and technology, medicine, poverty, homelessness, housing, urban and rural poverty, crime and justice, social security, gender equality, abolition of child labor and abuse, and so on so forth. — where there is scarcely any worthwhile coordination between different public or social policies, which exist, when it does, mostly in the piecemeal fashion. All this so in spite of the fact that India is constitutionally and otherwise professed to be a welfare state.¹¹² Thus, Albert Cherns bemoans as back as 1977 pointing to the non-participation of the social sciences in the country's planning process: "*Wherever you go in India there is a pervasive sense of disappointment about the contribution of the social sciences to India's development.* Here is a country with a long-established and highly developed university system, with an experienced civil service and with a formidable production of theses and publications of advanced character. ... Whatever view one may take about the usefulness of the economic research or failures of planning, the existence of a published plan acted as enormous stimulus to the economists. This was not the case for other social sciences. The plan was not accompanied by a social plan – an account of the developments in Indian society that would be needed if economic targets were to be

¹¹¹ Raj P.Mohan and Vijayan K. Pillai, "Contemporary Sociology in India", in R.P. Mohan and A.S. Wilke (eds.), *International Handbook of Contemporary Development in Sociology* (London: Mansell, 1994), pp.693-4.

¹¹² See Mohinder Singh (ed.), *Social Policy and Administration in India* (New Delhi: M.D. Publications, 1996), esp. pp. 3-14.

achieved. It is true that a 'plan' of this nature would be crude document and easy to criticize. Furthermore, the step from analysis to prescription, now an accepted part of the economist's trade, is not yet part of the sociologist's self-image. Nor do sociologists have agreed goals, and even when goals can be agreed between sociologists and administrators or planners, the basic indicators that could monitor the path toward the goal are lacking. But such a 'plan' would be a challenge which social

scientists could not ignore and it would present to the government and the planners the

complexity of the social framework they were trying to alter. It would also stimulate the provision of the social indicators which would at least assist legislators and administrators of all kinds to know what improvements they could reasonably expect and aim for."¹¹³

At the same time it is also distressing to note that academic study and research of the policy sciences in India is yet to catch up with those in the knowledge societies in the advanced parts of the world such as USA and UK. And this is especially so when we explored how to expand the participation of the Indian sociologists in the policy-making issues for providing solution the country's social ills in Annual Sociological Conference of the Indian Sociological Society held in 2003. In a *Working Paper on the Policy Processes* (2003), thus, Jos Mooji and Veronica de Vos were constrained to state that:

Within India, the study of policy processes is not very well-developed. This is so, despite the fact that many Indian social scientists are involved in policy relevant research and aim to contribute, through debate and research, to policy formulation and implementation. These debates are, however, almost entirely dominated by economists, and insights from other social sciences have hardly entered into them. There are very few political scientists, sociologists or anthropologists focusing on public policies. As a result, some aspects of policy studies are relatively well-developed (such as measuring policy effects), but others much less. The issues and questions, for instance, of why policies are formulated and designed in particular ways in the first place, and the political shaping of policies 'on the ground', do not receive much attention. There are exceptions, of course, to this generalization. ... 114¹¹⁴

This observation is substantively true. The reasons for non-development or non-proliferation of public or social policy studies and research in India are not far too seek. The teaching of sociology as a subject in India can be traced to around the year 1915. In Calcutta University Brajaendra Nath Seal of the Department of Philosophy lectured on what he called 'comparative sociology'. Later sociology as a special course was introduced in the Department of Economics

at Calcutta University in 1917. Radhakamal Mukherjee and Benoy Kumar Sarkar taught it. In the same year sociology was introduced as a subject in the B.A. course in Mysore University. In 1919 a department of sociology and civics was set up in the University of Bombay under the leadership of Patric Geddes. Until 1947 sociology course was offered only in four universities. More importantly, however, it may be said

¹¹³ Albert Cherns, *Using Social Sciences* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 210 and 219. Emphases added.

¹¹⁴ Jos Mooji and Veronica de Vos, *Policy Processes: An Annotated Bibliography on Policy Processes, with Particular Emphasis on India*, Working Paper 221 (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2003), p. vii. Emphases added.

with confidence that sociology's legitimation as a discipline is basically only 'a post-independence phenomenon'. 115^[115]

A few developments in the 1950s and 1960s provided a number of opportunities and incentives to the Indian sociologists to engage in studies and research in the area of social or

public policy. These developments include the Research Programmes Committee (RPC) created by the Indian Planning Commission, and the Indian Council of Social Science Research (1969) set up by the Government of India on the recommendation of the same Planning Commission. These two organizations provided funding to undertake social scientific research. In addition a number of other organizations, especially in the government sector, were established for various purposes. They also required the expertise of the sociologists. 116^[116] However, the involvement of the Indian sociologists in developmental efforts at the level of policy formulation and implementation remains significantly unimportant, if not altogether absent. This is so in spite of the fact that, given the required opportunities, Indian sociologists could have contributed significantly to the achievement of developmental goals by their studies and research, and skill and experience in regard to manifold aspects – social, cultural, religious, ethnic, etc -- that lie at the root of the complexities of such problems that the Indian society are now facing on its way to planned modern industrial development. There is little doubt that sociologists can indeed play their due role both in analyzing the complexities of the problem and in suggesting policy options for its solution. This is so even if risks of political partisanship arise in the allocation of funds for undertaking policy related studies. As Srinivas and Panini warned about these risks: "While sociologists can play a useful, if not important, role in policy formulation and implementation there is a likelihood that the demonstration of the discipline's utility might result in government funds being made available to agencies, institutions and individuals toeing the governmental line on various matters. Correspondingly, dissenting research and scholars without go without

funds." 117^[117]

There are, however, a good number of Indian sociologists who reject the Weberian methodological prescription and indeed strongly call upon their colleagues to engage in the policy studies and research. 118^[118] In his Presidential Address to the Xth All India Sociological Conference at Hyderabad in 1970 R.N. Saksena stressed, for instance, the role of the sociologist as a trained scientist in helping to bring about radical changes in the traditional Indian rural social structure. "While planners and administrators must share the primary responsibility for the formation and implementation of rural

115^[115] Mohan and Pillai, *op.cit.*, p. 675 and 679; and M.N. Srinivas and M.N. Panini, "The Development of Sociology and Social Anthropology in India", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 22(2), September 1973, pp. 186-191.

116^[116] For details, see Srinivas and Panini, *op.cit.*, pp.197-9; and D.N. Dhanagare, "Social Policy Concerns in India Sociology," *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol.53(1), January-April, 2004, pp. 23-6.

117^[117] Srinivas and Panini, *op.cit.*, p.211.

118^[118] For an over-all assessment of the views of Indian sociologists including of those who subscribed to the Weberian methodological prescription of value free sociology, see Dhanagare, *op.cit.*, pp. 1-30

development projects, the social scientist can give them valuable help in the areas of social organization, human relations, culture, and values touched by the plans.”¹¹⁹^[119] Elsewhere he was even more forthright: “Knowledge for the sake of knowledge is not enough. More important is the social utility of a particular branch of knowledge. ... *If the sociological researchers kept looking down their noses at the policy-makers and confined themselves to purely academic and scientific character of their studies, their work would lose much of its significance....* Sociology is now universally recognized as an aid to social welfare in a free-society.”¹²⁰^[120] In the Presidential Address to the XIVth All India Sociological Conference at Jabalpur in 1978, I.P. Desai emphatically points out that “we search for knowledge not for its

own sake but for guiding our actions. That is knowledge should help us to solve short term and long term problems of our society.”¹²¹^[121] Finally, I may as well mention the views of M.S. Gore who used the concept of social policy in a broad sense embracing the issues of (a) human freedom and rights of the individual citizen, (b) equality and equal opportunity and, finally, (c) human welfare.¹²²^[122] In his own presidential address to the 16th All India Sociological Conference at Annamalainagar in 1982 he clearly dismisses the Weberian plea for a value free sociology, and simultaneously envisions for the sociologist a much wider role which legitimates his/her

engagement with social or public policy issues:

The sociologist must develop the skills necessary for the effective use of available data in analyzing social policy and in planning as well as executing special studies wherever they might be necessary. ... *The sociologist can play many different roles in the promotion of a social policy which will help achieve a humane, egalitarian and democratic society.* He can be an analyst and help identify problem areas as well as inadequacies in the policies and programmes devised by government; he can be a teacher of social policy and help in inculcating the skills of research and analysis in his students; he can be an interpreter and an advocate on behalf of disadvantaged groups to bring home their difficulties to the planners and policy makers and, finally, he can himself participate in policy formulation directly as a social planner. If he has to perform, these various roles, he must first take an active interest in issues of social policy and be more articulate on them.”¹²³^[123]

It is in this light that we can really appreciate what Bernal, the famous Marxist historian said as far back as 1940 said in his *The Social Function of Science*. With remarkable foresight he said that we need to promote the development of the social sciences more than the physical sciences. The fact of the

¹¹⁹^[119] R.N. Saksena, “Sociology of Development and Planning in India,” *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol 20(10), 1971, p. 9.

¹²⁰^[120] D. Narayan, “Report on Conference of Indian Sociologists”, *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 17(1), 1968, p. 93-4. Emphases added

¹²¹^[121] I.P. Desai, “The Concept of Desired Type of Society and the Problems of Social Change,” *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 28 (1-2), 1979, P. 3.

¹²²^[122] M.S. Gore, “Social Policy and the sociologist”, *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 32(1), 1983, pp.3-4.

¹²³^[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-3. Emphases added.

underdevelopment of the former than the latter is not fortuitous. "It is not so much their intrinsic difficulty as the fact that their mere study is a damning criticism of present social institutions. They are never likely to be developed in our form of society. The struggle for the development of social sciences is at the same time the struggle for the transformation of society."¹²⁴ The truth of the matter is that Indian sociologists have really a very hard task before them. They have to struggle very hard if they want to be heard, and if they are heard there is of course a better chance that for all Indians India will be a better place to live in. From the standpoint of the object of the present paper, then let me conclude in the words of Carol H. Weiss:

My preference is for sociology to be more actively engaged in research on contemporary topics of policy relevance. I would like to see sociologists use their research as a basis for taking a more active part in the discussions that go on not only in Washington (or New Delhi -- BKB) but in state capitals, where many important policy decisions are being made these days. ... But there is the possibility for engagement with policy action that is not so close as to require compromise or collusion. There can be a vigorous, independent, original, daring, *critical* sociology that provides insight and criticism to government, a sociology that is captive to the assumptions of neither the right nor the left. It is not a rarity. It is a type of sociology that many sociologists practice. But what is often lacking are two critical elements: (1) sustained effort to reach policy audiences with sociological messages; that is, serious attention to dissemination, contact, and continuing conversation with actors in the policy process; or the use of intermediary institutions to undertake the task, and (2) recognition that sociology has more to offer policy audiences than validated data from well-designed experiments and studies. Although good data are useful and build credibility, equally important is the *sociological perspective* on entities, processes, and events. Participants in the policy process can profit from an understanding of the forces and currents that shape events, and from the structures of meaning that sociologists derive from their theories and research."¹²⁵

124^[124] Bernal, *op. cit.*, p.343.

125^[125] Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7. Emphases in original -- BKB. A number of articles bearing on the policy implications of sociology have appeared since the symposium address was delivered in 2003. For instance, Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown and A.H. Halsey, while vindicating that 'a theoretically informed empirically driven sociology focused on fundamental social problems' has an important role to play' in addressing the fundamental problems of the twenty-first century, strongly defends the point that " sociology has at least five sets of theoretical and methodological resources that it can marshal in order to inform the policy process. These are: the ability to link private troubles to public issues ... through the concepts of agency and structures of power; the related role of quantitative studies and especially the legacy of political arithmetic in illuminating the consequences of these power structures on life chances; the role of qualitative empirical research in illuminating the connections between structure and agency; the more recently developed concept of self-reflexivity ... and its role in linking the identification of power structures to a social democratic politics ... and finally, the disciplinary openness of sociology when contrasted with, for example, neo-classical economics." See Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown and A.H. Halsey, "Sociology and political arithmetic: some principles of a new policy science", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 55 (1), 2004, pp. 4 and 6. In his Presidential Address to the 2004 American Sociological Association Burawoy offered a framework for understanding the existing the division of sociological labor in the mainstream sociology. In his schema he traces antagonistic interdependence among four types of sociological knowledge or, stated otherwise, four kinds of sociology: public sociology, professional sociology, critical sociology, and policy sociology. The policy sociology is defined as 'sociology in the service of a goal defined by a client. Policy sociology's *raison d'etre* is to provide solutions to problems that are presented to us, or to legitimate solutions that have already been reached'. However, policy sociology is as important as any other sociology, although connections among them are often hard to ferret out because 'they call for profoundly different cognitive practices, different along many dimensions – form of knowledge, truth, legitimacy, accountability, and politics, culminating in their own distinctive pathology'. However, each of them has its own relatively autonomous area of focus. 'In the case of professional sociology the focus is on producing theories that correspond to the empirical world, in the case of policy sociology knowledge has to be 'practical' or 'useful,' whereas with public sociology knowledge is based on consensus between sociologists and their publics, while for critical sociology truth is nothing without a normative foundation to guide it'. For details see Michael Burawoy, "2004 American Sociological Association Presidential address: For public sociology", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 56(2), 2005, pp.266 and 276.

REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH ISSUES AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN NIGERIA

TINUOLA FEMI RUFUS*

Abstract

This study examined the issues of pregnancies and childbirth as indicators of adolescents' reproductive health behaviour. Data were obtained from female adolescents (15 – 24 years) from the three Senatorial Districts in Ekiti State. In all 1230 respondents were simple randomly selected from six communities (three rural and three urban, comprising of 330 and 900 respondents respectively). This sample responded to a structured questionnaire which contained both open and closed ended questions on reproductive health issues of pregnancies and childbirth. To corroborate the quantitative data, indepth interviews were conducted among older (48 years & above) and Focus Group Discussion session were held among selected adolescent in all the study locations. Data show that most respondents indicated that they were confirmed pregnancy by medical doctors in a pregnancy test in both the rural and urban locations and that pregnancy is a gift from God. About 29 percent preferred pregnancies as adolescents; the incidence of adolescent pregnancies was 18.5 in the study locations. The rate of attendance of pre-natal care was higher in the urban than the rural locations and only about 32 percent attended post natal care. The need for appropriate reproductive health policy and implementation among others are recommended.

Background

Adolescents' reproductive health is an integrated approach to the health and development needs of adolescents. It is defined as a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely absence of disease or infirmity in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and process of the adolescents (International conference on Population and Development, 1994). Reproductive health components include all forms of reproductive health practices such as pregnancies, pre-natal and ante-natal care, safe child delivery, family planning, management of complications of abortion and promotion of healthy sexual maturation (Federal Ministry of Health, 2003). In fact, Orubuloye (1998) indicated that adolescents constitute a high risk group in terms of reproductive health problems and studies among them are relatively rare and tend to be restricted to certain regions of the world.

The risks of pregnancies and childbirth among adolescents are numerous. It includes damage to the reproductive health organ, maternal mortality, and infertility, complication during pregnancies and childbirth and obstetric fistula. In a study in Ekiti, southwest Nigeria, Tinuola (2003) found that 80 percent of the adolescents interviewed in a rural community have engaged in premarital sex and that the mean age at first sexual intercourse has reduced to 17 years. Also that out the interviewee who has engaged in sexual relation, 62.5percent had experienced premarital pregnancies. At pregnancies, adolescent are left to take decision on weather to abort the pregnancies or give birth to the child. The decision to do away with the pregnancies or keep it, is often influenced by social, economic and cultural factors which Tinuola (2001)

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found to include education, urbanization, socialization, family type and nature of the pregnancy. When the decision is in favour of abortion, adolescents face the risks of abortion most especially in settings where abortion is illegal and facilities are not adequate provided by the existing health care delivery systems. Federal Ministry of Health (2003) found that about two-fifths of adolescent pregnancies in Nigeria are believed to end up in induced abortion and those adolescents constitute the majority of cases of abortion-related complications admitted in Nigeria hospitals. The complications are heightened in settings where adolescents visit inept medical personnel for services.

