CHAPTER XII

METHODS

- Biases and Intersubjective Learning Experiences
  - Biases and constraints of the present study
    - The disciplinary bias
    - Sponsors'/Financial concerns and Institutional Priorities
    - Intellectual School's biases
  - Understanding Micro-contents: The Concept of Culture
    - Culture as knowledge
    - Culture as an interactive strategy
    - Ambiguity of culture
    - Interest-norm interfaces
  - Analysis of Macro-contents
    - Tentative Analytical Dimensions of Supra-systems
    - Structural Analysis of Macro-contents
      - Political Economic Approach
      - Institutional-cultural Analysis
  - Micro-Macro Linkages
  - Towards a Unified Perspective
  - A Tentative Paradigm
    - Analytical Elements of Social Reality
      - Culture
      - Extra-Cognitive structures of Interests
      - Behaviour
      - Exchange
    - A Syncretic Framework
  - Information Sources, Data Collection and Analytical Linkages
    - The Process of Learning and Cognitive Modifications
    - Information sources and Data Retrieval
    - Analytical Linkages
CHAPTER III

METHODS

BIASES AND INTERSUBJECTIVE LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Every research process is basically a dialogue between the prevalent modes of analytic cognition of a particular discipline(s) and the nature of reality it endeavours to study. The professional academic objective of the researcher is usually to add to the knowledge repertoire of the disciplines by either unfolding facts (data) that tend to confirm the validity of the existing theoretico-analytic perspectives or by discovering fresh data that cannot be adequately comprehended by existing theoretical paradigm and which could form the basis for extending and modifying the existing perspectives or which may require generation of a new alternative paradigm that can satisfactorily explain the ensemble of total facts. The design for the pursuit of research inquiry must be structured in a way that the dialogue between phenomenological reality and the disciplinary epistemology is able to transcend discipline-specific academic cognitive restrictions and avoid procrustean traps.

Not infrequently the dialogical process of a research inquiry involves constant modification of the research design in terms of changing perception of relevant foci and the selection of analytico-epistemological tools required to comprehend the reality. Notwithstanding the dominance of any
specific epistemological bias in a particular discipline at a given point of time, the researchers can legitimately select from one of the existing modes of analytical cognition, viz., hypothetico-deductive, inductive-inferential and relational, so as to advance the cause of adding to the knowledge in his/her chosen field of academic research.

No matter what professional anthropologists might have believed and professed for long, no observer is free from biases, both personal as well as the ones he has imbibed during the course of his academic training and specialization. Moreover, there are always professional and extra-academic considerations that constrain the choice of research problems, universe of study and selection/omission of parameters which might be vital for furthering the knowledge of the discipline but the incorporation of which might be detrimental to the effective pursuit of the research inquiry.

If one further recognises the fact that (i) anthropologists are generally not in a position to manipulate one or more variables of the social phenomena so as to provide a test of the validity of their analysis and (ii) any particular research has to be selective as far as the selection of relevant aspects of social reality it can practically encompass into the description and analysis. Such selection is usually conditioned by the particular intellectual school followed by the researcher and its associated perspectives. Given the wide diversity of intellectual traditions prevalent at any
time in any subdiscipline of social anthropology, what to say of social anthropology in general, it becomes imperative, at least due to the non-experimental character of social anthropological researches, that social anthropology must find some way to systematise personal as well as disciplinary biases in the researches conducted under the rubric of anthropology. If its methodology has not advanced to a stage where such systematisation of biases could be satisfactorily made, then at least, as a first step, the biases and the issues, academic as well as pragmatic, must be explicited rather than assuming a posture of naive empiricism or of some other pretenses which may simply tend to reinforce tautologically various ideological premises gashed under the respectability of the dominant schools in anthropological theory.

Any anthropological research is usually guided by a set of pragmatic considerations and value-premises, viz., (i) the disciplinary, (ii) as defined in the priorities of sponsoring/funding agency, (iii) the dominant intellectual trends and research priorities of the institution, (iv) the personal biases and orientation of the researcher, and also (to a lesser degree), (v) the nature of micro-level phenomenological reality. I would personally like to add a sixth consideration, viz., the felt needs of the micro-social unit and also its systemic needs in the context of its proximate and global macro-contexts. The explication of these biases in any research report may not only contribute to intellectual
honesty but also aid in transcending specific theoretical biases towards a valid unified knowledge pool of social anthropology.

BIASES AND CONSTRAINTS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study is not free from biases. However, an early conscious cognition of some of these did help the researcher to partially overcome some of these or replace them with alternative orientations.

1) The Disciplinary Bias:

Researcher’s fairly prolonged exposure (nearly 17 years) and conditioning by way of formal as well as informal (peer group influences) socialization in social anthropology had inculcated a set of value-premises and specific modes of perception of social reality. The professional ethical issues, emerging in the discipline since late 1960s and which are increasingly emphasizing symmetrical relationship between micro-content (universe of study) and the discipline, have been taken seriously. Such considerations had forced the researcher to refrain from using an earlier research work done by him (1973-80) for professional advancement. Therefore, in this work, the consideration of providing symmetry to micro-universe-ethnology relationship, not only in the field of values articulation but also in the domain of interests, guided the present research towards an analysis of the macro-context, system of interests and the existing linkages between the micro-content and its macro-contexts. It
is earnestly hoped that a participatory action-research project may help the community towards effectively meeting its felt needs in the realm of integrated harmonious development temporally sustainable without requiring perpetual inputs of external resources. The induced socio-cultural change on the basis of a satisfactory systemic analysis of micro-macro linkages may not only help facilitate achieving the ideal of "holism" in anthropological understanding but can also help in rendering the man-anthropology relationship better symmetry than hitherto prevalent.

The need for analysing macro-contexts and delineating valid micro-macro linkages made the researcher look beyond the prevalent modes of anthropological cognition into the domains of history, economics, political economy and other social sciences. The restricted analytical cognition of the researcher being a constant barrier towards a valid unified holistic inter-disciplinary synthesis, the present level of understanding (as of this report) is realised to be highly inadequate. It is, however, hoped that by continued work in similar directions, it may be possible to reach a near satisfactory relevant, valid and adequate anthropological analysis which could also form the potential basis for guiding positive micro and also possibly macro-level cultural changes in relatively disadvantaged micro-level socio-cultural matrices.
(2) Sponsor/Financiers' concerns and Institutional Priorities

As the present research was not funded/sponsored by any macro-level funding agency, corresponding constraints were not inimical to the pursuit of this work. However, non-availability of such resources did severely restrict the coverage in terms of data collection.

