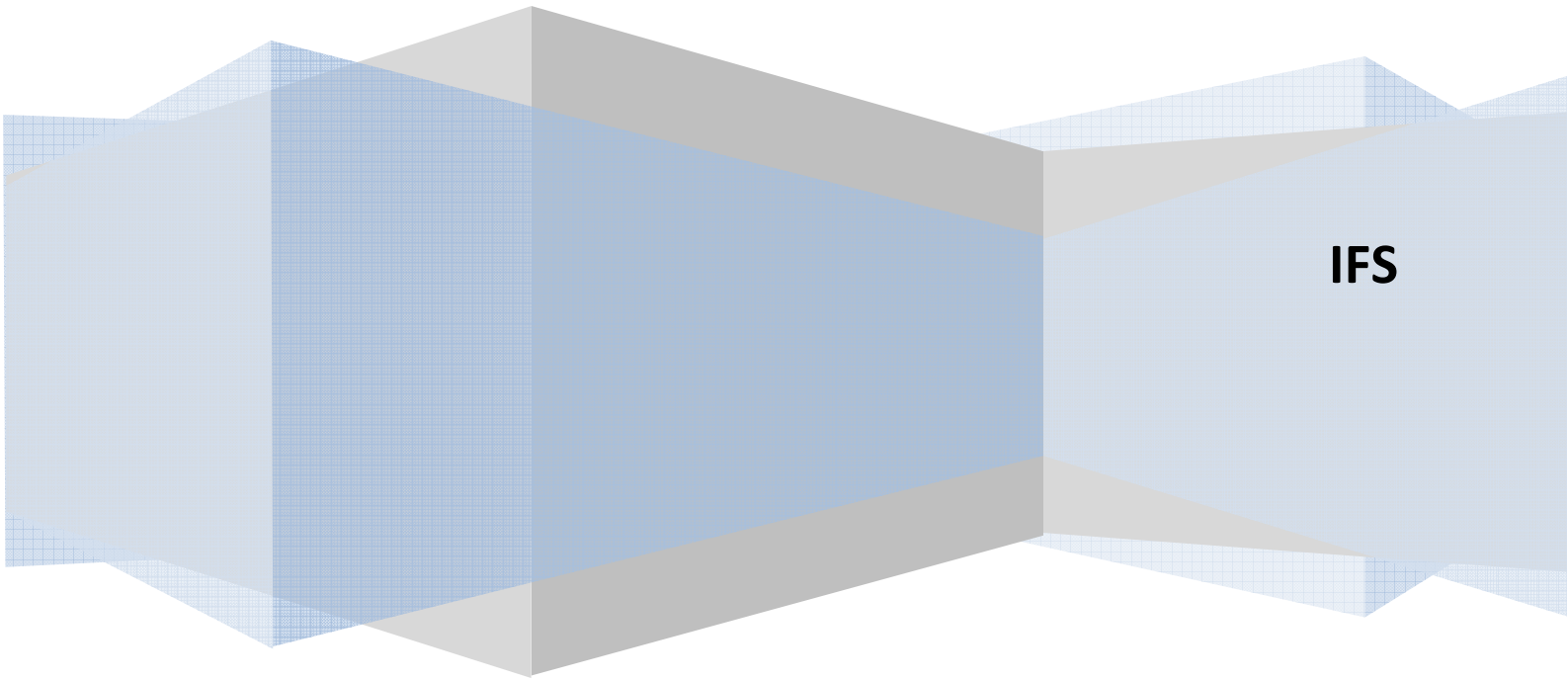
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Sociology-1

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TOPIC-01- SOCIOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

Modernity and social changes in Europe and emergence of sociology.

Summary of Notes for this topic:

- Modernity from the Latin word 'modos' –' thinking new' , different.
    - It is not fixed but is context specific, different from traditional
- Europe underwent many changes and emergence of sociology can be traced back to that period of history
- **Different phases** : periods of history Dark ages (1st-12th century)→ Renaissance (14th-17th century) or scientific and cultural modernity→political modernity (French revolution)→ economic modernity (Industrial Revolution)
- **Change agents**- the oppressive feudal setup, excesses of church and nobility led to coming forward of certain change agents in the form of philosophers, scientists, reformers et cetera
    - **Scholars** – Dante-*Divine Comedy,* Erasmus-*In the praise of Folly,* Montaigne-*Essais-what do I know,* Thomas Moore- *Utopia*
    - **Scientists-** from geocentricism to heliocentricism
        - **Francis Bacon:** Father of empiricism
    - **Religious Reformers:** Martin Luther- German monk and Calvin-French theologist
        - Protestantism –
            - only one scripture,
            - justification through faith
            - universal priesthood of believers
    - **Political philosophers**:
        - **Machiavelli**- Italian patriot who claimed to have found panacea for all ills in an all powerful, centralised monarch which he detailed about in *Prince.*
        - **Thomas Hobbes**: envisioned rational, controlled state as a natural outcome of evolutionary nature of society.
        - **John Locke**: Saw right mix of selfishness and selflessness and collective happiness as pillars of good state
    - **French Revolution**:
        - **Voltaire**: urged people to form society which is not imposed on them

- **Montesquieu**: Representative constitutional state with approporiate separation of power and checks and balances.
- **Denis Diderot**: idea of freedom
- **JJ Rousseau**: general will prevails.

- **Economic modernity**:
  - Result of both- facilitative and compulsive factors.
  - Discoveries
  - Colonialism
  - Spirit of entrepreneurship
  - Economic theories:
    - Mercantilism (Veiner)
    - Laissez Faire & Absolute Advantage (Adam Smith)
    - Comparative advantage (David Ricardo)
    - Materialistic scale as a yardstick for happiness (Jeremy Bentham)
    - Reduce progressive and increase inheritance tax (JS Mill)
    - **Encouraged people to go for Act Utilitarianism using Rule Utilitarianism.**

NCERT

- New capitalist class emerged and a new middle class inflated
- One of the most fundamental aspects of the new order was degradation of labour and a new kind of urban world marked with soot, grime and overcrowded slums which led to new kinds of problems.
- In 1810- 20% of people lived in cities which increased to 80% in 1910 Britain.

✓ Sociology emerged as a discipline to explain such drastic measures

✓ It resorted to positivistic methods initially as such methods were in vogue across disciplines and helped gain wider acceptance. Early sociologists even tried to find solutions and universal laws through their study of society.

✓ As society developed and modernity expanded and adapted, sociology also underwent changes and took many forms using methodologies like interpretative, reflexive, Marxist, Idealist etc.

✓ Thus, different methodologies, different theories applied and proposed by sociologists, reflecting upon different societies, aggregated into a discipline called sociology.

IGNOU: Detailed

BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

There is always a connection between the social conditions of a period and the ideas, which arise and are dominant in that period.

- **The Enlightenment Period**
    - The emergence of sociology as a scientific discipline can be traced to the period of European history, which saw such tremendous social, political and economic changes as embodied in the French Revolution and the industrial Revolution. This period of change in European society is known as the Enlightenment Period as it embodies the spirit of new awakening in the French philosophers of the eighteenth century. The new outlook developed as a result of the Commercial Revolution and the Scientific Revolution and crystalised during the French and the Industrial Revolutions gave birth to sociology as a discipline.
- **Structure and Change in European Society**
    - Old Europe was traditional. Land was central to its economic system. Classes were distinct and clearly demarcated The religious heads decided what was moral,Family and kinship were central to the lives of the people.Monarchy was firmly rooted in society The New Europe ushered in by the two Revolutions, the French and the industrial, challenged each and every central feature of old Europe The contrast between present and past seemed stark. For the aristocrat, threatened with the loss of life and property the present was terrifying. For the peasant, the present was intoxicating as it offered new opportunities and powers.

The social conditions in which sociology emerged

- **The Commercial Revolution**
    - The 'Commercial Revolution" refers to a series of events between 1450 to approximately 1800. The Commercial Revolution in this sense, signified the expansion of trade and commerce that took place from the fifteenth century onwards. It was of such a large scale and organised manner that we call it a Revolution.
- **Expansion of Banking**:
    - Credit facilities were expanded, making it easy for merchants all over Europe to do business. The "cheque" was invented in the eighteenth century. Paper money came to replace gold and silver coins_
- **Rise of a New Class**:

- By the end of the 17th century, the middle class had become an influential group in nearly every western European country. It included merchants, bankers, ship-owners and investors. Thus Europe charted new areas for economic expansion - the whole world had become Europe's oyster.

- **The Scientific Revolution and the Renaissance Period** :
  - Science does not develop independent of society, rather, it develops in response to human needs e.g, various vaccines were not developed just out of the blue, but out of the necessity to cure diseases.
  - Science in the Medieval Period: The Church was the epicenter of power authority and learning. Learning was mostly of the religious variety. Nothingcould challenge the 'dogmas' or rigid beliefs of the Church
  - **The Renaissance period**
    1. Visual art
    2. Medicine
    3. Chemistry
    4. Navigation and astronomy
    5. The Copernican Revolution: From geocentricism to heliocentricism
    6. Biology and Evolution: The British naturalist Charles Darwin (1809-1882) published the Origin of Species in 1859. Darwin's evolutionary theory did, however, gain wide acceptance. It was applied to the social world by 'evolutionary' thinkers, notably Herbert Spencer. Not just organisms, but societies were seen as constantly 'evolving' or developing from a lower to a higher stage.

The French revolution

- The French Revolution, which erupted in1789 marked a turning point in the history of human struggle for freedom and equality. It put an end to the age of feudalism and ushered in a new order of society
- ***The Basic Picture of the French society***: Division into Feudal Estates- Estates are defined as a system of stratification found in feudal European societies whereby one section or estate is distinguished from the other in terms of status, privileges and restrictions accorded to that estate.
  1. The First Estate consisted of the clergy, which was stratified into higher clergy, such as the cardinal, the archbishops_ the bishops and the abbots. They lived a life of luxury and gave very little attention to religion. In

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comparison to the higher clergy, the lower parish priests were over worked and poverty-stricken.

2. ***The Second Estate*** consisted of the nobility. There were two kinds of nobles, the nobles of the sword and the nobles of the robe,
3. ***The Third Estate*** comprised the rest of the society and included the peasants, the merchants, the artisans, and others. As compared to the peasants, the condition of the middle classes, also known as the bourgeoisie comparising the merchants, bankers, lawyers, manufacturers, etc. was much better. These classes too belonged to the third estate. But the poverty of the state, which led to a price rise during 1720-1789, instead of adversely affecting them, helped them. They derivedprofit from this rise and the fact that French trade had improved enormously also helped the commercial classes to a great extent, Thus, this class was rich and secure, But it had no social prestige as compared with the high prestige of the members of the first and the second estates. On top of it all the prices had generally risen by about 65 per cent during the period, 1720¬1789.

- ***The Political Aspects of the French society***: Like in all absolute monarchies, the theory of the Divine Right of King was followed in France too. For about 200 years the Kings of the Bourbon dynasty ruled France. Under the rule of the King, the ordinary people had no personal rights. They only served the King 4nd his nobles in various capacities.
- ***The Economic Aspects of the French society***: The kings of France, from Louis XIV onwards, fought costly wars, which wined the country, and when Louis XIV died, France had become bankrupt. His wife queen- Antoinette, known for her expensive habits, is famous for her reply, which she gave to the poor, hungry people of France who came to her asking for bread. She told the people that, 'if you don't have bread, eat cake.'
- ***Intellectual Developments in France***: Some of the major philosophers, whose ideas influenced the French people, were rationalists who believed that all true things could be proved by reason. Some of these thinkers were, Montesquieu (1689-1755), Locke (1632-1704), Voltaire (1694-1778), and Rousseau (1712-1778). Montesquieu in his book, 'The spirit of Law', held that there should not be concentration of authority, such as executive, legislative, and juridical, at one place. Locke, an Englishman, advocated that every individual has certain rights, which cannot be

taken by any authority. These rights were (i) Right to Live (ii) Right to property (iii) Right to personal freedom. Voltaire, a 'French philosopher, advocated religious toleration and freedom of speech. JJ Rousseau wrote in this book, The Social Contract, that the people of a country have the right to chose their sovereign.

- **Important Events:**
    1. In France there was a parliamentary body called the Estates-General in which all the three estates were represented but which had met last in 1614. The refusal of the first two Estates to meet with the third Estate as a single body led to the formation of the National Assembly. On 20th June 1789 when a meeting was to be held in the Hall at Versailles near Paris, the members found that it was closed and guarded by the King's men. Therefore, the National Assembly members led by their leader Bailey went to the next building which was an indoor tennis court. It was here that they took an ***Oath to draw a new constitution*** for France. This Oath, which marks the **beginning of the French Revolution, is popularly known as the Oath of the Tennis Court.**
    2. On July 14th, 1789 took place one of the most important events of the French Revolution. It was the **storming of the Bastille**, an ancient royal prison that stood as a symbol of oppression
    3. **Declaration of Rights of Man** by the Constituent Assembly
    4. The **King, Louis XVI, was beheaded in public** on 21st January 1793after being proved guilty of treason. The Queen was also beheaded later in the same year. France was declared a Republic.

The industrial revolution

- The Industrial Revolution began around 1760 A.D. in England. It brought about great changes in the social and economic life of the people first in England, then in the other countries of Europe and later in other continents.
- ***New Invention***: One of the significant mechanical inventions. which led to a quicker and better method of production in various industries, was the Spinning Jenny, invented in 1767 by James Hargreaves, an English weaver.
- ***Impact of the Industrial Revolution on Society***: As capitalism became more and more complex, the developments of banks, insurance companies, and finance corporations took place. New class of industrial workers, managers, capitalists emerged.

- ***Significant Themes*** of the Industrial Revolution
    1. The condition of labour Sociologists recognised that the poverty of this class of workers is not natural poverty but social poverty.
    2. The transformation of property: Sociologists have grappled with the question of property and its impact on social stratification since the-days of Marx, Tocqueville, Taine and Weber.
    3. The industrial city, i.e. urbanism:
    4. Technology and the factory system:

The intellectual influences affecting the emergence of sociology

- Sociology emerged as a response to the forces of change, which took place during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe.
- Firstly, a scientific approach to the study of society dates back to the tradition of Enlightenment. The eighteenth century thinkers began more consistently than any of their predecessors to study the human conditions in a scientific way using the methods of the natural sciences.
- Secondly, the eighteenth century thinkers upheld reason as a measure to judge social institutions and their suitability for human nature.
- Thirdly, the eighteenth century thinkers believed that human beings are capable of attaining perfection. By criticising and changing social institutions they can create for themselves even greater degrees of freedom, which, in turn would enable them increasingly to actualise the potentially creative powers.
- Apart from them, three other intellectual influences current in the post-Enlightenment period influenced the emergence of sociology in Europe. They can be identified as
    1. the philosophy of history
    2. the biological theories of evolution; and
    3. the surveys of social conditions.
- These three intellectual influences are the precursors of sociology and are reflected the writings of the early sociologists.
    1. ***The Philosophy of History***: The basic assumption of this philosophywas that society must have progressed through a series of steps from a simple to complex stage.

2. ***The Biological Theories of Evolution:*** The influence of the philosophy of history was further reinforced by the biological theory of evolution, Herbert Spencer and Durkheim are good example of this kind of writing.
3. ***Surveys of Social Conditions***: Social survey forms an important element in modern sociology. It emerged due to two reasons. one was the growing conviction that the methods of the natural sciences should and could be extended to the study of human affairs; that human phenomenon could be classified and measured. The other was the concern with poverty ('the social problem), following the recognition that poverty was not natural but social.

Characteristics of Early Sociology (Bottomore):

- Encyclopaedic
- Influence of- Philosophy of History and Biological Theories of Evolution
- Conceived to be a positive science
- Had ideological as well as scientific character
- Dealt with subjects/themes inspired by
    1. Conditions of labour
    2. Transformation of property
    3. Technology and factory
    4. Industrial city

Rise of sociology:

- Rooted in the drastic changes seen in Europe in 18th century which brought out stark differences between society of past and society of present.
- Positive and upheld reason; believed perfect society was possible.
- All intellectual fields→ profoundly shaped by social settings→ social settings became subject matter of sociology.
- 3 intellectual influences: post enlightenment→ philosophy of history + Biological theory of evolution + surveys of social conditions.
- Social Life's study→ social behaviour (in presence of others + awareness of this presence) → social action (meaningful act) and basic units of social interaction (interconnected chain of reciprocal actions) shaped by culture, status, norms, institutions, cooperation & conflict, social control etc→ Deviance (from expected roles), Relations (born out of role expectations), groups (defined by relations and common goal) and social changes.
- Thus, subject matter of sociology:

1. Primary units of social life
    - social action, social interaction, relations
    - Different types of groups (family, caste etc)
2. Basic social institutions (marriage, economy, polity etc)
3. Fundamental social processes (cooperation, conflict, deviance and change)

Scope of the subject and comparison with other social sciences.

Scope of sociology

The scope of sociological study is extremely wide. It can focus its analysis of interactions between individuals and at the same time on national issues like unemployment, caste conflict, rural indebtedness etc.What defines the discipline of sociology is therefore not just what it studies but how it studies a chosen field.

Sociology with 150 years old of existence is a relatively young discipline. It's subject matter and scope have been intensely debated but still it is not practical to rein it's purview within specific boundaries.

There are two schools of thought with different viewpoints regarding scope and subject matter of sociology- **formal school and synthetic school**. According to formal school sociology was conceived to be a social science with a specifically defined field. This school had George Simmel, Weber, Ferdinand Tonnies, Alfred Vierkandt and Leopord Von Wiese as its main advocates. On the other hand the synthetic school with Durkheim, Hobhouse, Ginsberg and Sorokin advocated a synthesis in form of coordination among all social sciences.

Specialist or Formal School of Sociology

Formal school argued in favor of giving sociology a definite subject matter to make it a distinct discipline. It emphasized upon the study of forms of social relationships and regarded sociology as independent.

Simmel and others are of the opinion that sociology is a pure and an independent science. As a pure science it has a limited scope. Sociology should confine itself to the study of certain aspects of human relationship only. Further, it should study only the 'forms' of social relationships but not their contents.

Social relationship such as competition, sub-ordination, division of labour etc., are expressed in different fields of social life such as economic, political, religious, moral, artistic etc. Sociology should disentangle the forms of social relationships and study them in abstraction. According to

Simmelforms from human relationship which are common to diverse situations, should be subject matter of Sociology.

Vierkandt maintained that sociology should be concerned with ultimate forms of mental or psychic relationship which knit the people together in a society. It should refrain itself from making a historical study of concrete societies.

According to **Von Wiese** there are two kinds of fundamental social processes in human society. Firstly the associative process concerning contact, approach, adaptation etc and secondly disassociate processes like competition and conflict. Apart from these two processes a mixed form of the associative and disassociative also exists. Each of these processes has sub-classes which in totality give approximately 650 forms of human relationships.

Tonnies divided societies into two categories namely Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (association) on the basis of degree of intimacy among the members of the society. He has on the basis of forms of relationship tried to differentiate between community and society.

Max Weber also makes out a definite field for sociology. According to him the aim of sociology is to interpret or understand social behaviour. But human interactions that are not social are excluded. Sociology is concerned with the analysis and classification of types of social relationships.

Criticism of formal School

Formal school has been criticized on the issue that it has emphasized on merely abstract forms and neglected the concrete contents of social life. Secondly, the distinction between the forms of social relations and their contents is not workable. **Sorokin** writes, "we may fill a glass with wine, water or sugar without changing its form, but I cannot conceive of a social institution whose form would not change when its members change". According to **Ginsberg**, The conception of pure sociology is not practical as no social science can be studied in isolation from other social sciences.

Synthetic School of Sociology

Synthetic school wanted sociology to be synthesis of the social sciences and thus wanted to widen the scope of sociology. Durkheim, Hob House, Ginsberg and Sorokin have been the chief exponents of this school.

According to Durkheim, sociology has three principal divisions' namely-Social morphology, social physiology and general sociology. Social morphology is concerned with geographical or territorial basis of life of people such as population, its size, density and distribution etc. This can be done at two levels -analysis of size and quality of population which affects the quality of social relationship and social groups. Secondly the study of social structure or description of the main forms of social

groups and institutions with their classification. Social physiology deals with the genesis and nature of various social institutions namely religion, morals, law and economic institutions etc. In general sociology the main aim is to formulate general social laws. Attempt is made to find out if there are links among various institutions which would be treated independently in social physiology and in the course to discover general social laws. **Hobhouse** perceived sociology as a science which has the whole social life of man as its sphere. Its relations with the other social sciences are considered to be one of mutual exchange and mutual stimulation. Karl Mannheim's divides sociology into two main sections-systematic and general sociology and historical sociology.

Ginsberg has summed up the chief functions of sociology as (a) it seeks to provide a classification of types and forms of social relationships especially of those which have come to be defined institutions and associations. (b) It tries to determine the relation between different parts of factors of social life for example the economic and political, the moral and the legal, the intellectual and the social elements. (c) It endeavors to disentangle the fundamental conditions of social change and persistence and to discover sociological principles governing social life.

The scope of sociology is, indeed, very vast. But there is a general consensus on the certain topics which are specific to sociology like Sociological analysis/perspective of society, social relationships, social institutions, social processes, methodology of research, concepts like stratification, pathology etc, and in present era of explosion of knowledge, sociologists have ventured to make specializations as well.

Despite such a consensus, sociology is still evolving and it is neither possible nor essential to delimit the scope of sociology, because, it would be, as Sprott puts it, “A brave attempt to confine an enormous mass of slippery material into a relatively simple system of pigeonholes”.

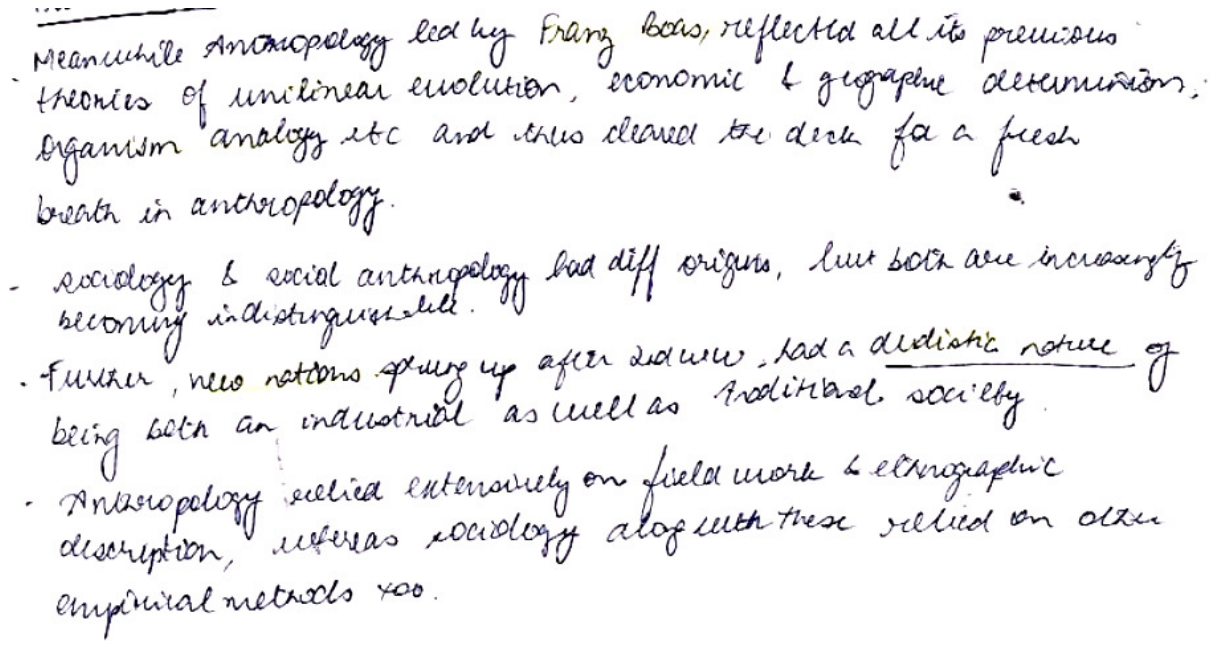
Sociology and other disciplines:

Sociology and anthropology:

- sociology is deemed to be study of modern complex societies whereas social anthropology was deemed to be study of simple societies.
- But modernity led to processes whereby even smallest villages were impacted by global acts forg. most remote villages of Orissa under British colonialism, saw its land laws & admin change, its economic extraction alter and its industry collapse
- contemporary global processes have further accentuated the 'shrinking of the globe' and brought sociology & social anthropology even closer
- There have been fruitful interchanges between the two disciplines & today often methods & techniques are drawn from both.
- sociology has been using quantitative & qualitative techniques, micro and macro approaches for studying complexities of modern societies
- Anthropology developed under 2 broad divisions -
  - (i) organic / physical anthropology which studies man as a part of animal kingdom .. comes closer to biology
  - (ii) socio-cultural anthropology - which studies man in a social set up & hence comes closer to sociology

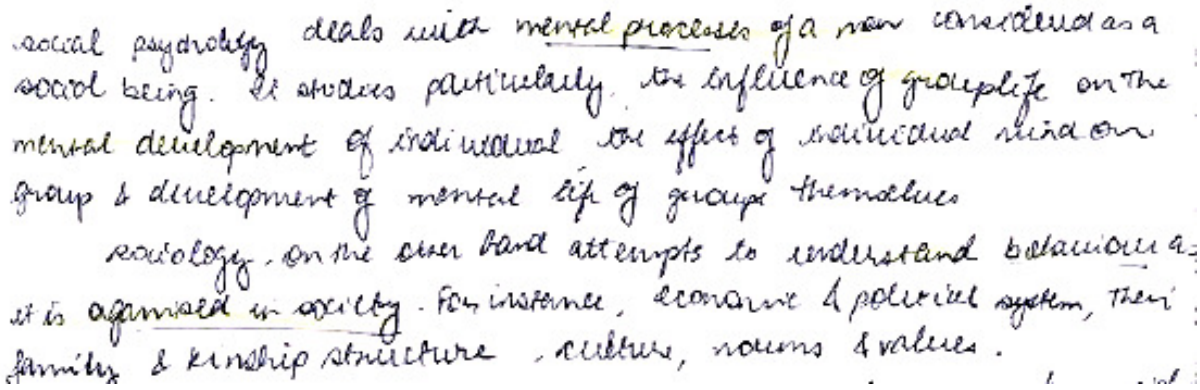
though sociology studies much more diverse matters by applying various methods, both social anthropology and sociology come closer on many grounds. It is no surprise that a student of anthropologist (AR Radcliffe Brown) became head of sociology dept of Delhi university (MN Srinivas)

- Concepts like cultural area, cultural trait, cultural lag have been borrowed ~~from~~ by sociology from socio-cultural anthropology whereas concepts like 'primitive communism' have been borrowed by anthropology from sociology.
- Works of B Malinowski, AR Radcliff Brown & EVan Pritchard have been very useful to sociology.
- In fact the methodology of 'field study' approach is very similar to anthropological methodologies


Meanwhile Anthropology led by Franz Boas, reflected all its previous theories of unilinear evolution, economic & geographic determinism, organism analogy etc and thus cleared the deck for a fresh breath in anthropology.

- sociology & social anthropology had diff origins, but both are increasingly becoming indistinguishable.
- Further, new nations sprung up after 2nd WW, had a dualistic nature of being both an industrial as well as traditional society.
- Anthropology relied extensively on field work & ethnographic description, whereas sociology alongwith these relied on other empirical methods too.

Sociology and psychology:


social psychology deals with mental processes of a man considered as a social being. It studies particularly the influence of group life on the mental development of individual the effect of individual mind on group & development of mental life of groups themselves

sociology, on the other hand attempts to understand behaviour as it is organised in society. For instance, economic & political system, their family & kinship structure, culture, norms & values.

- Durkheim who sought to establish clear scope and method for sociology, in his 'study of suicide', left out individual intentions as a cause of suicide deliberately.
- Max Weber, on the other hand, stood for enrichment of sociological studies by identifying the psychology behind social actions (meanings attached).
- Therefore, there are certain meeting grounds between the two disciplines.
- With increasing complexities in modern societies, sociology is also concerned with decoding symbolism which people manifest through social actions.
- There are topics of common interest like individual disorganisation, crime, juvenile delinquency, propaganda, socialization, imitation, social problems like domestic violence, communal tension, alcoholism etc.
- **<u>Imp</u>: Girth and Mills define 'role' as the meeting point between social structure and individual character and thus meeting point of social psychology and sociology. Quite contrastingly, Radcliffe Brown has rejected this idea and has**

argued that sociology and psychology are entirely different systems where one studies the social system and other the mental system.