In view of the heightened risks of early pregnancies and childbirth among adolescents, more especially when the body is not mature enough to meeting bodily challenges of carrying the pregnancy and childbirth, concerted efforts should be made to conduct research on the reproductive health behaviour of the adolescents. This study concentrates on the issues of adolescent pregnancies and childbirth among adolescents in Ekiti, Southwest Nigeria

Objectives of the Research

1. To examine the knowledge, perception of and incidences of pregnancies among female adolescents (15 - 24 years) in Ekiti southwest Nigeria
2. To examine the childbirth practices among female adolescents (15 - 24 years) in Ekiti southwest Nigeria

Method of Data Collection

Data used for this study were generated from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained with the use of a structured questionnaire which contained mostly closed ended questions. Respondents were systematically selected from female adolescents (15 – 24 years) in the three Senatorial Districts in Ekiti State Nigeria. In each of the Senatorial Districts, two communities (one rural and one urban) were systematically selected, making a total of 6 communities (three rural and three urban) for the study.

For the survey component, a random sample of 1230 female adolescents (330 rural and 900 urban) was undertaken to respond to a series of questions bordering on adolescent reproductive health behaviour in all the study locations. To validate or invalidate quantitative data, sessions of in-depth interview were conducted among older women who are 48 years and above. This age group was chosen because most women in this group have passed through the reproductive health regimes. Responses from these older women provide data on the inter-generational gap between adolescent reproductive health practices in the past and in the present.

Secondary data on incidences of adolescents pregnancies were obtained from the record of government recognized health institutions located in all the study locations. The data present the record of women who attended prenatal and antenatal care in all selected health institutions in the year 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003 respectively. Data obtained are analysed below.

Data Analysis

Pregnancies

Knowledge of being pregnant

There are wide variations among respondents who knew they were pregnant because they missed their monthly menstruation between the urban and rural locations. In the rural locations, almost half of the respondents knew they were pregnant because they missed their monthly period as against 14.1 percent urban respondents.

When a sexually active woman accustomed to monthly menstruation fails to menstruate, and subsequently does something to restore her menses, her actions may be interpreted in several ways (Renne, 2001). One obvious explanation is that she thinks she is pregnant. Another possibility is that she might take to emmenagogues (substances to promote "proper menstrual flow) perceived as part of normal reproductive health practice. The ambiguity of women's intention in such circumstances is rooted in the very nature of menstruation and its absence. However, the absence of menstruation can be interpreted as either an incapacity to conceive or the result of conception. How women interpret and react to menstruation and its absence reflects their individual needs as well as the cultural, social, economic and political context in which they live (Renne, 2001)

Well over half of the urban respondents knew they were pregnant as a result of doctor's confirmation (53.4 percent) against 30 percent in the rural locations. These respondents were among the married and others who were compelled by either their male sexual partners or parents to visit the modern hospital on occasion of an illness. Responses indicated some of the adolescents who were between 15-19 years did not know they were pregnant even when they missed their monthly menstruation. They were rushed to hospitals on treatment of common diseases associated with pregnancy. The doctor later confirmed them pregnant. There were some cases where the respondents indicated that they were confirmed pregnant while they were experiencing normal monthly menstruation period. One-tenth of these respondents indicated that they confirmed their pregnancy status in laboratory tests as against 0.5 percent in the rural locations.

Most older women interviewed responded to have missed their menstruation periods in the past and that it was accepted as a sign of pregnancy for married women. General opinion among them stressed that the most important thing was to find out the cause of

missing the menstruation before taking any action. Affirming the opinion above, a sixty-five year old woman, an interviewee in one of the rural locations, who had no formal education said:

Missing menstruation is not new, it occurs for many reasons but the most important thing was to ascertain the cause so that proper and necessary actions could be taken. In case, it is temporary, there are leaves you take in concoction to restore your period but if pregnancy has occurred, you either visit a herbalist for cleansing or visit the doctor for abortion. The other alternative was to nurture the pregnancy to maturity.

Adolescents in the FGDs mostly preferred the use of modern methods of inducing an abortion in case the pregnancy was not wanted. Popular opinion among them indicated that when a menstruation period is missed, it indicates pregnancy and early efforts at inducing it could work fast. As such, adolescents in the urban preferred D and C method carried out by qualified medical personnel. They indicated that the risks are not as high as other methods.

In the rural locations, adolescents identified the M.P Forth, Gynaecoid as useful drugs for inducing a pregnancy. Some of the preferred drugs like Alabukun, Paracetamol, and Postinol, are used immediately after sex. Another category of the adolescents used Table Salt or Andrew Liver Salt immediately after sex. According to them, the quantity of drugs used depends on the age of the foetus.

Perception on Pregnancies

People's perception about a particular phenomenon affects the belief, attitudes and behaviours towards such. Perceptions are internalised through the process of socialisation. Socialisation is a long time processes through which an individual gets accustomed to the norms and value system of the society through a long learning procedure. It is therefore important to note that socialisation, play important roles in determining the nature and the direction of one's perception of a situation.

Various questions were asked to examine the perception of adolescents on the incidences of pregnancies, to examine their knowledge of the risks, and consequences of adolescents' pregnancies. Table 1 presents the responses.

Table 1: Percent Distribution of Respondents Perception about adolescents' pregnancies.

Pregnancy Issues	Urban (N=900)			Rural (N=330)		
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
Pregnancy is a gift from God	79.7	12.5	7.8	95.0	05.0	00
Pregnancy is risky	63.8	28.7	7.5	51.7	42.3	6.0
Pregnancy is normal	33.8	57.5	8.7	8.4	5.6	10.4
Pregnancy affects schooling	69.7	23.1	7.0	78.3	21.7	0.0
Laws prohibiting adolescents' pregnancy	47.8	42.5	9.7	12.4	81.6	6.0
Preference for pregnancies	15.6	59.9	33.5	41.6	51.4	7.0

Source: Authors' Adolescents' Reproductive Health Survey, 2004

As indicated in the Table 1 above, respondents varied in their perception about pregnancies among adolescents. Respondents who believed that adolescents' pregnancy is gift from God indicated that they were religiously committed to be engaged in pregnancy during adolescence and may encourage some other people to do so probably because they believed that it is divinely supported. About 80 and 95 percents of the urban and rural respondents indicated that pregnancy is a gift from God. These respondents indicated that God gives children at will and that any attempt to act contrary was considered anti-God. These respondents supported their argument with the Biblical injunction "Increase and multiply". However, 12.5 and 5.0 percents of urban and rural respondents respectively disagreed.

About 63.8 and 51.7 percents of the urban and rural respondents indicated that pregnancies among adolescents were risky. These respondents indicated that reproductive health risks associated with carrying pregnancies when the body is not fully prepared are numerous and could be life threatening. These reproductive health risks indicated to be associated with adolescents' pregnancies are damage to the reproductive tract, elevated risks of maternal mortality, pregnancy complications, and low birth weight. About 28.7 and 42.3 percents of the urban and rural samples respectively disagreed. Taking into cognizance

	N =3 17	N =6 8	N =4 24	N =5 0	N =4 4 6	N =8 5	N =4 6 9	N =6 0	N =4 2 4	N =5 8
1 st (Jan – March)	21 .8	2 8 · 3	26 .4	3 2 · 0	3 0 · 0	4 8 · 1	2 0 · 0	1 1 · 1	3 5 · 8	3 1 · 6
2 nd (April – June)	24 .3	2 9 · 4	25 .0	1 6 · 0	2 4 · 9	1 4 · 8	2 3 · 9	2 7 · 8	2 7 · 1	3 8 · 8
3 rd (July – Sept)	27 .8	2 3 · 5	23 .5	2 3 · 1	3 6 · 0	2 1 · 3	2 2 · 3	2 9 · 0	2 7 · 8	0 5 · 3
4 th (October – Dec)	26 .1	0 · 8 8	25 .5	1 6 · 0	2 3 · 8	1 4 · 8	2 7 · 1	3 3 · 3	9 · 0	2 6 · 3
Total (in percent)	10 0 0	1 0 0 · 0	10 0 0	1 0 0 · 0	1 0 0 · 0	1 0 0 · 0	1 0 0 · 0	1 0 0 · 0	1 0 0 · 0	1 0 0 · 0
Mean ages					1					

at	18	1	18	1	8	1	1	1	1	1
Pregnancy	.5	6	.5	8	.	8	8	8	8	8
		.		.	5
		6		5		5	5	5	5	5

Source; Records of ante-natal care attendees from Specialist Hospital, Ikole; General Hospitals, Igede and Ilawe and all the maternity / dispensaries centres in Araromi, Ogotun and Awo-Ekiti between 1999 – 2003.

Table 2 above showed that in 1999, there were slight differences in the percent distributions of reported cases of pregnancies among adolescents in the designated health institutions in selected towns in three Senatorial District in Ekiti State. For example, the first quarter witnessed 21.8 percent of cumulative for the year in the urban locations, the rural locations had 28.3 percent. Also in the second quarter of the same year, the gap in the percent between the urban and rural locations was lesser than the 1st quarter. In the year under review, there was a sharp difference during the last quarter when 26.1 and 8.8 percents were recorded for the urban and rural locations respectively. Looking at the general trend, as indicated in the table, the urban locations often recorded at one-quarter of the reported cases of pregnancies during the last quarter of all the years (1999 – 2002) under review except 2003 when just 9 percent of the total cases were recorded in the last quarter. There seemed to be no general trend of reported cases per quarter in the rural locations. For example, while the rate of reported cases was as high as 32 percent in the first quarter in year 2000, it was just 11.1 percent in the same quarter in the year 2002.

The data further showed that the first two quarters in the urban locations recorded almost half of the total cases recorded for the period. For example, the first two quarters in 1999 reported 46.1 percent, in 2000 about 51.4 and it reached as high as 62.9 percent in 2003. Rural figures were somewhat higher with 57.7 percent in 1999 to as high as 70.4 percent in 2003 although it was considerably lower for 2000 (48 percent) and 2002 (39.9 percent). The mean percent of the incidences of pregnancies in the first two quarters of the period 1999 – 2003 were 50.5 and 55.8 percents in the urban and rural locations respectively. This indicates that from 1999 to 2003, of all cases of adolescent pregnancies presented for prenatal care in designated health institutions in the study locations, an average of 50.5 and 55.8 percents were recorded in the first two quarters of the years in the urban and rural locations. The mean cases reported in the last two quarters of the period were 49.5 and 44.2 percents in the urban and rural locations respectively.

On a general note, the reported cases of pregnancies increased in the urban locations for the first 4 years (1999-2002) but later dropped in the year 2003. The same trend was noticed in the rural locations only that the trend began to drop as from 2002. The mean

age at pregnancy was 18.5 years for both the rural and the urban locations throughout the years under review (1999-2003) except in 1999 the mean age at pregnancy for adolescents (15-24 years) was 16.6 years

On the incidences of pregnancies among adolescents, there was the general belief among older women that the incidence was higher than in the past. The difference between the two was found in the linkage between age at first sexual intercourse and age at marriage. In the past, age at first sexual intercourse was directly linked with marriage. Consequently, the timing of pregnancy was linked with marriage. The major reason for sex, marriage has a direct relationship with childbirth. This is because of the importance attached to child bearing. So, pregnancies in the past occurred when it was expected. Pregnancy was reported to be God's gift. A sixty-seven year old woman responded by saying;

Children are gifts of God, it begins in pregnancy. Any married woman without children was believed to have either misused her body or that there is a curse on her. In fact, she cannot be fully integrated into the family setting. It is the plan of God for us to increase and multiply, hence childbearing. We did not know any pregnancy that was unwanted. Whenever it comes, it is a gift of God. The families expect their baby(ies)

Adolescents reported that pregnancy before marriage is now deemed enough reason for marriage: they indicated that their fiancées would want them pregnant before marriage. To buttress this point, a twenty-two year old woman responded in one of the FGDs by saying:

Immediately, a guy is interested in marrying you, he wants you pregnant before marriage. This is to ensure the fertility behaviour of the woman. Look, I've a brother who got married to a woman before she was pregnant and the woman did not get pregnant for years after marriage. The man spent a lot of money in medical tests and check ups on the woman. The man is just hoping that God will answer his prayers one day by giving him children.

Corroborating the responses above, consensus among adolescents in one of the FGDs session that:

There is a general belief today that any woman who was not pregnant on time was blamed to be promiscuous before marriage. Also that she would have aborted a lot of pregnancies before marriage. The intending husband would always want you to be pregnant before marriage in order to be sure of your reproductive ability. This is because one of the major aims of marriage is

procreation and that in families without children, the purpose of marriage was defeated.

Some adolescents stressed that pregnancy before marriage may not necessarily lead to childbirth; there may be cases of still births, ectopic pregnancies and premature birth. There was a general consensus on the belief that pregnancy is a gift from God. Older women and adolescents were of the opinion that pregnancy is a mystery. Only adolescents were aware of the risks of early childbirth. They indicated that the reproductive health risks associated with pregnancy when the body is not fully developed are complications during childbirth, contracting of sexually transmitted infections, damage to the reproductive tract, infertility and obstetric fistula.

Childbirth Practices

Planning Status of Births

Respondents were asked whether they have ever given birth. Responses show that 3.6 percent of the total respondents have given birth in the urban locations compared to 10 percent of the total respondents in the rural locations. The data shows that experience of childbirth among adolescents was higher in the rural locations than in the urban locations.

Table 3: Percent distribution of respondents who have ever given birth, who desired their last pregnancy

Variables	ARHS, 2004		
	X	Y	Z
Location			
Urban	28.9	62.9	8.2
Rural	20.0	73.3	6.7
Age group			
15-19	26.1	60.9	13.0
20-24	23.8	71.4	4.8

Urban – (N = 32) Rural (N=33), Note: X = Desired the pregnancy then, Y = Desired the pregnancy but later, Z = Not sure of desire for pregnancy Sources: ARHS = Adolescents’ Reproductive Health survey

To examine the planning status of births, adolescents were asked questions on whether they desired the pregnancy or not. Some respondents desired the pregnancy then and later while some were not sure whether they desired the pregnancy. Some respondents desired the pregnancy then but would have preferred to be pregnant later. This gives room for multiple responses among respondents. About 92 percent of women reported that their last pregnancy

was desired in the rural locations. About 8.2 and 6.7 percents had their pregnancy unplanned in the urban and rural locations respectively. The planned status of pregnancy also depended on age of adolescents. About 87.0 and 95.2 percents of the adolescents in 15-19 and 20-24 age groups reported that their pregnancies were unplanned (Table 3).

Antenatal care

Table 4 shows that 62.2 and 31.4 percents received antenatal care during pregnancy in the urban and rural locations respectively in Ekiti. The breakdown according to age shows that 38.1 and 75.6 percent of adolescents between 15-19 years and 20-24 years respectively received antenatal care during their last pregnancies.

Table 4 – Percent distribution of respondents who gave birth over the past 5 years, who attended Antenatal care during their last pregnancy according to selected characteristics.

Characteristics	ARHS,2004
Location	
Urban	62.2
Rural	31.4
Age group	
15-19	38.1
20-24	75.6

Sources: Reproductive Health Survey, 2004

Frequency of Antenatal care during pregnancy

Less than one-fifth of the adolescents in the urban location who were pregnant received antenatal care between 1-5 times in the urban locations compared to less than one-tenth in the rural locations. The mean number of times respondents received antenatal care was approximately 9 times and 10 times in the urban and rural locations respectively.