The priorities/concerns of the affiliating institution also were not a serious obstacle. Starting as an endeavour to make a posthoc relational analysis of socio-cultural change, when the ethical considerations were directing the research towards a more ramified and socially meaningful effort, constant encouragement and guidance of the research supervisor imparted moral and personal courage to tread the professionally slippery path of such a research pursuit.

Without such personal encouragement, the researcher might have again chosen not to professionally use this work. Discussions with some established anthropologists in the field of applied anthropology also provided an impetus to pursue the work.

Many of them explicitly felt that a work which could facilitate integration of theory and its application and provide a framework for some degree of inter-disciplinary communication in the arena of applied social sciences is not an illegitimate exercise in anthropology even though it may not strictly conform to the conventional norms of anthropological research.

(3) Intellectual School's Bias

The perception of present crises in social anthropology (after the decline of functionalist theory), the non-
amenability of alternative dependency theories to micro-

social realms and the increasing cognition of a paradigmatic
vacuum in social anthropology of 1980s made the question of
school-based intellectual biases a non-issue in the context
of this work.

The major value-considerations that have explicitly
guided this work are, therefore, only the anthropology's
goal of 'study of man in time and space', concept of holism,
professional ethics which desire a better symmetry between man
and anthropology, and researcher's personal bias in desiring
the use of scientific knowledge for the use of scientific
knowledge for improving the quality of life for disadvantaged
sections of human society on this planet in spatially and
temporally sustainable modes.

Like any dialogical inter-subjective experience of
cross-cultural translations, this experience also has made the
researcher perceive the ethnocentric limitations of his own
culture of anthropology and the need to modify it so as to
overcome the inbuilt cultural myopia that tends to severely
restrict analytic cognition. The author hopes to make a modest
effort in this direction by way of undergoing further
systemic learning experiences provided by more dialogical
inter-subjective translations in his continuing efforts from
the standpoint of social anthropology.

At the present state of such experiences, within
author's limited analytical vision, a need is felt to briefly
review the contents of some anthropological concepts, modes of handling macro-contents and analysis of micro-macro linkages.

It is personally felt that an operational analysis of a central conceptual construct, i.e., culture, various dimensions of macro-contents and multi-dimensional reality of micro-macro analytical linkages may not only aid in our holistic understanding of socio-cultural phenomena but may also facilitate development of a perspective which could guide us towards a relevant, valid and adequate comprehension of post-colonial social dynamics in third world societies.

UNDERSTANDING MICRO-CONTENT: THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

Anthropologists who have primarily been interested in understanding 'other' non-western ways of life have found it convenient to use a conceptual construct of theirs unanimously labelled as 'culture'. The concept of 'culture' has come to stay as a central category in anthropological theories as well as in anthropologists' thinking to organise their observations and participatoryemic experiences in non-western small scale socio-cultural matrices.

This construct which by common agreement includes "the whole gamut of behaviour, knowledge and thought. It includes modes of making material things, the customary patterns of social interaction... patterned ways of training... religious beliefs and magical formulae... even the patterns of emotional responses and feelings" (Goldschmidt 1960: 13).
The concept of 'culture' as a cognitive substructure is effectively inculcated early in the training of every anthropologist who tends to see it as something real rather than a man-made construct. The major thrust in anthropology has been till recently to document the contents of 'other cultures' and make cross-cultural comparisons for building cultural anthropological theory.

Operating as they were, till recently, in relatively small scale homogeneous socio-cultural systems with well-defined or (not infrequently) reified communication boundaries, this concept was found to be quite useful in organizing data. For understanding changes in the ways of life at micro-cultural levels, concepts of culture-contact, acculturation etc., were postulated.

The axioms of 'cultural relativity,' focus on 'emic' categories, cognitive empathy with the non-western people constituting the 'other culture' and atemporal functionalist postulates have formed a dominant coherent structure in the culture of anthropology and in the analytic cognitive frames of anthropologists to organise and analyse their cross-cultural translations. The analysis has tended to be 'relational,' various brands of competing functionalist theories providing the putative causational attributes in the empirico-analytical ethnographies.

The overwhelming concern with cognitive-cultural parameters, distinctive micro-societal institutions and
small-scale homogeneous socio-cultural units have tended to fill the vision of anthropologists as also imbibing in them a sense of 'identity' (in contrast to other social sciences). Such restrictions by way of imparting a myopic outlook has imparted an unique exotic flavour to anthropologists' reporting which in turn contributed to reinforcement of not only the notion of 'other' in anthropology but also to rationalisation of the extra-cultural concerns of the macro-context of which anthropologists were more or less an integral part of.

The post-colonial situation in the third world saw the emergence of non-white native anthropologists which obliterated the issue of the 'other'. The third world societies were no more close exotic stable equilibrating systems but rather having a dynamic existence and needs of their own. The third world national development needs, now defining the research priorities, made anthropologists in these countries to look for alternative analytic frameworks. The 'modernisation theories', increased borrowing from sociology and other acculturative influences helped post-colonial anthropology to retain legitimacy even under changed circumstances.

Even in such fluid situation in post-colonial anthropology, the concept of culture continues to remain as an important cognitive category of anthropologists to organise their qualitative data and participatory experiences.
The failure of 'modernisation' in development, the perception of problems created by reification of ethnic cultural boundaries and the potential for manipulation of micro-cognitive-ethnic frameworks by vested interests is leading many social scientists towards a critical introspection of their modes of identifying research foci and analysis of data. The current situation characterised by a growing perception of the theoretical crises in social anthropology is symptomatic of such a situation.

In the domain of achieving relevance, validity and adequacy in social anthropological analysis which could also possibly be systemically used for social action and policy formulations, it is felt that anthropology should seriously address to some of its pressing analytical problems, viz.,

(i) Integration of extra-cognitive structures of interests at micro as well as macro levels with micro-cognitive cultural parameters so as to impart a 'holism' to its analysis.

(ii) Modes of analysing spatial, institutional and temporal macro-contexts of micro-socio-cultural systems, so as to.

(iii) Delineate various dimensions of micro-macro linkages towards a unified comprehension of micro-level societal dynamics.

Although there is a broad agreement among anthropologists concerning the substantive content of 'culture', yet
different schools of culture theory have defined it in different ways. There is no need to dilate here upon various definitions (they are available in most undergraduate level text books) of culture. However, it may be convenient to distinguish various aspects of 'culture' in as far as these can help us to heuristically delineate interest-cognition interfaces at micro level as well as in the domain of micro-macro linkages.

**CULTURE AS KNOWLEDGE**

Culture as "knowledge learned and share by members of a community" (Geertz 1973) and as a tool for organizing experience (Goodenough 1963: 259) aids in our understanding of cognitive strategies of actors and their modes of interpreting and responding to stimuli.