- Though problem of relation between sociology and psychology is still disputed, but it wouldn't be wrong to conclude that both cross each others' boundaries to understand processes which originally were thought ti be compartmentalized.

Sociology and economics:

- Economics is the study of production and distribution of goods and services.
- Classical economics approach dealt almost exclusively with interrelations of pure economic variables: price, demand and supply, money flows et cetera. The objective of dominant trend in economic analysis was, however, to formulate precise laws of economic behaviour.
- Social logical approach looks at economic behaviour in a broader context of social norms, values, practices and interests. For example – social teammate Ryan explained by a Brahmin wouldn't go for leather industry even though it might be economically attractive.
- Thus, economists predictive abilities often suffer because of neglect of individual behaviour, cultural norms and institutional resistance which sociologists study.
- Pierre Bourdieu wrote in 1998, that a true economist would look at all costs of the economy including costs of kinds, suicides and so on.
- Early sociologists focused on the difference between the two. Example – Durkheim established division of labour as a social fact different from Adam Smith's explanation of division of labour.
- Similarly, Karl Marx studies capitalism as a precursor to class conflict as differently from Mercantilists of the time.
- Also sociology studies different capitalism is like nationalist capitalism of Japan, protest and capitalism of USA, compulsive capitalism of India and satellite capitalism of Singapore.
- Similarly, middle class may be an economic division but middle-class behaviour is certainly a social fact. Press enter policymakers are more and more relying on sociality along with economics to formulate workable policies. For example – Nobel laureate Amartya Sen's work on welfare economics is one such example where economics and social chick to get up.
- Hence, both sociological and economics studies same topics but from different angles. Sociology, unlike economics not this facilitates discussions and technical

means but also on social desirability of goal itself. Press enter gender budgeting and financial inclusion successfully examine and try to overcome the limitations of just economic cutie.

- Studies of Goldthorpe and Veblen have attempted synthesis of social and economic factors.

Sociology and political science:

- Aristotle defined political science as a study of state. It would not be wrong to call political science as ' sociology from the top'
- Arab spring, Tiananmen Square incidents and glorious Revolution were all manifestations of society taking political systems head on. Hence, such topics became areas of both political science and sociology.
- Though not studied exclusively under the scope of sociology, political systems to influence society every minute. Hence, a discipline call political sociologies was born as a meeting ground two.
- Karl Marx, Max Weber and critical school (Habermas, Lukacs, Horkheimer) bring out the relation between sociology and political science very distinctly.
- To Marx, people controlling economy, control politics (base – structure theory). To Weber, political inequality is a universal truth across time and space and to critical theorists, politics is nothing but authoritative allocation of values in society.
- Talcott Parsons also identifies political role affecting society through a social systems approach.
- Political scientists like David Easton have been inspired by various exponentially schemes and morals and sociology.
- Almond and Coleman try to understand how similar political system speak in different in different social contexts
- even feminist sociologists largely trace patriarchal elements in political systems.
- Hence, we see that there are many meeting grounds for political science and sociologies hundred rise of civil society, pressure groups et cetera political sociology is coming up in a big way and extracting from both political science and sociology.

Sociology and history:

- History studies concrete details while sociology is more likely to abstract from concrete reality.

- Contemporary history is no more about laying facts but also interpreting them in interdisciplinary manner. Press enter sociology gives deeper understanding of societies from the recent past and similarly history has some answers to societies as we see them today.
- History has been starting point of many researchers.
- Durkheim had history department called Annales under Febver in University. Marl Bloch explain different feudal societies in historical context.
- Malinowski reached Trobriand Islands to study primitive societies which are perfect evidence of history existing in present times.
- To Weber, social history is an important factor and social change and to Marx all superstructures are found on economic history of man. Press enter though sociology benefits from history, it should not be taken on face value as different historians present facts different. For example – and Ramachandra Guha's subaltern history is very different from Bipin Chandra's Nehruvian perspective. Hence, at times social researcher needs to become a historian.
- Contemporary journals like economic and political weekly, Journal on prison studies, economic and historical review, journals on women studies and disciplines like Indology speaks volumes about interlinkages between history and sociology.
- Hence, Prof GE Howard very aptly puts that social cheese present history and history is past sociology
- theoretical boundaries between both the disciplines have overlaps and forth contribute to its each other's development.

Sociology & philosophy:

- Historically, sociology has its closest relationship with philosophy. Philosophy attempts to study reality in totality.
- Sociology also began its journey with philosophical ambitions, their 1st causes, supreme values, grand theories and ultimate ends were sought.
- August Comte, in his book – positivistic philosophy said all societies passed through 3 stages – theological, metaphysical and scientific.
- Similarly, Herbert Spencer propounded revolutionary theory of society. Marxism is another grand theory which delves on philosophical questions.
- Durkheim claimed that sociology contributes to philosophy more than any other science.
- Social philosophy is the meeting point of social logic and philosophy and is concerned with study of fundamental principles and concepts of social life in their epistemological and axiological aspects.

- For example – concepts like dharma, individualism, liberalism, alienation" since of both value and fact.
- To conclude, philosopher who is well acquainted with sociologies and sociologies we sufficiently grounded in philosophy could become more competent in their respective fields.
- As Vierkandt says – sociology is productive only when it has philosophical basis.

Note: add examples of sociologists who had earlier taken different subjects but later pursued career in social of the. For example – Parsons studied philosophy and biology and Weber history and economics.

Sociology and demography

- one of the most promising sociological frame of reference, the structural functional approach been sociologies and demography close together. It assumes that the phenomenon of a condition is an institutionally determined phenomenon.
- The changes in population are contingent upon the changes in institutional framework and institutional suitability.
- Unlike demography, sociologies more integrative, unifying, generalising, analytical and non-quantitative in character. Its principal elements of interest are, for example, the patterns of actions and their consequences, cultural systems, norms, values, beliefs, socialisation, social institutions, differentiation, mobility, social change and so on.
- This discipline relies more on dynamic and integrative analysis, logical systems, macro and micro level, statistical data collected through experiments, field surveys et cetera.
- Unlike sociology, demography is more segmental, quantitative, descriptive and distributional in character. The principle demographic elements are, for example persons, numbers, vital events, measurement of trends and rates like birth, death, migration, cross-sectional comparison, classification and so on. There are not unifying but distributive concepts. It relies more on statistical and segmental analysis and aggregate statistical data collected from senses, reports et cetera.
- Sociologies provides the social basic structure (context) to demography while the latter supplies the demographic infrastructures (text).
- The interface between the 2 is a new area known as sociology of population or social demography
- the thrust of this area is to deal demography in relation with the theory and subject matters of sociology. Das, this includes a wide range of social logical variables and

demography at variables, their interaction, interpretation of their interactions. In this field population is considered as one of the principal elements of social logical analysis.

- The different components of population are examined in relation with social logically important variables like caste, class, race, ethnicity, minorities, social cultural, economic, political factors, ruble urban and various social institution et cetera
- thus social demography integrates properties of democracy could systems with the properties of social logical system.
- Here the demography factors that performed certain requisite functions in society are considered socially conditioned or institutionally determined.

Sociology and common sense.

& COMMON SENSE

My Answer:

People have always observed and reflected upon societies and groups in which they live. However the observations and ideas that sociology as a discipline makes about 'society' is different.

Sociology is an attempt to understand the social world by situating social events in their corresponding environment (i.e. social structure, culture, history) and trying to understand social phenomena by collecting and analyzing empirical data. Thus, sociological knowledge is produced through a constant back and forth between empirical observation & theorization.

Common sense is culturally angled knowledge that is subjectively varied between individuals and societies. Information when passes through cultural mind, translates into a perception which maybe called 'naturalistic' or 'individualistic'.

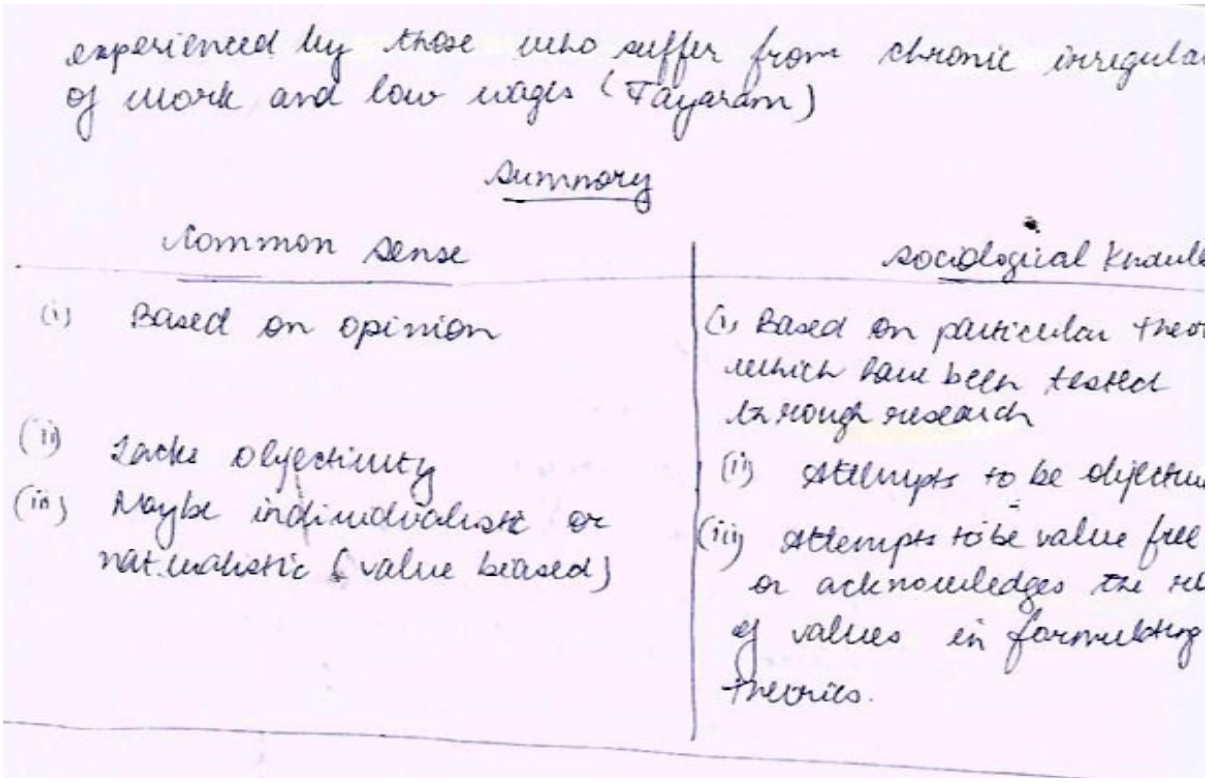
Common sense is unreflective since it does not question it's own origins or ask itself- 'why do I hold this view?' sociologist on the other hand, must be ready to ask- as 'Is this really so?"

Both the systematic and questioning approach of sociology is derived from a broader tradition of scientific investigation. In this way, sociology is more rigorous than common sense.

Example

Naturalistic explanation of poverty: People are poor, because they are afraid of work, come from problem families, are unable to budget properly, suffer from low IQ & shiftlessness.

Sociological explanation: contemporary poverty is caused by the structure of inequality in class society and is



experienced by those who suffer from chronic irregula
of work and low wages (Tayaram)

Summary

Common Sense	Sociological Knowl
(i) Based on opinion	(i) Based on particular theo which have been tested through research
(ii) Lacks objectivity	(ii) attempts to be objectiv
(iii) Maybe individualistic or naturalistic (value biased)	(iii) attempts to be value free or acknowledges the ro of values in formulating theories.

An article on SOCIOLOGY and COMMON SENSE:

How Is sociological study different from the common sense-based view of social life? Or we can raise the question differently. Take any average person, we find that in the process of growing up, he has come to arrive at a "theory" on almost all aspects of social life. He has a theory of good and bad of marriage and family, city and country life, of making money or of joining politics. Can such a theoretician be called a sociologist? Well, in a way Yes! He is an amateur sociologist of sorts but no more. Unless we're ready to call a **stargazer an astronomer**, a **peasant an agronomist** and **tribal living in a forest, a botanist**. Thus a common sense-based view of social life is not sociology. This holds true even if sometimes we find that statement based on the folk wisdom come remarkably close to sociological theories. For example, "give the dog a bad name and it will get blamed for lot many things". It is a piece of folk wisdom that does convey the essence of **Howard backer's** "Labelling Theory of Deviance" which says that a person's behavioural patterns is likely to be influenced by the types of labels given to him. Go on calling somebody a vandal and it is quite likely that he might live up to his reputation.

However, we need not be on the defensive about the special status of Sociology as a specialized body of knowledge. Simply because even lay man tend to explore the areas, which sociologists also do. What distinguishes Sociology from a common sense is not an exclusive phenomena to explore but a different way to look at the phenomena which others also can look at though not in the same way.

To repeat, sociology is essentially a special way of looking at the elements of social life. This special way of looking at things is what makes sociology a systematic study. It is important to identify the elements that are special to sociologist's way of looking at things, which are as follows:

- Sociology approaches social life from the **"man – in – society"** standpoint. It conveys the dualistic and apparently paradoxical conception of social life. It means that inclusive collectivity viz. society and its members exist in a relationship of interdependence in which on one hand man are viewed as shaped by their groups and group heritage on the other hand, individuals are viewed as creators of their common society and culture. Illustrations of both these conceptions of social reality can be seen in our earlier description of the elements of social life. We mentioned that people behave in society as status occupants and by virtue of their behaviour gets constrained by the need to conform to the role expectations. These role expectations are defined by the norms of the society that are essential for collective living. Further, while enacting this definite behaviour, people use symbols that are collectively shared. The social behaviour is impossible without the knowledge of various aspects of culture, namely values, norms, belief through socialisation. Thereby society gets implanted in man and shapes his behaviour. Now this illustrates the first aspect namely, "society creates man". Evidence of second aspect of sociologists conception of social life, that is, "**Man Creates Society**" can be found in our understanding of social behaviour in terms of meanings ascribed by the individuals which form basis for motives that underlie social action. Now these meanings and motives of the individual may differ from those commonly shared by the group and therefore may lead to deviant behaviour on the part of individuals that in turn may change the behaviour of the whole group. Christ, Lenin, Gandhi was such individuals who could change their societies. Even the lesser individuals do it to lesser extent.
- **Sociology has a special and irrelevant attitudes towards social life** Peter L Berger has called it a "debunking attitudes towards **world taking four granted**". In his profession sociologists is a sceptic who refuses to accept the self – evident, common sense-based view of the world at its face value, rather he makes a deliberate attempt to go beyond the "visual" and the

"apparent" to look for the hidden patterns, implicit meanings, underlying causes and unintended consequences. Sociologists work is to peep into people's life and he does it with a passion to look behind closed doors. In fact a popular textbook writer has noted that, an adolescent who takes special delight in peeping into places, otherwise prohibited by norms of decency, has the making of a perfect sociologists only he can retain the voyeuristic curiosity throughout his professional career and directe it into all spheres of social life. Illustrations of this debunking attitude can be found in the works of two great sociologists and is nowhere more evident than in the study of religion, the most venerated institution in the society. We can look at the views of Emily Durkheim and Karl Marx who have made pioneering contributions to the growth of sociology. In spite of the differences in their views on the role of religion both were alike in their almost blasphemous views on religion. While discussing the consequences of religion for social life, Durkheim said that the sociologists must distinguish between what believers thinks and what actually happens. People might believe that by worshipping God together, they might be given health, prosperity or wealth, but according to Durkheim what actually results from such collective worships is increased social cohesiveness. According to him religious beliefs including those related to the idea of God or any other sacred objects are symbolic representations of the society. Thus by worshipping God one is worshipping society. Now this makes a drastic break from the official view of religion. For example, the Christians belief is "God created man in his own image" while Durkheim was saying that "Society created God in its own image". Same debunking attitude is found more conspicuously by Karl Marx's critique of religion. For him, religion in spite of its past appearance and noble intentions is one of the instruments of exploitations of the poor by the rich. It acts like a painkiller creating false sense of satisfaction among the poor and therefore rendering them insensitive to the real cause of misery. These examples illustrate that the concern of sociological investigation is to penetrate beyond the surface view of social life and seek explanations in terms of underlying causes, meanings or unintended consequences of various social phenomena. The reason due to which the sociologists are not contended with the generally accepted view of social life can be traced to the circumstances of sociology’s birth. Sociology was born in times of turmoil, when Europe was in the throes of transition. The ancient regimes with their divinely obtain things, anointed Queen's, and noble courtiers had been destroyed by commoners like Napoleon and the world of industrial bourgeoisie had taken its place. The trouble with the new world was that though it was essentially a man-made world, yet it seemed to be perpetually going out of control of its makers. Here, lay the cause of discontentment and therefore the quest

to know the world better by looking beyond the obvious. Hence the rise of organised scepticism that became the hallmark of Sociology.

- Another important feature of Sociology's way of looking at things is that it **approaches social life with the help of definite methods.** Sociology being a late comer, had the advantage of gaining from the experience of other branches of knowledge in devising the methods of enquiry. But at the same time it had to face the limitation of having to apply these methods to study the most complex of all phenomena namely, human behaviour.

Sociological Versus Non-Sociological Explanations

There still remains widespread ignorance and rejection of a sociological perspective when people think about human behaviour. Other, more familiar, common sense perspective predominating people's minds. They may, for instance, employ a biological perspective in attempting to explain family and marital arrangements such as, women rear children because they have maternal instinct (biologically determined) for this task. Similarly, they may use pseudo-psychological perspective explaining suicide (people commit suicide when they are mentally unbalanced), or a moralistic perspective in explaining crime (criminals are people who have not developed a conscience regulating their actions).

Because ordinary people are more familiar with these kinds of common sense perspectives in their everyday lives, sociological approach does not come easily to them. This is further compounded by a deeply held commitment to the idea that we are all individuals, unique beings with our own special qualities and idiosyncrasies, which sociologists deny, preferring to "put people in the boxes" without regard for the individuality. Sociology, however, insists on a willingness to reject what is obvious, common sense, natural and to go beneath the surface for understanding of the world. As Berger puts it: "the fascination of sociology lies in the fact that its perspective makes us see in a new light the very world in which we have lived all our lives. It can be said that the first wisdom of sociology is that things are not what they seem".

Sociologists emphasize, that what is common sense or natural maybe by no means universal or eternal, but is frequently relative to particular societies or to particular periods in time

For instance, to the Hopi Indians of North America it is common sense that rain clouds are God's and must therefore be enticed to rain dances, a view not entirely consistent with that of metrological office. Similarly, in mediaeval Europe, it was common sense that one could determine the guilt of innocence of an accused person through trial by ordeal e.g. accused people carried a redhot iron bar for 10 paces, and if their wounds will heal after X days they would be declared innocent – again, this method is noticeably absent in modern trials.

The essential point than, is that one person is common sense is somebody else's nonsense, and there are many examples of sociological and anthropological investigation questioning and exploding many commonsense notions about behaviour. Although the use of everyday commonsense beliefs is, usually not only unsystematic and inadequate but also often contradictory if we look more closely at commonsense. It is likely such expressions of the world are based on what we shall call here individualistic and/or naturalistic assumptions. What do we mean by these labels? An individualistic explanation of some event or phenomenon assumes that the event can be readily understood and explained solely through reference to the behaviour of individual(s) involved in it. There is no attempt to understand or explain the phenomenon in terms of wider social forces. A naturalistic explanation behaviour rests on the assumption that one can readily identify "natural" (or sometimes "God-given") reasons for behaviour such that, for example, it is only natural that two people should fall in love, get married, live together, and raise a family.

Both types of expressions are rejected as inadequate by the sociologists- the individualistic because it does not recognise the importance of wider social forces acting on the individual that he or she cannot control, the naturalistic because it fails to recognise that behaviour patterns are not primarily biologically determined but rather reflect social conventions learned by individuals as member of social groups, or, more generally, society.

TOPIC-02- SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE

Science, scientific method and critique

Nature of Sociology

The controversy of natural sciences versus social sciences has been going on for the past few centuries. Social sciences have tried to stake a claim for being included as a scientific discipline. From the beginning, Comte and other early sociologists made efforts to study sociology scientifically, as any other natural science. Hence, it is important for a student of sociology to understand the nature of sociology in order to conclude whether sociology is a science.

What is Science?

Science refers to logical, systematic methods by which knowledge is obtained and produced. A science uses systematic methods of empirical investigation, the analysis of data, theoretical thinking and the logical assessment of arguments to develop a body of knowledge about a particular subject matter.

There are three goals of science: first, to explain why something happens; second, to make generalizations and third, to predict or specify what will happened in the future in the light of the available knowledge. The elements of science are as follows:

- Use of scientific method
- Reliability
- Validity
- Generalizations
- Predictions

What is a Scientific Method?

Scientific method is a device for using specific rules to acquire knowledge, to test hypothesis and analyse data to produce new explanations. Science produces objective and accurate information and develops an understanding of the natural world. The logical, rational, efficient and effective way of collecting, organizing and interpreting facts I called scientific method. It consists of a series of steps,

which a researcher follows while carrying out research. As long as these steps are followed, a study is said to be scientific. These steps are follows:

1. Selecting a topic
   ↓
2. Defining the problem
   ↓
3. Reviewing the literature
   ↓
4. Formulating the hypothesis
   ↓
5. Choosing a research method or methodology
   ↓
6. Collecting the data
   ↓ (Method)

↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Survey sample	Participant observation	Secondary analysis	Documents	Unobtrusive measures	Experiment

7. Analyzing the results
   ↓
8. Sharing the results

Source: Henslin, James M. Sociology: A Down-to-Earth Approach, 1999. p. 21.

Description of the Scientific Method

- ***Selecting a topic or researchable problem:*** Finding a problem that merits study and can be investigated by the methods of science.
- ***Defining a problem:*** Narrowing the topic and focusing on specific areas to choose a problem.
- ***Reviewing the literature:*** Surveying the existing data on the subject chosen.
- ***Formulating a hypothesis:*** Arriving at a statement of what you expect to find according to predictions from a theory. A hypothesis specifies the relationship between or among variables or factors.
- ***Choosing a research method:*** Selecting a method of data collection by using different tools of research.

- ***Collection of data:*** Collecting data using different methods such as experimentation, sample survey, participant observation, interviews, analyzing the documents or examining the existing records, or combining any of the above.
- ***Analyzing the data:*** Using different techniques to analyze the data collected.
- ***Sharing results:*** Writing the final report and to share the findings of the research.

What is Reliability?

Reliability refers to the consistency, accuracy and precision of a measurement procedure within a study. Reliability results in stability, predictability and accuracy. When a scale or al test is used repeatedly for measurement and gives the same results, then it is said to be reliable.

When sociologists enquire as to the reliability of data for a measurement procedure, they are questioning whether the same results would be produced if the research procedure were to be proceeded. Reliability has two principle forms:

- ***Temporal reliability:*** When the same result is obtained when the measurement is repeated at a later time.
- ***Comparative reliability:*** When the same results are obtained when two different forms of a test are used, the same test is applied by different researchers or the same test is applied to two different samples.

If the result of a study using a particular test or a measurement is different each time, the test conducted is said to have problem of reliability or poor reliability.

What is Validity?

Validity refers to correctly measuring the concept we intend to measure – measurement of the concept or the study through acceptable means. It is the extent to which a test measures what we actually wish to measure. A measure or a test is considered valid if it is thought to measure the concept or property which it claims to measure. The more accurate the measurement, the more reliable is the study.

There are broadly three categories of validity. They are as follows:

- ***Criterion validity:*** This refers to the closeness of the fit between a measure and the reality it is supposed to reflect. It relates to our ability to predict some outcome or estimate the existence of some current condition. It reflects the success of measures used for some empirical estimating purpose. The criterion should possess the qualities of relevance, freedom from bias, reliability and availability.
- ***Construct validity:*** This involves an assessment of whether or not a particular measure relates to other variables in ways that would be predicted by the theory behind it.
- ***Content validity:*** This validation is basically judgmental; each item in a measure must be judged for its relevance to the property being measured.

*What is Generalization***?**

Generalization is a process whereby general laws are extracted on the basis of a specific study, that is, to go beyond individual cases or studies and make statements that apply to a collectivity. Generalization is crucial to science because it places isolated studies in patterns that can be easily understood.

*What are Predictions***?**

Prediction is the process by which one can anticipate, guess or prophecies about the future on the basis of the study. Prediction is based on valid laws relating to the cause effect relationship in any subject.

Sociology as a Science

Sociology can be termed a science because it fulfills the basic requirements of objective and rational knowledge of social reality. Sociologists apply science to their study in the same way that natural scientists investigate the natural world. One has to understand the following points in order to analyze whether sociology is a science.

- ***Sociology employs the scientific method:*** Sociology is a science to the extent that it uses scientific methods of study. In selecting topic, defining a problem, reviewing of the

literature, formulating a hypothesis, choosing a research method, collecting the data, analyzing the results and sharing the results, sociology is as scientific as a science.

- ***Sociological principles are veridical and reliable:*** The laws of sociology prove to be true and can be easily verified. Sociological studies can to a large extent be reliable and valid. The measurement of sociological variables can be reliable.
- ***Sociologists can make generalizations:*** Generalization can be made on the basis of microstudies. These generalizations hold good for the society as a whole.
- ***Sociology can make predictions:*** On the basis of sociological studies, sociologists can anticipate the future and make predictions concerning future events, occurrences, relationships, incidents and so on.
- ***Sociology if factual:*** Sociology makes a scientific study of facts and the general principles involved in them. All sociological studies are factual.
- ***Sociology is empirical:*** Sociological studies are based on evidence, observations and explanations. All studies are measurable and are empirical stated.
- ***Sociology is cumulative:*** Sociological theories are built upon one another, extending and refining the older ones and producing new ones.

Robert Bierstedt in his book *The Social Order* mentioned the following characteristics of the nature of sociology:

- Sociology is a social science, not a natural science.
- Sociology is a categorical or positive and not a normative science.
- Sociology is a pure or theoretical science and not an applied science.
- Sociology is an abstract science and not a concrete one.
- Sociology is a generalizing science and not a particularizing science.
- Sociology is both a rational and an empirical science.

Laboratory of Sociology is the Social World

Certain objections have been raised by the academic community to challenge the scientific status of sociology. Some of these are as follows:

- ***Problem of objectivity:*** The scientific status requires the researcher to take a detached, impersonal and unprejudiced view of the phenomenon being studied, describing what is and

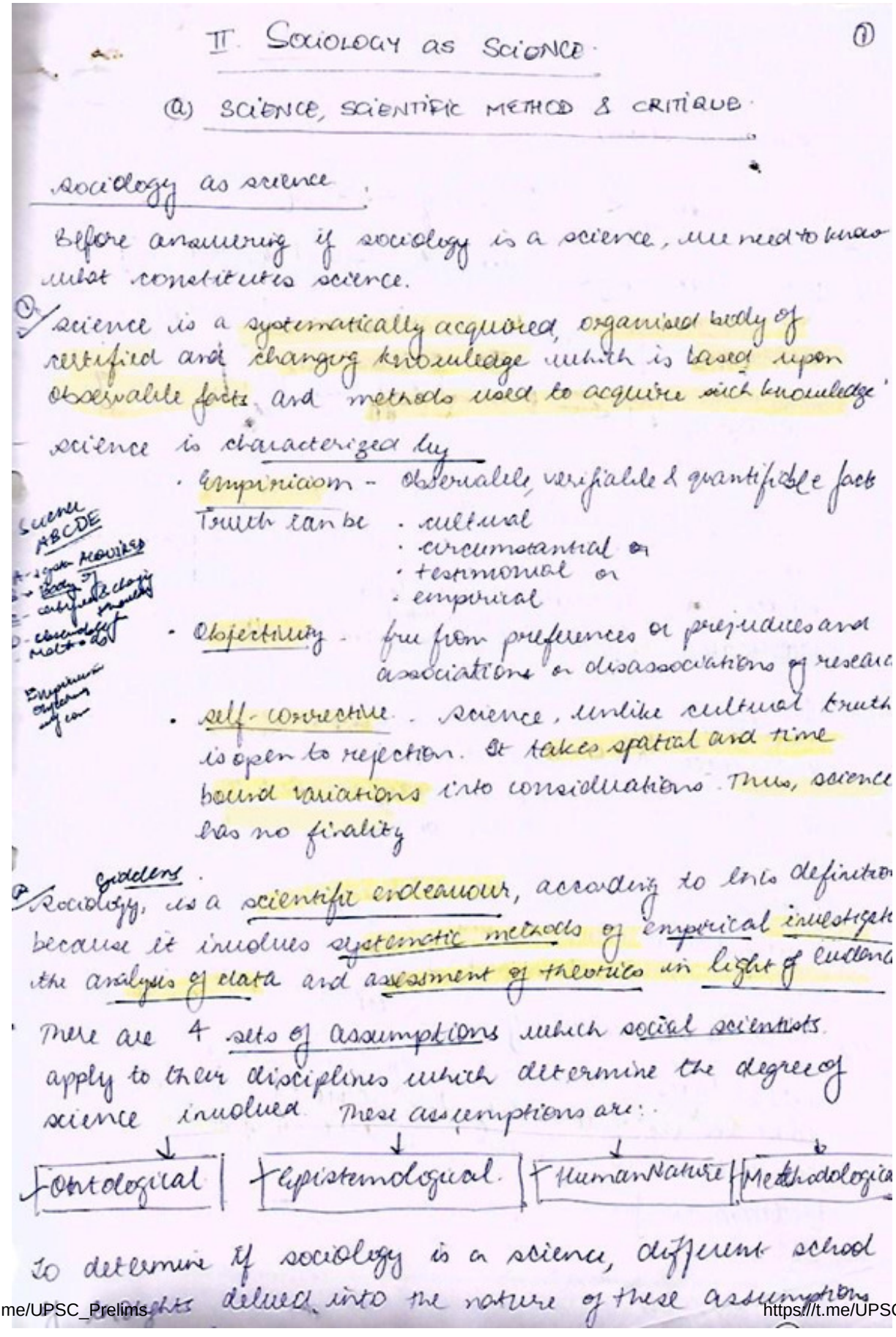
not what ought to be. Sociologists are accused of being subjective in their research, seeing what they want to see, expect to see and are conditioned to see. Sociologists, like other social scientists, allow their perceptions to be distorted by cultural and personal biases. Objectivity attempts to undo such distortions – a task difficult to achieve while dealing with human beings. It is claimed that an unbiased and objective study cannot be made in sociology, that a value-free sociology is not possible. Because sociologists are part of the social world they study, being value-free in conducting social research is difficult. Sociologists claim that these biases and the subjectivity can be minimized by the practice of new methods of scientific research.