Adolescents received antenatal care from different care providers in both the rural and urban locations. For in-depth analysis, the term “skilled attendants” was adopted from the report of National AIDS and Reproductive Health Survey by the Federal Ministry of Health in 2003. According to the report, skilled attendants refer exclusively to care providers who have delivery skills, which include the capacity to initiate the management of complications and obstetric emergencies. In the category are medical doctors, nurses, and midwifery professionals. The proportion of respondents attended by “skill attendants” varied according to locations. More adolescents in the urban locations and those with more than primary school education who delivered in the last 5 years received antenatal health care from skilled Attendants.

Table 5: Percent Distribution of Respondents who have delivered in the past 5 years who received antenatal care from different cadres of providers during their last pregnancy

	ARHS, 2004				
Location	A	B	C	D	E
Urban	82.5	9	1	0	0
Rural	50.1	8	2	3	1
Age Group					
15 – 19years	48.6	8	1	3	0
20 – 24	66.4	8	0	1	1
Education					
Primary	56.4	9	1	1	0
Secondary	57.2	8	1	2	0

Post secondary	8	9	1	3	0

Source: Reproductive health survey, 2004

Note: A = Doctor, B = Nurse, C = Auxiliary nurse, D = Community Health Extension Worker, E= Traditional Births Attendants

Among the adolescents, with primary education, well over half sought care from doctors and nurses / midwife and the percent increases with in the level of education. Most respondents with post secondary education received antenatal care from skill attendants; only 0.5 percent sought antenatal care from Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA). Generally respondents between 20-24 years sought skill attendants more than respondents between 15-19 years of age (Table 5).

Table 5 shows that the higher the level of education, the higher the tendency to visit the Doctors and the Community extension workers. This is evident in the data, while 56.4 and 5.8 percent patronized Doctors and CHEWS, among holders of primary education, the percent increased to 80.1 and 34.4 percent among holders of post secondary education. This case was similar among adolescents who patronised CHEW, 15.8 percent had primary education, 18.3 percent had secondary education while 25.6 percent had post secondary education. Greater percentage (81.1 percent) of the adolescents between 15-19 years patronized nurses for antenatal cares.

There was similarity in the preference for a particular place to receive antenatal care between the older women interviewed and adolescents in FGDs. Some older women reported to have delivered with Traditional Birth Attendants. In the words of a Sixty nine year old woman who had below secondary education responded in one of the rural locations:

You see, at the time I gave birth to my first child, there was no maternity / dispensary center in this village, I received the antenatal care in a traditional birth attendant home and I delivered my baby safely. These women used herbs and little knowledge of delivery to help us and they actually tried. During the antenatal care, they offered leaves/herbs for concoction. She stressed the need for me to abstain from eating some meat because of the danger they pose to health and the well being of the child and the mother. For instance, the traditional birth attendant told me not to eat snail and snake. According to her, eating snail during pregnancy will affect the production of saliva of the baby while it would be difficult for the child to walk if the mother eats snake during pregnancy.

Corroborating the response of the fifty-nine year old woman above, a sixty-eight year old woman who had formal education and attended TBA for antenatal responded in one of the rural locations by saying:

Traditional birth attendants were effective machineries for ensuring safe delivery in the past. They did not only recommend the needed herbs, they also toldl you the dos and don'ts so that one did not offend the spirit. When I was pregnant with the second child, the woman told me that I should not move out in the midday and at nights. According to her, evil spirits moved out in the afternoon and in the evening and could harm the

pregnancy. Today, the situation is not the same. We have a lot of modern hospitals where pregnant women received ante-natal cares.

Stressing the later view that pregnant women mostly visit modern health care for antenatal cares today. A 48 year old woman with past secondary education interviewed in one of the urban locations said:

At the time I was to give birth, there was a general hospital and many maternity / dispensary centers in the town. I attended general hospital for ante-natal care. This did not rule out totally the use of herbs. My grand mother often gave me some herbs which I took occasionally. With the current technology in Medicare and medical practice, I advise my children to attend the modern practitioners for antenatal care whenever they are pregnant.

Among adolescents in FGDs, there was general consensus that they preferred to receive antenatal care from Modern Doctors and nurses to ensure adequate care. A twenty-four year old, woman who had secondary education, in one of the rural locations said:

When I was pregnant, I attended government hospital to receive pre and antenatal care. I was given adequate care and I gave birth successfully. They told me to observe some rules of hygiene and took prescribed drugs. I went for regular check-ups and I gave birth successfully.

These responses indicated generally that both the users of traditional birth attendants and Modern medical care justified their positions and agreed that modern medicine is just a development over the traditional medicine (herbal) only that there is a level of *spiritism* introduced into the traditional medical practice believed to be absent in the current modern medicine.

Places where postnatal care were received by location

About half (51.4 percent) of the urban and 13.3 percent rural respondents received postnatal care from government hospitals respectively. Only 15 and 8.3 percent received postnatal care from private modern hospitals and 4.6 and 5.0 percent received postnatal care from faith based maternity and traditional birth attendants (Table 6).

Table 6 – Percent distribution of adolescents according to places where postnatal care were received by locations

Places	Urban (N=32)	Rural (N=33)
Govt. hospital	51.4	13.3
Private hospitals	15.0	8.3
Maternity hospital	18.7	15.0
Faith maternity / IBA	4.6	5.0
No response	10.3	58.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: –Authors Adolescents Reproductive health survey, 2004

Awareness of risks of early childbirth

Adolescents varied on their responses on awareness of the risks of early childbirth according to age, education and locations. Adolescents between 20-24 years who had post secondary education were aware that early childbirth exposes them to the risks of pre-mature labour, miscarriage and stillbirth. However, only 34.6 and 40.1 percents of the respondents between 15-19 years were aware of the risks of early childbirth in the urban and rural location respectively. About 24 percent and 15.4 percent adolescents in the urban and rural areas respectively who had primary education were aware of the risks of early childbirth. However, the percentage increased with the level of education. About one-half of those with secondary education in the urban locations were aware of the risks of early childbirth compared to 48.1 percent of those in the rural locations. In the urban and rural locations, 65.4 and 52.2 percent of those with post secondary education had adequate knowledge of the risks of early childbirth.

Table 7 - Percent distribution of respondents who have ever given birth who desired their last pregnancy

Variables	ARHS, 2004		
	X	Y	Z
Location			
Urban	28.9	62.9	8.2
Rural	20.0	73.3	6.7
Age group			
15-19	26.1	60.9	13.0
20-24	23.8	71.4	4.8

Urban – (N = 32) Rural (N=33), Note: X = Desired the pregnancy then, Y = Desired the pregnancy but later, Z = Not sure of desire for pregnancy Sources: ARHS = Adolescents' Reproductive Health survey

Conclusion

The study examined two reproductive health indicators (pregnancies and childbirth) among adolescents in Ekiti, Southwest Nigeria. The study confirmed that despite a high level of literacy among the Ekitis, majority still hold the opinion that pregnancies are God given and this accounts for the reason why majority of pregnant adolescents do not prefer abortion. This opinion is popular among the rural respondents and subsequently resulted in higher incidences of pregnancies among them. Older women reported marriage based pregnancies; in fact any married woman who has no children was not, in the context, of the culture, believed to have settled martially in the study locations. This is the general belief that any woman who was not pregnant on time was blamed to be promiscuous before marriage and also that she would have aborted a lot of pregnancies before marriage.

Majority of the married women actually desired the pregnancy and generally the planning status of pregnancy depended on the age of adolescents. Most of them received antenatal care from skilled attendants and this influenced the quality and extent of labour during childbirth.

Considering the data above, there is the need of reproductive health education. To achieve this, such programme should be inculcated into the formal education curriculum of secondary schools. This will curtail the extent of incidences of adolescent pregnancies risk in Ekiti, Nigeria.

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A Note on Multidimensional Study of Social Integration on A Rural Society

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ABSTRACT

Social integration is an inferential concept based on the interactions of human groups. In this paper an attempt has been made to quantify such quantitative data in order to measure the nature and degree of integration between and within the socio-economic groups in a particular area. Empirical research was done in 18 villages, selected through stratified random sampling method around a town Giridih in Bihar. One of the major findings was that, in spite of the concurring groups socio-economic divergences, an undercurrent of cultural uniformity, as reflected through invitation-participation process during societal events, could be noted.

Keywords:

(1)Integration (2)divergence (3)cultural uniformity

(4) invitation-participation process (5) societal events

APPROACH

'Integration' is a commonly used term which carries a sense of unification of units or parts of a larger thing into a whole. In Social Sciences this term is generally defined as the mosaic of unity resulting from human interactions and interrelationships. This unity, or Integration, is rarely an observable phenomenon. It is usually a matter of inference drawn from the manifestation of certain action of people. However, as the nature of inference may vary from person to person for

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a particular event or for different events, we may find some difficulty in an objective analysis of integration. To overcome this difficulty, the researcher is required to observe and investigate the phenomenon repeatedly. Therefore, the pre-requisite of study integration is to select some such actions which have the probability of recurrence within the relevantly specified time-span.

Conceptually, the casual factors of integration in any society can be dechotomised into: (1) those which refer to external forces, like, an epidemic, draught, flood, fire etc., which force the people to unify and meet the catastrophe; and (2) those which are internal to the society and bind the people traditionally. Obviously, the first type integration is not permanent in nature. A set of catastrophic external forces may lead to the emergence of only a temporary manifestation of integration of the relevant societal elements. There will be a reversal status quo ante when the external forces are withdrawn. Contrariwise, the very existence of society proves beyond doubt that some internal forces of integration are in operation to hold together its different elements, viz., the social groups from falling apart. The first major concern of the study under reference is, therefore, to elicit that aspect of social integration which is always there, as embedded into the day to day living of the people accounted for. Pursuant to the above, the nature of social integration examined is based on the voluntary association of the people, which are (a) institutionalised (b) sanctioned by the society, and (c) repetitive in their operation. That is, for the present purpose, the concept of social integration has been brought to account by the socially sanctioned repetitive relationships based on voluntary participation of the societal groups concerned.

A social system is a relational entity, and not a substance one. Therefore, the unity we study within a social system is not something absolute or defined once and for all. It varies according to the social situation as well as the context which creates the situation. (Chattopadhyay, 1970). So in order to understand the nature of social integration which varies according to the situation and context, one has to examine not only the different societal groups and the situation but also the levels in which they operate. To illustrate, let us consider a situation created by the communal disturbance between two groups. Analytically, the situation denotes that the two groups are :

- (1) respectively well-integrated,
- (2) active against each other, and thus
- (3) operate as a disintegrative force at the level of national or territorial unity. Consequently, the second major concern of this study will be to identify the different levels of group-integration vis-à-vis particular societal events.

Pursuantly, in order to study the levels of integration in rural society, we tried to observe people's behaviour and interaction through :

- (1) socio-cultural events, and (2) when they are engaged in different occupations while extracting their livelihood from any particular sector of nation's economy. In addition to the above, societal statuses of the pattern of social integration within a multi-stratified social universe.

It is a fact that every society in the world is stratified in one sense or other.

While some are segregated by colours, languages, etc., others have differentiations based on religion, social and economic parameters. India is no exception. Over and above, India is possibly, the only country which has a unique system of caste organization. It is to be admitted that the caste system or for that matter, any social system that persists for a long span of time must have / had certain relevance and acceptability in the society

Per se. The question is what could, possibly, have been the social mechanism for its sustenance.

To our mind, it was probably a blue-print of social ecology, in the sense of, binding different socio-economic groups through the principle of Serve And Be Served. Every person born in the society was assured of his social status and economic function. For example, a 'Brahmin' was supposed to teach the village boys and offer worships and obeisances to the deities on behalf of the villagers. And in lieu of those services he was supplied his daily necessities/requirements by others like peasant castes, berber castes, washerman castes, etc.. The latter castes, again, in their turn, were also supposed to be served by each other accordingly. So in this way the caste system could probably maintain both the social distance and the integration simultaneously. Former was the result of stratification while the latter was the outcome of the function of the system.

Although the caste system has outlived its utility today, it was possibly a great effort and exercise in bringing closer different social groups inhabiting different parts of the country through such functional interrelations and interdependences, under a particular religious umbrella. It is generally believed that stratification / differentiation breeds hatred and disintegration. Then how the society which had/has a caste system based fundamentally on the socio-economic gradations could resist the expected and ever present tension and tendency of disintegration. Is there any in-built social mechanism that helps in fostering fusion and checking fission between the social groups of different strata ?

This paper intends to examine the above question through combined qualitative and quantitative approach.

SAMPLE

The empirical data were collected from 18 villages around a town, Giridih in Bihar. These villages were selected through the stratified random sampling method from the universe of 261 villages. This universe was stratified into three (3) distance and three (3) village size categories. And from these 9 cells, two villages were selected randomly, (chart. A).

INDICATORS

One of the major information collected and analysed in the present paper was the invitation-participation process of the guests of the households involved in celebrating societal events connected with the life-cycles or rites-de-passage. As mentioned elsewhere, such events have certain integrative function as media of group cohesion. (Chattopadhyay- 1979).

Not only that, these events are universal as those are being celebrated in every society in one form or other.

Hence, one of the interesting approach of this particular researches that the pattern obtained and inferences drawn through statistical testing can be verified and / or compared by any scientist in any society. In other words, this area of research tries to transgress the three dimensions of place, time and persons by offering scope for future verification (which, incidentally, a rare phenomenon in social science) by different researchers in different places and among different peoples or cultures.

DATA

Information utilised for this paper were the proportions of host-households receiving guests while celebrating life-cycle events like birth, marriage, death, etc.. These guests can be categorised by various bonds of identification like kinship, locality, friendship, etc.. Similarly, the concerned households may be categorised into several socio-economic groups as per the local system of hierarchy and their proportions noted. These proportions or ratios (as the case may be) were then statistically tested against the null hypothesis of great differentiation between groups in a stratified system. Alternatively, since the codes of custom and behaviour usually permeate between the different groups bounded within a limited social space, we may expect a more cultural uniformity among such groups, irrespective of their societal identities.

Contextually, answer to the following questions were sort :

- (i) whether the societal groups showed significant variation in the degree of receiving guests by virtue of their affiliation to different industries. (Industry was identified as sectors of Nations economy like agriculture, mica, coal, etc., wherefrom the referent household was earning its livelihood) ;
- (ii) whether the jobs or nature of occupation of the concerned household played any role in such variation ;

(iii) how far the locality of the guests, in terms of their presence in the natal village of the host-household or elsewhere, have influenced such process of variation and

(iv) whether the degrees of variation have a correlation with the hierarchical positions of the societal groups in the given caste/group matrix.

Following from above , the households were classified into 5 societal groups, 4 industrial categories, 4 occupational gradations and 3 localities.

(chart B).

So, in order to measure the social distance and thereby the integration ,

Variables chosen were (a) the participation of guests as kins and non-kins or friends during the celebrations of events and (b) their localities from where they came.

Furthermore, these friends were classified by their religion and/or caste affiliation in order to probe the effect of intra and inter religious cohesion.

As stated earlier the unit for such measurement was the proportion of host-households receiving guests at particular occasion.

STATISTICAL TESTS

These data, subsequently, were then analysed in successive orders of complexity to measure the social integration of the referent households. However, here we propose to take up only the event 'marriage' as illustration. The celebration of marriage, as we know, is perhaps the most important social event in the society. Consequently, our pooled data of 18 villages, on the process of invitation-participation during the celebration of marriage, were noted and and quantified.

Test of ANOVA was then applied to such data. But the test does not indicate any significant variation either between communities (Hindu castes/

Muslim groups / Tribals, etc.) or between industries (Agriculture/Mica/Coal, etc.) or even between different types of occupations (Non-manual/ Manual) of the host-households at the time of receiving guests by them. In order words, irrespective of their socio-economic positions, the concerned societal groups acted homogeneously in terms of receiving guests on the occasion of marriage. And that too being independent of the localities from which the guests came.