Such an anthropological conceptualisation of culture has frequently led many researchers to focus upon socially shared culturally defined information which is transmitted across generations. This view of culture has tended to see each culture as unique and which should be understood on its own terms (cultural relativist-emic perspectives). Most of the anthropologists, however, are cognisant of the fact that no culture is shared by all the members of a group and that cognitive structures as well as personalities widely vary within the same cultural group.

**CULTURE AS AN INTERACTIVE STRATEGY**

Culture as an interactive strategy defines institutional structuring of interactions within a group as
also the interactions with outsiders. This dimension of culture helps an anthropologist to analyse the relationship between culturally defined network of social relations (social structure) and culture.

Both these approaches have tended to view 'culture' as an autonomous static reality mainly governed by culturally-defined patterns of pre-adolescent socialisation. The influence of adult experiences in adding to information pool of a culture and reformulation of interactive strategies are relatively underscored in both these approaches. However, recent researches in the field of adult learning (andragogy), and which are successfully being used in Adult Education programmes aimed at behavioural modification in third world countries, suggest that adult learning experiences, incidental as well as programmed, have considerable influence in inducing cognitive changes, additions/subtractions to culturally shared information and redefining institutional networks (Freire 1966, 1973). Anthropology has still to integrate such advances in the field of adult learning with its conceptualization of culture dynamics.

AMBIGUITY OF CULTURE

Anthropology has implicitly assumed that culture determines behaviour of the actors and that cultural parameters like norms, beliefs, values and institutions are relatively successful in generating harmonious stable social interactions. Some studies, however, tend to suggest that
every culture has an element of ambiguity that generates and channelises intra-societal conflicts.

Ambiguity, as a dimension of cultural analysis has been largely neglected in anthropological researches which largely tend to view culture in monistic and deterministic terms. Recently, however, a few studies (see, for instance, Guzmanorthy 1989) have felt the need to focus upon cultural ambiguity to contextualise micro-level intra-societal conflicts. Furthermore, this notion may also help us to systematically analyse the manipulation of cognitive structures by extra-cognitive interests (individuals or systemic) which in turn can facilitate a better comprehension of micro-level socio-cultural dynamics, conflict and stratification systems.

INTEREST-NORM INTERFACES

By focussing upon cultural ambiguity, one can easily comprehend the articulation of extra-cognitive interests (defined by economic, political and information control domains) at micro-cognitive-cultural-levels. The interest-norm interfaces generated by analysing choice structures in institutionally defined relationships of social networks and the corresponding systems of dependency relations can help us in drawing valid inferences about extra-cognitive structures influencing micro-level socio-cultural dynamics. The delineation of valid interest-norm interfaces necessitates temporal-relational and other methodological techniques outside the traditional cultural relativist-emic perspectives.
studies of 'factionalism', for example, in post-colonial South Asian countries indicate the importance of analytic
delineation of such interest-norm interfaces (e.g., Gurumurthy 1988) in their temporal-spatial contexts.

Furthermore, such an analysis can also help us in
achieving a more adequate analysis of local, regional and
global macro-contexts in which the structures determining
the societal dynamics even at micro-levels may be outside
their respective cognitive-cultural frameworks of cultural
systems. Being constrained by specific experiential
patterns of the cultural actors (which in turn may be
systematically governed by extra-cultural structures), an
analysis of micro-level socio-cultural matrices alone is
usually not adequate enough for comprehending even the micro-
level societal dynamics.

Delineation of relevant extra-cognitive structures,
which may aid in anthropologists' attempts to analyse
interest-norm interfaces, has generally tended to be guided
by pure economic parameters. Operating, as we are, generally
in non-capitalist micro-social systems, giving primacy to
economic parameters tends to impart a severe limitation to
the adequacy of such analyses leaving a significant part
of the social reality unexplained.

We personally feel that a mapping of extra-cognitive
structures based on distribution of ideational as well as
material information (e.g., knowledge, power, resources, macro-
linkages) may considerably help us in our understanding of dynamic interactions between various interest structures as also their linkages with micro-cognitive-cultural systems, the conventional focus of anthropological researches.

At this juncture of development of social science theory, it is slightly difficult to generate an encompassing paradigm covering interests, cognition, cultural parameters and networks of social relations which could provide us with an operational perspective for hypothetico-deductively designed researches. Further empirical researches on these lines may significantly contribute towards development of such a paradigm in near future - a task which anthropologists should undertake in the interest of providing relevance, validity and adequacy to their analysis for both academic and applied reasons.

**ANALYSIS OF MACRO-CONTEXTS**

For nearly last two decades, a number of anthropologists have felt the need to move beyond their conventional micro-sociological concerns into an understanding of specific macro-contexts of their micro-sociocultural units. The growing interest in the study of urban social systems, as reflected in increasing corpus of studies in urbanisation, urban ethnography and social demography are all symptomatic of anthropologists' desire to expand the horizons of their discipline.

The specific set of research tool kit of anthropology,
however, tends to impart a serious restriction to anthropologists' analytic visions in their endeavours to comprehend macro-social systems at various levels. The various semi-macro fields are increasingly tending to portray macro-systems merely as magnified micro-systems which in turn tends to yield a heavily distorted anthropological imagery of the macro-systems.

In their attempts to understand macro-systems, some anthropologists have tried to borrow from developments in specialised macro-social science disciplines like history, political science, economics, political economy, geography and macro-sociology. The selective abstractions from macrosociological phenomena in spatial, economic, political and cultural-cognitive-symbolic terms by academic social analysts without valid means to resynthesise these abstractions into a unified perspective has significantly retarded social sciences' comprehension of the macro-level dynamic realities as it has also obstructed attempts to analyse the micro-macro linkages. Therefore, anthropologists' methodological expertise in and concern with holism and cultural phenomenology at micro-levels makes the integration of knowledge gained in macro-social sciences with anthropological perspectives quite difficult. The prevalent social sciences' ethnocentrism that retards interdisciplinary communication and cooperation, arbitrary compartmentalisation of social phenomena for the convenience of specialised social sciences,
reified interpretations thereof and generally weak epistemological and methodological premises underlying diverse modes of analytical cognition all continue to contribute to a systematic retardation of anthropology’s efforts to achieve an holistic unified comprehension of macro-contexts of their micro-soci.

**TENTATIVE ANALYTICAL DIMENSIONS OF SUPRA-SYSTEMS (MACRO-CONTEXTS OF MICRO-SOCIAL SYSTEMS):**

At a first-order analytical level, it will be convenient to distinguish between two broad dimensions of the social systems.

The systems of knowledge, information, cognitive and adaptive strategies, institutions and patterned behavioural patterns which are generally shared in varying degrees by various members of the socio-cultural units can be treated as one such analytical dimension, hereafter referred as **COGNITION**.