- ***Problem of accuracy and reliability:*** Since the entire world and its people are the subject of sociological research, it is argued that such research cannot be totally accurate or reliable. Responses differ from person to person, from place to place and from time to time. Response of an individual may differ over a period of time or at different intervals. Therefore, reliability and accuracy of sociological studies comes under scrutiny.
- ***Problem of predictability:*** human behavior is too complex to allow sociologists to precisely predict any individual's action. Each individual in the society has his own individualistic approach towards society, which is spontaneous and can be impulsive. This human character or nature makes it difficult for sociologists to predict future responses.
- ***Lack of laboratory research:*** Sociological studies have the problem of complete lack of laboratory research. In the worlds of Gillin and Gillin, '…. the laboratory method is only one general procedure of accurate observation'. Some of the characteristics of the laboratory method are (i) control over conditions, (ii) facility of repeating experiment, (iii) objective observation and (iv) apparatus. Since these conditions are not completely fulfilled in sociology research, it cannot be totally scientific.
- ***Problem of exactivity:*** Sociology cannot be called real science because firstly, its laws and conclusions cannot be expressed in precise terms. Its findings are often limited in time and space owing to the fact that social phenomenon is too vast, and human motivations too complex.
- ***Problem of terminology:*** Sociology also suffers from the exact and clear terminology in the sense that the same words convey different meanings to different persons. it has not developed an adequate set of scientific terms.

According to Giddens, **'Sociology is a science in the sense that it involves systematic methods of investigation and the evaluation of theories in the light of evidence and logical**

argument'. But it cannot be moulded directly on the natural sciences, because studying human behavior is in fundamental ways different from studying the world of nature.

Scientific method and critique:



II. Sociology as Science. (1)

(a) Science, Scientific Method & Critique.

Sociology as science:

Before answering if sociology is a science, we need to know what constitutes science.

① Science is a systematically acquired, organised body of verified and changing knowledge which is based upon observable facts and methods used to acquire such knowledge.

- science is characterized by
  - Empiricism - Observable, verifiable & quantifiable facts
  - Truth can be
    - cultural
    - circumstantial
    - testimonial or
    - empirical
  - Objectivity - free from preferences or prejudices and associations or disassociations of researc
  - self-corrective - Science, unlike cultural truth is open to rejection. It takes spatial and time bound variations into considerations. Thus, science has no finality

② Sociology, as a scientific endeavour, according to Giddens definition because it involves systematic methods of empirical investigat the analysis of data and assessment of theories in light of evidenc

There are 4 sets of assumptions which social scientists apply to their disciplines which determine the degree of science involved. These assumptions are:

Ontological | Epistemological | Human Nature | Methodologica

To determine if sociology is a science, different school delved into the nature of these assumptions

The subjective - objective Dimension.

Subjective approach. (German Idealism) — **Objective approach.** (sociological positivism)

- Ontology: [Nominalism] ← → [Realism]
- Epistemology: [Anti-positivism] ← → [Positivism]
- Human Nature: [Voluntarism] ← → [Determinism]
- Methodology: [Ideographic] ← → [Nomothetic]

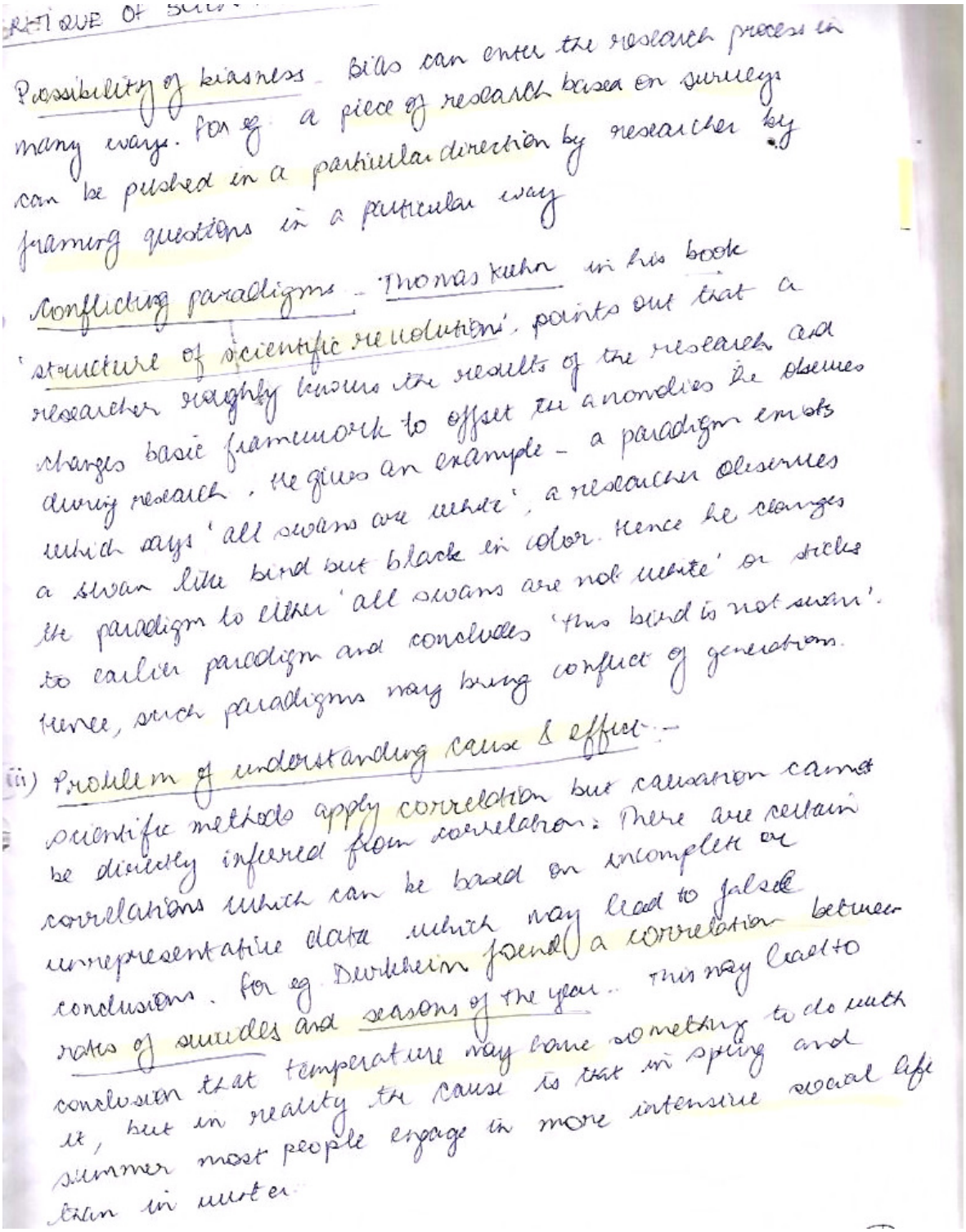
(i) **Assumptions of Ontological Nature**
Assumptions which concern the very essence of phenomena under investigation ie whether reality to be investigated is external (nomenalism), or internal (realism) to the individual.

(ii) **Assumptions of epistemological nature** - determines if knowledge can be acquired (positivism) or is experienced (anti positivism)

(iii) **Assumptions regarding human nature** & relationship the human beings & their environment — vary from humans reacting mechanistically and deterministically (determinism) environment to the one in which free will acquires centre stage. [voluntarism]

(iv) **Assumptions regarding methodology** - caters to different methodologies - one can study society considering it to be an objective reality [nomothetic] or can be considered as a softer, personal & subjective reality [ideographic]

Critique of scientific methods:



CRITIQUE OF SCIE...

Possibility of biasness - Bias can enter the research process in many ways. For eg a piece of research based on surveys can be pushed in a particular direction by researcher by framing questions in a particular way

Conflicting paradigms - Thomas Kuhn in his book 'structure of scientific revolutions' points out that a researcher roughly knows the results of the research and changes basic framework to offset in anomalies he observes during research. He gives an example - a paradigm exists which says 'all swans are white', a researcher observes a swan like bird but black in color. Hence he changes the paradigm to either 'all swans are not white' or sticks to earlier paradigm and concludes 'this bird is not swan'. Hence, such paradigms may bring conflict of generations.

(ii) Problem of understanding cause & effect :-

scientific methods apply correlation but causation cannot be directly inferred from correlation. There are certain correlations which can be based on incomplete or unrepresentative data which may lead to false conclusions. for eg Durkheim found a correlation between rates of suicides and seasons of the year. this may lead to conclusion that temperature may have something to do with it, but in reality the cause is that in spring and summer most people engage in more intensive social life than in winter.

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(iv) subjective goals - Karl Jung and Jacques Barzun noticed in their work that science cannot explain emotions like happiness, beauty etc and limits itself to quantitative calculations. Scientific methods, thus are not universally applicable and largely manipulative when applied to softer aspects.

(v) Epistemological anarchism - Paul Feyerband emphasizes the need to free behavioral sciences from the bondage of scientific methodology as it tries to ~~almost~~ ignore ground level realities by arresting truth in assumptions and keeping certain variables constant.

(vi) Vulnerability of a theory - Karl Popper in his book 'Logic of scientific enquiry' points that since scientific methods are based upon existing scientific theories, they are vulnerable like just other methods and far from perfection.

(vii) social life cannot be laboratorized - It may lead to unnatural behaviour and may affect the results significantly.

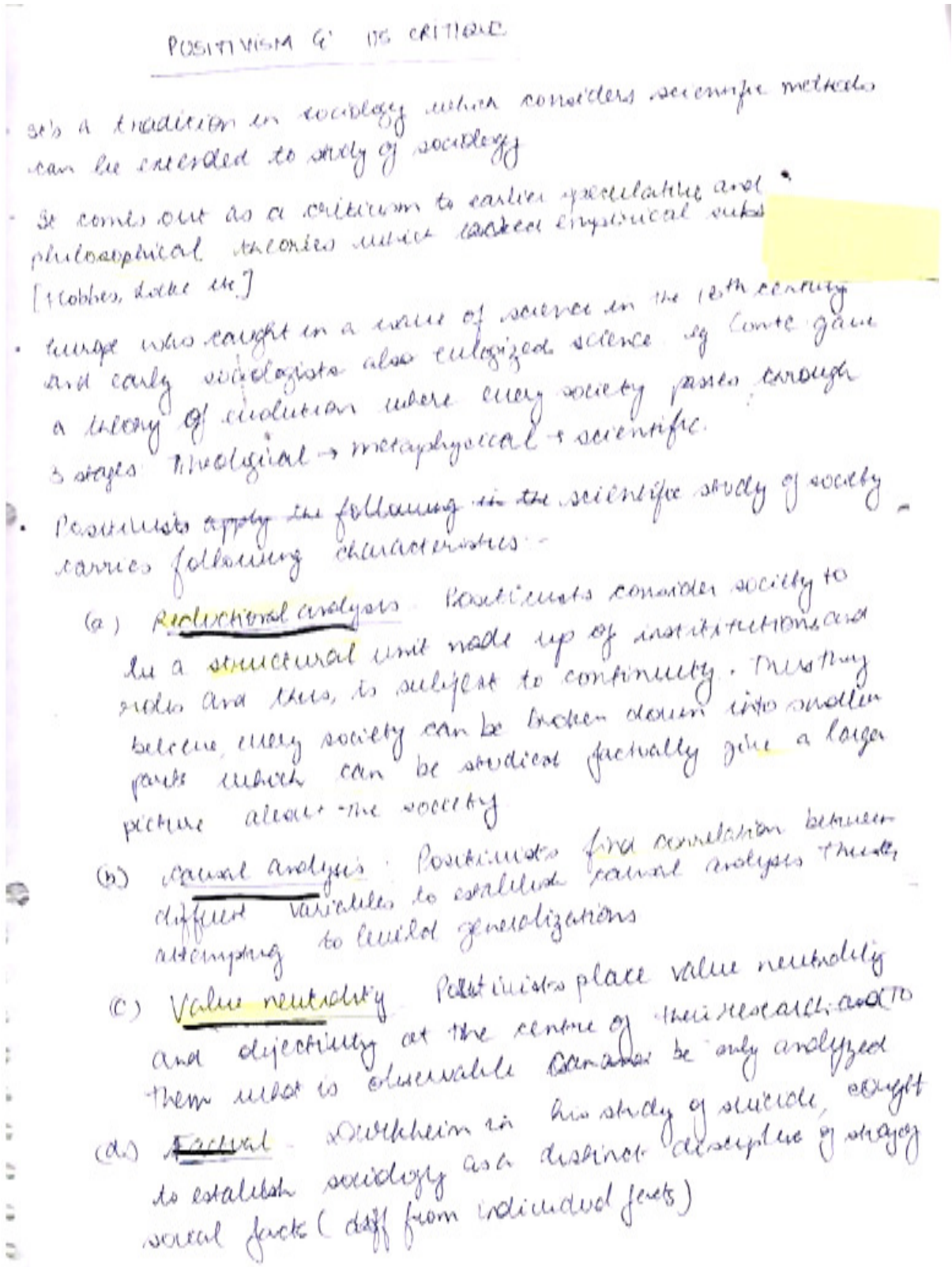
To conclude, scientific methods give a certain approach which adds objectivity to research and increases its judgemental value but when it comes to sociology and other social sciences, it gives a lot of freedom to the researcher.
Hence, a researcher needs to be careful of the limitations while conducting research and try to plug all loopholes before jumping to any conclusion.

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Major theoretical strands of research methodology

- Discussed later in research methodologies. Also do Haralambos (Chpt 1 & 14) thoroughly

Positivism and its critique



POSITIVISM & ITS CRITICS

- It's a tradition in sociology which considers scientific methods can be extended to study of sociology
- It comes out as a criticism to earlier speculative and philosophical theories which lacked empirical rules [Hobbes, Locke etc]
- Europe was caught in a wave of science in the 18th century and early sociologists also eulogized science eg Comte gave a theory of evolution where every society passes through 3 stages theological → metaphysical → scientific.
- Positivists apply the following in the scientific study of society carries following characteristics -

(a) Reductional analysis: Positivists consider society to be a structural unit made up of institutions and roles and thus, is subject to continuity. Thus they believe every society can be broken down into smaller parts which can be studied factually give a larger picture about the society

(b) Causal analysis: Positivists find correlation between different variables to establish causal analysis thereby attempting to build generalizations

(c) Value neutrality: Positivists place value neutrality and objectivity at the centre of their research and to them what is observable can be only analyzed

(d) Factual: Durkheim in his study of suicide, sought to establish sociology as a distinct discipline by stating social facts (diff from individual facts)

scholars who advocated positivistic methods to study sociology are - August Comte
- St. Simon
- Emile Durkheim
- Karl Marx (part positivist) - studies history of capitalism using empiricism
- Karl Popper can be regarded as empiric positivist who welcomed the 'refutability aspect' of science which according to him eventually yields truth. He supported positivistic methods.

CRITIQUE TO POSITIVISM

(i) HORKHIMER
- Founder of non-positivism and hermeneutics.
- Positivism engaged in 'objective anarchism'
- social life based on cultural & individual perception
- Truth is subject to changes & not always quantifiable

(ii) HABERMAS
- Positivism is engaged in inter disciplinarism
- Value freedom not possible
- It is closed approach which does the love of knowledge

(iii) PETER BERGER
- Founder of phenomenology theory
- Facts are making of everyday life
- Reality is not fixed and made → dismantled → Reconstructed
- Interpretative & understanding methods - best study

(iv) LIEBER
- social actions build society
- structures & facts assume constancy which do not always exist

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- social actions guided by moods & motives which are largely different from roles, should be subject matter of sociology

ANTHONY GIDDENS:

- Proposed theory of double hermeneutics
- science goes for only single hermeneutics where data is studied and generalizations are made.
- sociology scratches below the surface & goes for double hermeneutics

POSITIVISM (Hardcombus)

- Most influential attempt to apply natural science methodology to sociology is known as positivism
- many of founders of sociology believed it would be possible to create a science of society based on SAME PRINCIPLES & PROCEDURES AS NATURAL SCIENCES such as chemistry & bio.
- Even though natural sciences often deal with inanimate matter, thus positivists are not concerned with feelings, emotions & other subjective states
- Auguste Comte - considered to be founder of sociology, maintained that application of methods & assumptions of natural sciences would produce positive science of society. He would show that human behaviour is based on cause & effect.
- Positivist approach makes following assumptions:
  - ✓ Human behaviour can be observed & objectively measured
  - ✓ Theories may then be developed to explain observed behaviour
  - Unobservable factors like meanings, feelings & purposes are not particularly important & can be misleading eg ✓ Natural scientists don't inquire into meanings & purposes of matter. Thus if heat is external stimulus, matter will react.

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CRITICISM :

(1) Social Action Perspective - led by Weber - Advocates of social action perspectives argue that like notice human beings just dont react to stimuli or dont just behave, they act. They have CONSCIOUSNESS, THOUGHTS, FEELINGS, MEANINGS, INTERPRETATIONS & AWARENESS OF BEING.

- ∴ the pre theorist it is important to give sociological explanation of action by studying & interpreting the subjective states of minds of people.
- It is not possible simply to establish Cause & effect relationships

(2) Phenomenology

- Humans make sense of world by categorizing it.
- statistics are simply product of opinions of those who produce them. eg crime statistics
- Most that sociologists can hope to do is to understand meanings that individuals attach to particular phenomena
- Peter Berger - society is not a puppet theatre as viewed by positivists where humans react passively to external society. Humans actively create their own meanings in interaction with each other.

(3) Sociology & values

- Increasing no. of sociologists argue that value free science of society is not possible
- Infact feminism, marxism all are based on values
- Even Weber whose subjects of power & bureaucracy for his fear that bureaucratic age would stifle human freedom.
- When producing explanations, interviewers choose ques to be excluded.

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Fact, Value and objectivity

The debate on whether sociology is value or objectivity laden is drawn from the assumption that presence of one necessarily means absence of the other.

The positivist approach assumes that a science of society is possible. It therefore follows that objective observation and analysis of social life are possible. An objective view is free from values, moral judgements and ideology of the observer: It provides facts and explanatory frameworks which are uncoloured by the observer's feelings and opinions.

Many of the founders of sociology believed that sociology could and should be value free. Comte and Durkhiem believed scientific study of social facts in a value neutral way is possible. Methodological dualism proposes that the knower and the known can be separate and thereby social research can be objective and value neutral.

However, an increasing number of sociologists argue that a value-free science of society is not possible.They point out that a sociologist's choice of research topic, field of study, design of hypothesis , all depend on his conditioning (educational and familial), his view point and values. Marx lived among the oppressed, thus he wrote Das Kapital and Weber saw bureaucracy as against human freedom- thus wrote on bureaucracy. Marxists and feminists have shown the importance they attach to inequality.

Gouldner goes on to the extent of saying that sociologists must have values and they should be open about them so that others can decide for themselves to what degree values have influenced their research.

To conclude, objectivity attempts to eliminate values– a task difficult to achieve while dealing with human beings, but nonetheless, sociologists claim that these biases and the subjectivity can be minimized through training. Contemporary researchers give due weight to objectivity but at the same time recognize the futility of trying to wish away value influence completely from their research.For example- Anthony Giddens says that structure, which is largely seen as objective and social action, which is seen as reflexive or value laden, are two sides of the same coin and cannot exist independently.

Non Positivist methodologies

HERMENEUTIC APPROACH
or
INTERPRETATIVE APPROACH
or
VERSTEHEN APPROACH

What is it?

- Holds that most basic fact of social life = MEANING of action
- Need to understand text + context + diff. b/w the two.

For eg:

Durkheim's study of religion → functional role of religion in maintaining social order
Weber's " " → creative role in shaping new ways of thinking and acting.
↓
eg. Buddhism & Jainism against caste system.
Protestantism a protest against orthodox church.

- Subsequent actions oriented towards meanings of prior action.
- understanding of historical & cultural context imp.
- Rejected human affairs being governed by set of natural laws.

eg 2.

- Wilhelm Windelband: Distinction b/w nomothetic goals of natural sciences and ~~ideogra~~ ideographic goals of social sciences
- Wilhelm Dilthey: Theory starkly opposite to positivism.
- Max Weber - def of soc → interpretation of meaningful action of individuals as oriented to action of others.

problem

Hermeneutic circle - interpretation begins & ends with given text or action. Only evidence available - interior to text itself.

Non Positivist Theories

Hermeneutical/Interpretative/VerstehenApproach:

The *hermeneutic* approach holds that the most basic fact of social life is the meaning of an action. Social life is constituted by social actions, and actions are meaningful to the actors. Sociology needs to understand the text, context and variability between the two using interpretation.

Moreover, subsequent actions are oriented towards the meanings of prior actions; so understanding the later action requires that we have an interpretation of the meanings, that various historically and culturally situated participants assign to their own actions and those of others.

The tradition of interpretation rejected the idea of human affairs being governed by a set of naturallaws. Wilhelm Windelband attempted to draw a clear distinction between the *nomothetic* goals of the natural sciences and the *ideographic* goals of social sciences. Wilhelm Dilthey articulated a theory of an interpretive human science that was starkly opposed to positivism. Max Weberdefined sociology as the explanation of social action: interpretation of the meaningful actions of individuals as oriented to the actions of others.Durkheim's emphasis on tribal religion visualises the functional role of religion in maintaining social order whereas Weber's analysis, using interpretative approach, looks at the creative role of religion in helping to shape new ways of thinking and acting. For instance, Buddhism and Jainism in India hit out against the caste system and Protestantism was a "protest" against the decadence of the orthodox Catholic Church.

A central problem that authors in this tradition wrestle with is the hermeneutic circle—the fact that, interpretation begins and ends with the given—the text or the action—and the only evidence available for assessing the interpretation is interior to the text itself.

It is incorrect to imagine that the *verstehen* approach is inconsistent with the causal approach. Rather, the two approaches are complementary. It is a fact that human action is meaningful and intentional but it is also true that actions aggregate to larger causes and have effects on social outcomes.

Finally, a social science that restricts itself to hermeneutic interpretation would be radically incomplete. It would exclude from the scope of social science research the whole range of causal relationships, structural influences on action, and the workings of unintended consequences in social processes. Social scientists should be eclectic in their approach to problems, incorporating causal and hermeneutic analysis, quantitative and qualitative methods, and a range of explanatory theories and causal mechanisms.

Interactionism

As the name suggests, interactionism is concerned with interaction, which means ACTION between individuals.

In sociology, interactionism is a theoretical perspective that derives social processes (such as conflict, cooperation, identity formation) from human interaction.

Interactionism differs from functionalism, Marxism and most feminist theories in that it focusses on small scale interaction rather than society as a whole. It usually rejects the notion of social systems.

George Herbert Mead, as an advocate of pragmatism and the subjectivity of social reality is considered a leader in the development of interactionism.

Interactionism is micro-sociological and believes that meaning is produced through the interactions of individuals.The social interaction is a face-to-face process consisting of actions, reactions, and mutual adaptation between two or more individuals.Interactionists suggest that individuals develop a concept of 'self', which has an important influence on their actions and is developed through interaction with others.

Meanings are not fixed entities and are created, developed, modified and changed within the actual process of interaction.

For example, a pupil entering a new class may initially define the situation as threatening and even hostile. This definition may be confirmed or modified depending on the pupil's interaction in the class. Another example- Police are more likely to perceive an act as delinquent if it occurs in a low income inner city area. Thus, the subject matter of sociology is actions and counter actions manifested by people in different situations.

Like functionalists, interactionists study roles but in a different way. Functionalists imply that roles are provided by the social system and individuals enact their roles as if they were reading off a script. Interactionists argue that roles are often ambiguous and vague and provide sufficient space for negotiation, manoeuvre and improvisation through interaction. For example, two individuals who enter into marriage have vague idea about their roles as husband and wife. Their definition of a husband, wife and marital relationship will be continually negotiated.

Interactionists want to understand each individual, and how they act within society. They, unlike structuralists reject statistical (quantitative) data and believe that these methods don't provide a true picture of society. They argue that a hypothesis means the research is biased towards a pre-set conclusion, hence invalid.

Instead they prefer methods like unstructured interviews, covert participant observation, overt participant observation, and analysing historical, public and personal documents by content analysis.

Interactionism has several subdivisions:

- Phenomenology
- Verstehen
- Social action
- Ethnomethodology
- Symbolic interactionism
- Social constructionism

In summary, interactionism focuses on process of interaction in particular contexts. Since all action is meaningful, it can only be understood by discovering the meanings that actors assign to their activities.

Phenomenology

Social phenomenology is an approach within the field of sociology that aims to reveal what role human awareness plays in the production of social action, social situations and social worlds.

Its emphasis is on internal workings of human mind and way humans classify and make sense of world around them. IT IS NOT CONCERNED WITH CAUSAL EXPLANATION OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IN THE SAME WAY AS OTHER PERSPECTIVES. Literally, phenomenology is the study of phenomena; appearances of thing or things as they appear in our experience or the ways we experience things. According to phenomenologists- humans come in contact with the outside world only through their senses- touch, smell, hearing, sight and taste. If humans took their sense experience at face value, they would be confronted with and unintelligible mass of impressions. To overcome this problem, humans organize world around them into PHENOMENA. They classify things that appear to have common characteristics. For eg- animate and inanimate objects. They believe that such classification was entirely product of human mind and cannot be evaluated in terms of whether it was true or false.

AlferdSchutz tried to explain how phenomenology can be applied in social world. Humans developed, what he called- typifications. These typifications are not unique to each person but are

shared by members of a society. For example- a common way to write addresses makes sure letter reach at right place. This creates a stock of common knowledge that helps humans to communicate with one another

Phenomenologists believe that it is impossible to produce factual data and that it is impossible to check causal explanations. The most that sociologists can do is to understand meanings that individuals attach to certain phenomena. Example- police decides whether to arrest and charge suspects based on their understanding of crime.

Phenomenology is used in two basic ways in sociology: (1) **to theorize about substantive sociological problems**, (2) to **enhance the adequacy of sociological research methods**.

Positivism	Interpretative	Phenomenology
Macro	Middle	Micro
Objectivity	Possibility	No objectivity
No to common sense	Possibility	Common sense everywhere
Structural Study	Specific Structure	No structure
Scientific	Interpretation	Reflexive

Ethnomethodology

Harold Grafinkel first coined the term ethnomethodology which literally translates into study of methods used by people.It is concerned with methods people use to construct, account for and give meaning to their social world.

Ethnomethodology is not a methodology, but rather a study of methodology, because it does not have a formal methodology, but is the study of, "member's methods", the methods of others.