However, these data when subjected to the statistical test of equality of proportions (1) shows certain variations that may be symbolically presented as

$$K_{SV} > NK_{SV} = K_{DV} > K_T = NK_{DC} = NK_{DV} > NK_{DR} > NK_T$$

(K= Kins ; NK= Nonkins ; SV= Same Village ; DV = Different Village ;

T= Town ; DC= Different Caste ; DR= Different Religion).

Above findings expressed doubt on the assumption, usually made, about the

Overwhelming influence of kinship ties in the rural society. There is no denying of the importance of kinship organisation in rural society. Our analysed data, at the same time, however, also point towards the significant role played by the same/natal village of the host-households. Furthermore, and with respect to the non-kins or friendship ties, the above analysis of the data showed that friends of the town, inspite of the fact that such friends might have been of the same caste and/or religion of the hosts.

Identical statistical test was carried out by considering other variables like industry and occupation of the host-households to probe whether their affiliation to particular sector of economy influence the pattern of social integration.

Following circogrammes (Fig. 1) are drawn on the basis of such probing. They indicate homogeneity-heterogeneity within and between the societal groups in terms of whether the groups are within the same circle or not. The idea behind constructing such circogrammes was to enquire the following :

(i) Whether the trend of social integration was influenced by the host's social and economic affiliation ; (ii) Whether such trend was correlated with the special (same/natal village / different village/town) distribution of the guests.

Accepting the statistically significant variation at 1% level, examination of these circogrammes indicate that :

(1) irrespective of the host-households affiliations to different castes/groups, industries and occupations, they appeared as homogeneous class when kins and guests participated from the same/natal villages of the hosts ;

(2) similar pattern of social integration was observed when the nonkins/friends participated from the identical locations as of the kins ;

(3) variation only by occupational grades of the host-households was noted when the kins as guests came from different villages and town ;

(4) variations, at the caste/group and at the industrial levels of the host-households, were noticed when the participation of the non-kins or friends came from different villages and town;

(5) further characterization of these non-kins or friends against their ascribed societal status indicated variations when the host-households received friends belonging to different castes and/or religion. These circogrammes were constructed on the result of the 'τ' test based on the measurement between individual pairs. These circogrammes, in fact are visual presentation of the homogeneous or heterogeneous characteristics of the concerned communities.

Next, in order to find out how far the combined roles of all the variables play in the sphere of social integration, we computed D^2 Statistic.

In the original formula of Mahalanobis Generalised Distance (D^2) the calculation was based on the mean values of the comparing groups.

We, on the other hand, tried to calculate D^2 from 'ratios' as mean value was not obtainable in our data. However, to make our data compatible with the original notion of D^2 , the correction factor used was the total number of households, as multiplier, in our case. It is hoped that the measurements thus

computed reflect actual pattern of variation or otherwise of integration in our sample within the identified universe.

The idea of computing the above statistic was to locate the relative positions of the social groups. Consequently, for understanding critically the role of stratification, D^2 values for different categories were calculated. However, as an example, we have considered here the broad groupings of labour and non-labour together with their social statuses. It is expected that these two distinct economic classes along with their differential social ranks will offer the scope of maximum divergence.

RESULTS

Our findings from the D^2 analysis (FIG. 2), in the above context, showed :

- (i) non-labour groups of Hindu (irrespective of caste statuses) and Muslim form one cluster from which the Tribals were separated ;
- (ii) labourers of Hindu low caste and Muslim form one cluster while the labourers of the upper and middle caste Hindus and the Tribals had separate and respective locations ;
- (iii) consideration of both the non-labour and labour groups together resulted into formation of one cluster. The cluster is formed by the non-labourers of Hindu high, middle, low castes and Muslims, as also the labourers of Muslims and Hindu low caste. The three groups of labourers of Hindu high, middle and Tribals and Tribal non-labourers are isolated.

So, the interpretation that can be forwarded, contextually, on the basis of our analysis is that, in this type of social integration (as measured through the invitation-participation process) the nature of stratification, both social and economic does not play very crucial roles. In other words, formation of clusters having groups of divergent socio-economic statuses points to an underlying current of cultural homogeneity as against the broader heterogeneity by the caste –class affiliations of the societal groups concerned.

Further to above, an ordering of the clusters were made to locate the degree of homogeneity between the clusters. This was achieved through the computation of 'complete subgraphs' (FIG. 3). As a first step the diameter of a cluster was assessed. This diameter was the distance between the distant pair. This was followed by computing the minimum of these maximum distances of different clusters. Now, we have a set of clusters which can be arranged, in order of importance, representing as quantified manifestation of social integration. Each subgraph cluster, therefore, indicates its relative position in a social /integrational space.

Subsequently, we tried to identify, within a cluster the degree of inter-group 'closeness'. Such closeness being defined as inversely proportional to the distance between the groups of a cluster. In other words, the lesser the distance the greater is the closeness. For measuring such closeness, particular mathematical formula (2 & 3) was utilised. And we selected the non-labour and labour groups from three Hindu castes (H_1 , H_2 , H_3) for this purpose as illustration.

By solving the mathematical equation we found the Hindu low caste non-labourers were nearer to the identical group of Hindu high caste as against the normal expectation of closeness between the low and middle castes. Labourers class, on the other hand, fulfilled the normal expectancy of social hierarchy.

It appears from the foregoing analysis that :

- (1) the rural integration, as measured through the invitation-participation process during the celebration of marriage as one of the social events, showed a pattern of cultural uniformity in variety and

(2) the natal village of the hosts emerged as the most important spatial level of social integration.

APPENDIX

Chart A : Sampling Frame

Village Size by Total No. of Households in the Village	Distance (in miles) from Giridih Town			
	0-5	6-10		
		Distance (in miles) from the Nearest Busroute		
		0-5	6 +	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1-25	2	2	2	6
Total No. of Villages	17	22	46	85
26-100	2	2	2	6
Total No. of Villages	40	39	48	127
101+	2	2	2	6
Total No. of Villages	29	11	9	49
Total	86	72	103	261

Chart B : Societal Characteristics

A : Societal Groups

-
1. Hindu high castes (H)
 2. Hindu middle castes (H)
 3. Hindu low castes (H)
 4. Muslims (M)
 5. Tribals (T)
 6. Identification of Guests

B : Industrial Categories

-
1. Agriculture (Ag)
 2. Mica (Mc)
 3. Coal (Co)
 4. Others (Ot)

C : Occupational Gradings

-
1. Non-manual (NM)
 2. Manual skilled (M₁)
 3. Manual semiskilled (M₂)
 4. Manual Unskilled (M₃)

D : Locality

-
1. Same village (S)
 2. Different village (D)
 3. Town (T)
-

(1) Formula used for Constructing Circogrammes

$$\tau = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{\sqrt{[P(100-P) \{1/N_1 + 1/N_2\}]}} \quad \text{where } P = \frac{N_1P_1 + N_2P_2}{N_1 + N_2}$$

D² Statistic (Discriminant Analysis) for the Event Marriage

Nonlabour : H & M formed one cluster and tribe was isolated.

Labour : H₃ & M formed one cluster and others were separated with each other.

NL + L : H₃ (NL + L) , M (NL + L) and (H₁ + H₂) NL are Homogeneous.

Rest are isolated.

Table 1 : Table Showing the Computational Scheme for Finding Cluster Against the Combined Data Labour and Nonlabour

Group added To a cluster	D ²	No. of turns	Increase in D ² / Increase in n	Av D ²	D ²	Cluster
H ₁ NL , H ₃ NL	0.09	1	-	0.09	0.30	H ₁ NL, H ₃ NL, H ₂ NL, ML, H ₃ L, MNL
H ₂ NL	1.51	3	0.71	0.50	0.71	
ML	3.00	6	0.50	0.50	0.71	
H ₃ L	6.40	10	0.85	0.64	0.80	
MNL	12.71	15	1.26	0.84	0.92	
TNL	47.70			7.95	2.82	
TL	44.58			7.43	2.72	
H ₂ L	51.87			8.64	2.94	
H ₁ L	65.62			10.94	3.31	

By D² – Statistic we can also find that H₃NL is more distant from H₂NL than from H₁NL by using

$$\tau = \frac{D^2_{H_2NL, H_3NL} - D^2_{H_2NL, H_1NL}}{2\sqrt{\{ D^2_{H_2NL, H_3NL} / n_{H_1NL} + D^2_{H_1NL, H_3NL} / n_{H_2NL} + D^2_{H_2NL, H_1NL} / n_{H_3NL} \}}}$$

$$= 2.75 > \tau_{0.01} (2.576)$$

for the event Marriage considering (NK + K) as guests at all & kins from different village & town .

H₃L is more distant from H₁L by using

$$\tau = \frac{D^2_{H1L, H3L} - D^2_{H2L, H3L}}{2\sqrt{\{D^2_{H1L, H3L} / n_{H2L} + D^2_{H2L, H3L} / n_{H1L} + D^2_{H2L, H1L} / n_{H3L}\}}}$$

$$= 5.398 > \tau_{0.01} (2.576)$$

For detail findings we may go through Complete Subgroup which gives which one is first cluster then what cluster is the second .

Table 2 : Table Showing the D² - Matrix for Complete Sub graph

		NL					L				
		H ₁	H ₂	H ₃	M	T	H ₁	H ₂	H ₃	M	T
NL	H ₁	-	0.94	0.09	2.37	8.31	13.01	12.80	1.54	0.49	10.23
	H ₂		-	0.48	1.07	6.89	12.95	7.26	0.24	0.69	6.14
	H ₃			-	1.65	8.16	12.49	10.72	0.89	0.31	9.05
	M				-	8.79	7.38	5.52	0.37	0.85	5.70
	T					-	16.74	18.21	8.15	7.40	3.26
L	H ₁						-	18.16	10.87	8.92	13.06
	H ₂							-	5.55	10.02	7.97
	H ₃								-	0.73	5.90
	M									-	7.56
	T										-

H₁NL , H₂NL , H₃(NL + L) , ML formed first cluster.

H₂NL , H₃(NL + L) , M (NL + L) formed second cluster.

H₁L , H₂L , TNL, TL are isolated.

Within a cluster, we first find the diameter which is the distance of maximum distant pair and finally find the minimum of these maximum distances of several clusters to get the first cluster .

First cluster is more homogeneous than second one.

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Fig. 1 : Figure Showing Circogrammes for Community, Industry and Occupation of Host-households on the basis of Participation of Guests as Kins / Nonkins from Same Village , Different Village and Town and Identity of Guests as Different Caste and Religion during the Event Marriage

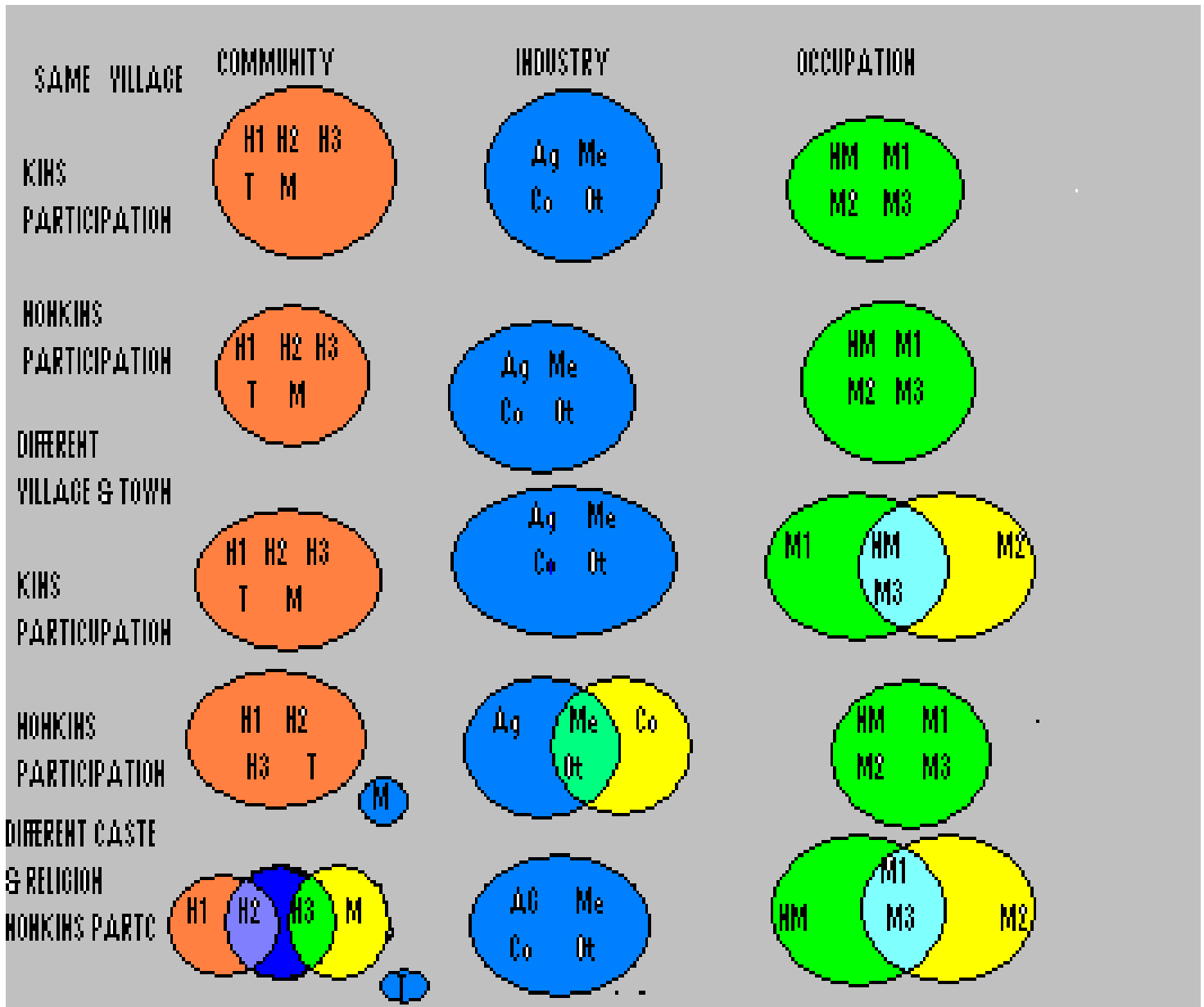


Fig. 2 : Diagram Showing Formation of Clusters by using D^2 Statistic on The Occasion of Marriage