Another dimension of the social reality constituted by extra-cognitive aspects of the social systems, like distribution of ideational as well as material information, societal processes pertaining to differential distribution of such information, asymmetry in social relations defined by the distribution of these resources among various sections of the group and the associated structures of choice and dependency (hereafter referred as ‘STRUCTURE’), can be treated analytically as a separate domain of the social realm.
The set of analytical interactions between STRUCTURE and COGNITION, the perception (or systemic non-cognition) of structural attributes in terms of existing cognitive-cultural frameworks and the ensuing dynamics between structural attributes and cognitive parameters can not only facilitate valid holistic interpretations of micro-societal reality but also aid in systematic understanding of micro-systems in their respective macro-temporal, spatial and causative contexts at various levels.

Such analytical distinction between 'structure' and 'cognition' in the analysis of both micro systems and macro supra-systems (in systems' terminology) provides us with a convenient hierarchical homologous structure enabling a dynamic comprehension of micro as well as macro level processes encompassing temporal, spatial (socio-cultural and scales') and causational attributes. Such synthetic cognition of social systems by way of providing an operational framework has also the potential to pave a way towards evolution of a unitary social science paradigm.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF MACRO-CONTEXTS: POLITICAL ECONOMY-APPROACH

Various studies of macro-contexts of post-colonial third world macro-level socio-cultural matrices have tended to rely heavily upon political and economic indicators to analytically delineate spatial-temporal structures of macro-social systems. Generally influenced by radical Marxist inspired liberal approaches, such studies try to see in
mechanical and deterministic modes the attributes of micro-system as consequences of macro-level-politico-economic structural developments not infrequently global in flavour. The various studies of third world urban informal sectors conducted in 1970s and 1980s are good illustrations of such an emphasis.

The failure to analytically differentiate between various causative influences of asymmetric distribution of ideational information, monetary capital and other economic resources, technology, political power and influence, and cognitive-cultural factors in such analyses of micro and macro level analysis continues to be a serious limitation of most of these studies.

Inspite of such methodological limitations, various political and economic studies of macro systems conducted by anthropologists provide us with a convenient starting point for articulating micro and macro levels of social reality.

INSTITUTIONAL-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF MACRO-LEVEL SYSTEMS

The analysis of national and international socio-political systems can be made from another perspective which provides an analyst with a homologous frame to articulate conventional micro-cultural phenomenological descriptions with those at macro-levels.

The macro-institutional framework, in terms of its constitutional legal structures defining and constraining
societal relationships, policy frameworks for socio-economic and political development, systems of administration and bureaucracy and the associated processes of information (ideational resources) flow is an alternative framework being increasingly used by third world social scientists to provide an empirico-analytical perspective for cognising macro-contexts.

Not infrequently the portrayals of a macro-context in terms of these two approaches tend to be contradictory in their contents indicating inconsistency, conflict and contradiction between these two levels ('structure' and 'cognitive-cultural-institutional') of social reality.

It is felt that a synthetic cognition of macro-contexts incorporating paradigmatically structural as well as institutional aspects will significantly contribute towards a meaningful, relevant, valid and adequate social science of man in post-colonial third world. Such developments may also aid in our search for causational linkages criss-crossing various dimensions of social reality (e.g. spatial, economic, political and cultural-cognitive) at phenomenological as well as analytical levels.

**MICRO-MACRO LINKAGES**

It is being increasingly realised by anthropologists that there are insufficient theoretical and methodological guidelines for articulating micro level and macro level analysis of socio-cultural phenomena. Such an inadequacy is
probably a consequence of colonial as well as early post-colonial concern of anthropologists with small scale and relatively isolated societies. In spite of the fact that most of the researches made by anthropologists were on societies under colonial bondage of a world colonial system, most anthropologists felt no need to explore temporal and spatial macro-contexts of these small scale (?) societies in their attempts to understand their internal dynamics. However, in post-colonial situation, the perception of the influence of forces and mechanisms external to the erstwhile isolated (in anthropological analysis atleast) societies by individuals constituting those socio-cultural matrices has aroused a need for an appropriate framework to comprehend micro-macro linkages.

The methodological impasse created by dominant epistemological trends in anthropology tends to inhibit the task of articulating micro levels with macro levels, structures of interests with contents of cognitive-cultural-symbolic matrices and also obliterates the need for temporal-causalional analysis of socio-cultural phenomena. The non-temporal functionalist and pluralistic world view shared and believed by most anthropologists (and many other social sciences) probably explains the extremely weak perception of the need for a holistic unified analytical cognition of socio-cultural reality which can systemically incorporate structural, cognitive and spatial (geographical & temporal)
dimensions. Even if such a need is perceived, most social scientists tend to implicitly deny the possibility of such synthetic comprehension of socio-cultural reality.

Recently, however, some researchers have attempted integration of various levels of social reality in conceptual-methodological terms. Due to their varying definitions of micro and macro levels and modes of analytical cognition, a relatively unified perspective which can synthetically accommodate various dimensions of micro-macro relationships is still to evolve.

Dewalt and Pelto (1985) opine that "in discussing micro levels and macro levels at least three dimensions may be involved. These are the dimensions of space (the size and geographic), causality (processes), and time".

R.M. Adams (1970, 1973, 1979, 1985) deals with the problem of micro-macro linkages in terms of 'Operating units' defined as any organised subset of human species that tries itself against elements in the environment. The levels at which these operating units are found are termed by Adams as 'levels of articulation'.

Some other anthropologists, like John W. Bennet (1969, 1975, 1985), who have been working from a decision-making perspective attempt to link individual behaviour with larger processes. Whereas Bennet tends to resort to psychological explanations, some others like Dewalt and Pelto (1985) working from this perspective, shun psychological
attributes and restrict themselves to 'rubrics of 
description and theory' and exchange processes between micro and macro levels of sociocultural phenomena.

The analytic-methodological problems posed by micro-macro linkage analysis in spatial (geographic and socio-cultural) mode as also those confronted even in horizontal reintegration of various analytically isolated aspects of human social reality reflect the relative inadequacy of existing epistemo-logical approaches dominant in anthropological theories in providing a satisfactory holistic comprehension of socio-cultural phenomena. A recent summary of micro-macro relationships elegantly describes such a situation: "While the proper horizontal categories for the analysis of human systems presents thorny problems, there are even more prickly issues surrounding the categories for vertical systems. There are many precedents, including Kroeber's hierarchy of body, psyche, society and culture (1952: 119-120), as well as Adams's 'levels of articulation' (1970). It is noteworthy that Adams did not insist on a hard and fast version of what the various levels should be. Instead he suggested that the definition of levels should grow out of the data one wishes to examine" (Dewalt and Pelto 1983: 13).