Ethnomethodologists believe that there is no real social order, as other sociological perspectives assume. For them social order is constructed in the minds of social actors as society confront the individual as a series of sense impressions and experiences which she or he must somehow organise into a coherent pattern.Social life appears orderly to members of society only because members actively engage in making sense of their social world.

The point of ethnomethodology according to Zimmerman is to explain how the members of society go about the task of seeing, describing and explaining order in the world in which they live in.One of the key points of the theory is that ethnomethods or social facts are reflexively accountable.

Accounts are the ways members describe or explain specific situations. For example, the explanation given by a husband for arriving home late at night is an account. The ethnomethodologist is interested in both the account and the methods used to convey that account to the recipient, in this case, the wife. Whether the account is factual or not does not interest the ethnomethodologist.

Grafinkel actually encourage his students to disrupt the social world in order to reveal the way that members make sense of it and reach understandings.

Ethnomethodology and mainstream sociology

Ethno methodologists are highly critical of mainstream sociology and argue that mainstream sociology typically portrays man as a 'cultural dope' who simply acts out the standardized directives provided by the culture of his society.

Critique of ethnomethodology

Alvin Gouldner pours scorn upon ethnomethodology for dealing with trivial aspects of social life and revealing things which everybody knows of. Critics have argued that ethnomethodologists appear to lack any motives and goals and fail to recognize that members accounting procedures are conducted within a system of sociological relationships involving differences of power.

Despite its criticism, Ethnomethodology has had an impact on linguistics and particularly on pragmatics. Ethnomethodological studies of work have played a significant role in the field of human-computer interaction, informing design by providing engineers with descriptions of the practices of users. Ethnomethodology has developed what is often considered a sub-field or perhaps an entirely new discipline, conversation analysis, which has its own chapter.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolicinteractionism, is a major framework of sociological theory, that originated with two key theorists, George Herbert Mead and Charles Horton Cooley (looking Self Glass Theory).

It says that people act toward things based on the meaning those things have for them; and these meanings are derived from social interaction and modified through interpretation.

Like Weber, symbolic interactionists are concerned with explaining social actions in term of the meanings that individuals give to them. However, they tend to focus on small scale interaction situations rather than large scale social change.

There are five central ideas to symbolic interactionism:

1. The human being must be understood as a social person
2. The human being must be understood as a thinking being
3. Humans do not sense their environment directly, instead, humans define the situation they are in
4. The cause of human action is the result of what is occurring in our present situation
5. Human beings are described as active beings in relation to their environment

Mead argued that humans interact in terms of symbols, the most important of which are contained in language. For example, Thus, a symbol 'chair' not only represents a class of objects and defines them as similar, it also indicates a line of action, that is – action of sitting. Chair can be used as a fuel or a weapon, but large range of activities that can be associated with chair is excluded by the course of action indicated by the symbol- chair. This facilitates interaction. Without symbols there would be no interaction and no human society.

Some fundamental aspects of our social experience and identities, like race and gender, having no biological bases at all, can be understood through the symbolic interactionist lens. Both race and gender are social constructs that function based on what we believe to be true about people, given what they look like.

Thus, there are three basic premises of the perspective:

Act —*socialinteraction*→ **attach meanings** —*interpretation*→ **modify and act**

Symbolic interactionists describe thinking as an inner conversation which Mead called Minding. Minding is the delay in one's thought process that happens when one thinks about what they will do next.

Through the process of role taking where the individual imaginatively puts himself in the shoes of the person he's interacting with, he is able to understand his actions.

Mead differentiates between the concept of 'Me' and 'I'. 'Me' is your definition of yourself in a specific social role and 'I' is a 'self concept' build through interaction with others. This provides the basis for interaction in the society.

Mead accepted that society has a culture and that this culture suggests appropriate types of behaviour for particular social roles. People will tend to act in ways that are consistent both with the expected behaviour in a particular behaviour and a person's concept of self. From Mead's point of view, social institutions like family have an existence, in the sense that particular social roles are attached to them. Eg. Mother, brother, father etc are social roles.

Methodology

Symbolicinteractionist research uses qualitative research methods, like participant observation, to study aspects of 1) social interaction, and/or 2) individuals' selves.

Criticism

1. Interaction in vacuum: Critics of this theory claim that symbolic interactionism neglects the macro level of social interpretation—the "big picture." They give little importance to historical and social setting.

2. Constraints on action: In stressing the freedom and flexibility of human action, interactionists tend to downplay the constraints on action.Eg: In North Korea, social behaviour is stringently regulated by the state and may stifle interaction in natural manner

3. Source of meanings: Critics argue that interactionists fail to explain the source of meanings to which they attach so much importance to. Meanings, according to them, are not spontaneously created but are a product of systematically generated social structure.

4. Additionally, some theorists have a problem with symbolic interaction theory due to the its lack of testability

Conclusion

Despite criticism of being too micro in approach, symbolic interactionism has a distinct place in sociology and influences study of topics like study of emotions, deviance/criminology, collectivebehavior/social movements. Hence, it helps understand the meanings behind social actions and try to answer the 'why' bit of things.

TOPIC-03- Research Methods and Analysis

Qualitative and quantitative methods

Methods are the ways of conducting research. Data collection and analysis are twin objectives of any methods. Methods use specific techniques of data collection which may be ideologically coloured. At the same time the analysis to depend upon the perspective use by sociologist. For example positivist rely more on statistical data/techniques, correlations, causal analysis and field experiments whereas non positivist use observation methods, case studies, etc. But recently use of methods have been done by different perspectives more liberally. For example critical/post modern methodology stress more on "purpose' rather than use of any specific method.

QUANTITATIVE METHODS

There are a wide variety of methods that are common in quantitative measurement.

Use of Statistical data

The second aspect of positivism concerns its use of statistical data. Positivists believed it was possible to classify the social world in an objective way. Using these classifications it was then possible to count sets of observable social facts and so produce statistics. For example, Durkheim (1970) collected data on social facts such as the suicide rate and membership of different religions.

Comparative method

The major founders of the discipline – Marx, Durkheim and Weber – all employed the comparative method. The comparative method uses a similar scientific; logic to that employed by positivists, or to that used in the deductive approach supported by Popper. Systematic comparisons can be used either to establish correlations and ultimately causal connections and supposed 'laws', or to rigorously test hypotheses.

The comparative method, as its name suggests, involves the use of comparisons. These may be comparisons of different societies, of groups within one or more societies, and comparisons at the same or different point in time. The data used in the comparative method may come from any of the primary or secondary sources.

Marx (1974) compared a wide variety of societies in order to develop his theory of social change and to support his claim that societies passed through different stages.

Durkheim, too, used the comparative method in his study of the division of labour and the change form mechanical to organic solidarity.

In the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1958, first published 1930) Weber systematically compared early capitalist countries in Western Europe and North America with countries such as China and India to try to show a correlation between early capitalism and Calvinism.

Modern sociologists have followed in the footsteps of Marx, Durkheim and Weber. David Martins' comparison of secularization indifferent countries Cicourel's comparison of juvenile justice in two Californian cities Michael Mann's comparison of networks of power in different territories Fiona Devine's Comparison of affluent workers in Luton in the 1990s and similar workers in the 1960s.

Field experiments

Sociologists do carry out experiments but they are normally outside a laboratory. Such experiments are known as field experiments. They involve intervening in the social world in such a way that hypotheses can be tested by isolating particular variables. For example, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) tested the hypothesis that self-fulfilling prophecies could affect educational attainment by manipulating the independent variables of the pupils' IQ (Intelligence Quotient) scores known to teachers Brown and Gay (1985) conducted field experiments in which they made bogus applications for jobs by letter and telephone, identifying them as being from different ethnic groups. Although field experiments overcome the problem of experiments taking place in an unnatural setting, these experiments do have other problems associated with the, first, it is not possible to control variables as closely as it is in the laboratory. Second, in some field experiments the fact that an experiment is taking place can affect the results. This is often known as the Hawthorne Effect, after a famous experiment conducted at the Hawthorne works of the Western Electricity Company in Chicago and analyzed by Elton Mayo (1933).

QUALITATIVE METHODS

There are a wide variety of methods that are common in qualitative measurement. In fact, the methods are largely limited by the imagination of the researcher.

Participant Observation

One of the most common methods for qualitative data collection, participant observation is also one of the most demanding. It requires that the researcher become a participant in the culture or context being observed. The literature on participant observation discusses how to enter the context, the role of the researcher as a participant, the collection and storage of field notes, and the analysis of field data.

Direct Observation

Direct observation is distinguished from participant observation in a number of ways. First, a direct observer doesn't typically try to become a participant in the context. However, the direct observer does strive to be as unobtrusive as possible so as not to bias the observations. Second, direct observation suggests a more detached perspective. The researcher is watching rather than taking part. Consequently, technology can be a useful part of direct observation. For instance, one can videotape the phenomenon or observe from behind one-way mirrors. Third, direct observation tends to be more focused than participant observation. The researcher is observing certain sampled situations or people rather than trying to become immersed in the entire context. Finally, direct observation tends not to take as long as participant observation. For instance, one might observe child-mother interactions under specific circumstances in a laboratory setting from behind a one-way mirror, looking especially for the nonverbal cues being used.

Unstructured Interviewing

Unstructured interviewing involves direct interaction between the researcher and a respondent or group. It differs from traditional structured interviewing in several important ways. First, although the researcher may have some initial guiding questions or core concepts to ask about, there is no formal structured instrument or protocol. Second, the interviewer is free to move the conversation in any direction of interest that may come up. Consequently, unstructured interviewing is particularly useful for exploring a topic broadly. However, there is a price for this lack of structure. Because each interview tends to be unique with no predetermined set of questions asked of all

respondents, it is usually more difficult to analyze unstructured interview data, especially when synthesizing across respondents.

Case Studies

A case study is an intensive study of a specific individual or specific context. For instance, Freud developed case studies of several individuals as the basis for the theory of psychoanalysis and Piaget did case studies of children to study developmental phases. There is no single way to conduct a case study, and a combination of methods (e.g., unstructured interviewing, direct observation) can be used.

Quantitative Methods	***Qualitative Methods***
Uses number & statistics	Uses 'text'
Formalized methods	Less formalized methods
Many observations	Few observations
Little information	Much information
Makes inferences from specific to general	Not so concerned with inference
Replicable analyses	Not necessarily replicable
Seeks social 'regularities' or 'laws'	Seeks 'understanding' & interpretation

Techniques of data collection

Primary sources and secondary sources

Primary sources of information consists of data collected by researchers themselves during the course of their work. Secondly, sources consist of data that already exists. Primary sources would include data collected by researchers using questionnaires, conducting interviews or carrying out participant observation. Secondary sources include official statistics, mass media products, diaries, letters, government reports other sociologists' work and historical and contemporary records.

A few specific techniques has been discussed in the previous topic (quantitative and qualitative methods. Some more have been discussed briefly below.

Participant and quasi-participant observation

Observation method is one of the methods which is used for the study of social problems and collection of data. Oxford concise Dictionary has thus clarified observation as "Accurate watching and noting of phenomena as they occur in nature with regard to cause and effect or mutual relation." Observation can be of two types namely controlled and uncontrolled, active or passive observation. In participants or active observation observe himself takes part in the event while in non-participant or passive observation the observer observes from remote corner or end. Uncontrolled Observation is the type of observation in which no attempt is made to control the subject matter to be observed. In Controlled Observation, The control can be on the subject matter to be investigated and also on the observer.

In Mixed Participant Observation (Quasi-participant observation), method the investigator either participates completely or completely remains aloof from the group which he wants to study.

Interview

An interview method is a method in which an interviewer approaches the respondent personally and collects depth information from him. For the purpose he establishes a rapport with him and creates an impression about his personality and also the responsibility which he has undertaken.

Types of interviews can be formal or informal: personal or group:

Diagnostic or treatment or research: it can be short contact or prolonged qualitative or quantitative or mixed; it can also be non-directive, focused or repeated.

Questionnaire

Questionnaire refers to a device for securing answers to questions by using a form which the respondents fills in himself. In questionnaire method the questions proposed to be asked are properly formulated and grouped together. The questionnaire is then mailed to the respondents, who are selected beforehand, and they are required to return that after filling the same. It can be addressed only to literate people because only they can read and send the replies to the researcher. Obviously an illiterate respondent cannot do justice with it.

Schedule

The questions are listed but the interviewer or researcher personally takes them to the respondent, collects information by himself and notes that down on the questionnaire. Thus the form of question which he has on his questionnaire does not matter much because that is for the internal consumption of the researcher.

Goode and Hatt say that, "Schedule is the name usually applied to as set of questions asked and filled by in interviewer in face to face situation with another". In other words the questionnaire document which interviewer carries with himself in only a formal document and nothing beyond that.

Schedules are of 5 different types namely

1. ***Rating schedules:*** Rating schedules are those with those help attitudes, opinions and preferences of the people to be interviewed can be found out.
2. ***Document schedules:*** Document schedules are sued in the study of case histories e.g. the study of case history of the criminals, the social status of politicians of a particular category etc.
3. ***Evaluation schedules:*** Evaluation schedules are used for gathering data about institutions and agencies. If the information collected is complex naturally and size of the questionnaire will be big, otherwise that is bound to be small.
4. ***Observation schedules:*** Observation schedules are such schedules in which the observer observes the individual as well as the group and tries to verify the information already available or hypothesis which he has prepared.
5. ***Interview schedules:*** Interview are the schedules which the researcher carries with him to the respondent and makes entries after getting replies from him.

Variables, sampling, hypothesis, reliability and validity

SAMPLING

When a sociologist is doing a piece of research it is often impractical for them to survey everyone in the group they are looking at. A portion of elements taken from the larger portion of population of them is called a SAMPLE. The process of drawing these elements from the larger population is called sampling. The sampling plan specifies how elements will be drawn from the larger or parent population and how many elements will be drawn.

TYPE OF SAMPLES

There are two basic types of sampling techniques – probability sampling and non-probability sampling. In a probability sample each unit in the general population has an equal or known chance of being included in the sample. By contrast, it is not possible to determine the likelihood that an element of the population might be included in the sample if one employs a nonprobability sampling technique. Therefore, most social scientists prefer probability samples, and point out the short-comings of nonprobability approaches to sampling. However, many research situations make it impossible to employ probability sampling techniques, making nonprobability sampling the method of choice – even if not the method of preference.

TYPES OF PROBABILITY SAMPLES

1. ***Simple Random Sample:*** All elements in the population are listed and assigned a unique number. Then a table of random number is used to generate truly random digits, and selection is made on this basis. Sometimes the "Monte Carlo" method is substituted for the use of the random number table. With this method all of the elements are "put in a hat" and drawn at random until the desired number of elements have been selected.

2. ***Stratified Random Sample:*** In this sampling technique the population is divided into two or more subgroups or strata represent those characteristics on which the researcher wishes to insure adequate representation. For example, if one were concerned that male and female perspectives were adequately represented, the population listing (or sampling frame) would be divided into two subgroups, and a simple random sample would be taken from each subgroup using a table of random numbers of the "Monte Carlo" method.

3. ***Cluster Sampling:*** As mentioned earlier, there can be enormous problems and costs associated with probability sampling when it is mandatory that particular individuals be interviewed. Both the simple random and stratified random samples would be quite costly to obtain if the population were very large or the distribution of the population was widely scattered.

Probability samples have the following drawbacks:

1. Probability samples are much more expensive.

2. Non-response is a special problem.

3. If one cannot list the elements in the population, they are impossible.

4. Probability samples are much more time consuming.

NONPROBABILITY SAMPLES

While usually mush less costly to construct and implement, the nonprobability sample is subject to many criticisms related to its validity.

1. ***Accidental Samples.*** As the name implies, the accident sample consists of units which are obtained because cases are readily available. In constructing the accidental sample (also referred to as an availability sample), the researcher determines the desire size of the sample and then simply collects data on that number of individuals.

2. ***Quota Samples.*** The quota sample is an attempt to approximate the stratified random sampling technique but in a non-random manner. The researcher first identifies those categories which are important to insure the representativeness of the population, then establishes a sample size for each category, and finally selects individuals on an availability basis. For example, if one wished to interview equal numbers of women and men concerning their opinions toward municipal laws governing wages for jobs with comparable worth, employing a quota sample one would interview willing and available individuals until the desired number of individuals in each subgroup had been interviewed.

3. ***Purposive Samples.*** Purposive samples are sometimes called judgment samples, and are employed by the researcher in order to approximate the cluster sample using a nonprobability sample. In this sampling method the researcher selects a "typical group" of individuals who might represent the larger population and then collects data on this group. For example, if a researcher wished to survey the attitudes of freshman college students at particular university, he or he might survey the students in one or more freshman English classes – the assumption is that since all students must take freshman English, the students in any class are representative of the entire freshmen class.

4. ***Snowball Sampling.*** Our final form of non-probability sampling is snowball sampling. In this approach the researcher selects available respondents to be included in the sample. After the subject has been surveyed, the researcher asks for a referral of other individuals, who would represent the population of concern. For example, if you were studying wealthy persons in Chicago, chances are that you do not have a total list of all millionaire Chicago residents, but you might know one or more wealthy persons. you might begin with the wealthy persons in Chicago, chances are that you do not have a total list of all millionaire Chicago residents, but you might know one or more wealthy persons, you might begin with the wealthy persons you do know, interview them, and ask if they could each refer you to more Chicago millionaires. Since "birds of a feather flock together", they could probably supply you with such names. Through this snowball referral method, you could

eventually obtain a sample of the desires size. If should be noted that it is very unlikely that this would be a unbiased and representative sample!

Factor affecting the size of the sample

An optimum sample in a survey is the one which fulfills the requirement of efficiency representativeness, reliability and flexibility. The sample should be small enough to avoid unnecessary expenses and large enough to avoid intolerable sampling error".

1. Homogeneity or Heterogeneity of the universe.
2. Number of classes proposed – If a large number of classes are to be formed sample must be large enough so that every class may be of proper size suitable for the statistical treatment.
3. Nature of the study – if an intensive study for large time than the large size is unfit.
4. Practical considerations – Availability of finance, time, Number of trained field workers, etc.
5. Standard of accuracy – It is generally considered that larger the size of the sample greater is the standard of accuracy or representativeness although it is not true in all the cases as ore largeness of the size is no guarantee for representativeness.
6. Size of Questionnaire or Schedule – Larger the size smaller should be the sample to reduce complexity.
7. Nature of the cases to be contacted – If the cases are geographically scattered the samples should be small.
8. Type of sampling used – Absolute random sampling requires much larger samples and for stratified sampling much smaller will do.

Procedures of selecting a sample

A valid sample must be representative of the universe or population.

The sample duly selected must be adequate in size. Although the size of sample is not necessary insurance of its representative ness.

Small samples properly selected may also be much more reliable than large samples poorly selected.

The most important consideration in selecting a sample is to see that it is closely representative of the universe.

The actual selection of sample should be so arranged that every item in the universe under consideration must have the same chance for inclusion in the sample.

A sample that is not representative is known as a biased sample.

There are four basic procedures in selecting the items for statistical samples. They are: (1) Simple random sampling. (2) stratified random sampling (3) sampling by regular intervals (4) area sampling. All these four types of sampling procedures overlap to a greater extent. Actually speaking sampling design may include two or more of these procedures.

No sampling technique is completely automatic, all involve subjects matter decisions. Hence first hand practical experience with the concrete subject matter contribute quite as much to fulfillment of a sampling project as dexterity in the mechanical routine of applied statistics.

Hypothesis

A hypothesis is a tentative generalization, the validity of which has got to be tested. A hypothesis, at its initial stage, may be an imagined idea of mere guess. It is based on accumulate previous knowledge. It is made in order to find out the correct explanation of a phenomenon through investigation. On the basis of the hypothesis, facts are observed and collected. When by verification, the hypothesis is found to be true, a theory is obtained.

FUNCTIONS

1. The most important function of a hypothesis is to adequately explain all the facts connected with the hypotheses.

2. It enables us to direct enquiry along the right lines. It suggests experiments and observation. It helps to collect necessary evidences in order to discover the order of nature.

3. Hypothesis determines the method of verification as well as the procedure for enquiry. Hypothesis limits the scope of enquiry to a manageable area, because, instead of random collection of data, it enables us to search only for relevant facts. Therefore, it leads to economy of time and money.

4. It leads to the discovery of laws. It explains facts and laws, and thus seeks to verify knowledge.

5. Hypothesis leads to conclusion, which is sometimes very significant for the advancement of knowledge. The significance of an object or event can be determined by al hypothesis. According to Northrop, “The function of hypothesis is to direct our search for other among facts. The suggestions

formulated in any hypothesis may be solution to the problem. Whether they are, is the task of the enquiry."

Conditions for a Valid Hypothesis

1. The most important condition for a valid hypothesis is that it should be empirically verifiable. A hypothesis should be compared with the facts of experience directly or indirectly. A hypothesis has ultimately got to be confirmed or refuted; otherwise, it will remain a mere supposition.

2. A hypothesis must provide answer to the problem, which initiated enquiry.

3. A false hypothesis is not always useless. It may encourage further investigation and attempt to find out relations among facts and thereby, may increase the evidence for other theories.

4. In case we have more than one hypothesis, we should prefer the one, which has a strong power of, predictability and which can explain the consequences.

5. If there are two hypothesis on the same problem and if they can be equally confirmed by evidence, the simpler hypothesis is generally chosen. A hypothesis is simpler than, the other, if the first is more general in nature and has fewer assumptions and a smaller number of independent elements. But simplicity should not be confused with familiarity. A new and unfamiliar hypothesis should never be adopted merely for its simplicity.

6. A valid hypothesis generally does not go against the traditionally established knowledge. But a hypothesis may not always be invalid, if it goes against well-established knowledge; for the traditional knowledge may itself be wrong.

7. A hypothesis must be clear, definite and certain. It should not be vague or ambiguous.

8. A valid hypothesis suggests an explanation, which appears reasonably true in the present state of knowledge. A fanciful idea or an absurd imagination does not make a valid hypothesis.

Formulation of hypothesis

There is no definite set of rules, which can be laid down for the formulation of hypothesis. Partly, it is a matter of hitting upon an idea on some problem. According to stebbing, “every hypothesis springs from the union of knowledge and sagacity”. Previous knowledge of the field of enquiry plays a significant part for the formulation of hypothesis. A hypothesis must take some facts as significant. A relevant hypothesis expresses determinate modes of connection between a set of facts, including the fact investigated. However, scientific procedure in this regard plays an important role. However, one must be fully acquainted with the facts and theories already existing in respect of the phenomenon with which one is engaged. The possession of such knowledge depends to a grant extent on one’s experience and insight.

Verification and proof of hypothesis

Verification of hypothesis means the testing of the truth of the hypothesis in the light of facts. For verification, there must be an agreement between the interference of the hypothesis and the observed facts. The grater the agreement, the stronger is the hypothesis. Direct verification means the direct appeal to the fact of experience through simple observation or experiment. Where a hypothesis cannot be directly verified, it should be verified indirectly. In indirect verification, the consequences deduced from the hypothesis is verified. If facts agree with the hypothesis and, is not contradictory fact, the hypothesis is verified.

However, verification is not conclusive proof. A hypothesis must adequately explain all facts for which it has been made, and it must be the only hypothesis to do so. It must also explain all related facts, and it should have the power of prediction.

Sometimes two or more hypothesis may explain facts. Then in order to know which one of them provides the real explanation, we take a crucial instance. This can be found out by observation or by experiment. A crucial instance is an instance, which can only be explained by one of the contending hypothesis, and not by the other. This instance not only confirms a hypothesis, but is also negates the other. Suppose that a hypothesis is that X has committed a theft, another hypothesis is that Y has committed the theft. In course of investigation, it is found that X was present at a very distant place at the time when the theft was committed. Then, this is a crucial instance.

For every dimension of interest and specific question or set of questions, there are a vast number of ways to make questions. Although the guiding principle should be the specific purposes

of the research, there are better and worse questions for any particular operationalization. How to evaluate the measures?

Two of the primary criteria of a evaluation in any measurement or observation are:

Whether the same measurement process yields the same results.

These two concepts are validity and reliability.

Reliability is concerned with questions of stability and consistency – does the same measurement tool yield stable and consistent results when repeated over time. Think about measurement processes in other contexts – in construction or woodworking, a tape measure is a highly reliable measuring instrument.

Say you have a piece of wood that is 2 ½ feet long. You measure it once with the tape measure – you get a measurement of 2 ½ feet. Measure it again and you get 2 ½ feet. Measure it repeatedly and you consistently get a measurement of 2 ½ feet. The tape measure yields reliable results.

Validity refers to the extent we are measuring what we hope to measure (and what we think we are measuring). To continue with the example of measuring the piece of wood, a tape measure that has been created with accurate spacing for inches, feet, etc. should yield valid results as well. Measuring this piece of wood with a 'good' tape measure should produce a correct measurement of the wood's length.

To apply these concepts to social research, we want to use measurement tools that are both reliable and valid. We want questions that yield consistent responses when asked multiple times – this is validity.

RELIABILITY

Reliability refers to a condition where a measurement process yields consistent scores (given an unchanged measured phenomenon) over repeated measurements. Perhaps the most straightforward way to assess reliability is to ensure that they meet the following three criteria of reliability. Measures that are high in reliability should exhibit all three.

Test-retest Reliability

When a researcher administers the same measurement tool multiple times – asks the same question, follows the same research procedures, etc. – does he/she obtain consistent results, assuming that there has been no change in whatever he/she is measuring? This is really the simplest method for assessing reliability – when a researcher asks the same person the same question twice ("What's you name?"), does he/she get back the same results both times.

TRIANGULATTON:

When plurality of methods of conducting research (can be both qualitative or quantitative) are combined , it is called triangulation. Increasing number of researchers are using it.

- **Critical Research -- Features- Page 982- Haralambos**
- **approache to feminists methodologies: Pg 987 Haralambos**
- **Postmodern methodogy: Pg 990 Haralambos**
- **Secondary Source's: Pg 1016-1022 haralombo**

Sample Size

A prudent choice of the sample size for a particular survey involves many considerations, among which are the resources in manpower, cost per sample units and funds available, the number and type of parameters to be estimated. Obviously, these specifics will vary from one survey to another. All the same, a framework can be constructed within which general and viable decisions with respect to sample size can be taken.

Sampling theory aids in arriving at good estimates of the sample size. The standard error here too provides the key. Apart front the size of the universe the sample size may depend on the following conditions.

i) The confidence limit set up for estimation;

ii) The heterogeneity of the population; and

iii) Frequency/ proportion of the trait/ attribute to be examined.

Other Research methodologies:

CRITICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE METHODOLOGY by 982 + HH

- critical social research goes beyond analyzing
- Denies total & objective nature of knowledge.
- Truth cannot be discovered by simply using quantitative / qualitative methods.
- believes 'Knowledge is a process', emerging
- way society appears can be misleading.
- eg feminists → knowledge unequal
- features
  - Abstract concepts & ideology - started here and there
  - totality, structure & history - eg criminal acts in terms of society as a whole.
  - Deconstruction, essence & reconstruction
  - Praxis • PRACTICAL REFLEXIVE ACTIVITY. → Praxis to make change world. Point of research is to improve world
- Research method not tied to single method - methods questionnaires, case studies, ethnography etc... But sympathetic towards methods which allow social world to be seen from pov of oppressed.
- Outcomes diff to identify sources of oppression eg minority religion oppressed → women oppressed - and forms oppression (2) find needs, interests & what constitutes oppression are subjective judgements (3) Try to establish truth eg their arguments more beyond challenge oppressed groups to agree with them fully, or strongly that their group have been successful in combating oppression
- Defense - should follow process to overcome limitations
  (1) Compiling primary record (2) Preliminary data analysis
  (3) Dialogical data generation - day preliminary findings → about further
  DEMOCRATIZES THE RESEARCH PROCESS.
  (4) Discovering system Relations (5) Explain findings

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FEMINIST METHODOLOGY (pg 987 HH)

(1) Attack on malestream research - most accepted → sociology has been concerned with research of men - all role issues, etc eg male crime & delinquency & classes allocated based on husband's occupation

(2) Feminist research methods - Ann Oakley → feminist way of conducting research more supine. — Reduces level of anxiety, reassuring them of their normalcy & giving valuable outlet for verbalization of feelings

Criticism - not rigid or exclusive

(3) Feminist standpoint epistemology. - Feminist knowledge can come only by examining unique experiences of women in societies in which men & women experience society in diff ways. seeks to find truth only by understanding women's experiences

criticism - relativistic & generalization

POST MODERN METHOD (pg 990 HH)

(1) - No single method accepted
- could use conventional like Paul Nanny but more eclectic
knowledge is essentially form of story telling : diff people should use diff

(2) Post modern ethnography - Deconstruction - academic texts of existy sociological theories. They make blurs distinction b/w modern & post modern epistemology.