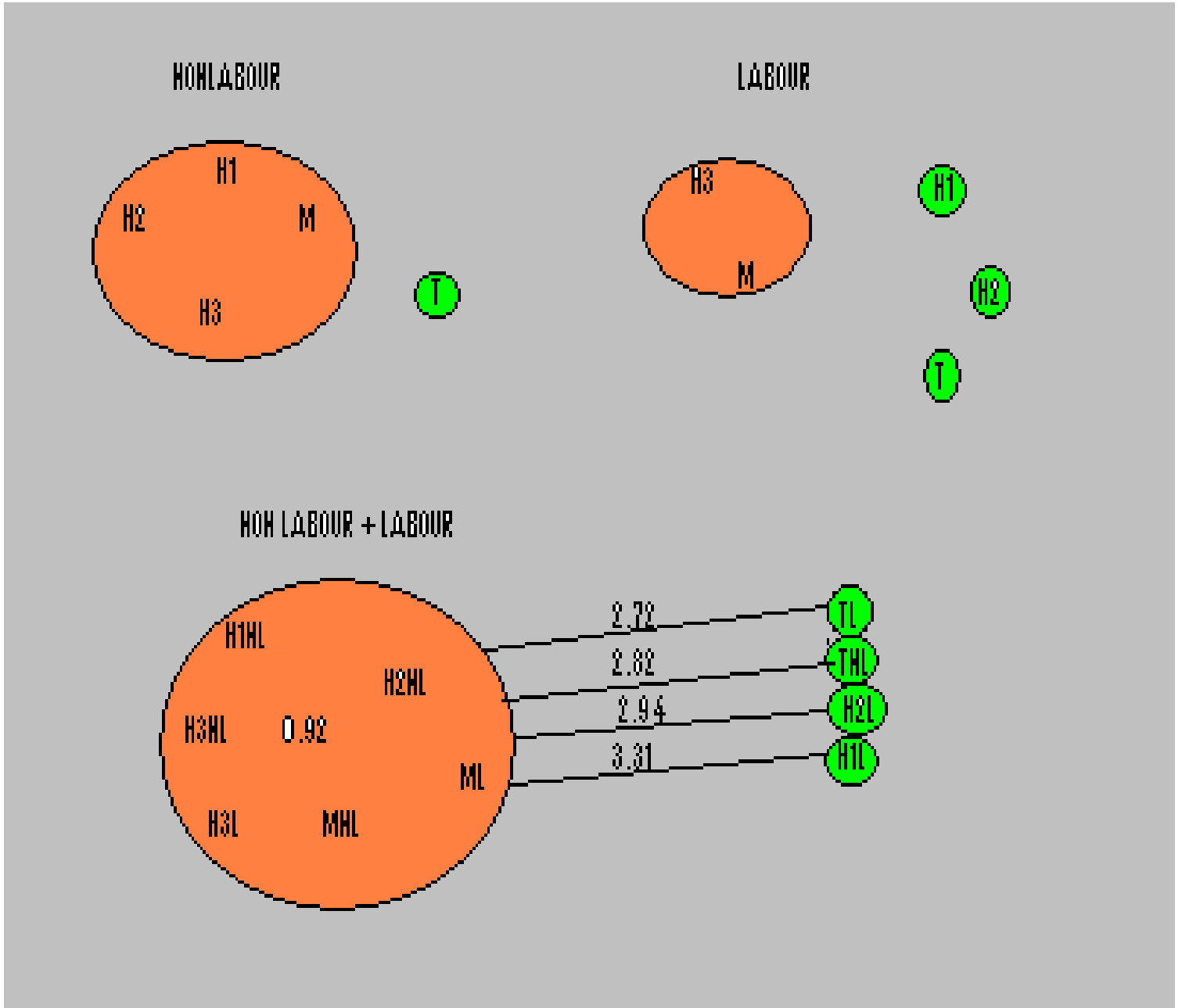
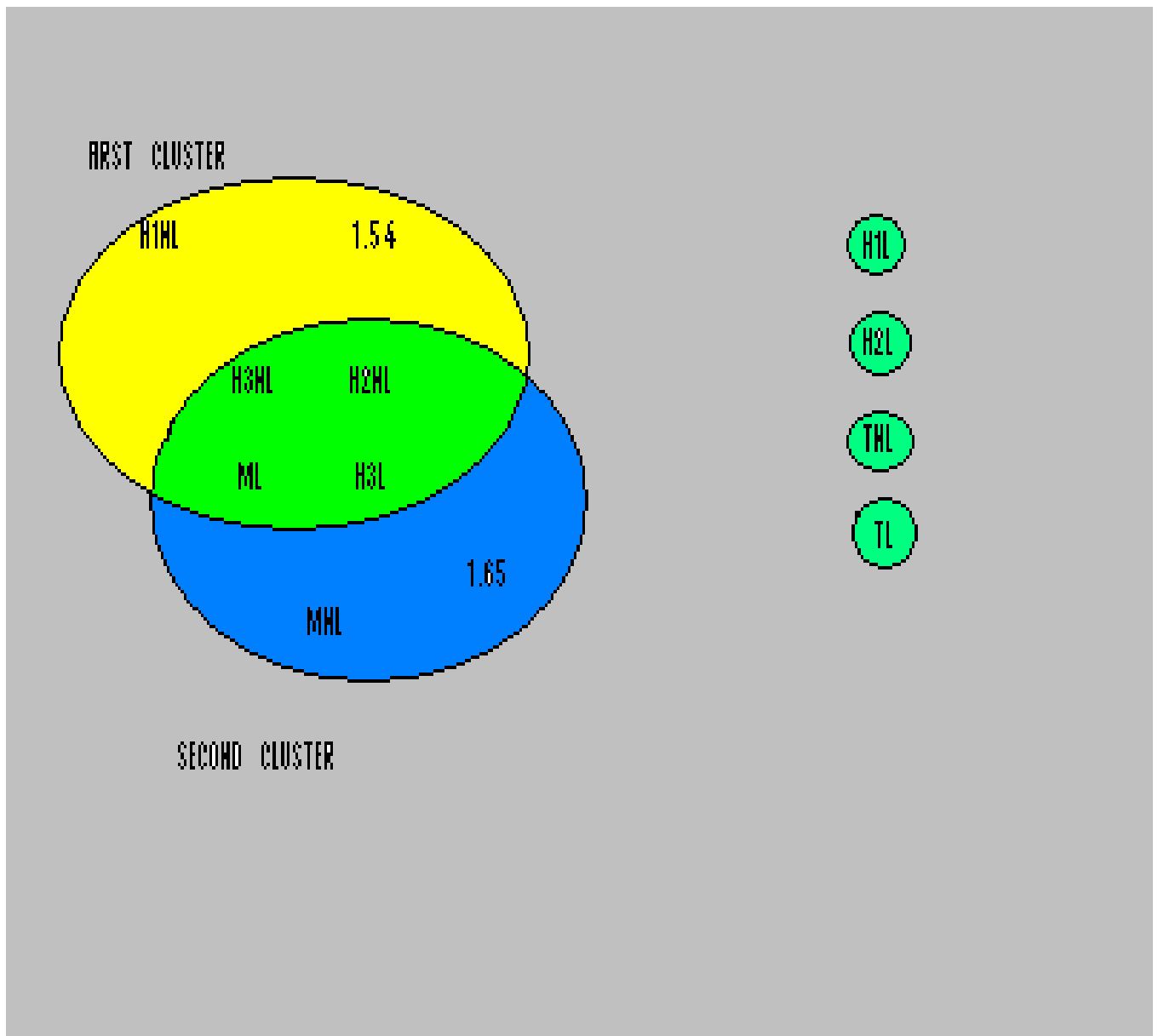


Fig. 3: Figure Showing the Two Intersectional Clusters by using Complete Subgraph on the Event Marriage

$$D^2 \leq 2$$



Globalisation and Crime

Usman Ahmad Karofi^{*} and Jason Mwanza^{**}

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on globalisation and crime. The paper explains the criminogenic effects of globalisation outlining those crimes where people are forced to "migrate into illegality" due to economic reasons (impoverishment and marginalisation), political conflicts and socio-cultural change. The paper further discusses the links between crimes and globalisation based on the new discourses about the axis of transnational organised crime and the crime epidemic in the states. The discussion proceeds by (i) demonstrating how in the present day the advantage of fast moving technological advances such as travel or migration, the internet, and the freedom of circulation and establishment of global markets make the globe a small place of activity and begetting crime, (ii) showing how widespread certain crimes are, how certain perpetrators of crimes permeate borders and how states deal with the problem of global crime in the context of globalisation strategies in the form of multilateral agreements that have been put in place "to fight the scourge". Citing types of crimes as cases for study and countries that have adopted global approaches to resolve crime and crime related problems as case grounds. The paper further shows how nations translate these agreements to meet crime mitigations.

Before looking at the issues to be discussed, the second part of the introduction attempts to present the theoretical constructions of the two concepts. This is done for two reasons: (i) to provide a perspective for what scholars assert about the concepts (ii) to avoid repetitions, and to ground the discussion. The second part also discusses the theoretical construct of globalisation and crime. The third part outlines those problematic crimes that are considered as a menace in the literature. The harm, which arises from such crimes, is discussed in the same section. The fourth part is ascribed to the processes of globalisation that lead to crimes, the commonness of crimes and how nations are mitigating crimes. The conclusion follows thereafter.

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1.1 Justification for selecting this Topic

The interest to cover this topic is due in large part to what we see as the decreased distance and increased transparency brought about by the advances made in transportation, electronic communications, and information technology in terms of how all these relate to generating crime. In our view, it is the economic globalisation since World War II, abetted by increasingly rapid international transportation and communication that has provided new opportunities for criminal activity. As crime has become ubiquitous or turned global, so has the internationalisation of resistance against it.

1.2 The aims of the paper

The aims of the paper are set as follows:

1. To provide a profile of crimes that are transnational and those that are prevalent in countries sharing similar effects on nation states. Based on this, the paper proposes to answer the following question.
 - What makes a particular crime to be considered a global problem?
2. To describe the criminogenic effects of globalisation. Based on this aim, the paper proposes to answer the following question.
 - What are the criminogenic effects of globalisation?
3. To outline the processes that are linked to crimes related to globalisation based on the new discourses about the crime axis in terms of transnational organised crime and the crimes occurring as epidemics among nations.
 - What are the links between globalisation and crime?
 - What is the like of these global crimes?
 - Why are people engaged in these crimes?
4. To outline the processes that are used to mitigate crimes related to globalisation based on the new discourses about the crime axis.
 - How are nations coping with crime mitigation?

2. Theoretical Constructions Of Globalisation and Crime

2.1 Globalisation

To begin with, Kinnvall and Jonsson (2002:3-5) present globalisation in a very broad context suggesting that the concept is rather difficult to give a precise meaning noting that it is an all encompassing catchword of our times. This can be seen from the number of issues that it covers and the disciplines, which are addressing globalisation. They say that Globalisation is a defining feature of our times, covering everything from economic

and political issues to the spread of Western culture especially Americanisation. They argue that its status is controversial, however, with some viewing it as leading to greater development for all, while others see it as a threat to national cultures and democratic political life. In essence, globalisation according the duo is often discussed in terms of three processes: scale, speed and cognition. Scale involves a discussion of magnitudes – this refers to the number of economic, political, social and human linkages between societies at the present times, which are greater than what obtained at any previous time in history. Speed has to do with how globalisation is conceptualised in time and space. The argument advanced by the duo is that globalisation is not a new phenomenon but it involves a compression of time and space never previously experienced while cognition refers to an increased awareness of the globe as a smaller place – that events elsewhere may have consequences for our everyday political, social and economic lives and may affect individual's sense of being.

Marfleet and Kiely (1998:3) defined globalisation in reference to a world in which societies, cultures, politics and economics have in some sense come closer together. In buttressing their conception of globalisation, they refer to Giddens (1964:64) who took the conception as intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.

Snyder (2002:3) conceptualises globalisation as an aggregate of multifaceted uneven, often contradictory economic, political, social and cultural processes, which are characteristic of our time. Johannsen et al. (2003:2) like Kinnvall and Jonsson (2002) observe that globalisation means many things. Johannsen et al. note that recent academic discussion appears to agree that the term globalisation catches the essence of historical movement, a triumph of neo-liberal and characteristically Anglo-American ideology, being a more intense stage of capitalism, a confluence of events and technologies, or some combination of these. This Anglo-American ideology brings with it rapid transformations for business, government and, indeed, ordinary people.

Findlay (2000:8) views globalisation in a social context as the progress towards one culture on the planet– a single society. In this definition, Findlay envisages globalisation as a social process whereby the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and people become increasingly aware of this recession.

The theorising of the pundits cited above show that they have offered almost similar understandings of the conceptions of globalisation, many others too have offered differing conceptions to some extent. Although sharp differences continue to separate participants in the ongoing debate, most contemporary globalisation theorists in our understanding endorse the view that globalization refers to fundamental changes in the scale, speed and cognition contours of social existence, according to which the significance of scale, speed and cognition undergoes shifts in the face of a no less dramatic acceleration in the structure and function of crucial forms of human activity. What we can say from what has been presented above is that geographical distance is typically measured in time. As the time necessary to connect distinct geographical locations is reduced, distance or space undergoes compression or annihilation and matters not.

In essence one can then say that globalisation as a theory aims at interpreting current events on the international sphere in terms of development, economic conditions, social cultural scenarios, and political and cultural influences or social change on a wide scale so to speak. The fulcrum of any theory of globalisation is that an increasing degree of integration among societies plays a crucial role in most types of social changes.

2.2 Crime

Unlike globalisation, which can be theorised, crime cannot be theorised except by theorising the causes of crime. Concepts of crime have traditionally relied on some cultural or jurisdictional context for their relevance and impact (Findlay, 2000:51). A review of literature Bartol, (1980) shows that traditional definitions of crime reflect its dual dimension and this can be argued as follows:

Crime has been defined variably as: any violation of law, either divine or human; an omission of a duty commanded, or the commission of an act forbidden by law or gross violation of human law, in distinction from a misdemeanour or trespass, or other slight offence. Hence, also, any aggravated offence against morality or the public welfare; any outrage or great wrong or any great wickedness or sin and iniquity. When a person commits a crime, he is subject to a fine and/or being jailed or both. A crime, which is subject to a fine, only is generally considered as a misdemeanour. As acts can be punishable, it therefore follows that crimes are '*mala in se*,' or bad in themselves, and these include all offences against the moral law; or they are '*mala prohibita*,' bad because prohibited, as being against sound policy, which, unless prohibited, would be innocent or indifferent.

Having looked at theoretical aspects of crime and globalisation, we can now examine the various questions that this paper seeks to answer.

3.1 Nature of Global Crime

3.1.1 Particular crimes global problems

This section relates to the first question¹²⁶[1]. A review of United Nations documents (HDR, 1999) and the 2004 report on high-level political signing conference for UN convention against transnational organized crime which was held in Palermo, Italy on 12 December 2000, and research papers (Bequai, 2002 and Braithwaite, 1979) show that a crime can be said to be a global problem if it meets any one of the two criteria: (i) If a particular crime has an accentuating character in most nations on the globe. This crime does not necessarily need to have actors inducing it across frontiers or (ii) the crime is occurring across frontiers¹²⁷[2] and there are social actors inducing who traverse frontiers.

¹²⁶[1] What makes a particular crime to be considered a global problem?

¹²⁷[2] Eduardo (2002) provides this example of transnational crimes. "Senator John Kerry has eloquently dispelled the notion that crime today is a local phenomenon, pointing out that "vast poppy fields in eastern Turkey are linked to the heroin dealer in downtown Detroit," that "the banker laundering drug money in Vienna is in league with the thriving cocaine refineries in Colombia," that "the men of the Chinese triads who control

Given this description, one sees that such crimes include, among others, the ones listed below. Available literature (HDR, 1999; Bequai, 2002 and Braithwaite, 1979) shows that the following are considered as critical global crimes :

- Dealing In illicit drugs
- Illegal trafficking in weapons
- Illegal trafficking in human beings
- Money Laundering
- Corruption
- Violent Crimes including terrorism
- War crimes

What makes these crimes to merit concern is that they have unwarranted effects. These unwarranted effects bring us to examine the effects of global crimes. This is the subject of the next section.

3.1.2 Effects of Global Crimes

This section is ascribed to the second question¹²⁸[3]. Global crime as a new phenomenon is seen to profoundly affect international and national economies, politics, security, and, ultimately, societies at large (Eduardo, 2002). In recent years, many have sounded the alarm on the "*virulent synergy between globalisation and organised crime*", Human Development Report (HDR 1999:103), which was devoted to globalization, described the connection between the two in its Report of 1999. What is commonly described as 'transnational organised crime' is increasingly mentioned as one of the main negative side effects of globalisation.

According to the HDR organised crime is a threat for the globalisation process. For instance, the growing influence of organized crime is estimated to gross \$1.5 trillion a year, rivalling multinational corporations as an economic power. It has been seen that global crime groups have the power to criminalize politics, business and the police, developing efficient networks, extend their reach deep and wide. All have operations extending beyond national borders, and they are now developing strategic alliances linked in a global network, reaping the benefits of globalisation." (HDR, 1999: 5 and 42)

Crime syndicates prefer globalisation, for it creates "new and exciting opportunities, and among the most enterprising and imaginative opportunists are the world's criminals." (HDR 1999:43). According

gambling and extortion in San Francisco's Chinatown work the same network as the Singapore gang that turns out millions of fake credit cards," and that "the contract hit man who flies from Moscow to kill an uncooperative store owner in New York, on behalf of the Organization, gets his fake papers by supplying the Sicilian Mafia with Soviet Army surplus ground-to-air missiles to smuggle into the Balkans to supply the Bosnian Serbs."