The present state of theory in anthropology is largely atemporal and aspatial in the sense that it does not have the methodological perspectives to incorporate historical and micro-macro spatial dimensions into its
Various modes of social and cultural theories and corresponding ways of handling data are merely diversified sets of views regarding relationships (what are, what should be or what analysis should presuppose) between various aspects of existing phenomenological reality within a defined socio-cultural unit. Obviously such a state of affairs is sharply inconsistent with the lowest level objective of anthropology, viz., a holistic understanding of man in time and space.

Towards a Unified Perspective

Two sets of theoretical trends appear to dominate social sciences today. One set of such theories concerns with micro-level cognitive-relational and institutional parameters. Such theories usually use abstractions from micro-level social relations as data categories and use relational and comparative modes of analyses to relate such abstractions into a framework defined in terms of implicit and explicit postulates underlying these theories. Various prevalent modes of sociological and social anthropological explanations, e.g., functionalist, culture materialist, technoeconomic, psychobiological and cognitive; employ such theory-guided empiricist abstractions to relationalise and taxonomically reinforce their respective theoretical standpoints. Micro-level societal analysis appears to be largely framed in terms of comprehending horizontal linkages between various cognitively defined emic or intersubjective data.
The other set of theories in social sciences, commonly known as dependency-world systems theories, endeavour to comprehend linkages between various macro-level societal units on a global scale. These theories usually employ extra-cognitive data categories like relations of political and economic dependency in their descriptions of macro-micro relationships. Operating, as these are, mainly in extra-cognitive domains of social reality, such theories usually base their explanations in terms of concrete, presumed or postulated structures of interests. These theories have been found quite useful in understanding macro-level politico-economic systems in post-colonial third world where the institutional separation of political, economic and socio-cultural domains obliterated the structured patterns of asymmetric relations of exchange and dependency. But their validity in comprehending internal dynamics at micro levels is found to be very low.

At the present stage of social science knowledge, even though a strong need is felt to integrate these two sets of theories, the prevalent modes of analytical cognition in social sciences do not greatly facilitate such a synthesis. The reified nature of concepts, like 'culture', and the monistic deterministic use thereof, makes the task of even generating appropriate analytical interfaces between various data categories increasingly difficult. Furthermore, paramount belief in impossibility of operationally integrating lower (micro) level, middle-range and macro-level theories
also seems to contribute towards lack of such a synthesis.

A TENTATIVE PARADIGM

As indicated in an earlier section, a satisfactory analysis of micro-macro linkages depends upon a holistic unified analytic cognition of the social reality. Such consideration for 'holism' necessitates moving beyond conventional anthropological concerns with micro-phenomenological cognitive-culturalist foci into the hitherto less understood domains of extra-cognitive societal parameters, like interests, ecological and other supra-system attributes, at both micro and macro levels.

A social science paradigm providing for such holistic unified understanding should, therefore, be able to transcend existing subdisciplinary boundaries and systematically incorporate into its framework:

(a) Cognitive-cultural as well as extra-cognitive parameters, i.e., provide for relational understanding between 'cognition' and structures (of interests).

(b) A methodological framework for relating micro and macro levels of social reality which are more likely to be nested relative structures rather than well defined absolute units with rigid boundaries. The micro and macro levels identification need not only be in the idiom of socio-cultural terms alone but also in politically and economically defined fields as well.
(c) It should be able to provide, in operational and testable terms, for not only the systemic relationship and exchange processes between various domains of social reality (horizontal linkages) and ordered spatial structures (vertical linkages) but should also facilitate comprehension of conflict and contradictions built into the social reality both within the microcosmic unit as also in its dynamic linkages with its various macro levels.

(d) It should be able to comprehend the dynamics of culturally pluralistic systems embedded in a structural context.

(e) It should be amenable to generalisation, as specific corollaries from the paradigm, of theoretical subsystems to comprehend various levels of micro-sociological reality, i.e., provide for specialised understanding of various levels of social reality.

(f) It should be able to generate specific guidelines, deriving from a holistic comprehension of the social realm, for inducing changes at various levels of social reality in its supra-systemic contexts.

At the present juncture of social science knowledge, evolution of such a paradigm seems little improbable due to the prevalent modes of analytical cognition and their associated epistemological premises. However, in view of the defined objectives of our study, we do need one such paradigm.
So, let us attempt to relate some of the existing analytical constructs/categories into a structured perspective which could possibly help us at least in delineating interfaces, even if such framework is not able to attain a paradigmatic status. Our attempt will be to relate micro with macro, structure with cognition as also to attempt to incorporate into the framework the operational strategies that could systematically comprehend the dynamics of a cultural pluralistic situation embedded into a macro-structural unit (a situation prevalent in most socio-cultural matrices at various levels).

Two modes of analytic cognition that are increasingly becoming popular among social scientists to transcend the disciplinary boundaries are (a) General Systems Theory and (b) Cultural Ecological analysis. Whereas both appear to be good enough to comprehend vertical as well as horizontal linkages at analytical levels, the frequent problems pertaining to the adequate understanding of conflict and contradictions specially in a temporal mode (in which these usually manifest themselves) are not easy to be dealt within the rubric of any of these two frameworks. Furthermore, the distinction between extra-cognitive aspects of the concrete reality and putative links deriving from the theoretical assumptions is usually not made in explanations following such analysis. However, inspite of such limitations, in absence of a more appropriate alternative framework, we retain the General Systems theory to systematise our framework.
It may be pointed out that our conception of systems approach is different from the usual conception of social systems in sociology and social anthropology in a crucial way as we hold that societal analysis in systemic terms need not, and should not, be framed in functionalist metatheoretical terms.

ANALYTICAL ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL REALITY

For the purpose of relating various aspects of social reality, we feel it proper to distinguish at least four elements of the social realm that should minimally define the gamut of societal reality. These are:

(i) Culture
(ii) Extra-cognitive structures of interests
(iii) Behaviour, and
(iv) Exchange.

Whereas (i) and (ii) are usually conceptual constructions, the substantive contents of which are generally the abstractions from the phenomenological reality, the latter categories refer to socio-cultural processes which usually manifest themselves in observable terms.

The present modes of analysis in anthropology tend to evince a strong bias in favour of the study of 'culture' and 'behaviour' and utmost neglect, if not outright denial, of the operating structures of interests and exchange processes. The deterministic modes of explaining all behaviour by culture seem to dominate mainstream anthropological thinking.
On the other hand, political economists and other radical social scientists operating at macro-levels tend to view both culture and behaviour (as usually identified by behaviouralists) as inconsequential to their understanding of social processes in their spatio-temporal dimensions.

The ensuing polemics between macro-social scientists and micro-societal analysts, appears to be directed at pointing out each other's deficiencies rather than aimed at evolving an integrated perspective which could contribute towards a holistic unified understanding of human situation on this planet in spatio-temporal terms.