Criticism - your point view is as good as any other realists POV -

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TOPIC-04- Sociological Thinkers:

KARL MARX

. KARL MARX and HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Historical materialismis the scientific core of Marx's sociological thought.

Before that, Marx's views on human society and human nature.

- **Society as an Interrelated Whole**
- **Changeable Nature of Society**
- **Human Nature and Social Relationships:** Human will is not a passive reflectionof events, but contains the power to rebel against circumstances in the prevailing limitations of 'human nature'.It is not that people produce out of material greed or the greed to accumulatewealth. But the act of producing the essentials of life engages people into social relationships that may be independent of their will. In most of humanhistory, according to Marx, these relationships are class relationships thatcreate class struggle.

HM- meaning:

- HM best understood as Marx's sociological theory of human progress.
- Material conditions or economic factors affect the structure &development of society.
- His theory is that material conditions essentiallycomprise technological means of production and human societyis formedby the forces and relations of **production.**
- It is historical because Marx has traced the evolution of human societies from one stage to another.Materialism simply means that it ismatter or material reality, which is the basis for any change.
- He says that **new developments of productive forces of society come inconflict with existing relations of production**. When people becomeconscious of the state of conflict, they wish to bring an end to it.**Thisperiod of history is called by Marx the period of social revolution.** Therevolution brings about resolution of conflict.
- The earlier view that of Hegel, was that ideas were the cause of change. Marx opposedthis view and instead argued that ideas were a result of objective reality.
- LikeHegel, Marx recognised that the history of mankind was simply a singleand non-repetitive process.
- Marx repudiated Hegelianand Post-Hegelian speculative philosophy and built on Feuerbach'santhropological naturalism

The motivating force in history, according to Marx, is the manner in which human beings act upon nature in order to obtain their basic survival needs.**The production of material life is the first historical act, in Marx's view.**Even after meeting survival or primary needs, human beings remain dissatisfied. This is because new or secondary needs arise as soon as primary ones are fulfilled.

- **Social Relations, Over and Above Individuals**
- **Infrastructure and Superstructure:** Social relations are defined in terms of material conditionswhich he calls infrastructure.
- **Forces and Relations of Production**
- **Social Change in Terms of Social Classes:** ForMarx, social change displays a regular pattern. Marx constructs, in broadterms, a historical sequence of the main types of society, proceeding fromthe simple, undifferentiated society of 'primitive communism' to the complexclass society of modern capitalism. He provides an explanation of the greathistorical transformations which demolish old forms of society and createnew ones. Each period of contradiction between theforces and the relations of production is seen by Marx as a period ofrevolution.(primitive communism→ ancient society→feudal society→capitalism→comunism.)
- **Dialectical Relationship between the Forces and Relations ofProduction**

In the effort to satisfy primary and secondary needs, human beings enter into social relationships with each other.As material life becomes more complex, social.relationshiptoo undergo a change.
It is the economic "'infrastructure" that shapes or moulds/the rest of society. It is the particular mode of production from which emanate the relations of production on which the whole cultural superstructure rests. Law, polity, cultural formations and so on cannot beseparated from the economic basis in which they are embedded.
This is a very important methodological contribution. Marx stresses on the study of human societies as wholes or systems in which social groups, institutions, beliefs and doctrines are interrelated. They cannot be studied in isolation, rather they should be studied in their interrelations.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM IS NOT ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

Marx recognised that without culture there can be no production possible. For him, mode of production includes social relations of production which are relations of dominationand subordination into which men and women are born or involuntarily enter.Class is a category that describes people in relationships over time, and the ways in which they become conscious of these relationships.Class is an 'economic' and also a 'cultural' formation. It is impossible to reduce class into a pure economic category.

Conclusion

Historical materialism introduced into sociology a new method of inquiry, new concepts, and a number of bold hypotheses to explain the rise, development, and decline of particular forms of society. Also, originality of historical materialism was in its immense effort to synthesise in a critical way, the entire legacy of social knowledge since Aristotle. Marx's purpose was to achieve a better understanding of the conditions of human development.

***LAW OF DIALECTICS*:**

Marx rejected Hegel's faith in Idealism but adopted and adapted Hegel's use of the dialectical methodology. According to Hegel, each thesis has its antithesis. The thesis represents the positive view and the antithesis represents the opposite or negative view. It means that each statement of truth has its opposite statement.The antithesis or the opposite statement is also true.

In course of time, the thesis and antithesis are reconciled in the form of synthesis. The synthesis is the composite view. As history progresses, the synthesis becomes a new thesis. The new thesis then has an antithesis, with eventual prospect of turning into a synthesis. And thus goes on the process of dialectics.

While Hegel applied this understanding of the process of dialectics to the progress of ideas in history, Marx accepted the concept of dialectics but did not, like Hegel, perceive truth in the progress of ideas. He said that matter is the realm of truth and tried to reach the truth via materialism. This is why Marx's theory is known as historicalmaterialism while Hegel's system is called dialectical idealism.

In brief, we can say that Marx's theory of historical materialism states that all objects, whether living or inanimate, are subject to continuous change. The rate of this change is determined by the laws of dialectics. In other words, there are forces which bring about the change. You can call it the stage of antithesis. The actual nature of change, i.e., the stage of synthesis, will be, according to Marx, determined by the interaction of these two types of forces.

Social Reality and Consciousness:

For Marx, reality is not determined by human consciousness. According to him, social reality determines human consciousness. This results in an overall conception of the ways of human thinking that must be explained in terms of social relations of which they are a part.

Marx - Modes of Production

For Karl Marx, the history of human societies is the story of how people relate to one another in their efforts to make a living. He said, "The first historical act is…the production of material life. He considers that forces of production along with relations of production form the basis of economic and social history of every society.

The concept of mode of production has been described by Marx as comprising of firstly, the forces of production and secondly, the relations of production. The crucial element in defining mode of production is 'the way in which the surplus is produced and its use controlled".The forces of production consist of such items as, the capital, the tools and machinery, raw material, and so on. The relations of production are the relationships between the owners of the means of production and the labourers who sell their labour for wages in the labour-market.

According to Marx, the development of society undergoes different phases in history from primitive, ancient, asiatic, feudal, capitalistic and socialistic to ultimately communist type. In Marx's writing, stages of social history are differentiated not by what human beings produce but by how, or by what means, they produce the material goods for subsistence.With these phases of historical development coincides the development of the different modes of economy. Primitive society had primitive mode of production, and ancient society had slave mode of production. Asiatic society had asiatic mode of production based on agriculture and irrigation. Feudal society had feudal mode of production based on the division of the landlords and serfs. In the capitalist society we have the capitalist mode of production in which the classes of capitalists and workers exist.

This description, given by Marx, of the historical development of societies and the consecutive changes in the mode of production is called historical and dialectical materialism. Each stage follows logically from the previous one. This is because each stage contains certain inner contradictions or tensions. These contradictions eventually break the system down and a new stage emerges from the womb of the old.

Four modes of production:

1. Primitive Communal system:

The primitive-communal system was the first and the lowest form of organisation of people and it existed for thousands of years. In this system of very low level of forces of production, the relations of production were based on common ownership of the means of production. In such a situation, exploitation of humans by humans did not exist because of two reasons. Firstly, the tools used (namely, means of production) were so simple that they could be reproduced by anyone. These were implements like spear, stick, bow and arrow etc. Hence no person or group of people had the monopoly of ownership over the tools. Secondly, production was at a low-scale. The people existed more or less on a subsistence level.

2. **Asiatic Mode of Production:**

- A characteristic of primitive communities in which ownership of land is communal.
- These communities are still partly organised on the basis of kinship relations.

- State power, which expresses the real or imaginary unity of these communities, controls the use of essential economic resources, and directly appropriates part of the labour and production of the community.
- This mode of production constitutes one of the possible forms of transition from classless to class societies

3. **Ancient Mode of Production:**

- precede capitalist production
- Master has the right of ownership over the slave and appropriates the products of the slave's labour.
- The master's profit is constituted by the difference between what the slaves produce and what they consume.
- The possibility of accumulation comes about through the multiplication of slaves independently of growth in the productivity of labour.

4. **Feudal Mode of Production:**

- Just as capitalists exploited the workers or the 'proletariat', so did the feudal lords exploit their tenants or 'serfs'.
- Feudal rent whether in the form of services or taxes was an important component of the feudal mode of production.

5. Capitalism- A stage in human history

The stage of capitalism, according to the Marxist interpretation of history, is a natural outcome of the contradictions within the feudal system. The feudal order was marked by the oppression of 'serfs' by the feudal lords. The tensions within the system lead to the breakdown of feudalism freeing large numbers of tenants from the feudal lands. The growing towns absorbed these people. A labour force thus became available for product manufacture. The development of new machines, the birth of the factory system and the mass production of goods consolidated the new economic system called 'capitalism'. It is a stage that will generate its own contradictions too.

As a mode of production, capitalism is characterised by the following features.

1. Production for sale rather than for self-use
2. The existence of a market where labour-power is bought and sold
3. Exchange takes place through money
4. The capitalist controls the production process
5. The capitalist controls financial decisions
6. Competition

6. Socialism:

7. Communism:

Marx discussed communism as a form of society. In the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (1844) he wrote that 'Communism is thepositive abolition of private property, of human self-alienation, and thusthe **real appropriation of human nature**, through and for man'. He concluded that a transitory stage of **Proletarian** democracy must normally and inevitably culminate in communism.

In communist society where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, herdsman or critic

Capitalism and Class Conflict

The very foundations on which capitalism survives, namely, the existence of private property, mass production of commodities under the factory system for profit and the existence of a working class that is forced to sell its labour-power in the market, leads to polarisation of classes.

As capitalism progresses, these class divisions become wider. The interests of the bourgeoisie and proletariat become more and more separate. The proletariat becomes unified. After all, they share the same problems and begin to seek the same solutions. A 'class in itself' becomes a 'class for itself'.

Forces of production:

The forces of production express the degree to which human beings control nature. The more advanced the productive forces are, greater is their control over the nature and vice versa. You can say the forces of production are the ways in which material goods are produced. They include the technological know-how, the types of equipment in use and goods being produced for example, tools, machinery, labour and the levels of technology are all considered to be the forces of production.

Relations of production:

Relations of production are the social relations found among the people involved in the process of production. Relation of production is not merely the ownership of means of production. The employer's relation to the worker is one of domination and the worker'srelation with co-workers is one of cooperation.

Mode of production:

A mode of production is the relationship between the relations of production and the forces of production

Class and class conflict: Class in itself and class for itself

Marx recognised class as a unique feature of capitalist societies. This is one reason why he did not analyse the class structure and class relations in other forms of society.

A social class has two major criteria: (i) objective criteria (ii) subjective criteria.

1. **Objective Criteria**: People sharing the same relationship to the means of production comprise a class. For example – all labourers have a similar relationship with the landowners. This is he calls

'**class in itself'**. According to him it is not sufficient for class to be 'class in itself' but it should also be class for itself i.e. the subjective criteria.

2.**Subjective Criteria:** A similar consciousness of a class serves as the basis for uniting its members for organising social action. Here this similar class consciousness towards acting together for their common interests is what Marx calls – "**Class for itself**".

In his work The Poverty of Philosophy, Marx obverses that the working class which exists in this manner is only a mass of individuals and is a mere class in itself. When it unites in its struggle against capital it "forms itself into a class for itself. The interest it defends becomes class interests."

The strength of Marx's class concept lies in the fact that he sees the two classes, as being linked with each other in terms of an exploitative relationship. The **haves** have power over the **have-nots** by virtue of its ownership of the means of production. When the **have-nots** become aware of their exploited condition, they form a **class for-itself**.

Class Conflict:

Marx said that the class antagonism and subsequently the class conflict in the capitalist system will usher in socialism in place of capitalism through a revolution. The contradiction between the forces and the relations of production is the basis of this antagonism. Classes originated in society due to number of reasons. Some of the important ones being :

i) Expansion of productive forces beyond the level needed for subsistence.

ii) The extension of division of labour outside the family

iii) The accumulation of surplus wealth

iv) The emergence of private ownership of resources.

The stark and wide disparities between the bourgeoisie and proletariat create some tiny islands of prosperity in a vast ocean of poverty and misery. This contradiction, according to Marx, will eventually produce a revolutionary crisis. The proletariat, which constitutes and will increasingly constitute the vast majority of the population, will become a class, that is, a social entity aspiring for the seizure of power and transformation of social relations. He had no love for emotionalism and humanitarianism and appeal to idealism etc. He conceived of the class conflict on every front and proposed the formation of a political party which would eventually gain victory and be the conquering class.

Dictatorship of proletariat:

All the revolutions of the past were accomplished by minorities for the benefit of minorities. The revolution of the proletariat will be accomplished by the vast majority for the benefit of all. The proletarian revolution will, therefore, mark the end of classes and of the antagonistic character of capitalist society. This would mean that the private ownership of property will be abolished. The proletariat will jointly own means of production and distribute the produce according to the needs of the members of the society. This stage is called the stage of dictatorship of proletariat. This stage is called the stage of dictatorship of proletariat. This stage will later on convert into a stateless society where the communist system will finally be established in the society. This will also end all

kinds of social classes and of all kinds of class conflicts for future. This will also mean de-alienation of the proletariat.

MARX and SOCIAL CHANGE:

For Marx, it is not enough to describe the world. He has a plan for changing it. Thus, his sociological thinking largely concerns the mechanism of change. To understand social change, he has derived its phases from the philosophical ideas of Hegel, the German philosopher.

Change from one phase to the next was viewed by them as a state of revolution brought about by conflicts between old institutions and new productive forces. He named the French and American revolutions as bourgeois revolutions

Marx's concept of socialist revolution presupposes an era of shift from capitalism to socialism. He explained bourgeois revolution as a defeat of the aristocracy. This defeat came at the end of a long period of growth of capitalism. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie is, on the other hand, only the first phase of the revolutionary change from capitalism to socialism.

In fact, Marx conceived intensification of class antagonism in capitalism, because the new forces of production do not correspond to the relations of production. There will be increasing gap between the levels of distribution of gains between the two classes. This shall leave the have-nots extremely alienated and conscious of their class interests.

The socialist revolution according to Marx would be qualitatively different from all the revolutions of the past as it would for the first time, after the beginning of history of inequality and exploitation, usher in a stage of classless society with a hope for all members of society.

KARL MARX and ALIENATION

Alienation literally means "separation from".The concept alienation describes the estrangement of individuals from one another, or from a specific situation or process.Marx has conceived of alienation as a phenomenon related to the structure of those societies in which the producer is divorced from the means of production and in which "**dead labour" (capital) dominates "living labour" (the worker).**

In Marx's analysis of bourgeois society, there are two directly related but partially separable sources of alienation rooted in the capitalist mode of production. The first of these is alienation in the labour-process, in the productive activity of the worker. The second is the alienation of the worker from his product, that is, from control of the result of the labour process. For the sake of convenience, Giddens refers to the former as 'technological alienation' and latter as 'market alienation'.

In his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (EPM) published in 1844, Marx analyses various aspects of alienation.

1) Firstly, the worker is alienated from the product of his labour. The product in which he expresses and realises himself does not belong to him. It is appropriated by the capitalists and sold on the market. With realisation of surplus-value capital grows, and with capital the alien power which controls and dominates the life of the worker. The more he works, the better he produces, the stronger becomes this alien power of capital.

2) Under the capitalist conditions the worker is alienated from the act of producing itself. The most human activity does no longer belong to the producer himself. It has become a commodity sold and bought on the market, the commodity of labour power. The buyer of this commodity, the capitalist, determines what the worker does and how he has to do it.In handicrafts and manufacture, the workman makes use of a tool, in the factory, the machine makes use of him.

3) Capitalist production alienates the worker from his being a member of the human species and from his humanity, as being a fellow being withother human beings. His social activity, production turns into a meansfor his individual existence, for earning a wage. This implies his alienationfrom other human beings with whom he competes for scarce jobs.

De-Humanisation of Labour: in process of production:

Theory of surplus value: Following Adam Smith, Marx distinguished in a commodity, two aspects: they have a use-value and an exchange value.commodity is an article, which can satisfy one or the other human need, is a use value. The exchange-value or simply the value, as distinguished from the use-value, consists of the abstract labour incorporated in the commodity. The measure is not the time which the individual labourer may have spent which may be above or below average, but the average time needed on a given level of productivity, what Marx calls the "**socially necessary labour-time**".

For the worker his labour power has only an exchange value. He cannot use it for his own purposes, because he has no means of production. But he can sell it in order to make a living. The exchange value is determined as in the case of every other commodity by the labour-time necessary for its production or reproduction; that means, in this case by the cast of the "means of subsistence" needed to maintain the worker and his children, the future workers.

The wage covers only what is needed to maintain the labourer, his value. But what he produces is more than that. The difference is called the surplus-value. The capitalist appropriates the surplus.
The capitalist tries to increase the rate of surplus value, which can be achieved in two ways: absolute and relative surplus value. Absolute surplus value is produced by "prolongation of the working day". By such prolongation the time of surplus-labor is expanded. This method is especially applied in the earlier stages of capitalism. We find it still in the unorganised sector of industry in India.Relative surplus value arises from the "curtailment of the necessary labourtime,in other words from the increase of productivity.
Labour-power is treated as a commodity in exchange for which workers may satisfy some of their most immediate needs. But for Marx labour itself is the most essential characteristic of human life. Without it, human kind not only cannot survive, it even cannot become human. Human labour is imaginative, it is conscious and not instinctual.Human labour is social. It is self-realisation through the production forothers and with others. Isolated individuals cannot survive on their own. Productive interaction with nature requires co-operation, division of labour and exchange.
But the activity of the workers does not belong to himself, but to the capitalist. His life starts only when the work is over. He works only for getting the means of life, not for life itself. That is what Marx calls Alienation.
Alienation is an objective condition inherent in the social and economic arrangement of capitalism.For Marx, the history of mankind is not only a history of class struggle but also of the increasing alienation of man.

De-alienation:

Mere criticism of alienation was not the intention of Marx. His aim was to clear the path for a radical revolution and for accomplishing communism understood as "the re-integration of one's return to oneself, the supersession of one's self-alienation".
This situation of the worker,or the producer does not alter by transforming private property into stat property.Some forms of alienation in capitalist production have their roots in the nature of the means of production and the related division of social labour, so that they cannot be eliminated by a mere change in the form of managing production.
Far from being an eternal fact of social life, the division of society into mutually interdependent and conflicting spheres (economy, politics, laws, arts, morals, religion, etc.), and the predominance of the economic sphere, are, according to Marx, characteristics of a self-alienated society. The dealienationof society is therefore impossible without the abolition of the alienation of different human activities from each other.

MARX and Division of Labour

Marx pin-points two types of division of labour:

1. **Social division of labour**: This exists in all societies. It is a process that is bound to exist in order that members of a society may successfully undertake the tasks that are necessary to maintain social and economic life. It is a complex system of dividing all the useful forms of labour in a society. For instance, some individuals produce food, some produce handicrafts, weapons and so on. Such exchanges spur on or provide an impetus to specialisation.
2. **Division of labour in industry or manufacture:** This is a process, which is prevalent in industrial societies where capitalism and the factory system exist. In this process, manufacture of a commodity is broken into a number of processes. Each worker is limited to performing or engaging in a small process like work in an assembly line.

Implications of Division of Labour in Manufacture:

1. **Profits accrue to the capitalist**
2. **Workers lose control over what they produce**
3. **Dehumanisation of the Working Class:** The worker's individual personality needs and desires mean nothing to the capitalist. It is only the worker's labour-power which is sold to the capitalist in exchange for wages that concerns the capitalist.
4. **Alienation**

Difference between Marx's DOL and Durkheim's DOL:

1. **Causes of Division of Labour:**

Durkheim explains division of labour in industrial societies as a consequence of increased material and moral density.Durkheim says the causes of division of labour lie in the fact that individuals need to cooperate and do a variety of tasks in order that industrial society may survive. According to Marx, division of labour is imposed on workers so that the capitalists may benefit. Durkheim stresses cooperation, whilst Marx stresses exploitation and conflict.

2. **Consequences of Division of Labour:**

Durkheim sees division of labour as a process that can be the basis of integration. Marx sees it as a process bringing about dehumanisation and alienation, separating the creators from their creation. The workers become slaves of the system of which they should have been the masters.

3. **Solutions to the Problems Related to Division of Labour:**

Anomie according to Durkheim can be handled by making workers conscious of their role in society. By making them feel organically linked and involved with the life of society. Meaninglessness will then be changed into an awareness of the significance of their productive roles.According to Marx, capitalism itself is the problem.The way out is through revolution, through which workers gain control over the means of production.

4. **Durkheim's 'Functional Model' of Society and Marx's 'Conflict Model':**

Durkheim's study of division of labour brings out his **functional model of society**. Durkheim sees society as a system held together by the integrative contributions of its various institutions. Marx sees history as a series of struggles between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. This leads to conflict and change. This is the main difference in their approaches.

Marx and his Criticism:

While making a critical review of the Marxian approach, we must keep in view the following two aspects of Marxism:

- **Marxism as a theory,**
- **Marxism as a practice.**

1. **Over-emphasis on historical materialism and conflict:**As regards the first aspect, Marxian approach has over emphasised the role of material forces and conflict. It has over-simplified the class structure of the capitalist society–ignoring the importance of new occupation, professions, and the middle class.

2. **Communism- a figment of imagination:** In practice, the Marxist utopia could not be achieved by the Communist Statesin the former Soviet Union and the Eastern Europe. The social inequality and exploitation remained in communist States also. The Communist States were characterised by dictatorship, police state, inefficiency and corruption. As a result not only the Communist States collapsed but even the dream of Marxism was shattered in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Europe.

3. **Growing middle class:** Marx predicted that finally the intermediate strata, i.e., the middle class wouldd disappear and there would be only two classes, i.e., capitalist and the working class. But a reverse process is visible whereby increasing numbers of affluent manual workers were entering the middle stratum and becoming middle-class. Hence, polarization of classes is not happening in the way Marx had envisaged. A middle mass society is emerging where the mass of the population is middle rather than the working class. This process is visible in both capitalist and communist societies.**Goldthorpe and Lockwood,** studied class mobility and inferred that in all capitalist societies upward mobility is higher than downward mobility and people tend to be satisfied with their positions. Thus, polarisation and revolution seem a very dim probability even centuries after industrial revolution.

4. **One-cause explanation:** With an increasing emphasis upon multi-casual explanation of social problems, it has become difficult to provide an analysis by one cause alone, the economic, as Marx propounded in his economic determinism.

5. **Common denominator:** He assumes that all the complex, combined and variably skilled labour tasks that characterize work under capitalism can be calculated in terms of their `common denominator', simple average labour time. The counter-argument is that this equation just cannot be computed, and that there is no independent reason for its plausibility.

6. **Teleological inevitabilism:** Commentators can be found on all sides, from the interpretation of Marx as a `teleological' inevitabilist propounding a God's-eye view of history's inner meaning, to his imaging as someone who believed, to the contrary, that history has no logic in itself, but is rather constructed and reconstructed according to present political needs and struggles.

7. **Socialism, qualitatively similar to capitalism: Raymond Aaron in his work 'Eighteen lectures on Industrial society'** has argued that there is not much difference between socialism and

capitalism as both are industrial societies founded on mass production. Both, export goods, thus both are surplus societies. Hence, there is no qualitative difference between the two, but only quantitative difference, where in capitalist state there are many bourgeois, whereas in socialist state, there's just one bourgeois i.e. the state.

8. **Classes are present in every society: Ossowski** argues that if class means having identical control over means of production, it is present in socialist countries too in the form of ruling class. Ruling class here comprises of Bureaucracy, Army and members of politburo. Similar argument has been put forward by **Rosa Luxemburg and Elitist theorists like Schmpeter. Louis Althusser,** in his book **'For Marx'**says that ruling class dominates every society, first by **'ideological state apparatus'** and then by **'repressive state apparatus'.**

9. **Conflict in every society:** Ralf Dahrendorf, in his book 'class and class conflict in industrial societies' argues that power in socialism, stifles the choices of people, hence conflict is visible in socialist countries too.

10. **Inter class conflict:** Pierre Bourdieu, argues that capital is not with industrial capitalists but is also possessed by intellectuals and politicians in form of cultural and symbolic capitals respectively. Since, different kinds of capitalists are present, inter bourgeois conflict is also a possibility which Marx failed to recognize.

11. **Different forms of protest:** Different scholars have argued that protests need not just me violent as Marx had propounded, but, different societies and groups manifest protests in different ways. For example, hip hop music was born as a protest against oppression. Similarly, Gandhi's satyagrah was a form of protest.

12. **Multiple inequalities:** Critical theorists, Post modernists and feminists have also added their angles to critique of Marx for missing many aspects which were ignored by him, exaggerating the role of mode of production as a basis for inequalities present in society.

ECMODTQCCIPI

Acronym- CITIQ MODE PC (Critique mode of production)

C- Conflict, **I**- inequalities, **T**- Teleological inevitabilism, **I**- inter class conflict, **Q**- Qualitatively diff, **M**-middle class, **O**-one-cause explanation, **D**-Common Denominator, **E-**exaggeration & overemphasis on conflict and materialism, **P-**protests of diff forms**, C**- communism didn't see light of the day.

Conclusion:

Marx is back, and for good reason. But Marx is not `back' in any straightforward way. For one thing, it is Marx rather than Marxism whose strengths are being appreciated anew inhis diagnosis of **ceaseless capitalist dynamism** and **instability** and his **prescient sketches of globalization** and **colonialism**;

EMILE DURKHEIM.

. **EMILE DURKHEIM (1858-1917)**

Introduction

2 things influence every theory:

- Imagination- as a sociologist
- Personal Experience- as a person

Background:

- DK was jew
- His fore fathers were religious priests- Rabbis (priestly) family
- 1887, got scholarship to study in Germany and met Wilhelm Wundt who was best known for applying scientific method in psychology. DK got influenced by him in applying science.
- He wrote his PhD thesis on 'Division of labour in society'

Division of labour

Why did he choose topic DOL for his thesis?

- Industrial societies of the time were celebrating utilitarian theory- and DOL was studied as a product of specialization. Adam Smith's book ''Wealth of Nations'', studied DOL as an economic fact. To DK it seemed something more than that- a social fact and thus, he chose the topic to look at it from a different perspective.
- Durkheim's major concern as a sociologist is the theme of social order and integration. Whatholds society together? What keeps it in an integrated whole? He was a nationalist.

Study of DOL:

- **Through his study of society DK** demonstrates how the process of occupational specialisation or division of labour helps to integrate societies where heterogeneity, differentiation and complexity are to be found.
- Durkheim studies division of labour in terms of
  - 1) the function of division of labour
  - 2) the causes underlying division of labour
  - 3) deviations from the normal type of division of labour, i.e. abnormalforms.
- **DK** argued that society changes and with it old society gives way to new DOL.
- **Scientific Approach:** DK first studied existing studies on the topic, then proved/disproved them and built his hypothesis and then worked towards confirming/negating it. Thus, he followed a scientific method.
  - **Political Scientists:**
    - Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau- They had established that thoruhg contract different institutions are established. These contracts give birth to various products like law, constitution etc. Thus, to them DOL was a political fact embedded in contracts confirming to rules of institutions.