128^[3] What are the criminogenic effects of globalisation?

to the HDR crime groups are able to generate enormous amounts of money: "The illegal drug trade in 1995 was estimated at \$400 billion, about 8% of world trade, more than the share of iron and steel or of motor vehicles, and roughly the same as textiles (7.5%) and gas and oil (8.6%)" (HDR, 1999:41) This is an alarming picture. But are these figures reliable? Perhaps a cursory look at some of the types of crimes described below will attempt to show that the problem is alarming and that it is not only local but also transnational or global.

3.1.3 The Illicit Drug Industry.

There are now 200 million drug users, threatening neighborhoods around the world. In the past decade the production of opium more than tripled and that of coca leaf more than doubled. In Belarus drug-related crimes increased from 4 per 100,000 people to 28 in 1990–97, in Estonia from 1.4 per 100,000 to almost 8. As noted above the illegal drug trade in 1995 was estimated at \$400 billion, about 8% of world trade, more than the share of iron and steel or of motor vehicles, and roughly the same as textiles (7.5%) and gas and oil (8.6%) (HDR, 1999:41).

To show the magnitude of the problem, at an expert seminar on Crime and Globalisation held at the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam, December 2003 5-6 December 2003 to see the Economic Impact of the Illicit Drug Industry showed that the effects on institutions and society are cumulative and compounding, because this trade changes social behaviours, increases corruption and crime and funds insurgent and counter insurgent guerrillas (TNI, 2003).

This problem of drugs is not only restricted to a few countries but is global. For instance, the September 11 attacks is linked to political terrorism under the hand of terrorist or armed organisations through drug trafficking. According to TNI (2003) many armed conflict taking place may be financed by illegal sources, of which a part derives from drugs.

3.1.4 Money Laundering

According to Buchanan (2004), money laundering is a global phenomenon and an international challenge. As globalisation has evolved, money launderers have been able to conduct their trade with greater ease, sophistication and profitability. As new financial instruments and trading opportunities have been created and liquidity of financial markets has improved, it has also allowed money-laundering systems to be set up and shut down with greater ease. Increased competition between borders has also compressed the associated transaction costs of money laundering. Money laundering tends to allocate dirty money around the world on the basis of avoiding national controls, in that the tainted money tends to flow to countries with less stringent controls. Globalisation has also

improved the ability of money launderers to communicate using internet and travel allowing them to spread transactions across a greater number of jurisdictions, thereby increasing the number of legal obstacles that may be put up to hinder investigations. Underground or parallel banking systems have also attracted the attention of law enforcement and regulatory agencies.

The outcomes of money laundering are very evident. Global money laundering imposes significant costs on the world economy by damaging the effective operations of national economies and by promoting poorer economic policies. As a result, financial markets slowly become corrupted and the public's confidence in the international financial system is eroded. Eventually, as financial markets become increasingly risky and less stable, the rate of growth of the world economy is reduced (Braithwaite 1979). Other than these effects, money laundering has been noted to be linked to terrorism (Bequai, 2002; Raymond, 2002, TNI, 2003) this is because the economic need to reinvest the products of drug trafficking in the legal economy has made money laundering a necessary consequence of drug trafficking and ultimately strengthening the power of organized crime worldwide (Eduardo, 2000).

Money laundering, in and of itself, has a high potential for social harm. It can erode and distort competition, credit institutions, markets, and exchange and interest rates, thus affecting the national economy as a whole. This necessary derivation from drug trafficking also has its own intrinsic potential to affect democracy, by jeopardizing free, legitimate business, which can only thrive in an environment of free and fair competition.

3.1.5 Corruption and Organized Crime

Eduardo (2000) observes that corruption constitutes a significant trait of global crime. The ensuing blurring of the line between state power and criminal power has made the fight against organized crime infinitely more difficult. In the countries where organized crime has asserted its political or financial power, be it by greed or fear, state illegality has become endemic. Although low levels of corruption have been deemed to promote economic growth in certain regions, at a high level it inhibits growth and damages the economy because bribes are socially damaging and politically destabilizing and are harmful for the growth prospects of host countries in that it can undermine the functioning of states, lower the efficiency of production that reduce competitiveness and it can introduce inequities (Ackerman, 2002). Corruption is not only damaging in itself, but it also furthers other noxious activities. This is clear when international criminal organizations use corruption to further drug production and trafficking, or when corruption is used to create havens for terrorists. Russia is an example of how corruption becomes a main factor in the expansion of organized crime (Eduardo 129^[4], 2000). At the root of all this is organized crime, which is estimated, to gross \$1.5

129 ^[4] Eduardo in attempting to show the ubiquity of organised crimes cites the following gangs: The Italian Mafia, the Russian mob, the Japanese Yakuza, the Chinese Triads, the Colombian cartels and the Mexican

trillion a year rivals multinational corporations as an economic power. Global crime groups have the power to criminalize politics, business and the police, developing efficient networks, extend their reach deep and wide.

3.1.6 Traffic in Persons

The United Nations estimates that trafficking is a US\$5–7 billion operation annually, with 4 million persons moved from one country to another and within countries (Raymond, 2002). For instance, the traffic in women and girls for sexual exploitation—500,000 a year to Western Europe alone—is one of the most heinous violations of human rights, estimated to be a \$7 billion business (HDR, 1999: 5). This is a worldwide phenomenon that is becoming the fastest growing branch of organized crime (Raymond, 2002). According to the director general of the United Nations' Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, reliable estimates indicate that 200 million people may be under the control of traffickers of various kinds worldwide (Eduardo, 2002). The Organization of Migration (IOM) has estimated that 500,000 women and children are trafficked in Europe annually. However, after receiving funding from the European Union (EU) "STOP" program in 1998, the IOM concluded that it was not possible to produce accurate estimates of women trafficked in Europe. Still, there are country estimates that at least 8000 Nigerian women have been trafficked into street prostitution in Italy. Another 5000 Albanian, Moldavian, and Ukrainian women have also been trafficked into Italy where they are made to prostitute out of rooms, apartments, small hotels, massage parlours, and even exclusive clubs. Raymond (2002) further states that in the South Asian region alone, 500 Bangladeshi women are illegally transported monthly to Pakistan; 150,000 Filipino women are trafficked annually to Japan; and 7000 Nepali women and girls are sold yearly into the brothels of India. In Asia, millions of women and children have been led into systems of prostitution, such as street prostitution, sex entertainment clubs, luxury establishments, sex tourism, and prison-like brothels. However, the exploitation of women and children as sexual slaves is most common in Third World countries, where victims are procured by various means, and research has shown that that husbands or other family members and boyfriends of women often recruit, traffic, sale and pimp female partners into prostitution at times kidnapping is done and at other times false promises of employment are made to lure these unsuspecting victims (Eduardo, 2000, Raymond, 2002). In order to conduct this illegal business, some crime groups, known as the Italian Camorra, the Chinese Triads, the Russian Mafiya, and the Japanese Yakusa, are involved in the sex trade. The Italian Camorra operates in Italy, Spain, Germany, Brazil, and other parts of Latin America (Raymond, 2000).

criminal organizations. These are in turn subdivided. In Italy for example, organized crime is traditionally represented by three groups: the Camorra, around the Naples region; the `Ndrangheta throughout the region of Calabria; and the Cosa Nostra, or Sicilian Mafia. The Sacra Corona Unita, a relatively new group, is concentrated in Puglia. Highly organized criminal enterprises can also be found on a smaller scale in other countries such as Nigeria, Poland, Jamaica, Panama, and most recently in Southern and Eastern Africa and The Russian Mafia.

3.1.7 Global Terrorism

Globalisation has greatly facilitated the growth of international terrorism. The development of international civil aviation has made hijacking possible, television has awarded terrorists with worldwide publicity, and modern technology has provided an amazing range of weapons and explosives (Eduardo, 2002). International terrorist organizations would find it hard to operate and pose a challenge to any nation-state without media publicity and requisite funding. Without this international terrorism would find itself relegated to the junk heap of irrelevance. It is the money that they draw from money-laundering, credit card frauds, check-kiting, securities scams, and much more, that enable international terrorists to traverse the globe at will, and buy the requisite equipment and armaments to inflict havoc on organized society. With this funding, international terrorist organizations are able to get sophisticated weaponry (Bequai, 2002).

The menace of international terrorism is multiform. First, there is a traditional state-sponsored terrorism, which is a form of global organized crime, also characterized as socio-political organized crime. Although this form of terrorism continues to pose a significant threat, there is a new breed of freelance terrorists who constitute an even more frightening possibility. They are not sponsored by any particular state, and are loosely affiliated with extremist and violent ideologies. These terrorists have proven to be all the more dangerous precisely because of their lack of organization and the difficulties associated with identifying them (Eduardo, 2002).

3.1.8 Cyber crimes

Computer and related criminality has become the phenomenon of the end of the twentieth century, and is expected that its further rapid development will follow in the 21st century. This is caused by vast expansion of computers in the global economy, quick increase of their use in households and especially by developments of computer networks, in particular, the Internet broadcasts, and public access cable television it therefore follows that there exists countless individuals with the capacity and intent to use the medium to inflict damage. It is generally accepted that cyber crime is a problem; potentially a huge problem. (Bequai, 2002). The crimes are numerous and the following are some notable ones:

1. Data and IP theft.
2. Malicious information leakage.
3. Lack of due diligence.
4. Corporate/fraudulent bankruptcies.
5. Pornography
6. Credit card scams
7. Gambling in Cyberspace

8. Extortion and Sabotage

Taking a number of crimes, we can see how the Internet has become a source of crime. Pornography is a good example. Some organized criminals have used the Internet pornography as a financial source for criminal activities. One of the largest industries, if not the largest, doing business over the Internet is pornography, a business that is estimated to exceed the \$100 billion annual mark. Terrorists, their ideology aside, have been fast to see it as a source of income. With a minimal investment of funds, and working through corporate fronts and moneymen, terrorist organizations have been reaping millions (if not billions) of dollars annually from the world of pornography (Bequai, 2002). The Internet is also an easy vehicle for trafficking in drugs, arms and women through nearly untraceable networks. In 1995 the illegal drug trade was estimated at 8% of world trade, more than the trade in motor vehicles or in iron and steel. Money laundering—which the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates at equivalent to 2–5% of global GDP—hides the traces of crime in split seconds, with the click of a mouse.

3.1.9 Illegal trafficking in weapons

Illegal trafficking in weapons is a growing business—destabilizing societies and governments, arming conflicts in Africa and Eastern Europe. Light weapons have the most immediate impact on people's lives. Used in every conflict around the world, they have caused 90% of war casualties since 1945. In El Salvador the homicide rate increased 36% after the end of the civil war. In South Africa machine guns pouring in from Angola and Mozambique are being used in more and more crimes (p41-42). In Albania there were five times as many murders in 1997 as in 1996, a rise attributed to the illegal arming of civilians (HDR, 1999).

Now that we have seen the effects of global crimes, we are in a position to examine the links between globalisation and crime.

4. The Link between Globalisation and Local or Trans national Crimes.

This section is related to the third question¹³⁰^[5]. The reason as to why globalisation is linked to crime rests on the facts that falling frontiers between states brought about by (i) ease of migration in terms of travel, (ii) audio visual and cyberspace communication are bringing many benefits, but they are also making it easier for criminal organisations to be active across the globe and within states (Findlay, 2000; 59-73). Whereas the scourge of organised crime is not new, criminals have been taking advantage of fast moving technological advances such as the Internet, overall globalisation and the freedom of circulation and establishment of global markets. The acceleration of the process

¹³⁰^[5] What are the links between globalisation and crime?

of liberalisation of markets for instance, which has been at least partly technology-driven, with the rapid development of travel, global networks, electronic commerce and the information economy, it has been easy for people to trade and communicate. Financial activity, services and investments are becoming increasingly mobile. These developments provide opportunities for sustained improvements in economic performance but they also raise important new challenges in form of globalised crime. Globalisation has certainly brought countries closer together through technological innovation and integration of financial markets. The ability to conduct trade has become substantially quicker and cheaper and the global financial system now operates on a 24 hour basis. Globalisation has also increased levels of cross border investment and brought about the transfer of technology, skills and knowledge across countries. Globalisation has benefited participants not only in the legal economy, but also in the illegal economy as well (Findlay, 2000).

While we may agree that globalisation has had positive effects, we need to also examine its negative effects like crime. According to Findlay, (2000:1-5), crime cannot be understood outside its context because it occurs in a physical space, is shaped by institutional processes, patterns of relationships and individual variations. Context is a transnational state within which crime influences, and is influenced by a variety of social, economic, political and cultural determinants. Crime is best understood as relationships which develop along the dynamics of its selected contexts. Essential for the motivation of these relationships is the presentation of crime as an economic choice. He adds that the globalisation of capital from money to the electronic transfers of credit, of transactions of wealth to the exchange of property, information technology and the seemingly limitless expanse of immediate and instantaneous global markets have enabled the transformation of crime beyond people, places and even beyond victims. (Findlay, 2000:2). Findlay argues that crime is now as much a feature of the emergent globalised culture as is the feature of every other aspect of consumerism (p2). What Findlay is attempting to explain could be blended with Snyder and views on globalisation (2002:3) when he alludes to the fact that globalisation constitutes contradictory economic⁶ processes which may have consequences for our everyday political, social and economic lives and that it may affect individual's sense of being (Kinnvall and Jonsson, 2002) by resorting to criminal behaviour as a choice. Findlay (2000) advances the aetiology of crime as market condition resulting from the internationalisation of capital, the generalisation of consumerism and the unification of economies that are in the state of imbalance — power and domination that are criminogenic.

131 Data from the media; newspapers watching television inter alia show that the rise of globalisation is occurring hand in hand with a rise in crime of various sorts, ranging from petty street crime through violent drug gangs to terrorism that cannot be localised but internationalised. Yet if we look in detail at the connection between crime and globalisation, some surprising results emerge. This is because the present era of globalisation, driven by competitive global markets, is outpacing

131^[6] We expect them to occur because globalisation is a product of a more intense stage of capitalism where societies and individuals are unequal.

the governance of markets and the repercussions on people, according to the HDR (1999:30) "Global integration is proceeding at breakneck speed and with amazing reach. But the process is uneven and unbalanced, with uneven participation of countries and people in the expanding opportunities of globalisation – in the global economy, in global technology, in the global spread of cultures and in global governance. The new rules of globalisation – and the players writing them – focus on integrating global markets, neglecting the needs of people that markets cannot meet. The process is concentrating power and marginalizing the poor, both countries and people." Or, in the words of Susan George: "Globalisation is creating a three-track society in which there will be the exploiters, the exploited and the outcasts, the people who are not even worth exploiting (George, 1999). It is evident from George that the current 'corporate-driven, neo-liberal globalisation' results in increasing inequalities between rich and poor, both within and between countries – and many are marginalized, specifically in the less developed world with weak state institutions and fragile economies burdened by debt payments. However, those marginalized will not passively wait until they starve to death, but will create their own means to survive whether in the legal economy or in the illegal one – and more often in the grey area that lies in between. Findlay (2000:59-71) too subscribes to the notion that crimes are linked to globalisation. His arguments stem from a developmental perspective claiming that crime occurs on the globe and in societies on account of economic modernisation, which generates poverty and marginalisation of the impoverished.