In view of our own pressing need, let us attempt to transcend the existing rigid distinction between microcosmic explanations and macro-grand theories and try to generate an interfacial homologous structural framework which could not only provide for a multi-dimensional micro-macro linkage pattern but also indicate fresh vistas of social anthropological research towards a holistic unified understanding of post-colonial human situation on this planet. It may be noticed that some changes have been made in our usual conceptions of these categories so that these constructs are mutually interrelated analytically and not reified as at present.

**CULTURE**: Signifies the symbolic systems of a people. It is also said to denote man made part of the environment which provides man with a code for interpretation of stimuli
and also act as a guide for responding to such stimuli, thereby providing for cultural explanations for behaviour. Although anthropologists usually tend to view culture in monistic deterministic terms, it has been long realized that no culture is shared even by a majority of a social group, what to talk of all members of a cultural group. The specific distribution of cultural information and wide variations in individual's cognitive-cultural make-up imparts every culture a degree of ambiguity operating at individual and subgroup levels. The existence of such ambiguity tends to facilitate manipulation of individuals' cognitive elements towards behaviour that may be guided by extra-cognitive-cultural and situational elements constituting a social reality. Such manipulations of individual behaviour may be exclusively extra-cognitive or may be partly translated into cognitive categories of the individuals and groups as rationales for such manipulations, and may even become a permanent element of the cultural systems rationalising extra-cognitive structures of interests. For example, theories of 'Karma' and 'Charma' appear to have provided an effective cultural-cognitive rationale of exploitative Hindu Caste System effectively masking the real structures of production relations in agrarian India that continued to remain outside the cognitive-cultural perceptive domain of social reality at emic level (even for micro-sociologists and social anthropologists till very recently).

The substantive contents of any cultural system, viz.,
values, beliefs, norms, institutions, etc., should be viewed in conjunction with its role as a behavioural strategy, elements of cultural ambiguity and their linkages with exchange processes along with associated structures of choice and dependency relations, if at all this construct ('culture') is to be intended to be used as a tool for comprehending societal dynamics in their totality and not merely as individual or group level perceptions of reality (which more likely are the product of their specific circumstances rather than an accurate reflection of their contexts).

BEHAVIOUR: It may be useful to distinguish between three categories of behaviour, viz., social, cognitive and motor. Social behaviour refers to activities such as gestures, demeanour, facial displays, simple or coordinated actions, including the social (i.e. performance) aspects of language and speech and which are viewed from an interpersonal and situational standpoint. The performance of social roles and participation in activities which are imbued with shared meanings and which reflect the norms of the group fall in the category of social behaviour. The cognitive behaviour refers to the individualistic correlates of the observable social behaviour. Such behaviour includes phenomena such as thinking, rules for emotional expression, perceiving, remembering and problem-solving. It also embraces individual's capacity for creative uses of the language, the plans, rules and means-end strategies that the individual internalises during the socialisation process. The Motor Behaviour includes
overt and covert responses viewed as purely physical phenomena, (e.g. knee-jerk, the pupillary contraction to light stimuli), physical movements of overlearnt and complex social activities (e.g. hunting, piano-playing etc). Even though a part of the motor behaviour of an individual may be purely bio-genetic in nature, a major component of such behaviour usually underlies and is governed by social and cognitive behaviour. (This discussion of behaviour types is cited from Fabrega 1977: 419-420).

Although most of the behaviour can usually be rationalised in cognitive-cultural terms, the factors outside the range of cognitive-cultural domains at individual as well as group levels frequently tend to influence behaviour. Not infrequently contents of cognitive-cultural matrix tend to provide a constraint for the perception of total social reality and also a guide for specific interpretation and response to conditions external to the perception limits of the cognitive-cultural frameworks. The study of cognitive responses to extra-cognitive conditions, specially under situations of acute poverty, excessive exploitation and oppression, is an interesting area of societal research which could facilitate, by way of structure-cognition dynamic analysis, a relevant, valid and adequate comprehension of human situation beyond the narrow limits of cognitive-cultural phenomenology.

EXTRA-COGNITIVE FACTORS AND STRUCTURES OF INTERESTS: The importance of extra-cognitive factors, both internal as well
as external to a micro-societal unit, is being increasingly recognized in understanding behaviour as well as societal dynamics in temporal processual and historical contexts. The relative success with which political and economic dependency relations at macro-national levels (usually masked under development aid, military 'patronising' and other innocent sounding institutional terms) have been used in understanding the macro-social dynamics indicates the importance of such factors in also comprehending sociocultural matrices at micro-levels at which they are frequently articulated albeit in non-cognitive terms.

The structures of interests operating at micro as well as macro-levels may be either the consequence of individual's (or a class) manipulation of inherent cognitive-institutional-cultural ambiguity by way of means and strategies used by it to achieve its ends/interests outside the domain of perception guided by micro-cognitive cultural parameters. Or it may be the institutionalized system of perpetuating existing inequalities perceived peripheral to the core of the cultural information system. The structure of interests usually reflects the need to maintain the inequitable distribution of information, both material as well as ideational. The asymmetric relations generated by such inequitable distribution usually creates dependency relations and associated unequal choice structures in exchange processes. Although there are not many studies that systematically map the various structures of interests operating at micro levels in traditional pre-capitalist societies, some recent studies of agrarian sectors penetrated
by market forces and those of urban informal sectors and labour markets indicate the nexus between various structures of interests - political, economic and information-operating at micro-levels and which appear to govern the societal processes to a great extent (see for instance, Mencher 1973, Gurumurthy 1988, Safa 1982).

Moreover, a number of attempts at liberation of classes exploited and oppressed by such structures of interests are geared towards, as a first step, an accurate and valid imagery of such structures being incorporated into cognitive-cultural matrices of the affected people. Marxist emphasis on generating class consciousness among the masses and Paulo Freire's adult education efforts to liberate Brazilian peasantry from the exploitation and oppression by way of generating capacity for accurate reflection of their realm of oppression point out towards the continuing need to systematically relate at an analytical level the cognitive-cultural maps with various operative structures of interests. A temporal historical analysis of societal phenomena coupled with concrete exchange processes may facilitate delineation of such structures in a systematic manner.

**EXCHANGE.** The domain from which the structures of interests operating at societal levels can be easily inferred is the domain of political, economic, demographic and information exchanges across various levels (micro/macro) of societal reality and those between various classes constituting a socio-cultural unit. The direct information relating to
operation of interests is usually quite difficult to collect as such information, being in conflict with cognitive-normative parameters, is not amenable to easy retrieval out of the socio-cultural matrices. Nevertheless the exchange processes operating at phenomenological level serve to provide a fairly reliable phenomenological realm from which to abstract such structures is relatively easier and convenient. The contents of processes of such exchange usually account for the maintenance of existing systems of politico-economic and cultural inequalities. The micro-level structures of choices, rules underlying interactive exchanges, corresponding choice structures and rules/strategy configurations can usually help in delineating system of structured networks of interests and the nexus between various types of interests with the cognitive-cultural matrices.