        - DK argued that, people respect to contracts respecting to the society. Therefore, society comes first. Where DOL is normal, society is happy. Normal is context specific, normative and driven by conscience collective. Thus, DOL is a social fact.
    - **Economists**:
        - Believed that needs gave rise to new technologies, hence new education, new job market and vocation was based on utilitarian needs.
        - DK rejected utilitarian theory and proposed selection of a choice of work is a social choice. Through occupation, people stay connected with society and glorify it.
    - **Psychologists**:
        - Eric Swift's psychological theory suggested that people go for a job depending on the psychic satisfaction they draw from it. If made to stay because of compulsion- it leads to his alienation and crisis.
        - DK countered by arguing that construction of self is a social construct and not a psychic construct.
    - **Demographers**:
        - Like Hilberg attributed social change to increase in population and like economists stressed at specialization as a cause of DOL.
        - DK differentiated between Material Density i.e. size of population and Dynamic Density i.e. inter relationship among people. DK called dynamic density a social fact.
- **Borrowing concepts:**
    - **Conscience Collective from Schaffle**- He argued that animal society doesn't have longevity because it is based on instincts. Human society on the other hand is subjected to continuity because it is a product of shared ideas and **collective conscience.**
    - **Society is *Sui Genres* from Fustel De Coulanges-** He argued that society is unique and one of a kind. Society comes first and then the individual. He was DK's teacher and his ideas had great influence on his works.
    - **Anomie from Ferdinand Tonnis-** Society undergoes transition which is not overnight. In transition stage old norms are not respected and new norms have not solidified.
- **What causes DOL?**
    - According to DK, division of labour arises as a result of increased materialand moral density in society.
    - By material density Durkheim means the sheerincrease in the number of individuals in a society, in other words,population growth. By moral density he means the increased interactionthat results between individuals as a consequence of growth in numbers.
    - division of labour ensures that individuals specialise in different fields andareas
- **Anomie/Pathological society:**
    - This term means a state of normlessness

- When there is rapid change in society, conscience collective breaks down and society enters into a zone of transition.Material life changes rapidly,but rules norms and values do not keep pace with it.
- For instance, in a factoryassembly-line workers have to spend the whole day doing boring,routine activities like fixing screws or nails to a piece of machinery.They fail to see any meaning in what they do.
- This term is used by Durkheim to conveya situation in which the individual does notfeel integrated in society. Social norms andvalues seem unclear and unintegrated andthe individual does not feel morallyinvolved with the affairs of society.
- Pathological society has no concept of right or wrong and is characterized by absence of conscience collective and generalized form of DOL.
- Anomie gives temporary happiness as man becomes free and there is no pathological and no normal- only general is present.
- DK believed that he was a part of an anomic France.
- According to DK, Anomie gave way to a new conscience collective and a new social order.
- This cycle continues.

- **Pathological Behaviour:** It is present in a normal society because pathological is a relative concept. Many times pathological is tolerated by the society as it is not dangerous to the society as whole. Eg: Anna Hazare campaign against corruption.

- **Conscience Collective:**
  - The notion of collective conscience is of paramount importance inDurkheim's thought.
  - Durkheim describes collective consciousness as 'thebody of beliefs and sentiments common to **the average of the members** ofa society'.
  - The system of these beliefs and sentiments has a life of its own.
  - Collective consciousness is independentof the particular conditions in which individuals are placed.
  - Can be divided on basis of forms (degree of autonomy),

- **DOL across different societies:** Comparative method is hallmark of DK's studies**.** He says that comparative method is not a method but sociology itself.

  - **Simple polysegmental society-**
    - Low material density
    - Identical conscience collective
    - Rudimentary form of DOL- identical
    - Very simple hierarchy- like chief- first among equals
    - Punishment- Repressive to protect pathological behaviour from spreading
    - Solidarity- Mechanical (based on similarity in society)
  - **Polysegmental Simple Compund society-**

        - Population explosion-> migration-> new conscience collective
        - Settled agrarian societies
        - But simple societies- relationships based on kinship, art learnt from elders
        - Organizational characteristics not greaty different from simple polysegmental society
        - Hence, Mechanical solidarity
    - **PolysegmentalCompund Society-**
        - Contractual relationships
        - Anonymity
        - Initially lacks rules and norms
        - Anomie
        - Leads to new Conscience collective which respects differences & pluralism.
        - New society characterized by organic solidarity
        - Punishment is not a deterrent but is given to restore faith in conscience collective
- ***Different kinds of solidarities***:
- **Mechanical Solidarity:**
    - mechanical solidarity refers to a solidarity ofresemblance or likeness
    - great deal of homogeneity andtightly-knit social bonds which serve to make the individual membersone with their society.
    - Individual differences areextremely limited and division of labour is at a relatively simple level.
- **Organic Solidarity:**
    - solidarity based on differenceand complementarity of differences
    - the strength of the collective conscience lessens,as individual conscience becomes more and more distinct

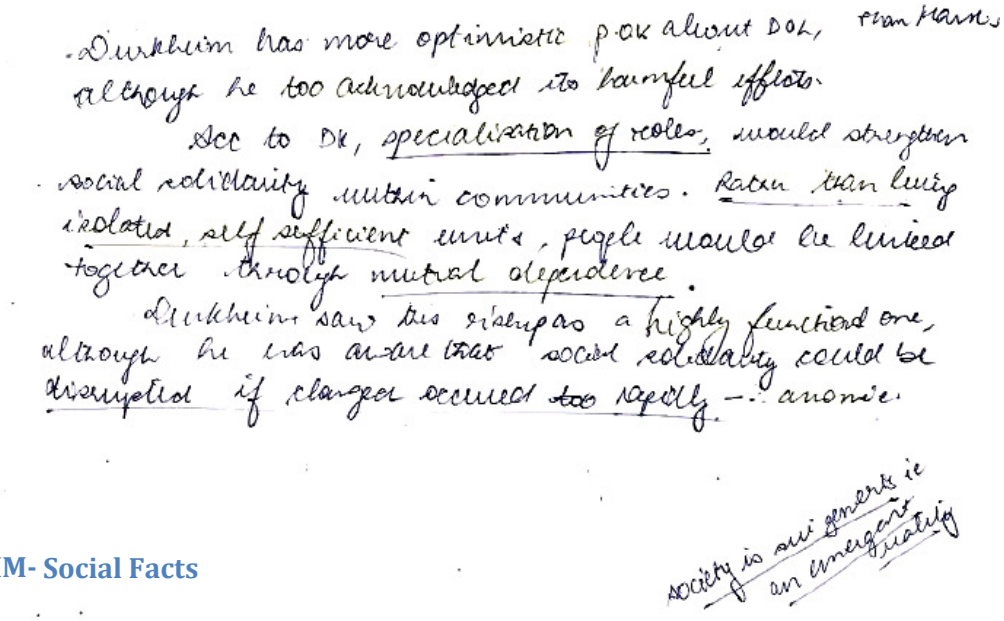
Bases of distinction	**Mechanical**	**Organic**
1) Structural bases	• based on likeness (predominant in lessdevelopedsociety) • segmental type (firstly,based on clan then onterritory) • less volume ofinterdependence(relatively,weak social bonds) • relatively, low volumeof population	• based on difference and division of labour (predominant in society advanced societies) • org a n i s e d (f i r s t l y, fusion of markets and later development of city) • high volume ofinterdependence(relativelystrong social bonds) • relatively, highvolume of moral andmaterial density
2) Types of norms	• rules with repressivesanctions • practices of penal law	• rules with restitutivesanctions • practices of cooperative law

3) Characteristics of collective conscience		
a) form	• high volume • high intensity • high determinants • absolute collective	• low volume • low intensity • low determinants • more chances to individuals for selfreflection
b) content	• highly religious (closedfor discussion) • attaching supremevalues to the society • concrete and specific	• secular, human oriented (open for discussion) • attaching supreme values to the individual • abstract and general

Basis	**Mechanical**	**Organic**
Society	Simple	Complex
Mutual cooperation	High	Low
Focus of attention	Similar	Differentiated
Emotional attachment	High	Low
Membership symbol	Concrete (Tattoos)	Abstract (Nationalism)
Reaction towards outsiders	Mistrust & hostile	Enquiry &accomodation

- Solidarity & conscience :

	Normal	**Pathalogical**
Solidarity	Social	Group
Conscience	Collective	Class



EMILE DURKHEIM- Social Facts

Social Fact

For Durkheim sociology isthe study of essentially social facts and the explanation of these facts in a sociological manner. Durkheim systematically discusses this in 'The Rules of Sociological Method' (1895).

- Social fact is that wayof acting, thinking or feeling etc., which is more or less general in a givensociety.
- The true nature of socialfacts lies in the collective or associational characteristics inherent in society.

Types of Social Facts:

A- on basis of structure/institutionalisation:

1. **Structural or morphological social phenomena:**By this he meant the number and nature of elementary parts of which society is composed. In this category of social facts are included the distribution of population over the surface of the territory, the forms of dwellings, nature of communication system etc.
2. **Institutionalised forms of social facts:** They are more or less general and widely spread in society.Under this category fall legal and moral rules, religious dogma and established beliefs and practices prevalent in a society.
3. **Not institutionalised social facts:** This category of social facts have not attained a total objective and independent existence. Also their externality to and ascendancy over and above individuals is not yet complete. For example, sporadic currents of opinion generated in specific situations; enthusiasm generated in a crowd; transitory outbreaks in an assembly of people; sense of indignity or pity aroused by specific incidents

B- On basis of acceptability:

1) Normal social facts: A social fact is normal when it is generally encountered in a society of a certain type at a certain phase in its evolution. For example, some degree of crime is inevitable in any society. Hence according to Durkheim crime to that extent is a normal fact.

2) Pathological Fact: Every deviation from the standard is a pathological fact. an extraordinary increase in the rate of crime is pathological.

Main Characteristics of Social Facts

The main characteristics of social facts are

(i) **externality**:

- An individual takes birth in a society and leaves it after birth death, however social facts are already given in society and remain in existence irrespective of birth or death of an individual.
- For example language continues to function independently of any single individual.
- There are values,norms, beliefs and practices which the individual finds readymadeat birth and which he learns through the process of **socialisation**.
- any one individual is only a single element within the totalityof relationships. These relationships are not the creation of any single individual.

(ii) **constraint:**

- Social fact is recognized because it forces itself on the individual. For example, the institutions of law, education, beliefs etc. are already given to everyone from without.
- They are commanding and obligatory for all.When the individualattempts to resist social facts they assert themselves.

(iii) **independence**:

(iv) **generality:** A social fact is that which has more or less a general occurrence in a society.

He tries to demonstrate that there may and must be a sociology, which is an objective science, based on the model of other sciences. To make this objective science of social facts possible, Durkheim gives the following two guidelines, namely,

Guidelines- Sociological Method:

(1) **social facts must be regarded as things,**

- He means that we must shed our preconceptions and prejudices and observe social facts from outside.
- We must discover and observe them as we discover physical facts.
- They are, external to the individual. They are real and exist independent of the individual's will or desire.
- For instance, you want to study 'democracy' in India. If you follow Durkheim's suggestion, you will shed your preconceived or vague ideas, e.g., "democracy is a failure in India" or "democracy is people's rule", and so on.

(2) **a social fact exercises a constraint on individuals**.

These two propositions, to regard social facts as things and to recognise social facts by the constraints they exercise, are according to Raymond Aron, (1970: 72) the foundations of Durkheim's methodology.

Rules for the Observation of Social Facts:

- As 'things' social facts have to be studied by the empirical method and not directintuition; and also, they cannot be modified by a simple effort of the will.
- While studying social facts as 'things' the following three rules have to befollowed in order to be objective:
    - All preconceptions must be eradicated.
    - Sociologists have to formulate the concepts precisely. At the outset ofthe research the sociologists are likely to have very little knowledgeof the phenomenon in question. Therefore they must proceed byconceptualising their subject matter in terms of those properties whichare external enough to be observed.
    - The objectivity of social facts dependson their being separated from individual facts, which express them.Social facts provide a common standard for members of the society

Rules for Distinguishing between the Normal and the Pathological:

Durkheim was impressed by the way study of medicine had become scientific. The doctors study the normal working of the body and its pathological features. The study of both of these features helps one identify the nature of the body. He applied this method to study social facts.
When the rate of crime exceeds what is more Sociology as Science or less constant for a given social type, then it becomes an abnormal or pathological fact. Similarly, using the same criteria, suicide is a normal social fact (though it may be regarded as 'wrong' or 'immoral' because it goes against a set of values that makes preservation of life absolute). But the sudden rise in the suicide rate in western Europe during the nineteenth century was a cause for concern for Durkheim and one of the reasons why he decided to study this phenomenon.

Rules for the Explanation of Social Facts

There are two approaches, which may be used in the explanation of social facts - the causal and the functional.
i) **Why**: The former is concerned with explaining 'why' the social phenomenon in question exists. The latter involves establishing the "correspondence between the fact under consideration and the general needs of the social organism, and in what this correspondence consists". For ex: Crime offends collective sentiments in a society, while the function of punishment is to maintain these sentiments at the same degree of intensity. If offences against them were not punished, the strength of the sentiments necessary for social unity would not be preserved.
ii) **How**: Durkheim draws a sharp line between individual and society. Society is a separate reality from the individuals who compose it. It has its own characteristics. There exists a line between psychology and sociology. Any attempt to explain social facts directly in terms of individual characteristics or in terms of psychology would make the explanation false.

Durkheim study of Religion:

It includes a system of beliefs and practices, which help human beings shape their actions and orientations. The subject of religion has been one of great interest to sociologists and anthropologists. The contributions of Durkheim and Weber are very important in this regard.

Durkheim's study:

Durkheim's work ***The Elementary Forms of Religious*** Life is an important one.

Why was Durkheim interested in only Elementary forms of religion? Because, DK believed that if the simplest form of religion is understood, it will be of immense use in understanding the complexities of 'organised' religions, in Durkheim's view.

Durkheim considered religion as a reflection of man's relation with society and nature. Religion cannot be reduced to belief in God. Because there are religions without an apparent God.

Religion is a consecration of society.

According to Durkheim, all religions comprise two basic components, namely, beliefs and rites.

Beliefs are the **collective representations**and rites are determined modes of action, which are influenced by beliefs.

- **Collective Representations:**
  - They express the way in which a particular group of individuals conceives itself in relation to the objects, which affect the social group.
  - For example: in case of religion a piece of stone may be represented as 'Mahadeva'. College or school teams are represented through their symbolic colours, light blue, dark blue, green and white, pink and blue etc. or in Asiad and the Olympics, national teams through their colours.

Besides the notion of sacred, Durkheim noted the obligatory character of the religious beliefs lying behind religious practices. There was a pressure exercised by a society upon its members to prevent them from deviating from the common religious faith.

The religious belief has nothing to do with the inherent properties of the object of worship. The world of religious beliefs is added and superimposed on the articles of worship. They are simply the symbolic forms of collective representations.

Primitive societies:

In a primitive society, members of a clan feel that they are somehow related through a common symbol, like a plant, an animal or an object. One group is called 'Crow' yet another 'Eagle' or a 'Snake'; there are others that take a place name. This name helps them in many ways. Their attitude towards the totem is one of respect. They will not harm that plant or animal. If there is a grave emergency, they will first worship it and offer collective excuse before killing it.The symbol of the determined society i.e. the clan. It is the flag of the clan. It is the signby which the clan distinguishesitself from other clans. It is the visiblemark of the personality of the clan. So it is at once

the symbol of the supernatural and of the society. The god of the clan, the totemic principle, is therefore, the clan itself. **The clan gets personified and represented to the imagination under the visible form of the animal or plant, which serves, as the totem.**The idea of religion originates, perpetuates in and through collective representations of beliefs, ideas, values and religious thoughts and practised through cults and rituals by the community of believers (also called a Church in a wider sense).

Durkheim's views on Man, society and Nature:

Durkheim considered the relationship of man, society and nature. He noted that the study of nature had increasingly been taken over by science. Thus the extension of science reduced the sphere of religion.Earlier religion represented all forms of knowledge — sacred and secular. With the growth of science, the sphere of the secular increased. Earlier morality was considered as religious duty. Durkheim rejected the religious part of that duty and expressed his faith in secular morality. In the modem times secular morality would, according to him, provide the basis for the moral order in society. Thus secular morality could become a new form of group conscience.

Sacred and Profane:

The sacred is that which is **set apart, considered holy and venerated or dreaded and avoided.**The sacred is usually in a higher position, valued more than profane things, and **its identity and power are protected by social rules.**
The profane, on the other hand, **refers to the mundane, ordinary aspects of day-to-day existence.**
The sacred and profane are kept apart, says Durkheim, because they are **heterogeneous (different), antagonistic (in conflict) and isolated (separated).**Rites therefore exist to mediate between the two worlds.

Rites:

Rites are the rules of conduct that follow from beliefs, which prescribe how human beings must behave With regard to sacred things.They bring individuals together, strengthening their social natures. They are modes of expression of thecollective conscience, which, as you have studied, refers to the commonly held values, beliefs and ideas of the community

Difference between Magic and Religion:

Following the ideas of the anthropologist Robertson-Smith, Durkheim holds that magic and religion are indeed different. Magic is a private, selfish practice, performed at the individual level. For example, if one wants to do better than one's neighbour, so one goes to the magician and by paying his/her fee, one asks him to cast a spell or perform 'jadootona' to kill your neighbour's cows or spoil his crops. Magic thus involves a bond only between the magician and his clients based on a selfish motive, in order to manipulate nature to suit individual purposes.
Religion, on the other hand, is public and social. There are social bonds between followers, which unite them into a group leading a common life.

Durkheim's study of totemism:

Durkheim maintains that totemism is the most simple form of religion. He chose to study totemism as practised by the aborigines of Central Australia. Ethnographic information on these groups was available in plenty. Their social organisation was the simplest known to sociologists and anthropologists.

The clan members may not be related by blood, but they have a common name, a common emblem. **Clan exogamy** is thus an important rule.
Durkheim maintains that it is not actually the animal or plant itself that is worshipped or held sacred, but a nameless and impersonal force which exists throughout the world and is diffused amongst all the material objects of the world. This force is described by various names "mana" by the Samoans, "wakan" by the Melanesians, "orenda" by some North American tribes. The totemic object is merely a symbol of the 'totemic principle' which is nothing but the clan itself.
In Durkheim's view, 'god' is nothing but society apotheosised or glorifiedand given a different shape and form.

Why is society worshipped?

Durkheim says that it is physically and morally superior to individuals. It is 'sui-generis', with a reality of its own. Its power is feared, its authority is respected. When a soldier gives up his life to defend the flag of the country, he is not worshipping the flag itself, but what the flag stands for, namely, the nation.
Society exists in and through individual conscience. It demands our sacrifices, it strengthens and elevates the divine or sacred within each one of us.

Functions of religion:

1.**Cognitive Functions:** Religion is a knowledge giving experience. Informs about time, space and well being.

2.Social Functions: According to Durkheim (1964: 16) the collective representation are the result of 'an immense cooperation'. They emerge, when the whole community comes together, to enact certain rites in response to'the sacred. The rituals are to two types: **positive** and **negative.** Negative rituals include a whole set of prohibitions to be observed to recreate the collective sentiment and worship the sacred. The positive rituals, on the other hand, indicate the meticulous 'preparations' to be undergone by the individual before approaching the sacred and participating in the community.

Critique of Durkheim's study of religion:

Note: The fact that Durkheim has dealt with the functions of religion does not mean that he was a 'functionalist'. Durkheim's functionalism was simple one, very general in nature. It was after the 1920s, that functionalism came to be expounded systematically. The credit for that goes to Malinowski, Radciliffe-Brown and Talcott Parson.
Criticism:
1. **Evans-Pritchard:**

- Sacred-profane dichotomy is not universal. Sacred and the profane are not alwaysantithetical. Especially among the Vedda of Sri Lanka and Melanesians, sacred-profane dischotomy does not seem to exist.
- Totem of the clan need not be the totem of the individual
- In his theory Durkheim failed to give the weightage to individual and emotionalaspects of religion

2. **Malinowski:**

- There are many simple societies which don't necessarily have totemism.
- Example, Trobriand islanders follow Manaism (spirit is omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient). Fishing community and Religion functioned here to essentially help one to regain one's stability of mind and readjust to situations of emotional stress that had arisen

- Religion here is not collective and promoting integration but is also utilitarian (to overcome problems). Like magic, addresses smaller issues, religion addresses larger ones.

3) **A.R. Radcliffe Brown:**

- Studied tribes in New South Wales where he discovered that totems are divided on the basis of individuals, gender and clans.
- Hence, totems, not necessarily integrative, but also divisive.

4) **Rodney Stark:**

- When a society is based on religion it promotes religious nationalism and can bring national crisis in a globalized world.
- Thus, there are functions as well as dysfunctions of religion.
- DK, over-emphasizes on the former.

5) **Peter Berger:**

- Modern society not engaged in society worship
- But different sects, cults and denominations address to immediate needs of people and emerging into sub religions.
- Hence, not as integrative as DK envisaged it to be, infact, divisive.

Emile Durkheim- Study of Religion

- DK Differentiated between positive and negative religion. Positive is the one that unites people as against negative religion which is divisive.
- DK wrote 'Elementary forms of religion' in 1912.

Method:

- Positivistic
- Reviewed literature of three previous theories on religion
  - Rational approach
  - Philosophical approach
  - Critical approach
- Borrowed few elements and supplemented with his own to develop a new theory of religion
- Rational approach: Looks at religion from secular perspective
  - JJ Rousseau-
    - Considers religion largely to be an intellectual phenomena
    - With rise of science, General will will take over and man will liberate himself from orthodoxy.
    - State will evolve as new God
  - August Comte
    - 3 societies- theological, metaphysical and scientific.
    - One gives way to other.

        - Modern societies worships pioneers of science and scientific dev
- Philosophical approach:
    - Tocqueville
        - In his book 'Democracy in America' advocates that 'religion is a body of consciousness and form of experience that converts external chaos into internal regularity.
        - Collective perception of sacred gives birth to religion
    - Foutel de coulanges
        - Religion is this worldly experience and not other worldly.
    - Robertson Smith
        - Religion should always be studied in terms of what people do and not what they think- advocated study of rituals
        - According to him religion plays two roles-
            - Regulative
            - Stimulative
- Critical Approach:
    - Karl Marx
        - Religion is a making of upper class and creates falsified happiness to channelize the anger of the oppressed.
        - It is opium of masses, it is illusory and should go.

Durkheim

- To rationalists- Science is not a substitute of religion. In fact, old religion gives way to new religion.
- To philosophers- Religion has a functional role and is a knowledge giving experience
- To critical theorists- Religion unifies people

Sacred: Acronym: WRC SUFI

- W- When sacred enters prafanicworld, it doesn't profanize itself but when profane enters sacred world, it sacrileges itself. Thus it is the sacred world that matters & not sacred objects.
- R- Man's relation with sacred it dynamic, but respect is constant and uncompromised.
- C- Sacred has a commanding and constraining character
- S- Sacred has a strength giving character
- U- Sacred, unlike profane, is non-utilitarian.
- F- Sacred is a matter of faith
- I- Sacred is based on a shared idea.

DK studies religion using comparative methodology and a positivistic approach. He uses data collected by Spencer and Gillen on Arunta tribe of Central Australia.

Findings:

- Religion makes distinction between insiders and outsiders.

- Religion plays regulative and stimulative role (Robertson's idea)
- Normal and Pathological are not fixed. Whatever is endorsed by society as an idea of religion is religion.
- Religion is far more than caste or creed
- Totemic culture
    - In a totemic ceremony, people speak the language of all, what they cannot articulate individually.
    - In a totemic society, people are engaged in society worship.
    - A totemic ritual, converts negative solidarity into positive solidarity.(Robertson defined ritual as a collective assembly of people, sharing common moods and motivation, forgetting differences and promoting intergration)
    - Individual rituals, don't build ego in a person as he surrenders himself to his totem to overcome a difficulty.
    - Totem alive or totem dead leads to integration of the society.
    - Functions of a totem:
        - Injects divine sensation in collective minds
        - Bridges gap between ideal world and actual world through ritual
- **Modern society- Civil** Religion:
    - DK talks of how society ought to be.
    - He never talks of religion as a separate institution like polity or economics
    - He believes that abstract symbols like nationalism and patriotism will be new religion endorsing state and rules of law which will bring integration in society.

Emile Durkeim's study of Suicide

In 1897, Durkheim published his book on Suicide

Why did his chose to study suicide?

- As, at that time, it was established that suicide was a psychological fact and a very unlikely candidate for sociological analysis.
- Availability of statistics from a number of European countries. He studied them and believed that it was impossible to explain the patterns in suicide across countries if suicide was solely seen as a personal and individual act.

Review of Literature:

- **Gabriel Tarde: Imitation theory of suicide-**
  - according to him, suicide is contagious and to can be explained according to his imitation theory to a certain extent. For example- farmers commit suicide as one leads to another.
  - DK rejected Tarde's theory by arguing that not everyone in the family of the person who committed suicide, follows him. Infact, it leads to integration among the other members and grief binds them together.
- **Mitchell and Bravo: Behavioural theory of suicide-**
  - He believed that people suffering from high anxiety, depression, addiction, regular aggression or pain of a chronic disease, commit suicide.
  - DK established, that this does not explain rate of suicides across religions, nationalities and age groups. To him, there was a lot more to suicide than just behaviour.
- **Culture of Neurasthenia theory-**
  - Modernity gives rise to situation where man develops limitless desires which cannot be fulfilled through limited resources. Thus, more suicides can be attributed to such condition of neurasthenia.
  - Durkheim, through his study, disagrees by arguing that suicide was also a feature of simple societies.

Durkheim's hypotheses:

- Suicide is determined by organisational character of society
- Suicide is driven by suicidal current
- Suicide is a universal phenomena
- Suicide is a social fact

Findings:

- **Religion:** He found that suicide rates were higher in predominantly Protestant countries than in Catholic ones. Jews, had low suicide rates, even lower than catholics.
- **Marital status & motherhood:** Generally, married people were less prone to suicide than those who were single. Childless mothers had a high suicide rate.

- **Political upheaval:** War reduced suicide rate (After war broke out in Austria and Italy, suicide rate dropped by 14% in both the countries)

Methodology:

Social facts (unlike positivists, not just observable ones)→ statistical data→ correlation→ causation→ multivariate analysis (after having established above correlations, Durkheim, used multivariate analysis to isolate the most important variables and to determine whether there was a genuine causal relationship between the factors and suicide). For example, he found that high levels of education was related to high rate of suicide. But considered it lesser factor than religion, as despite having high levels of education, jews had low suicide rate.

Durkheim used comparative method to explain how one set of social facts explains the others. As an example in his study of Suicide Rates, he found the types of social groups in which these rates were high and low. He compared these groups to know their differences, and how these differences could explain the different rates.

Types of suicides:

	High	**Low**
Integration	Altruistic current	Egoistic current
Regulation	Fatalistic current	Anomic current

Durkheim found that Egoistic and Anomic currents were present in modern industrial societies whereas Altruistic and Fatalistic currents were more a feature of traditional societies.

1. Egoistic Suicide: resulted from the individual being insufficiently integrated into the society. For example: Protestant church encouraged 'own' interpretation of religion and advocated 'free enquiry'. Catholics on the other hand promoted Sunday visit to church and preachings. Thus, Protestants were less likely to belong to a community that was unified.

For example, childless couple or single men/women are more prone to suicide precisely because of this reason.

2. **Anomic Suicide:** Anomic suicides took place when the society does not regulate the individual sufficiently. This occurred when traditional norms and values were disrupted by rapid social change. He found out that suicide rates increased during, both economic depression and economic boom as moth brought uncertainty of anomie.

3. **Altruistic Suicide:** It took place in highly integrated societies where personal sacrifices are considered acts of duty towards others. For example, Sati system in ancient and Medieval India.

4. **Fatalistic suicide:** Where high degree of regulation chokes passions of people pitilessly by oppressive disciplines. For example, Durkheim found out high rate of suicide among slaves.

Criticism of Durkheim's study of suicide:

- **Halbwachs:** Though he appreciated DK's study of suicide on many grounds, he criticized it for over-emphasizing the role of religion in determining rate of suicide. Through his study, he established that rural-urban divide was much more important factor than religion.
- **Gibbs and Martin:** They believed that DK had failed to used positivistic methods as rigorously as he advocated them. For example, he used concepts like integration and regulation that were not directly observable and measurable. Infact, he even failed to define them accurately. Hence, his theory was not testable.

MAX WEBER

. Max Weber and Social Action

Max Weber conceives sociology as a comprehensive science of social action. He focuses on the subjective meanings that human actors attach to their actions and interactions within their specific social-historical contexts.Social action had to be comprehended in terms of the meanings governing people's actions, and it had to be explained in terms of causal antecedents and their effects.

Weber rejects the positivist notion that the aims and methods of natural sciences and social or cultural sciences are the same. He takes the stand that the human being, in contrast to things or natural objects, has certain underlying motivations, which the sociologist must try to understand. Action is social when the actor behaves in such a manner that his action is intended to influence the action of one or more other persons.

According to Max Weber "Sociology is a science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its cause and effects". Here we can point out the following important elements of social action

i) social action includes all human behaviour.

ii) social action attaches a subjective meaning to it.

iii) the acting individual or individuals take into account the behaviour of others.

iv) social action is oriented and reoriented in its course.

There are two kinds of social actions- explicit (that is expressed) and implicit (that is not expressed). Hence, there are two kinds if understanding: a) direct observational understanding of subjective meaning of a given act (e.g., if I start to shout at you, you could directly observe. my irrational emotional reaction by virtue of my shouting). b) Indirect explanatory understanding: we understand motive, or, what makes an individual do a particular thing in a particular circumstance. Since we are interested in the subjective meaning of action, we must place an action in the complex of meaning in which it takes place.