Eduardo (2002) and Antoine Mehanna (2004) also points to inequality and poverty that are begat by globalisation as some macro-economic causes during the process of economic development. Antoine Mehanna (2004), for instance, shows this by citing literature, which has shown the impact of poverty on crime or vice versa. This literature is largely filled with positive relationships between the two variables, where more poverty, in most cases, leads to more crime, especially property crime. Surprisingly, however, he says that the comprehensive synthesis on the literature of poverty and crime is provided by Birbeck, (1985) who argued that the poverty reduction mechanism has a negative effect on property crime. Past and contemporary studies showed that, on average, an increase in income inequality leads to more poverty (see Frank, 2000 and Takayama, 1979). In contrast, Antoine Mehanna, (2004) quotes from a recent work by Jonakin (2001) who found that inequality has no statistical significant impact on poverty.

Globalisation excludes segments of economies and societies from the networks of information available to the dominant society. Unemployment, alienation, and youth abandonment, which make up what Castells calls the "black holes of informational capitalism^{132[7]}," provide the ideal terrain for criminal recruitment of for instance; global drug traffickers. This phenomenon is even more acute in

132^[7] The dismantling of the welfare state in the US and other Western countries over the last quarter-century has not led to more opportunities for self-organization and empowerment, but less. States have increasingly withdrawn from what Manuel Castells calls the "black holes of informational capitalism," but the people unfortunate enough to be stuck in those black holes are still subject to the terror of the "free market," regions from where there is, statistically speaking, no escape from suffering and deprivation and what Marxists used to call "the international division of labour."

Russia, where after the downfall of the Soviet Union, the Russian youth and Mafioso became an attractive labour pool for criminal organizations (Findlay, 2000; Eduardo, 2002).

If we look at drugs, armed conflicts, trafficking and organised crime, local problems may transcend borders. Take for instance armed conflicts have resulted from the commercialisation of armed conflict and the territorialisation of sovereignty around valuable resource areas and trading networks. As such, armed conflict in the post-Cold War period is increasingly characterised by a specific political ecology closely linked to the geography and political economy of natural resources. There are instances of local violence that have had global influences. For instance, the distribution of benefits and externalities has fuelled the Biafra secession and rebellions in the Delta region of Nigeria, near home here, we have Aceh in Indonesia, and the Cabinda enclave in Angola, to name but a few examples of conflicts in oil-rich regions. While many of these secessions have an indigenous political base, domestic or external actors manipulating local political identities for commercial interests also motivate some (Le Billon, 2001). Another example is the drug trade. Not only is the drug trade inherently coupled with a high degree of local and international corruption and violence, which are independent sources of social deterioration, but also its volume worldwide makes it a global phenomena (Eduardo, 2002).

It is evident from Findlay's (2000; 6-19) writings that the globalisation of markets has profoundly transformed the structures of employment, distribution of wealth, and consumption through modernization, development, and urbanization. Such macroeconomic transformations are accompanied by significant global changes of societal norms and values, which influence the scope and nature of local and global crime (Le Billon, 2001; Eduardo, 2002; Mehanna, 2004). This may be a result of technological transfer, information transfer or immigration.

One other link of globalisation is the media. The globalisation of a culture of violence for instance, spread through the media and becoming a major subject of popular culture, from children's cartoons to investigative journalism, also affects local crime. The over-representation and legitimisation of violence by the global media is compounded locally by the availability of guns, the institutionalisation of violence by the criminal justice agencies, and lax parental supervision and weak parental bonding. At the cultural level, these phenomena are connected with the general dissolution of traditional norms and values that characterize the current era of globalisation (Funk , 2004;).

5 Solutions to Global Crimes

Nobody doubts international action is required to counter the adverse effects of crime that is increasingly becoming transnational just as any other economic activity, as well as the damaging impact of illegal money in the economy and the dangers of political terrorism. The fact that crime is not just localised but is transnational requires not only local specific solutions but also globalised solutions. What has been seen globally is that as crime has permeated all cultures and spreads from one culture to another, nations have endeavoured to apply global theoretical or conceptual frameworks from which regional groupings or

individual nations would move to develop national instruments to prevent and control local and global crimes. Transnational cooperation or integration has seen the need for a joint effort of de-bureaucratization and simplification of legal systems. This cooperation under the umbrella of globalisation has allowed for the interaction of multiple and overlapping jurisdictions of various countries.

The main devices that have been thought to be necessary to neutralize global crime are the implementation of standards and law enforcement intelligence mechanisms that would impede the globalisation of crime and its proceeds. It is for these reasons that the global community has moved forward to combating global crimes. Below, we present examples of situations where global measures have been developed and states work to apply the general measures in combating global and local crimes.

A body of multilateral agreements have been put in place 'to fight the scourge' at international and regional levels. The United Nations for instance has been seen to be a very logical choice to lead the way. The UN, with its 191 member nations clearly has the international influence and resources to enable it to effectively create and involve all nations in this effort. As an authority in the area of global peace, the organization has taken significant action on global crimes. Let us see what nations have done to address the problem of some types of globalised crime.

5.1 Money Laundering and corruption

At the UN and G7/G8 level conventions against transnational organised crime and regulations to counter money laundering are accepted, while the UN Security Council set in motion a global programme against international terrorism. A new international consensus on how to fight this 'underground axis of evil' has emerged and this is now being engineered by the UN convention.

The Convention¹³³^[8] (United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime which came into force on 29 September 2003) requires countries to establish criminal and other offences to cover a wide

133^[8] This convention was an offshoot of earlier regional conventions:

1. Taking note with appreciation of multilateral instruments to prevent and combat corruption, including, inter alia, the Inter-American Convention against Corruption, adopted by the Organization of American States on 29 March 1996.
2. The Convention on the Fight against Corruption involving Officials of the European Communities or Officials of Member States of the European Union, adopted by the Council of the European Union on 26 May 1997,
3. The Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions, adopted by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development on 21 November 1997,
4. The Criminal Law Convention on Corruption, adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 27 January 1999,
5. The Civil Law Convention on Corruption, adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 4 November 1999, and

range of acts of corruption, if these are not already crimes under domestic law. Countries agreed to cooperate with one another in every aspect of the fight against corruption, including prevention, investigation, and the prosecution of offenders. Countries are bound by the Convention to render specific forms of mutual legal assistance in gathering and transferring evidence for use in court, to extradite offenders. Countries are also required to undertake measures, which will support the tracing, freezing, seizure and confiscation of the proceeds of corruption.

An example of regional cooperation, which existed prior to the UN convention (discussed above), includes the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Organization of American States. The OECD signalling to each member nation that corruption can no longer be considered “business as usual”, the OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions entered into force on February 15, 1999. It was signed and ratified by 30 OECD Members and 5 non-Members (Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile and Slovenia). The central obligation of the Convention requires its signatories to move in a coordinated manner to make bribery of a foreign public official anywhere in the world a criminal offence under the national law of the signatory and to back this up with effective, proportional and dissuasive sanctions. Other obligations include eliminating the tax deductibility of bribes and strengthening accounting and auditing standards. An important factor behind the choice of the convention approach was to assure that all signatory countries took parallel action and thereby to maintain a relatively level playing field (OECD, 2004). In a related development, Malaysia put in place an anti-corruption act of 1997 presumably adopting the framework of the OECD.

In addition to preventing crime by virtue of regulatory conventions, the OECD developed codes of cooperate governance. The massive destructions of financial wealth in the US and Europe (ENRON, WORLDCOM, PARMALAT) revealed serious weaknesses in corporate governance and in certain market functions. Incentives were misaligned and key checks and balances failed. Market participants tolerated, and in some cases contributed to deceptive practices. All this reflected shortcomings in the quality of corporate governance needed to insure investor confidence, economic dynamism and competitiveness. Good corporate governance serves as an early warning system to corporate and financial problems. Moreover, strengthening transparency and accountability in particular are critical in combating efforts to put wealth beyond the reach of law enforcement and the taxman. An economy characterised by high standards of disclosure and one in which members of management are accountable to their boards and the boards are accountable to their shareholders – including minority shareholders – is one where financial fraud and other financial crimes will be less likely to flourish (Witherell, 2004).

6. The African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption, adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the African Union on 12 July 2003,

The OECD Principles of Corporate Governance, issued in 1999, have become the international benchmark in this area and are now used by multinational corporations, IMF, World Bank and the 63+ wealthy nations in approving loans and disbursing loans and grants to the poor developing nations (Ramamurti, 2003) and IOSCO's Emerging Market Committee recommends the Principles to its members and the Basel Committee of Bank Supervisors use the Principles as the basis for their corporate governance principles for Banks (Witherell, 2004).

According to Witherell (2004) the OECD Principles of Corporate Governance, which were issued in 1999, and used by these institutions cover six main areas and these are:

1. The legal and regulatory framework for effective corporate governance;
2. Shareholders rights;
3. Equitable treatment of shareholders;
4. The role of stakeholders (employees, creditors, etc)
5. Transparency and disclosure;
6. Responsibilities of the Board.

5.2 Human trafficking

The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children was launched in 2000 to contest the world's organized crime networks and combat the trafficking in persons and transnational prostitution. It specifically addresses the trade in human beings for purposes of the exploitation of prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude, and the removal of organs (Raymond, 2002). Another supplementary Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air was also open for States' signature. The new UN Convention and its supplementary protocol on trafficking in persons have to be ratified by 40 countries before they become instruments of international law (Raymond, 2002).

5.3 Cyber Crimes

Because the sharing of electronic information does not respect international boundaries, attempting to regulate its use requires cooperation amongst world law enforcement. In this area, a number of countries have signed treaties and developed protocols to deal with cyber offences. One such example is the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe (COE), which consists of 44 member states (and includes the entire European Union), has made considerable headway in the fight. In late 2001 the Council adopted its Convention on Cyber crime Treaty that defines several activities to be cyber crime offences.

5.4 Drug Trafficking

Several conventions have been developed to deal with the scourge of illicit drugs. Two are very notable. For instance, the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961 aims to combat drug abuse by coordinated international action. There are two forms of intervention and control that work together. First, it seeks to limit the possession, use, trade in, distribution, import, export, manufacture and production of drugs exclusively for medical and scientific purposes. Second, it combats drug trafficking through international cooperation to deter and discourage drug traffickers. The 1988 United Nations convention against illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances provides comprehensive measures against drug trafficking, including provisions against money laundering and the diversion of precursor chemicals. It provides for international cooperation through, for example, extradition of drug traffickers, controlled deliveries and transfer of proceedings.

5.5 International terrorism Conventions

There are more than a dozen major multilateral conventions and protocols related to states' responsibilities for combating terrorism⁹. But many states are not yet party to these legal instruments, or are not yet implementing them. Over the years, states have in addition to these treaties, created other instruments relevant to particular circumstances, such as bilateral extradition treaties, the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, and the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. Moreover, there are now a number of important UN Security Council and General Assembly Resolutions on international terrorism, dealing with specific incidents. Most of these conventions provide that parties must establish criminal jurisdiction over offenders (e.g., the state(s) where the offence takes place, or in some cases the state of nationality of the perpetrator or victim).

⁹ Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, Tokyo, September 14, 1963, 20 UST 2941, TIAS 6768, 704 UNTS 219; Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (Hijacking), The Hague, December 16, 1970, 22 UST 1641, 860 UNTS 105; Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (Sabotage), Montreal, September 23, 1971, 24 UST 564, TIAS 7570, 974 UNTS 178, and its Protocol on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, Montreal, February 24, 1988, 1589 UNTS 474; Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, New York, December 14, 1973, 28 UST 1975, TIAS 8532, 1035 UNTS 167; International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, New York, December 17, 1979, TIAS 11081, 1316 UNTS 206; Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, Vienna, March 3, 1980; International Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection, Montreal, March 1, 1991; International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, New York, December 15, 1997; International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, adopted by the UN General Assembly, December 9, 1999.

6. Conclusions

The globalisation of crime is evolving just as social change impinges its effects on society. The fight against transnational crime and its threats to democracy does not mean Interpol as most lay people think. The fight should be undertaken, covering global approaches like mutual assistance between states, extradition and international crime conferences as well as tribunals.

It is only through the globalisation of democratic values and human rights that the challenge of global violent crime can be met effectively. This does not mean an abdication of the State from its power to accomplish its intrinsic functions to act and mobilize resources. In addition, the increasingly passive role of the states regarding global economic activity should shift to regulatory initiatives, covering the critical crime types cited in this paper.

The beneficial effects of globalisation, consisting of a greater international division of labour, a more efficient allocation of capital through pooling of resources should not erode the capacity of governments to manage crime. To achieve this goal, the global social political economic and cultural interdependence of countries worldwide demand concerted integrative developmental policies. In this way, the attainment of higher incomes should be coupled with re-distributive policies and social safety nets, which will largely eliminate the incentive for local crimes.

The role of an ethically inspired education in the prevention of organized crime is essential, especially in the areas cited. The distribution of the knowledge of the physical and psychological harm caused by transnational and local crimes should generate the moral outrage that might facilitate cooperation in its management.

In order to address the root causes of global crime, it is necessary to acquire an actual sense of global social responsibility and a global moral consciousness, beyond international conventions and national legal efforts. Only a renewed ethical force can educate and inspire society, and fight against corruption, economic and moral poverty, and the all-pervasive culture of indifference and irresponsibility.

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Factors Affecting Students' Performance A Case Of Private Colleges

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Abstract:

Many empirical studies are carried out to explore factors affecting college students' performance. The focus of this research is that student performance in intermediate examination is associated with students' profile consisted of his attitude towards attendance in classes, time allocation for studies, parents' level of income, mother's age and mother's education. The research is based on student profile developed on the bases of information and data collected through survey from students of a group of private colleges. Public sector educational institutions are not the focus of this study.

Introduction

Measuring of academic performance of students is challenging since student performance is product of socio-economic, psychological and environmental factors. For the last 20 years, education in Pakistan is growing as a profitable industry with prime objective of maximizing profit by delivering high quality education that produces well-educated, skilled, mannered students according to needs and requirements of the dynamically growing market. That's why the scope of research is always there to find out what are the factors that affect the performance of the students. There are two groups of students as generally perceived i.e. those who improve and those who don't improve. This study can contribute to find out the factors, which are responsible for student's inelastic behavior towards study along with identifying those factors, which help a student to make progress in his studies. This study focuses on investigating the factors affecting performance of 3rd and 4th year college students equal to Europeans standard K-12 and K-14. A survey was conducted to collect information and responses of students, regarding factors affecting their performance.

Review of Literature

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All of the research reviews support the hypothesis that student performance depends on different socio-economic, psychological, environmental factors. The findings of research studies focused that student performance is affected by different factors such as learning abilities because new paradigm about learning assumes that all students can and should learn at higher levels but it should not be considered as constraint because there are other factors like race, gender, sex that can affect student's performance. (Hansen, Joe B.2000). Some of the researchers even tried to explain the link between students achievements, economic circumstances and the risk of becoming a drop-out that proved to be positive (Goldman, N., Haney, W., and Koffler, S., 1988, Pallas, A., Natriello, G.,

McDill, E., 1989, Levin, H., 1986) B.A Chansarkar and A. Mishaeloudis (2001), explained the effects of age, qualification distance from learning place etc. on student performance. The performance of students on the module is not affected by such factors as age, sex and place of residence but is associated with qualification in quantitative subjects. It is also found that those who live near the university perform better than other students.

Yvonne Beaumont Walters, kola soyibo,(1998) further elaborated that student performance is very much dependent on SEB (socio economic back ground)as per their statement, "High school students' level of performance is with statistically significant differences, linked to their gender, grade level, school location, school type, student type and socio-economic background (SEB)."

Kirby, Winston et al. (2002) focused on student's impatience (his time-discount behavior) that influences his own academic performance.

Goethe found out that weak students do better when grouped with other weak students. (As implied by Zajonc's analysis of older siblings (1976) it shows that students' performance improves if they are with the students of their own kind.

There are often different results by gender, as in Hoxby's K-12 results (2000); Sacerdote (2001) finds that grades are higher when students have unusually academically strong room mates.