An apt use of structural indicators of exchange processes at macro-levels (e.g., structure and direction of merchandise exports of a country) has helped dependency theorists to infer some valid interest structures at macro-levels which in turn have contributed to their spatio-temporal analytic understanding of differential levels of development of various units of their analysis.

However, such analyses of exchange processes alone without comprehending their linkages with other levels (micro and macro) and their dynamic linkages with micro-level cognitive-institutional mechanisms have yielded only partial static analysis with necessity to frequently resort to deterministic explanations.
A SYNGRETiC FRAMEWORK

At analytical level, one may venture into exploring links between 'structure' (of extra-cognitive interests) and 'Cognition' (symbolic-cultural-cognitive domains) in a dynamic processual manner. The behavioural and exchange phenomena may provide the empirical basis from which cultural-cognitive and extra-cognitive structures can be systematically delineated by way of guided abstractions. The articulation of these analytical categories at various levels of societal reality provides us with homologous structural models which can facilitate horizontal and vertical integration (to use Dewalt and Pelto's terms) of the phenomena towards a resynthesis of analytically isolated phenomena for pragmatic academic reasons.

Our definition of a micro-unit's processes in terms of (i) cognitive-cultural parameters and associated behavioural configurations, (ii) structures of interests underlying exchange processes, and (iii) dynamic interactions between such structures and cultural matrices provides us with a homologous system which may help us with a convenient framework to comprehend the dynamic linkages between numerous units (micro and macro) at various levels. Such an approach can also help us to delineate relevant operating causative mechanisms governing the societal dynamics as a second level of analysis.
Figure 11: Micro-Macro Interactions

| Micro       | Structure || Structure || Macro       |
|-------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| Culture     |  ----  |  ----      |  Culture    |

The micro-macro analytical interactions as outlined above requires delineation of at least six sets of dyadic interactions and possibly three elements of interactive influences on each loci and a set of six influences on each level.

These interactions generate four possible modes of documenting micro-macro linkages (other two being intra-unit interactions). The three of these interactions closely correspond to some of the existing trends in understanding micro-macro influences as indicated below:

**TABLE 3.1: Analytical Interactions and Existing Nomenclature**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANALYTICAL INTERACTIONS</th>
<th>EXISTING APPROACH'S NOMENCLATURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Micro</td>
<td>Macro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Str. - Str.</td>
<td>Political Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Str. - Cult.</td>
<td>Institutional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cult. - Cult.</td>
<td>Intersubjective, acculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cult. - Str.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As these observations on possible modes of articulating micro and macro levels of socio-cultural reality
and extra-cognitive structures with contents of cognitive-cultural matrices are merely exploratory reflections towards generating a coherent image, we leave out at this stage the details of such operational procedures as rules of the game, andragogic learning experiences and other elements that could go into a detailed paradigm. We, however, think that such a paradigm is not impossible; only that it requires venturing beyond the myopic visions of specialized social sciences (anthropology included) and their associated modes of analytic cognition.

The syncretic perspective outlined above is not claimed to be the last word. The framework is indeed crude and tentative and it requires further work and testing before it can be really employed on a wider scale. Nevertheless, even such a framework suggests the possibility of generating a social science paradigm that could facilitate holistic, relevant, valid and adequate cognition of societal phenomena, which in addition to serving academic needs may also be usable for generating systemic guidelines for planned development and inducing social and cultural changes in a controlled manner (in contrast to prevalent adhocratism not infrequently resulting in underdevelopment rather than development of post-colonial third world socio-cultural matrices).

INFORMATION SOURCES, DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYTICAL LANGUAGES

The present study conducted under the rubric of institutionalized academic social anthropology essentially
involved a learning process (on part of the researcher) in form of an intersubjective experience of the phenomenological reality translated into the categories of anthropological subculture.

Operating in a geographical spatial locale of metropolitan Delhi, researcher's dual participation as (i) empathetic participation among GLs and also in (ii) quasi-participatory access to some of the institutions constituting the core of urban metropolitan Delhi (e.g., Planning Commission, various other governmental agencies and three universities in Delhi), facilitated speedy translation of elements of GL's cognitive-socio-cultural-matrices into the frameworks of anthropological cultural categories as also to analyse these in terms of macro-institutional and structural frameworks of GL's proximate macro-environment (which incidentally happens also to be researcher's own by virtue of his being born in, socialised into and living in it for over more than thirty years of his life). The perception of a relatively restrictive capacity of his culture to adequately and meaningfully comprehend GL's way of life and also to meet the ethical considerations eventually led to realisation of the need to critically examine the substantive and analytico-relational contents of his cultural guide towards their reconstruction in order to expand its perceptive domain in order to imbue it with a higher degree of relevance, validity and adequacy in comprehending post-colonial third world societal dynamics.
The endeavour to complete the process of such analytical translations (via the researcher) in the form of a dialogue providing for enrichment of cultural repertoire and its correlates at individualistic level in form of cognitive processes, rather than merely perceiving the micro-culturally derived stimuli, interpreting these and placing these into dominant theoretico-relational frameworks of social sciences, was facilitated by available lower-level value-philosophy/ideals of researcher's subculture (anthropology's) in the form of 'holism' and 'spatio-temporal study of man'.

The process has not ended and is continuing. With more such continuing conscious intersubjective experiences, any degenerative trends in any scientific culture can be overcome and we sincerely hope that the practitioners of our craft will continue to remain aware of it rather than upholding dogmatic beliefs in supremacy of its various cultural elements and symbols.

It will be proper to share with one's peers the process of perception of various stimuli overtime in the course of achieving such experiences, modes employed to perceive, interpret, categorize and analytically relate them.

**THE PROCESS OF LEARNING AND COGNITIVE MODIFICATIONS:** Like any anthropological field work to establish a near-emic empathetic relationship in a different cultural context, the researcher was faced with initial problems relating to rapport
establishment, acquisition of an advantageous social position for receiving maximum of field stimuli. Initial experiences indicated serious difficulties in doing so due to their not so pleasant experiences with the aliens approaching them for similar works for their (alien's) vested interests.