Types of Social Action

Depending on the mode of orientation of the actors four major types of social action are distinguished in Weber's sociology:

i) **Zweckrational action or rational action in relation to a goal**

Rational action with reference to goals is classified in terms of the conditions or means for the successful attainment of the actor's own rationally chosen ends. Zweckrationalitat refers to rationalisation of means and goals/ ends. Reason and logical thinking are recommended in order to obtain one's desires.An example of this is an engineer constructing a bridge, who uses certain materials in a certain manner to achieve goal. This activity is directed towards obtaining that goal,

namely, completing the construction.Instrumental rationality evaluates rationally the means and ends of actions as well as the values of the different possible ends of actions. It represents the completion of man'sability to react upon the ways and purposes of his behaviour. It is present in all societies butemerges to predominance in advanced capitalistsocieties.

ii) **Wertrational action, or rational action in relation to a value**

Rational action with reference to value is classified in terms of rational orientation to an absolute value, that is, action which is directed to overriding ideals of duty, honour or devotion to a cause. It is involved with morality and touches upon emotions, sentiments and beliefs. Societal approval of individual action is considered important. Here, one may give the example of a soldier laying down his life for the country. His action is not directed towards attaining specific material goal like wealth. It is for the sake of certain values like honour and patriotism.Value rationality is characteristic of early modern societies and civilizations that have not made the transition to high modernity. Social action achieves high levels of rationality but is unable to react upon the value or worth of the ends of actions themselves. This ultimate stage of reflexivity is denied by adherence to strong belief systems.

iii) **Affective action**

Affective action is classified in terms of affectual orientation, especially emotional, determined by the specific states of feeling of the actor. This kind of action results from the emotional state of mind of the actor. If someone is teasing a girl in a bus, she may get so irritated that she may slap the offending person. She has been provoked so much that she has reacted violently.

iv) **Traditional action**

Traditional action type is classified as one which is under the influence of long practice, customs and habits. This is an action, which is guided by customs and longstanding beliefs, which become second nature or habit. In traditional Indian society, doing '*pranam*' or '*namaskar*' to elders is almost second nature needing no prompting. It is a border line case of Weberian social facts because meanings are not always present but expectations of others are and are done to draw a response.

Since reality presents a mixture of the four pure types of action, for our analysis and understanding we separate them analytically into pure or ideal types.

Read: (1) Domination and legitimacy (Pg 420 of notes)
(2) Difference between rationality and rationalization (Pg 408 of notes)
(3) Weber on modernity (Pg 413 of notes)

Max Weber and Ideal Types

According to New Websters Dictionary (NWD 1985), 'ideal' is a 'conception or a standard of something in its highest perfection'. It refers to a mental image or conception rather than a material object.

Weber used ideal type in a specific sense.To him, ideal type is a mental construct, like a model, for the scrutiny and systematic characterisation of a concrete situation. Indeed, he used ideal type as a methodological tool to understand and analyse social reality.

Max Weber was particularly concerned with the problem of **objectivity** in social sciences. Hence he used ideal type as a methodological tool that looks at reality objectively. It **scrutinises, classifies, systematises** and defines social reality **without subjective bias**.

The ideal type has **nothing to do with values**. Its function, as a **research tool**, is for **classification and comparison.**

Ideal types are concepts formulated on the basis of facts collected carefully and analytically for empirical research. In this sense, ideal types are constructs or concepts which are used as methodological devices or tools in our understanding and analysis of any social problem.

Construction- ideal types

Ideal types are formulated by the abstraction and combination of an indefinite number of elements, which though found in reality, are rarely or never discovered in specific form.

Therefore, Weber does not consider that he is establishing a new conceptual method. He emphasises that he is making explicit what is already done in practice. For the construction of ideal types, the sociologist selects a certain number of traits from the whole which is otherwise confusing and obscure, to constitute an intelligible entity.

For example, if we wish to study the state of democracy in India (or for that matter of secularism, communalism, equality a court of law) then our first task will be to define the concept of democracy with the help of its essential and typical characteristics.Here we can mention some of the essential characteristics of democracy, namely, existence of a multi-party system, universal adult franchise, formation of government by peoplesrepresentatives, peoples participation in the decision making, equality before law, respect to majority verdict and each others' views as well. This formulation of a pure type or an ideal type concept of democracy will **guide us and work as a tool in our analysis**. Any deviation from or conformity to it will unfold the reality.**Ideal types, therefore, do not represent the common or the average characteristics but focus on the typical and the essential characteristics**

Characteristics:

ACRONYM: **DAT (Daant) GP**(gap)**- D-**Descriptive **A-** Analysis **T-** Typical traits **G-** Guide **P-** Partial conception

From the above discussion we can draw some important characteristics of ideal types.

i) **TYPICAL & ESSENTIAL TRAITS:** Ideal types are not general or average types. That is, they are not defined by the characteristics common to all phenomena or objects of study. They are formulated on the basis of **certain typical and essential traits**, which are essential to the construction of an ideal type concept.

ii) **PARTIAL CONCEPTION:** Ideal types are not a presentation of total reality or they do not explain everything. They exhibit partial conception of the whole.

iii) **DIFFERENT FROM DESCRITIVE CONCEPTS:** Ideal types are neither a description of any definite concept of reality, nor a hypothesis, but they can **aid** both in description and explanation. Any descriptive concept can be transformed into an ideal type through abstraction and recombination of certain elements when we wish to explain or analyse rather than describe a phenomenon.

iv) **ANALYSIS**: They also help in reaching to general propositions and in comparative analysis.

v) **GUIDE**: Ideal types serve to guide empirical research, and are used in systematisation of data on historical and social reality.

Purpose and use of ideal types:

We can therefore say that, ideal types are a methodological device which not only help us in the analysis of empirical questions, but also in avoiding obscurity and ambiguity in the concepts which other disciplines may use loosely.

For example

Weber distinguishes three types of authority, namely, rational, legal, traditional, and charismatic, each of which was defined by the motivation of obedience or by the nature of legitimacyclaimed by the leader. Realityis vast, unorganised, dichotomous and chaotic and presents a mixture or confusion of the three ideal types and because of this very reason we must approach the types of authority with a clear idea. Because these types merge in reality each must be rigorously defined.

Max Weber used three kinds of ideal types in his works:

1. **Ideal Types of Historical Particulars**: Eg- Protestant Ethics etc. this kind of ideal types refer to the phenomena that appear only in the specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas.
2. **Abstract Elements of Social Reality**: Eg bureaucracy, authority, feudalism. These elements of social reality are found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts.
3. **Reconstruction of a particular kind of behaviour:**Eg according to Weber, all propositions in economic theory are merely ideal typical reconstructions of the ways people would behave if they were pure economic subjects. These include laws of supply and demand, marginal utilities etc.

Weber- power and authority

Power:

Sociologists describe it as the ability of an individual or group to fulfil its desires and implement its decisions and ideas. It involves the ability to influence and/ or control the behaviour of others even against their will.For Max Weber, power is an aspect of social relationships. It refers to the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of another person.

It is not restricted to a battlefield or to politics. It is to be observed in the market place, on a lecture platform, at a social gathering, in sports, scientific discussions and even through charity. For example, giving alms or '*daan*'to a beggar is a subtle way of exercising your superior economic power. You can bring a smile of joy to the beggar's face or a feeling of despair by giving or refusing alms.anydiscussion of power leads us to think about its legitimacy. It is legitimacy, which according to Weber constitutes the core point of authority.

Authority:

The German word "Herrschaft", used by Weber, has been variously translated. Some sociologists term it as 'authority', others as 'domination'or 'command'. Herrschaft is a situation in which a 'Herr' or master dominates or commands others. Raymond Aron (1967: 187) defines Herrschaft as the master's ability to obtain the obedience of those who theoretically owe it to him.

Difference between power and authority:

Power, as you have seen, refers to the ability or capacity to control another. Authority refers to legitimised power. It means that the master has the right to command and can expect to be obeyed.For a system of authority to exist the following elements must be present:

i) An individual ruler/master or a group of rulers/masters.
ii) An individual/group that is ruled.
iii) The will of the ruler to influence the conduct of the ruled which may be expressed through commands.
iv) Evidence of the influence of the rulers in terms of compliance or obedience shown by the ruled.
v) Direct or indirect evidence which shows that the ruled have internalised and accepted the fact that the ruler's commands must be obeyed.

Authority implies a reciprocal relationshipbetween the rulers and the ruled. The rulers believe that they have the legitimate right to exercise their authority. On the other hand, the ruled accept this power and comply with it, reinforcing its legitimacy.

According to Weber, there are three systems of legitimation, each with its corresponding norms, which justify the power to command. It is these systems of legitimation which are designated as the following types of authority.

(i) Traditional authority
(ii) Charismatic authority
(iii) Rational-legal authority

Traditional Authority

This system of legitimation flows from traditional action. In other words, it is based on customary law and the sanctity of ancient traditions. It is based on the belief that a certain authority is to be respected because it has existed since time immemorial.In traditional authority, rulers enjoy personal authority by virtue of their inherited status. Their commands are in accordance with customs and they also possess the right to extract compliance from the ruled. Traditional authority derives its legitimacy from longstanding traditions, which enable some to command and compel others to obey. It is hereditary authority and does not require written rules. The 'masters'exercise their authority with the help of loyal relatives and friends. Weber considers this kind of authority as irrational. It is therefore rarely found in modern developed societies.

Charismatic Authority

Charisma means an extraordinary quality possessed by some individuals. This gives such people unique powers to capture the fancy and devotion of ordinary people. Charismatic authority is based on extraordinary devotion to an individual and to the way of life preached by this person. The charismatic leader 'proves' his/her power through miracles, military and other victories or the dramatic prosperity of the disciples. As long as charismatic leaders continue to 'prove' their miraculous powers in the eyes of their disciples, their authority stays intact.It is purely the result of the special qualities of the leader who governs or rules in his personal capacity. Charismatic authority is not organised; therefore there is no paid staff or administrative set-up.

Based, as it is, on the personal qualities of an individual, the problem of succession arises with the death or disappearance of the leader. The person who succeeds the leader may not have charismatic powers. In order to transmit the original message of the leader, some sort of organisation develops. The original charisma gets transformed either into traditional authority or rational-legal authority. Weber calls this **routinisation**of charisma. Weber used routinisation to mean the "transformation of charismatic leadership into institutionalised leadership where one office takes the place of a personality as the focus of authority"

Rational-legal Authority

The term refers to a system of authority, which are both, rational and legal. It is vested in a regular administrative staff who operate in accordance with certain written rules and laws. Those who exercise authority are appointed to do so on the basis of their achieved qualifications, which are prescribed and codified. Those in authority consider it a profession and are paid a salary. Thus, it is a rational system.It is legal because it is in accordance with the laws of the land which people recognise and feel obliged to obey.Rational-legal authority is a typical feature of modern society. It is the reflection of the process of rationalisation. It is, according to Weber, a specific product of human thought and deliberation.

Weber-Rationality Vs Rationalization

Rationality refers to those ideas and behaviours which are logically coherent and consistent and amenable to empirical knowledge. Rationalisation refers to the process whereby rationality is applied to various aspects and activities of life. The conviction that rationality is the distinctive characteristic of human beings has made it a central theme in Western philosophy for over two hundred years

According to Weber, the contemporary world is characterised by rationality.Individuals rely more on logic, **reason** calculation than on supernatural beliefs. To Weber rationalisation meansthat "principally there are no mysterious incalculable forces that come intoplay, but rather one can, in principle, master all things by calculation. Oneneed no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implorethe spirits, as did the savage, for whom such mysterious power existed." For example, If a farmer wants to reap a good harvest, he can spend time, energy and money on conducting *poojas*and prayers. On the other hand, he can utilise the same effort and expense in digging irrigation canals or a tube-well so that his crops may thrive. In the first case, he is dependent on "mysterious incalculable forces"; in the second case he is using rational calculation.

The rationalisation characteristic of modem societies is manifested in terms of the 'Zweckrational' actions, i.e. actions in relation to goals. Hence the sphere of rationalisation is extended to economic, political, religious organisations etc.

Weber's treatment of the concept of rationality

Weber treated or handled rationality in his work in the following two major

ways.

i) **Society as a Rationalisation Process**

The first meaning is related to the study of society as a process of rationalisation. That is, an older, less rational form changes into a newer more rational form. This is what he calls rationalisation, i.e. the way in which reason becomes effective in history, the actual historical process.

Weber sees the development of history, and particularly recent history, i.e. the 'modern', as one of increasing rationality and rationalisation. Protestantism, capitalism and bureaucracy are successive forms of this process of rationalisation. They gain their meaningfulness as part of a historical development, i.e. the way in which a later development is more rational than a former.

ii) **Rationality as a Methodological Tool**

The second way of seeing rationality is as a methodological principle, a strategy of inquiry, a method of investigation. It is Weber's aim tolay bare the logic of various social forms and processes even when they appear at first glance to be irrational, non-rational or anti-rational. In this sense rationality is a mode of inquiry that seek to discover the reason of a social form or development.

In order to explain modernity, Weber speaks about Rationalization which is present in different historical and empirical context in divergent forms. Thus he develops an ideal type of rationality, classifying it into 4 different types: Formal Rationality (follows systematic means, rule of law and logic), Substantive rationality (gives importance on values and not rule of law- goals are not important as values become goals in itself- for ex, soldier dying for his nation), Practical rationality (not committed to means but to goals, driven by individualism and utilitarianism) and Theoretical rationality (having a vision for future, imagination).

Weber and Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy, as per Weber is the medium through which rational-legal authority is carried out. It is the organisational apparatus of the modern state and the modern capitalist state is completely dependent upon bureaucratic organisation for its continued existence.

Bureaucratic set up developed, for example in ancient Egypt, when the monarch needed a permanent army, to ensure supplies of arms and military equipment. According to Weber these developments were the most important factors promoting the emergence of the modern state in which the expert officialdom,based on the division of labour is wholly separated from ownership of its means of administration.

Officials in modern, rational bureaucracies have little or no control over what they do since the rules and procedures of bureaucracies take on a life of their own, restricting the activities and decisions of those who work in them to the functions of the offices they fill.

Ideal Type of Bureaucracy

The characteristic features of the ideal type of bureaucracy according to Weber are

ACRONYM: WOT CASH- **W**- Written, **O**- Ownership separate, **T**- training; **C-**continuous; **A**-appropriation by incumbent; **S-**specific sphere; **H-**hierarchy.

1) A continuous organisation of official functions bound by rules.

2) A specific sphere of competence. This involves (a) a sphere of obligation to perform functions, which has been marked off as part of a systematic division of labour. (b) The provision of the incumbent with the necessary authority to carry out these functions. (c) That the necessary means of compulsion are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions.

3) The organisation of offices follows the principle of hierarchy; that is, each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one. There is a right of appeal and of statement of grievances from lower to the higher.

4) The rules which regulate the conduct of an office may be technical rules or norms. In both cases, if their application is to be fully rational, specialised training is necessary.

5) In the rational type it is a matter of principle that the members of the administrative staff should be completely separated from ownership of the means of production and administration.

6) In the rational type case, there is also a complete absence of appropriation of his official position by the incumbent. Where 'rights' to an office exist, as in the case of judges, and recently of an increasing proportion of officials and even of workers, they do not normally serve the purpose of appropriation by the officialbut of securing the purely objective and independent character of the conduct of the office so that is oriented only to the relevant norms.

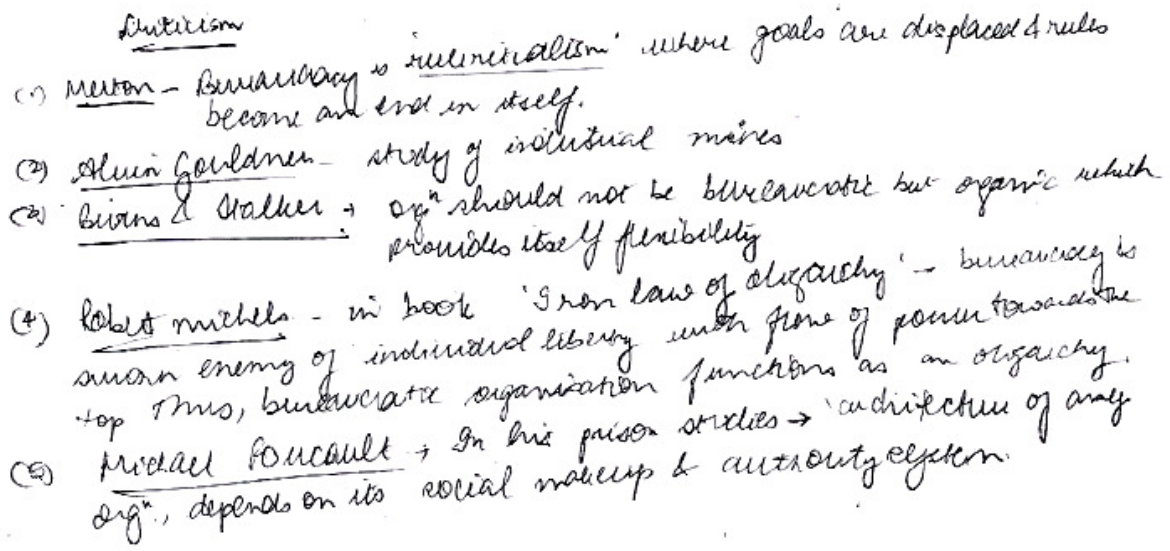
7) Administrative acts, decisions and rules formulated and recorded in writing, even in cases where oral discussion is the rule or is even mandatory. The combination of written documents and continuous organisation of official functions constitutes the 'office' which is the central focus of all types of modern action.

Criticism:

Criticism of Weber is not really possible in the strictest of sense as Weber is a non-committal and a non-determinist sociologist. Anybody who criticizes him, actually in one way or the other, supplements his theory of ideal type by comparing it with actual type of his time.

Robert K Merton talks about administrative bureaucracy as functional, dysfunctional and non-functional to society. **Cozier**, through his empirical study of bureaucracy argues that it has failed to fulfil the expectations of people and has refused to learn from it's mistakes. It is a system which can destroy itself from within and hence, not entirely rational. **Gouldner**sees in his study of industrial mines that bureaucracy is not present and required everywhere in a modern society. He observes that inside a mine, supervisor and workers share an informal relation to overcome hazards and maximize efficiency but in industry they follow a more rule bound and hierarchical relationship. Similarly, **Stacker,** favours de-bureaucratisation of many industries like software industry, creative industry etc.**Pourwell,**argued that there is a possibility of certain influential people capturing bureaucracy and dominating those who work for bureaucracy. **LatifChaudhary,** in his study on corruption in SE Asia, establishes that there are two kind of bureaucracies- Lower level bureaucracy which is full of rent seekers and higher level bureaucracy which is made of policy makers and there lacks a coordination between the two.

Thus, different sociologists, reflect upon Weberian ideal type of bureaucracy and apply that to different empirical situations.



Weber-religion, protestant ethics and capitalism

The term 'religion' refers to a set of ideas and beliefs about the "supernatural" and its impact on the lives of human beings.

By systematically analysing the doctrines of certain Protestant sects like Lutheranism, Calvinism and Pietisem, Weber came to believe that ethics generated by these sects have aided capitalist development in many European countries.Ethics is important because it sets certain standards of thought and behaviour, which are used to evaluate or judge actual behaviour. Ethical codes, in other words, represent what "ought" to be done. They reflect the particular values and beliefs of the social groups of which they are part.

In the eyes of Max Weber, religious ideas can act as powerful force in determining the course of the economic order. Through his 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' (1958, 1905), Max Weber proposed the thesis that various Protestant sects that emerged during the 16th and 17th centuries in Europe, aided through their doctrines, the emergence of modem rational capitalism. The PE is a study of what drove the early Puritan to create the economic, social and psychological conditions on which modern capitalism was built.Max Weber 'sthesis was part of a larger intellectual debate among scholars, regarding the role of ideal and material factors in historical development.The doctrine of predestination, preached by Calvin, said that god had chosen his people already, and one could live by faith alone. Calvin criticised all kinds of magical practices followed by Catholics. The doctrine of predestination aroused the question. "Am I one of the God's chosen, in the minds of the believers. This question resulted in the hard work and asceticism. Work became an end in itself, for it was for the greater glory of god. Work was no more a means to obtain wordly pleasures and prosperities. Asceticism combined with hardwork resulted in accumulation of

wealth (capital) which was reinvested to accelerate the pace of industrialisation. Thus religious ideas generated by the Protestant sects aided capitalist development, according to Weber.

Weber studied the major features of world religions: Hinduism, Buddhisim, Catholocism and Protestantism, Islam, Confucianism and Taoism, and Judaism. He found that religion restated the basic postulates of a culture in new, vivid terms and reemphasised them in ritual. Weber had a historical and comparative approach to explaining religious beliefs.Though Max Weber agreed that religion will vanish ultimately, he demonstrated the power of religious ideas to act as forces of development.

His interest in religion arose from a double source. One was the question why capitalism had developed in the West, rather than in other cultural areas, such as Asia where there were large resources and educated classes. The other was the question of status position of different social classes. He proposed the "Protestant Ethic" as a right answer to both the question. He argued that Catholicism looked down upon economic activities and had held the profit-seeker in low social esteem. Protestantism, on the other hand, regarded all works as justified "calling".

The difference between Weber and the outright idealists is that Weber never said that the Protestant ethic caused capitalism.

The Protestant Ethic

As the name suggests, it is a religion of protest. It arose in the sixteenth century in Europe in the period known as the Reformation. Its founding fathers like Martin Luther and John Calvin broke away from the Catholic Church. They felt that the Church had become too immersed in doctrines and rituals. It had lost touch with the common people.Weber analyses the great religions of literate people in relation to economic institutions. He came to the conclusion that except Protestantism all the religious have laid special stress on religious practices. In his book on Protestant Ethic Weber (1930) mentions that Protestantism does not emphasise orthodox religious practices because it gives importance to the materialistic point of view, unlike the other-worldly views in the other religions. The adherents of Protestant ethic believe that doing one's duty means serving God. It emphasises the importance of time, labour and money. Owing to these traits some European countries with a large Protestant population witnessed the growth of capitalism. Main features of Protestantism are:

- Calvin’s Image of God- all transcendental
- Doctrine of Pre-destination
- This-worldly asceticism
- The notion of “calling”: It is not mere work, it is a calling or a missionand should be performed with devotion and sincerity.

Weber holds that the present capitalistic system is based on rationality, savings, time management, competition, and a desire to earn money. He relates this spirit of capitalism to the Protestant Ethic. As against this, Weber believes that the religions of the East-Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Islam-did not encourage the economic goals and competition which are essential to the development of the modem industrial capitalistic system.

To Weber the major callings for the Protestants of Puritian sects are:

a) There exists an absolute transcendent God who created the world and rules it, but he is incomprehensible and inaccessible to the finite mind ofman,

b) This all powerful and mysterious God had predestined each of us to salvation or damnation, so that we cannot by our works after a divine which was made before we were born,

c) God created the world for his own glory,

d) Whether he is saved or damned, a man is obliged to work for the glory of God and to create the kingdom of God on earth.

e) Earthly things, human nature, and flesh belong to the order of sin and death and salvation can come to man only through divine grace (Aron, 1967 : 22 1-222).

These callings helped the Calvinist Protestants to beself-disciplined, dedicated to work, honest and follow the path of "this worldly asceticism". For them work is worship and there is no space for idleness or laziness. This specific character of Calvinistic belief accounted for the relation between Calvinist doctrine and the spirit of capitalism which was characterised by a unique devotion to the earning of wealth through legitimate economic activity.that the “Protestant ethic” and the “spirit of capitalism” (by which Weber referred to an ideal type of the main features of capitalism) do not have a mechanical or monocausalrelationship. The Protestant ethic according to Weber is one of the sources that bred rational capitalism.

The Spirit of Capitalism

The desire for wealth or profit is as old as human history. Wealth has long been regarded as a symbol of power, status and prestige. But never before in human history did the desire for wealth assume the organised and disciplined form that it did in modem or rational capitalism. It is this rational capitalism that Weber wanted to study. He distinguishes between traditional or adventurist capitalism of former times and rational capitalism of modern times. What is important is to note that rational capitalism does not deal with a few luxury items but with almost all the daily material requirements from bread to cloth to cars. Rational capitalism is constantly expanding and looking for new methods, new inventions, new products and new customers. Involving methodical work and regularised transactions, it is thus qualitatively and quantitatively different from traditional capitalism.According to Weber, the capitalists desired wealth not for enjoyment or luxurious living.

They wanted it so that they could use it to make more wealth. The thirst for money-making for its own sake is the very essence of modern capitalism. Capitalism is an economic system which aims at the unlimited accumulation of profit through the rational organisation of production.in capitalism, the worker is regarded by the capitalist as a means to an end. But under traditionalism, the worker employer relationship is informal, direct and personal. Weber sees legal rational capitalism as the one which has both values as well as substance or resources for rise of capitalism as it did in West.

Society	Live	Values	Substance	Possibility of LR capitalism
Tribal	For the day	No	No	No
Oriental	For generation	No	Yes	No
Europe	For wealth	Yes	Yes	Yes
Blacks		Yes	No (cornered by whites)	No

Other religions and capitalism

Weber classifies religion into 3 types on the basis of its relationship with capitalism *viz.*

1. Strong linkages- Protestantism
2. Weak Linkage- Catholicism, Judaism, Islam
3. Negative Linkage- Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism

In the case of religions of China, Weber is primarily interested in the idea of material rationality which is characteristic of the Chinese image of the world. Material rationality is just as rational in the context of China as protestant rationality, but it is contrary and unfavourable to the development of typical capitalism. This religion stresses harmony, traditionalism and family obligations. This is quite different from the relentless pursuit of profit. Within its special framework it is a rational doctrine of adoption of the world.

In the case of the religion of India, Weber observes that a process of rationalisation has occurred in the context of a ritualist religion and philosophy whose central theme is the transmigration of soul. Weber calls Hinduism a kind of Indian Catholicism which reduces the hardness of the pure Buddhist-type doctrine by supplementing it with a ritual significance of caste observances. He holds that religious ritualism is the strongest principles of social conservatism which has hindered the growth of capitalism in India. He pointed out that the Hindu belief system, which centeredaround the doctrines of Dharma, Karma and Moksha, and the social institution of the Hinduism producedan irrational and

'otherworldly' social atmosphere.The ideas of “Karma”, “dharma” and “punarjanma” (the cycle of births and rebirths) made Indians defeatists, fatalists.Hinduism preaches
“other-worldly asceticism”. The material world is de-emphasised. Material prosperity is not given importance, as it is temporary and illusory.However, the validity of the thesis of Max Weber was challenged by many scholars. For example Milton Singer pointed out that Hinduism has not hindered the growth of the same. The traditional business families in India have generated the required capital from family sources and their traditional expertise are also used for economic development. To him caste background and tradition may equally be fitted for the industrial development in India. Caste based division of labour has been used successfully in the specialisation of industrial workers. Singer observed that through the process of “compartmentalisation”, many industrialists kept their business obligations and ritual obligations separate or in distinct compartments.Weber regards Judaism as the religion of Ancient Palestine, as one which blocks the development of inner worldly asceticism. It especially inhibits this development at the social level because it remains attached to a traditionally defined ethic community. Judaism, says Weber, could have generated the “spirit of capitalism”.
However, certain historical forces prevented this. The Exodus or mass migration of the Jews from their homeland due to persecution left them scattered all over the world.

Weber and Durkheim’s study of religion:

At the outset of this work Weber (1963) interprets religion in a manner which is very close to Durkheim's The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. He considers the notion of charisma as the major concept in the study of primitive religions. Charisma is the quality which is outside the ordinary and which becomes attached to human beings, for example, as in the case of a charismatic leader. Weber recognises that there is no known society without religion. Every society possesses some conceptions of a supernatural order in the forms of spirits, gods, or impersonal forces which are different from and superior to those forces conceived as governing ordinary natural events. But, Weber’s primary interest in religions is to locate a source of the principle of social change, and not religion as a reinforcement of the stability of societies. This is tile basic difference of emphasis between the sociology of religion of Weber and Durkheim.

The Future of the Rationalised Western World: The ‘Iron Cage’

Weber views rationality as a key process of western civilisation. The rationalisation of economy, polity, cultures and day-to-day existence has important implications. Rationalisation leads to disenchantment of the world. Because science seems to have answers for almost everything, human beings lose their reverence and awe for the world. Rationalisation of day-to-day life traps human beings into routines. Life becomes mechanical, predictable and systematic and hence dull. This can

have the effect of making human beings less creative and reluctant to break routines and schedules. Human beings get caught in a prison of their own making, an iron cage from which there seems to be no escape.Weber paints a gloomy picture of the future. Rationality which reflects in economic and political structures will make life routinised and monotonous. To Marx, capitalism is rooted in irrationality, to Weber it is a reflection of rationality.