The results of Zimmerman (1999, 2001) were somewhat contradictory to Goethe results but again it proved that students performance depends on number of different factors, it says that weak peers might reduce the grades of middling or strong students.

(Alexander, Gur et al. 1974; Fraser, Beamn et al. 1977) explained that some of the practices adopted by college administration in higher education like residential colleges or organized study groups also help to increase performance.

Keeping in view all of the variables discussed by different researchers we have chosen only those variables that are recognizable in Pakistani setting.

The Objective of this Study

During the past several years a number of valuable studies have been added to existing body of knowledge developing various models to assess the student performance however most of the studies relied on the advanced developed societies as their setting. No doubt there are slight variations in terms of their database methodological approach and sample selection. Unfortunately it was not possible to use a setting which involves a number of less developed nations

for want of necessary data hence as a start we have chosen Pakistan as a surrogate for developing countries.

The contribution of this paper to the literature is twofold. First, the model tested is a new integration of different variables in developing country's setting like Pakistan, i.e. mothers age, mothers education, family income, study hours, class attendance percentage. The second contribution is to demonstrate the impact of these variables on student performance in the same setting.

A major contribution of this study lies in the demonstration of a large impact of the role of mothers on students' performance. This concept not only includes the reliability and consistency of social structure, but also assumes a higher level of involvement of the mothers' in influencing the students. It highlights the strategic role of mothers and their contribution to competitive advantage among students.

Our approach is to focus on what we feel is one of the ultimate goal i.e. student performance. Our view is that by focusing different factors that influence student performance would help us to improve student through managing their profile.

Our suggestion is that the paradigm on student profile for performance, consider the following possibilities. The most important, student may be able to achieve superior performance via personal traits, genetic code or any other such factor even then proper profiling can help us to address different deficiencies.

It is also possible that some of the factors that have received significant attention in the literature will prove to be only weakly related to student performance in this study.

However, in the student performance literature, the closest thing to a conceptual framework is the emphasis on combination of different factors that are expected to influence the student performance i.e. nutrition, food tickets, government support for education, room-mates, effort, distance from learning place, age, gender, etc we have chosen our own combination of factors as discussed earlier keeping in view native setting.

In addition, work in this area has the potential to provide important suggestions to improve standard and quality of education and performance of student that is by no means deniable in a developing country like Pakistan.

Methodology

Statistical techniques including regression analysis were used as a methodology. Data collected was primary through a well-defined questionnaire. A sample of private colleges was taken where these variables were recognized and response was clear and understandable. Public sector educational institutions were not the focus of this study. A sample of 300 students was taken from a group of colleges. Students were grouped in a classroom they were briefed clearly about the

questionnaire and it took on average half an hour to fill this questionnaire. Selection of students was at random. Out of these students, only those were selected at random who were voluntarily willing to fill the questionnaires

The data was collected using a questionnaire administrated by the teachers of the graduate class in the 5th month of 4th year. The questionnaire dealt mainly with student profile based on his attitude towards study, strictness, attendance, age, previous academic achievements, etc. All 300 questionnaires were filled with the response rate of 100% out of which 75 were females and 225 were males.

The sample age composition was from 18 years to 22 years of age at maximum because Punjab University of Pakistan doesn't allow students over 22 years of age to be admitted in graduate classes.

Hypothesis

To verify these relationships a hypothesis is formed based on student profile developed on the bases of information collected through questionnaire and it is assumed that the student is carrying on his profile as it is

H₀: Student's attitude towards attendance in class, hours spent in study on daily bases after college, students' family income, students' mother's age and mother's education are significantly related with student performance.

The Model

Simple linear regression analysis were used to test the hypothesis

Coefficients are b_1 , b_2 , b_3 , b_4 , and b_5

The Data

A student profile was developed on the bases of information and data collected through survey to explain student's attitudes towards explanatory variables. The first variable "attendance in class" explains student's attitude towards class attendance, which reflects his level of interest in learning. Student's attitude towards time management for studies is reflected through the numbers of hours spent in study after college on daily bases, is taken as second variable. Third variable of the study is family income that reflects the comforts and facilities available for study. The fourth and fifth variables are mother's age and mother's education respectively assuming that in Pakistan's society mothers play a vital role at home and regarding student's performance because of guidance and control. It is observed while interviewing that father remain absent from home due to their job hours so they play a minor role regarding the student performance in Pakistani setting.

Student performance in intermediate examination is taken as dependent variables and rest of the variables, which construct student profile, are taken as independent variables.

This table explains expected relation of dependent variables these expected relations are also myths pervading in Pakistani society so the results of this study are to accept or rejects these myths. The table explains student performance due to student's attitude towards studies based on student's profile developed on the bases of information and data collected. It is assumed that student is still carrying his profile as it is.

Table 1: Expected Relations with Dependent Variable

Variable	Expected relationship	Explanation
Attendance in class	Positive	A regular student is more serious in studies
Family income	Positive	It is assumed affluence gives more facilities to learn
Study hours per day after college	Positive	It is assumed that more study hours results in good grade/ division/ performance
Mother's age	Negative	More age means less control on children
Mother's education	Positive	Educated mothers help the children to improve

Exogenous (independent) variables

ATT= Attendance %age, it represents how many classes student attends in a week and that shows seriousness and attitude towards studies

SH= Study hours, it represents how many hours a student spends on study after attending the class in college again it shows how much serious the student takes the studies

FI =Family income, it represents the level of affluence of the student, how much facilities, comforts the student can acquire.

ME=Mothers age, it shows the control of the mother because in Pakistani setting the role of the mother is to stay at home and look after the home, kids so our perception is that aged mothers are with lesser control as compared to younger mothers

ME= Mothers education, similarly if mothers are educated then they can contribute to improve the performance of the students because they have to stay at home

Endogenous (dependent) variables

Y = student's performance

The results of intermediate examination are taken as standard of student performance.

$$Y = a + b_1ATT + b_2SH + b_3FI + b_4MA + b_5ME + U$$

Data Measurement

We measured student performance by developing a student profile using all of the independent variable. All of these variables explain the attitude of the student towards studies and it is assumed that the student carry his or her profile as it is, the student grows keeping the same profile or attitude towards the study

We are trying to correlate the students' profile with his academic achievement in intermediate class or one can say that the students' results what ever they may be, in intermediate examination or k12 as per European standards are the results of the profile he or she keeps. Although the questionnaire was open ended but later data collected was converted on 5-point Likert scale due to different types of answers for convenience in computation

Mothers' age were measured like below 35 years of age is considered as young 35years to less then 40years as middle aged, 40years to less then 45years some what aged, 45years to less then 50years as aged and above 50years of age is considered as very aged keeping in view the culture and customs of early marriages in a developing country like Pakistan.

Similarly mothers education was asked as, not educated, can read n write up to 08 years of education, some what educated up to 12 years of education, educated up to 14 years of education and highly educated up to 16 years of education because in Pakistan PhDs are not as common as in developed countries so masters degree is considered as highly educated.

Family income were asked per annum in five brackets like below 10,000 as very poor, 10,000 to 20,000 as poor, third bracket were above 20,000 to 30,000 as middle income class, fourth bracket were above 30,000 to 40,000 as above middle class and fifth bracket were above 40,000 as rich class.

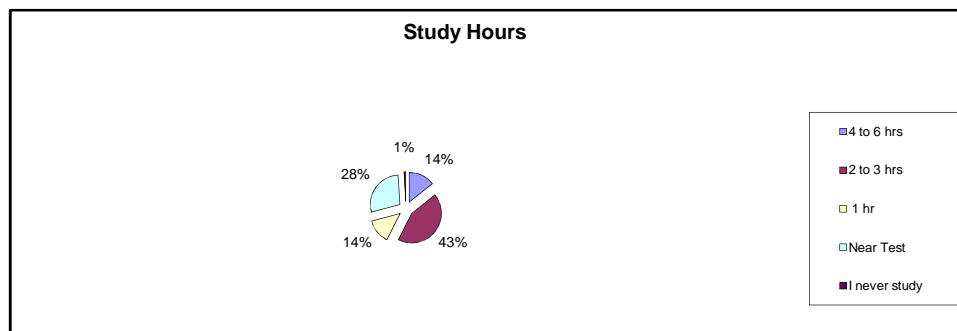
Hours spent on studies after attending the college were asked in five brackets, 1st was "I never study after attending the college", 2nd was "I study only when there are exams or test after attending the college", 3rd was "yes I study" if student is spending one hour on studies after attending the college, 4th was "I am hard working" if student is spending two to three hours after attending the college and 5th was "I am very hard working" if student is spending four to six hours after attending the college.

Attendance percentage was collected from college authorities and measured as ... highly irregular if it is less than 75%
 Irregular if it is 75% to less than 80%
 Somewhat regular if it is 80% to less than 85%
 Regular if it is 85% to less than 90% and
 Highly regular if it is above 90%

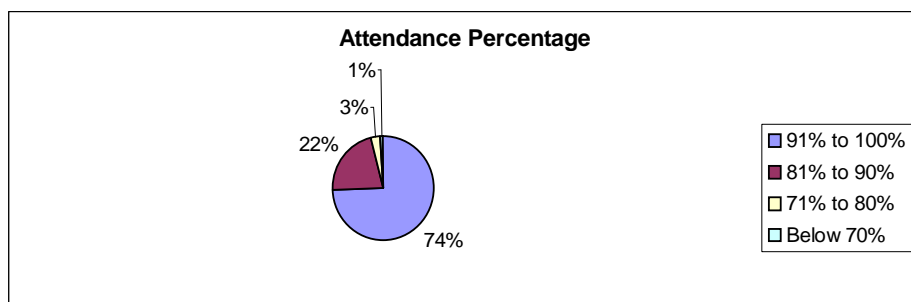
Intermediate results were collected from college authorities and measured as If student has claimed less than 40% it is taken as bad performance, poor performance if marks are 40% to less than 50%, average performance if marks are 50% to less than 60%, good performance if marks are 60% to less than 70% and excellent performance if marks are 70% and above. In Pakistan examination is conducted on annual bases (marks are categorized in 1st division, 2nd division and 3rd division) and keeping in view other examination standards we cannot go for European grading standards.

Overview of Data Collected

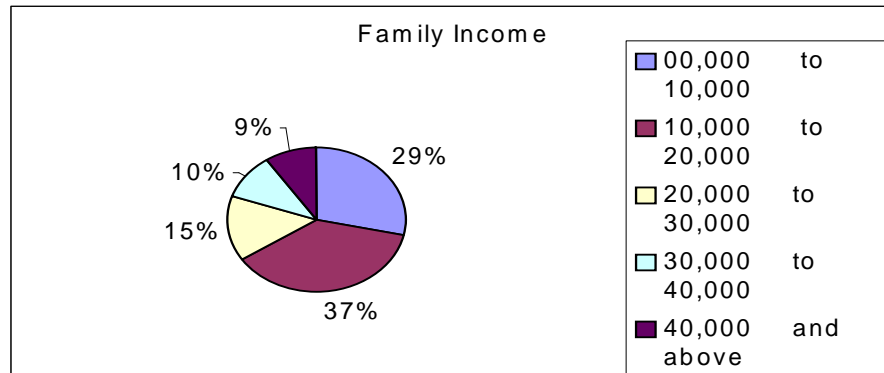
Student's attitude towards time allocation for study shows that 44% of the sample spends 2 to 3 hours in study on daily bases while 28% of the sample studies near exam or test, otherwise this group of students is indifferent to studies which show that a proper schedule of tests and exam can keep students on track.



Students attitude towards attendance in class is reflected through the this pie chart which shows that 74% of the students maintain their attendance from 91% to 100% and 23% from 81% to 90%.



Student's family income data shows that most belong to middle class family with 29% earning 10,000 and 37% from 10,000 to 20,000 rupees per month that makes it 66% of the total sample



RESULTS

We mostly relied on multiple regression technique for data analysis because of the multivariate relationship of our model.

Table 2: Results of Regression Analysis

Summary Output of Regression Analysis

<i>Regression Statistics</i>			
Multiple R	0.72139		
R Square	0.520403		
Adjusted R Square	0.400504		
Standard Error	0.084872		
<i>F Stat</i>	4.340334		
	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>
Intercept	-0.25313	0.361194	-0.70081
Attendance average	1.026912	0.335486	3.060963
Study hours	-0.00209	0.001226	-1.70222
Family income	-5.8E-07	1.37E-06	-0.42256
Mother Age	-0.00453	0.002895	-1.5643
Mother Education	0.012193	0.003649	3.341809

The R square value is .24, that proves that student performance is the product of many socio economic and other factors as we build our arguments in literature

review which means five of the variables together can explain 24% of the performance of student; rest of 76% is explained by other factors not mentioned in our regression model.

Comparison of Expected results and Result of the STUDY

Variable	Expected relationship	Explanation	Results of study
Attendance in class	Positive	A regular student is more serious in studies	Positive
Family income	Positive	It is assumed affluence gives more facilities to learn	Negative
Study hours per day after college	Positive	It is assumed that more study hours results in good grade/division/performance	Negative
Mother's age	Negative	More age means less control on children	Negative
Mother's education	Positive	Educated mothers help the children to improve	Positive

Discussion

The objective of this study was to quantify the relationship between the different factors that are considered responsible of affecting the students' performance along with providing base for further research regarding student performance.

Selecting these combination of variables do have some objectivity because in a setting like Pakistan it is the need of time to highlight the role of the half of the population, like any other developing country in Pakistan Fathers usually remain absent from home due to their job hours and women are still considered of less importance, less influential and with minimum role, our research have shown that empowerment to mothers on different fronts can lead to better educated society those students are performing well who are with educated mothers as compared to those who are with illiterate mothers. As It was assumed that the relationship between dependent variable and student mother's education are positively related, this relation is accepted by the coefficient value 0.39735317 and positive highly significant t-value 2.315477266 as it was assumed that educated mothers can help their children to improve and can keep proper check on their activities.

Mothers' age also appeared to be important factor young mothers can easily handle their children as compared to aged mothers. As it was expected because of prevailed myth that the relationship between dependent variable and student's mother age is negatively related it is proved by the coefficient value -0.134639006 and negative insignificant t-value -0.826250959 because the aged mothers have less control over their children that affects the student's performance

It was expected that the relationship between dependent variable and student attitude towards attendance is positive because regularity shows the effort and seriousness of student about his or her studies. This relation is proved by the coefficient value 0.372871617 and with significant t-value 1.28825936 in our analysis, which reflects that regularity in college, does contribute in student's performance

It is believed that the relationship between dependent variable and student family income is positive because money can buy you all the comforts that you need to concentrate on your studies but the result could not prove this relation because the coefficient value -0.048344111 and negative insignificant t-value -0.338615111 shows there is inverse relation. It means students belonging to more prosperous/affluent family do not give proper weight to studies although this value is very small but still it reflects the insignificance of affluence i.e. affluence can not make a student serious about his studies or if a student wants to study then affluence is not a prerequisite. but still it requires more research to explain this phenomenon.

It is still believed strongly that the relationship between dependent variable and student attitude towards time allocation for study per day after college are positively related but the result could not prove this relation because the coefficient value -0.007522501 and negative insignificant t-value -0.046346612 show there is a negative relation. It means more study hours are not significant as far as student performance is concerned. It may depend on intelligence level, intellect, memory or method of learning of the student although this value is very small yet it reflects the effect of personal characteristics of student. Further research is required to explore this relation.

NOTE:

Regression effect can affect on extremes, resulting in exaggerated gains for low achieving students and artificially suppressed gains for high achieving students. Students who score near the lower end of a score distribution may be assumed to have more negative measurement error in their scores than those who score near the middle of the distribution. Conversely, those who score near the upper end of the distribution may be expected to have a disproportionate share of positive measurement error in their scores. On a subsequent testing the redistribution of random error will have the effect of moving the means of each of the groups closer to the mean of the general population from which they are drawn (Talmadge, 1976)

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