Seemingly consistent normative responses to my queries and a surface-level deference tended to mask their real cognitive-cultural domains. However, the portrayal of near-coherent system of their traditional symbols, their glorious mythological past, kinship-defined maps of social relationships etc., posed no significant problems and they were too eager to project these for any report that would care to cover so. Even arranging to have a day-to-day quasi-participant observation posed no serious problems. Establishing close rapport with a culturally alienated marginal Lohar and spending a number of days and nights in his qadi and band to facilitate such observations was easy. But I had a persistent feeling that in spite of my extremely rich and exotic ethnographic notes, I was really missing the core of their real situation of life.

My incidental participation along with my Lohar friends in a few 'artisan-technologist meets' organised by the Department of Adult, Continuing Education and Extension of the University of Delhi broke the ice. In this meet, seemingly patronising attitude of development agencies' officials made a Lohar comment upon these officials' treacherous, corrupt real selves underlying such sweet
My attempts to articulate the Lohars' interests in almost radical terms and our demand to establish any development process in a truly participatory manner with Lohars exercising their options in guiding their development was not really acceptable to these officials who stressed upon sectoral approach. Subsequent informal discussions among us relating to their (Lohars') perception of relatively low choices and helplessness and their conscious adaptive strategies to cope with uncertainties of their situation won me many real Lohar friends who began to see in me 'their own man' and which most of them continue to do so till now. I hope, I can come true to their image in my deeds.

That artisan meet in which I lost a few of my professional friends really was the beginning of a new learning experience different from the one I was supposed to acquire due to my academic socialisation in anthropology. The expansion of analytical cognition, facilitated by speedy translation of micro-level experiential data into academic cognitive-relational frameworks, made me look into the intellectual resources of other social sciences to supplement analytical tools available with me due to my formal academic and peer group based socialisation in anthropology. My academic socialisation was revealing its highly restricted capacity in meeting the criteria of intellectual honesty, social relevance, validity and adequacy in interpreting my intersubjective experiences.
The process is continuing. The contradiction and inconsistencies between 'experiences' and 'culture' are becoming sharply focussed and these are necessitating continuing reinterpretation of my academic 'culture'. The perceived need to transgress the conventional cognitive-cultural domains raised problems of legitimacy of such descriptions. I formally communicated my imagery of the intersubjective experiences with an old experienced friend, who had also chosen to act as my research supervisor, to help me define and systemically restrict the boundaries. His radical suggestion as not put any such restrictions to such experiential data in order to practise a procrustean micro-cultural phenomenology in the name of anthropology which was already being cognised to be relatively inadequate and irrelevant in comprehending post-colonial third world situations. Then came the question of values and norms and we opted to discard norms and use anthropology's avowed ideals of 'holism' and 'spatio-temporal integration' to claim legitimacy of the researcher's experiences in the context of the culture of anthropology. In the domain of researcher's social relations in cultural anthropology from an individualist point of view, this research guide had assumed a third role, viz, that of a "Guru", i.e. facilitator of knowledge. Our collective search for a relevant, valid and adequate analytical vision of societal dynamics is continuing.
In addition to conventional emic and cognitive-cultural-relational data from a micro-level acquired by participant observation and interviewing during fieldwork, further data was necessitated in light of modified anthropological framework. Such altered expanded mode of anthropological analytical cognition required different type of data on macro as well as micro-levels than that could be pragmatically collected from primary and secondary sources by conventional social anthropological and sociological techniques.

Taking clue from economic analyses and dependency-theories' type of descriptions, we opted to go in for the use of economic and historical data available as quantified attributes at various levels in scattered official and non-official reports. An uninhibited use has been made of the census data, World Bank data, economic data available in various periodic reports of the Government of India and Delhi Administration to describe the macro-structural context as also to infer the nature of relationship across various levels of macro-societal units.

For institutional portrayal of macro-contexts a judicious use could have been made of numerous policy documents. Such portrayals of macro-levels have been left out of the analysis, for practical reasons, due to a feeling of relative lack of appropriate skills on part of the
researcher to adequately comprehend the political, policy, legal and other operating macro-cognitive institutional frameworks in their spatio-temporal modes of operation. Only a highly selective use of plan documents and development policy trends in Indian context has been made wherever it was absolutely necessary. A detailed analysis of such macro-cognitive domains at various levels and their structural nexus require a kind of more integrated social science analytical vision than the one available at present.

For an exploratory understanding of the prevalent mode of urban social structure and class dynamics in metropolitan Delhi, a relatively large-scale societal unit, the modus operandi used in this study were in-depth interviews with individuals having strategic access to information pertaining to such exchanges as seem to regulate urban dynamics. This exploration was guided by an initial 'qualitative information mapping' (Mahajan 1975) of the social unit, viz. Delhi. On the basis of qualitative sampling attributes, the researcher interviewed: (a) Wholesale Traders (3), (b) Owners of organised sector industrial units (2), (c) Owners of small-scale registered units (3), (d) Owners of small-scale unregistered industrial units (3), (e) Financial Consultants, Money Launderers & CAS (2), (f) Real Estate agents and property brokers (5), (g) Retail Shopkeepers (4), (h) Petty-traders and street vendors (5), (i) Inhabitants of 'posh' colonies (3), (j) Inhabitants of unplanned unauthorised/
regulated colonies (3), (k) Inhabitants of jhuggis/slums (4).

The inferential analysis of extra-cognitive structural parameters at micro-level has been made in terms of choice structures and exchange relations in relation to culturally defined network of social relations. The difficulties involved in inferring such structures in undifferentiated, non-stratified social systems as of Gaduliya Lohars has made the researcher to leave the detailed analysis of this arena relatively open to be unfolded by CB societal dynamics in near future.

We do realise that this study of ours is mainly of an exploratory nature at least in the context of the expanded mode of our tentative analytical framework (which actually has been very recently restructured to tentatively accommodate some of the pressing issues facing social anthropology in the post-colonial third world societies).

**ANALYTICAL LINKAGES**

In view of relatively infantile stage of any emerging valid paradigm in third world social sciences, no attempts have been made to abstract any putative or real causative mechanisms in our analysis. We, however, strongly believe that such may be possible after a concerted coordinated research programme conducted along systemic paradigmatic lines providing for spatio-temporal resynthesis towards a unitary cognition of concrete realities of third world social systems.
It is nevertheless possible that our descriptions might have been biased by the specific modes of abstractions from socio-cultural reality resulting from our adoption of a defined theoretical framework. We are aware of the possibility of such biases, but feel that a situation of conscious explicit biases is better than the one of professed or naive empiricism dominating social anthropology today. Inspite of researcher's continuing critical stand on the undesirability of frequently tautological explanations governed by mode of empirical abstractions employed (Mehejan 1988), it is contended that the possibility of systematically achieving spatial and temporal integration at analytical level in the homologous 'structure-cognition' analytical matrices (as suggested) greatly compensates for biases with presumable negative consequences imposed upon such empirico-analytical descriptions.