Criticism:

Finfani and Dickson observed that capitalism was established much before industrial revolution. For eg: banking system in Italy was a result of capitalistic ventures. **RH Tawney,**argued that it is not Protestantism that influences rationalization but Protestantism itself is a product of rationalization. Capitalism is a product of mind more than that of a rational religion. **Bendix and Lipset**found that Germany went for capitalism borrowing substance and values from other countries. Hence, cross cultural interactions were a pre-requisite for rise of capitalism. Hence, these scholars merely add to the ideal type of Weber instead of refuting it as Weber was not a causal determinist sociologist.

TALCOTT PARSONS

Talcott Parsons and Pattern Variable

Parsons studies variability in patterns of actions of people in different situations. This perspective is derived from Max Weber's concept of "ideal type" which was later systematised by Talcott Parson.The AGIL paradigm is part of Parsons's larger action theory, outlined in his notable book The Structure of Social Action, in The Social System and in later works, which aims to construct a unified map of all action systems, and ultimately "living systems."

Since role is the basic unit of social system and depends on role expectations of the alter, an actor faces dilemma of choice between motivational and value orientation. Though such dilemma seems dichotomous, it happens in continua. For simplicity, Parsons identifies five pattern variables which represent extremes of choices with the actor:

Types

These pattern variables are:

1. Affectivity versus affective neutrality

Affectivity versus affective neutrality concerns the dilemma of role performance where evaluation is involved in relation to a situation. How much should a situation be evaluated in emotional terms or with **a degree of emotional neutrality?**This poses a difficult choice in most roles that we are expected to perform in society. Take for example the mother-child relationship. It has high degree of affective orientation, but discipline is also required. So on many occasions a mother would have to exercise affective-neutral role in relation to her child's socialisation. But mother-child relationship is essentially dominated by affectivity. In comparison, doctor-patient relationship brings out the aspect of affective neutrality that characterises a doctor's role.

2. Self Orientation versus Collective Orientation

The moral standard arises from the fact that actor has to make a choice between his or her own gratification and its deferment for the good of a larger number of people, a collectivity. Some form of altruism and selfsacrificeis involved. The dilemma of this pattern variable has always been present in human life from primitive mode of economy and society to modern civilisation.Parsons has rightly pointed out,institutionalisation of such values is always fragile. This is because the response to the situation by the actor is always in the form of a dilemma.

3. Universalism versus Particularism

Universalism versus particularism is a pattern variable which defines the role situation where the actor's dilemma is between the cognitive versus the cathective (or emotional standards) evaluation. A very good example of roles adhering to universalistic standards of human behaviour are role performances which go strictly by legal norms and legal sanctions. It one abides by the rule of law irrespective of personal, kinship or friendship considerations, then that would be an example of the universalistic mode of role performance. If oneviolates legal norms only because the personinvolved is a kin or a friend, then particularistic considerations would be said to be operating.

4. Ascription versus Achievement

The actor's dilemma in the ascription versus achievement pattern variable is based on whether or not the actor defines the objects of his or her role either in terms of quality or performance. In India a very good example of this pattern variable is the role performance governed by the caste system. In the caste system, the statuses of persons are determined not on the basis of their personal achievement or personal skills or knowledge but on the basis of their birth. Ascription is based on assigning certain quality to a person either by birth, or age, or sex or kinship or race. Achievement is based on personal acquisition of skills and levels of performance in society.

5. Specificity versus Diffuseness

The specificity versus diffuseness pattern variable concerns the scope of the object of role performance.Some social interactions, such as between doctors and patients or between buyers and sellers of goods in the market, have a very specific scope.On the contrary, some role relationships are very general and encompassing in nature. Such roles involve several aspects of the object of interaction. Some examples of such role relationships are friendship, conjugal relationship between husband and wife, relationships between kin of various degrees.

The pattern variables, according to Parsons, not only define the nature of role interaction and role expectations in social system but provide in addition, the overall direction in which most members of a social system choose their roles. It also gives us an idea about the nature of the social system. For instance, take the family as a social system: the role expectations within the family amongst its members can be said to be affective, largely collectivity oriented, particularistic, ascriptive and diffuse. On the contrary, take the example of your membership in a medical association or bar association, or student association, here role expectations and standards of role performance would largely be oriented towards pattern variables of affective neutrality, self-orientation (due to

competition), universalism, achievement and specificity. But these are extreme examples. In real life the dilemma of choices in terms of pattern variables are much more precarious and full of strain than we find in the examples we have mentioned.

Functional Pre-requisites-AGIL

Parsons thinks all systems such as the **family, the economy or the polity have a boundary which they maintain in order to subsist.** This self-maintenance of systems is possible because human actors as social beings are socialised in society and their motivational and value orientations accordingly are patterned. In order to maintain itself, social systems have to perform some indispensable adjustment between its internal organisation and outer environment. These adjustments are like the adjustment that the human body has to make with the outside environment through breathing, blood circulation and through the maintenance of a steady temperature within itself.This Parsons calls moving equilibrium. There are certain functions without which a social system cannot subsist.These are called 'functional prerequisites' by Talcott Parsons. There are four such functional prerequisites.

- adaptation
- goal attainment
- integration
- latency

The scope of functioning of these functional prerequisites is further defined in terms of whether they deal with processes external or internal to thesystem.

1. **Adaptation**: Adaptation as a functional prerequisite implies generation and acquisition of resources from outside the system, its external environment and to effect its distribution in the system. External environment in this case means land,water, etc. As an example we can mention the economic system, which involves resource utilisation, production and distribution in the society. Adaptation is oriented to factors external to the system and it has an instrumental character.According to him, this basic function is fulfilled by the economy

2. **Goal Attainment:** Goal-Attainment is that functional prerequisite which involves, firstly, the determination of goals, secondly, the motivating of members of the system to attain these goals, and thirdly, the mobilising of the members and of their energies for the achievement of these goals. Its processes are consummatory in character although it does involve external interaction.This function is fulfilled by the polity.

3. **Integration:** Integration is that functional prerequisite which helps to maintain coherence, solidarity and coordination in the system. In the social system this function is mainly performed by culture and values. Therefore, the cultural system and its associated institutions and practices constitute elements of integration.This functional prerequisite is internal to the system and has a consummatorycharacter.

4. **Latency:** Latency is that functional prerequisite of the social system which stores, organises and maintains the motivational energy of elements in the social system. Its main functions are pattern maintenance and tension management within the system.

Adaptation	**Goal Attainment**
Example - Economic System - Resource utilisation, production, Distribution etc.	Example-Political System - State, Political Parties, etc.
Latency or Pattern Maintenance Example - Family socialisation, Education etc.	**Integration** Example - Cultural system - Religion, ideology, etc.

Adaptation and Integration are external whereas goal attainment and latency are internal.

Functions are unchangeable and each sector has to go for self sufficiency, else it wont contribute to sustainability to larger social system.

Other terms to remember in Parson's context:

- **Sectorization Theory (Pg 523& 526) – AGIL in social system,** based on reductional analysis
- **Input output theory/hierarachy of control/ moving equilibrium/status-quoist theory/Media of exchanges:** Desires→Demands→Decisions→Change; Hierarchy; Inputs through filters.



Types of social structures:

Parsons made a distinction between the concept of social system and social structure. Social system is**manifested through the totality** of the principles through which roles and related elements of social interaction are organised. Social structure, on the other hand, reflects the specific manner in

which these roles in an **interaction situation are configurated or composed together**. For instance, family is a social system but its social structure can be seen in the empirical clustering of kinship roles.

Similarly, the economic system can be treated as another example of a social system, but its social structure is characterised by roles related to production, marketing, management, etc. Pattern variables illustrate in a precise manner the principal types of clusterings of social structures. Parsons mentions four such types

i) **Universalistic-achievement pattern**: It is a type of structure of social system in whose roles those value orientations are dominant which encourage achievement **based on legal rational methods** among members of a society. It exemplifies modern industrial societies where the governing values are those of equality, democracy, freedom of enterprise, rational management and openness in social interactions.

ii) **Universalistic-ascription pattern:** It is yet another type of configuration of roles which makes a kind of social system in which values of legal rationality are encouraged in performance of roles but the distribution of authority is not on the basis of equality or democracy. Modern principles of science and technology are employed in work and occupation, in industry and communication but the distribution of these takes place onascriptive principles, such as membership to a particular ideological association, or party, or cult. Parsons believes that Nazi Germany is an example of one such society.

iii) **Particularistic-achievement pattern**: This type of social structure, according to Parsons, is best seen in the classical Chinese society. This society was dominated by values of 'familism'. By 'familism' we mean the notion of continuity with ancestors (ancestor worship), strong ties of kinship, but where the female line of descent was undermined in favour of the male. But at the same time, the society also emphasised achievement and a "code of propriety" in the conduct of roles which was equivalent to legal rationality (universalistic principle). All these features were contained in Confucianism which was the official ethic in classical China.

iv) **Particularistic-ascription pattern:** Overwhelming emphasis, in this kind of society, is placed on expressive or artistic orientations. Society is traditionalistic as there is no incentive to disturb tradition and a strong vested interest exists in favour of stability. In Parsons' view the "Spanish Americans" in the USA exemplify this type of social structure.

Essence of Parsons theory: Every insti→actors→roles→befitting status, values, norms→contribute to AGIL→sustainability

Talcott parsons- social system

Social Structure

Talcott Parsons defines social structure as a natural persistent system which maintains its continuity despite internal changes from time to time, in the same way as the organism does in reality. By natural persistent system, we mean that it has a life of its own. For him, social system is a much wider concept, including both the functional and structural aspect than just social structure.

Social System- review of literature

Parsons' concept of the social system is developed in the nature of a general sociological theory, which can be applied for the study of both the simple primitive societies as well as the complex modern industrial societies.

Parsons reviewed positivistic, idealist and utilitarian theories and concluded that the utilitarian approach treated social systems as products of rational impulses of human beings (individuals) to integrate their needs and urges as orderly systems. It doesn't take values into consideration. Idealism places too much emphasis on values and ideas and not enough on social practice.According to Talcott Parsons both the idealist and the utilitarian notions of the social system assume certain characteristics in human impulses in an apriori manner. By apriori we mean that which is already given or assumed.The positivists go to the other extreme and insist that true human action is born out of full information of the situation. There is thus a finality and inflexibility in their scheme for there is only one way to act: the correct way. Consequently there is no room for values, error and variations in social action. But Parsons borrows **reductional approach** from positivists in his study of social systems.

Parson's action approach

Parson's sought to develop a grand theory which will explain all actions and not consider them vast like Weber. From Weberian perspective, he wanted to create one ideal type which completely explains all actions of human beings across societies and situations. The concept of action, according to Parsons, is derived from behaviour of human beings as living organism. As living organisms they interact (orientate) with outside reality as well as within their own mind. Behaviour becomes action when four conditions are present.

- it is oriented to attainment of ends or goals or other anticipated affairs
- it occurs in situations
- it is regulated by norms and values of society

- it involves an investment of 'energy' or motivation or effort

Orientation of action can therefore be divided into two components, the **motivational orientation and the value orientation.** Motivational orientation refers to a situation in which action takes place taking into account needs, external appearances and plans. The second form of orientation is value orientation, which is based on considerations of standards of values, aesthetics, morality and of thinking.**Parsons believes that actions donot occur in isolation but in constellations.** These constellations of action constitute systems. These systems of action have three modes of organisation, which Parsons describes as the personality system, the cultural system and the social system. The **personality system** refers to those aspects of the human personality, which affect the individual's social functioning. The **cultural system** encompasses instead, the actual beliefs, concrete systems of values and symbolic means of communication. The **social system,** in this context, refers to the forms and modes of interaction between individuals and its organisation.

The Motivational Orientation

Weber gives a passing reference to motives but Parson's places lot of emphasis on motive of action. The range of motivational orientations are three. These are the cognitive,the cathectic and the evaluative orientations.

- The cognitive orientation makes actors see their environment or object in relation to their need dispositions as a mental object. They, i.e. the actors, attempt to understand the objectivity of the subject matter of observation.
- The cathectic orientation involves emotional attitude of actors towards their object.
- The evaluative orientation leads the actors to organise their effort in realisation of their object with optimum efficiency.

Take for examplethe behaviour of a housewife going to the market to purchase vegetables. The cognitive orientation enables her to judge the quality of vegetables in relation to her need and need in relation to its prices, the cathectic orientation would determine as to which vegetable shelikes more than the others, and the evaluative orientation would make it possible for her to make a choice of a vegetable which gives her maximum satisfaction.

A social system, according to Parsons, has the following characteristics.

- It involves an interaction between two or more actors, and the interaction process is its main focus. It has **reciprocity.**
- Interaction takes place in a situation, which implies other actors or alters. These alters are objects of emotion and value judgement and through them goals and means of action are achieved.

- There exists in a social system collective goal orientation or common values and a consensus on expectations in normative and cognitive (intellectual) senses.

The Value Orientation

The range of value orientations also comprises three parts. These are the cognitive, the appreciative and the moral.

- The cognitive orientation is one, which relates to the issue of validity of judgement.
- The appreciative orientation is that which makes it possible for actors to judge their emotional response to object, its appropriateness or consistency.
- The moral orientation is one, which refers to value commitment of an actor towards his or her objects.

Thus, the motivational orientation involves only the motives or psychological aspects of the individual while the value orientation involves the cultural system. Both, the psychological and the cultural aspects of individual behaviour are, however, interlinked and interdependent.

According to Parsons, all actions in time and space can fit into this matrix:

Motive	**+**	**Value**	**=**	**Action**
Cognitive		Cognitive		Instrumental
Cathetic		Appreciative		Expressive
Evaluative		Moral		Moral

Basic unit of social system: ROLE and Institutionalisation of Roles in a Social System

The social system has a mode of organisation of action, which is calledrole. It is the basic conceptual unit of the social system and it incorporates the individual actor's total system of action. It is also a point of intersection between the system of action of an individual actor and the social system.The primary element of role, according to Parsons is role-expectation. Itimplies reciprocity between the actor and his/her alter (the other persons),and is governed by a range of motivational and value orientations.Role being the most vital element of the social system, its performance generates forces of strain or tension. The extent of strain depends on the way role-expectations are institutionalised in society and also on the degree to which the values of role-expectations are internalised by social actors.

In a social system roles are institutionalised. Institutionalisation means that expectations from a specific role, its values and motivational orientations are integrated within the culture of a society.

Society sets common standards for role expectations from its members, and when an actor imbibes these standards common to society in the orientations and performance of his/ her roles, the roles are said to have been institutionalised.

Social order and Value consensus

As Durkhiem's major concern is 'social solidarity', similarly, the emphasis of Parsons is on social order which he has developed in his book 'Social System'. He observes that social life is characterised by 'mutual advantage and peaceful co-operation rather than mutual hostility and destruction'. **Parsons believes that only commitment to common value provides a basis for order in society.**

According to Parsons, there are two main ways in which social equilibrium (the various parts of the system being in a state of balance) is maintained:

- The first involves socialisation by means of which values are transmittedfrom one generation to the next and internalised to form an integral ofindividual personalities. The family and education system in the WesternSociety are the major institutions concerned with this function. Socialisation is done at three levels:
    - **Cultural Socialisation**:Culture, norms, symbols, behaviour, language etc
    - **Social Socialisation**: play right role in right situation, understanding position & role
    - **Psychic socialisation**: controls anxiety, apprehensions,, tensions etc
- Secondly, it is also maintained by the various mechanism of social controlwhich discourage deviance and so maintain order in the system. Thus,the processes of socialisation and social control are fundamental to theequilibrium of the system and therefore to the order in society. Social control can be also done at three levels:
    - **Formal mechanism of control:** Rules, laws etc
    - **Informal mechanism of control:** Friends, family, relatives etc.
    - **Coercive mechanism of control:** Army, police etc.

According to Parsons, adaptation, goal attainment, integration and pattern maintenance are the functional pre-requisites. These are essential preconditions for the survival of society. It may be summed up that social problems are indicated by the lack of order and value-consensus which are the result of the lack of socialisation, social control, adaptation, goal attainment, and pattern maintenance. The weakening or absence of these conditions ultimately disturb the 'social equilibrium' leading to disorganisation, crime, delinquency and other social problems.

Moving equilibrium:

According to Parsons social changes in past did not come about smoothly but almost invariably through the need for re-establishing equilibrium in the system. This re-establishing of equilibrium was required due to strains in relationships between past and present patterns of relationship, values and interests. Parsons says, “change is never just alteration of pattern but alteration by the overcoming of resistance”. By overcoming of resistance, Parsons meant the resolution of strain or conflict in the social system.The fact of social strain, however, represents a point of social development at which the older balance of interaction systems, institutions and structures of the system (roles, statuses, occupations etc.) is destabilised and the tendency towards a new equilibrium begins.This self-maintenance of systems is possible because human actors as social beings are socialised in society and their motivational and value orientations accordingly are patterned. In order to maintain itself, social systems have to perform some indispensable adjustment between its internal organisation and outer environment. These adjustments are like the adjustment that the human body has to make with the outside environment through breathing, blood circulation and through the maintenance of a steady temperature within itself.These adjustment processes which maintain the social system internally and through its boundary conditions are called **functions**. Functions are **processes of system’s self-maintenance**.This Parsons calls moving equilibrium.

Parsons recognizes this, stating that he treats "the structure of the system as problematic and subject to change," and that his concept of the tendency towards equilibrium "does not imply the empirical dominance of stability over change." He does, however, believe that these changes occur in a relatively smooth way.

Individuals in interaction with changing situations adapt through a process of "role bargaining."Once the roles are established, they create norms that guide further action and are thus institutionalised, creating stability across social interactions. Where the adaptation process cannot adjust, due to sharp shocks or immediate radical change, structural dissolution occurs and either new structures (or therefore a new system) are formed, or society dies.**This model of social change has been described as a "moving equilibrium,"and emphasises a desire for social order.**

Cybernetic hierarchy of control

The AGIL system is considered a cybernetic hierarchy and has generally the following order L-I-G-A, when the order is viewed from an "informational" point of view; this imply that the L function could "control" or define the I function (and the I the G and so on) approximately in the way in which a computer-game-program "defines" the game. In this way, Parsons would say that culture would not determine the social system but it would "define it." The AGIL system had also an energy side (or a "conditional" side), which would go A-G-I-L. So that the Adaptive level would be on the highest level

of the cybernetic hierarchy from the energy or "conditional" point of view. However, within these two reverse sequences of the hierarchy Parsons maintained that in the long historical perspective, a system which was high in information (that is, a system that followed the L-I-G-A sequence) would tend to prevail over system which was high in energy. For example in the human body, the DNA is the informational code which will tend to control "the body" which is high in energy. Within the action system, Parsons would maintain that it was culture which was highest in information and which in his way was in **cybernetic control over other components of the action system**, as well as the social system. Also it is important to highlight that the AGIL system does not "guarantee" any historical system survival; they rather specify the minimum conditions for whether societies or action systems in principle can survive.

Criticism of Parsons

1. **Coercive injection of values**: **Habermas** argues that values are coercively injected into minds of individuals through education, family, mass media which are known as **cultural industries** directly or indirectly controlled by state. Thus, value consensus is not voluntaristic as envisaged by Parsons.

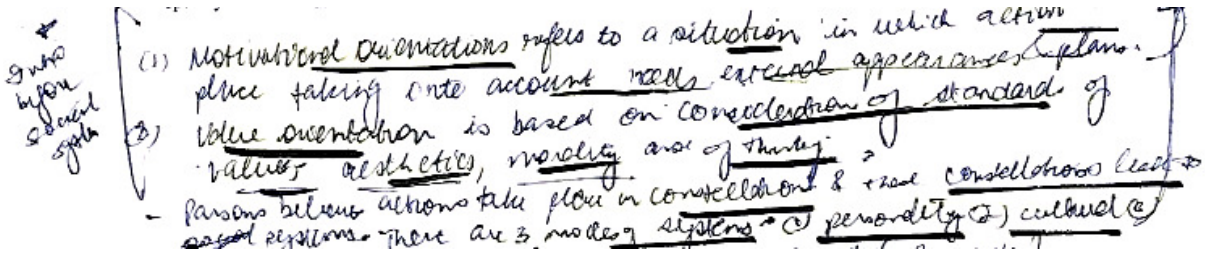
2. **Revolutions: Bryan Turner** argues that Parsons makes no distinction between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Communist China and Democratic America. For him all these are social systems where AGIL is present. He fails to recognize revolutionary changes that are brought about in society and how few dominate other social structures.

3. **Conflict management:** Parsons, according to **Ralf Dahrendorf** , puts disproportionate emphasis on consensus model. He says that conflict is endemic to every society and society is largely involved in conflict resolution. Therefore, consensus never gives rise to continuity of system but conflict management does.

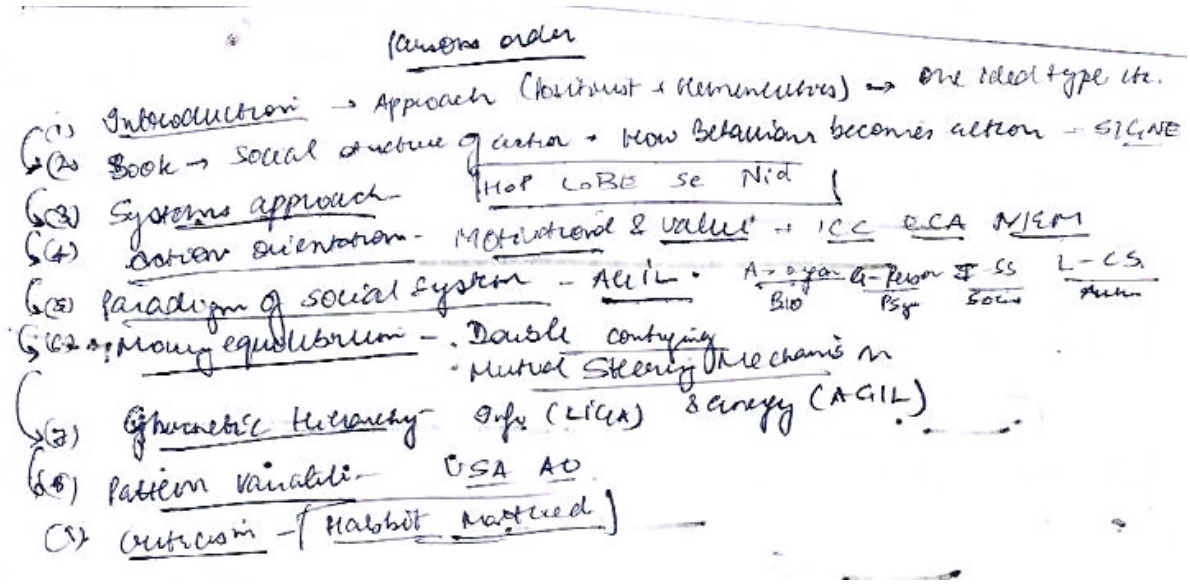
4. **Ends and Values:Alvin Gouldner** states that while stressing the importance of ends and values that men pursue, Parsons never asks whose ends and values these are. Few functionalists accept the possibility that some groups in society, acting in terms of their own interests, dominate others.

5. **Teleological and Tautological-** C.W. mills casts scorn on Parsons theory by calling it **teleological** i.e. A view which mistakenly regards an effect as a cause or function as purpose. It is the explanation for the existence of a process or institution or any object or idea in terms of the purpose it fulfils. Thus, according to this explanation the effect is treated as the cause. This is the principal objection to the functionalist theory.**Tautological**on the other hand means repetition of same sense in different words.

6. **Manifest roles:** According to RK Merton- Parsons misunderstands manifest role for functions. Therefore, he sees only the functional aspect of different factors and not their dysfunctional or non-functional side.



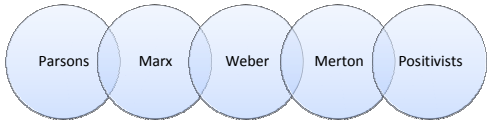
Order for writing Parson in exam:



ROBERT K MERTON

Robert K Merton- Intro and middle range theories

What Weber is to Marx, that Merton is to Parsons. Merton studies Parsons in detail under his mentor Pritrim Sorokin and criticizes his works which are based on Functional unity, functional universality and functional indispensability. Merton, builds what he calls, middle range theories to understand specific delimited concepts in society which can have functions, dysfunctions and non-functions, both, manifest and latent. Hence, he thought that concern of sociology is not grand theory building, as Parsons and Marx did, but to understand the daily social problems through net balance analysis of such functions and dysfunctions. He asserts that sociology is not even close to the maturity levels of natural sciences and hence should take baby steps in that direction instead of building universal theories.



Middle Range theory

From left to right, the weight on '**theory formation'** reduces.

Merton is important for having coined the phrase 'theories of the middle range' — middle between grand theory and pure description, which cover certain delimited aspects of social phenomena (such as groups, social mobility, or role conflict).According to Merton, tools of logical classification called paradigms are necessary steps in constructing such theories of the middle range. Merton lies somewhere between Weber and Positivists as he placed his theories between Ideal type and hypothesis type. Hence, he called it a middle range theory. According to Merton, theory should be a framework and guide to research to study social phenomena in a systematic way. Theory of deviance and theory of reference group are examples of MR theories.

Manifest and Latent functions

Merton analyses different possible meanings of functions. It can be a festive gathering, a mathematical relation, an occupation, activities assigned to incumbent social status may refer to 'vital or organic processes which contribute to the maintenance of the organism' as used in science. It is the last connotation that Merton is most interested in and studies in sociology. Thus as a sociologist, when you use the term 'function', it means you are referring to how a social institution or a cultural practice intensifies the cohesiveness of the society.

***From Anthropologists**: A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, the noted social anthropologist, used this connotation in social sciences. 'The function of any recurrent activity', according to Radcliffe-Brown, 'is the part it plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the contribution it makes to the maintenance of*

structural continuity'. According to Malinowski, another noted anthropologist, the function of social or cultural items is the part they play within the integral system of culture by the manner in which they are related to each other within the system.

Thus, Merton believes that (i) Society is not chaotic and made up of different parts of the social structure- economic, political etc which are integrally related (ii) They have certain roles to play which contribute to its continuity and maintenance of the inherent structure.

Merton says that the concept of function involves the standpoint of the observer, not necessarily that of the participant. In other words, social function refers to observable objective consequences, not subjective dispositions. A school child may think that he goes to school because he finds his friends there; but the function of school is something else; it is to add to and aid in the growth of knowledge that the society needs in order to sustain itself. Thus, functions are those observed consequences, which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system.

But not everything helps to make for the adaptation of a system. Dysfunctions, according to Merton, are those observed consequences, which lesson the adaptation or adjustment of the system.Example, Modern India, intends to be mobile, democratic, participatory and egalitarian. In such a society the institution of caste, far from having a function, has dysfunctions. Instead of intensifying the democratic ideal, caste tends to lessen the degree of mobility, democratisation and participation. That is why, castes may be classified as dysfunctional.

Merton argues that **society is divided into groups and sub-groups and what is functional for a particular group may be dysfunctional for others**. Moreover, nothing is indispensable; there are always functional alternatives and equivalents.

Manifest functions are visible, obvious, intended and recognised whereas latent functions are unobvious but may be also functional/dysfunctional. For example, taking a page from Durkheim's analysis of punishment. Its manifest function is to prevent criminal from deviant behaviour in future but the latent function would be intensification of faith of society in conscience collective. Similarly, Hopi Rain Dance may not lead to rain but it will definitely promote solidarity among the Hopi community.

Thus, Merton argues that opening doors of analyses to latent functions and dysfunctions, prevents extremes of conservatism and radicalism and also brings out meaningfulness out of seemingly irrational behaviour. Thus, a sociologist should not sway in the study of a single aspect but do a net balance analysis of functions, dysfunctions and non-functions of a social practice. Thus new horizons will begin to emerge, realms of sociology will expand and established morals will be challenged.

Postulates of functional analysis

Merton goes beyond the boundaries of traditional functionalism which considers functional unity, universalism and indispensability and gives new insights on these postulates.

- **Functional unity**: It is implicit in this postulate that social function has a certain kind ofunity and all parts of the social system work together with a sufficientdegree of harmony or internal consistency.But in a modern complexsociety, the postulate of functional unity, as Merton argues, needs to beredefined. First, Merton doubts whether all societies are solidly integratedand hence every culturally standardised practice or belief is functional forthe society as a whole. Secondly, Merton wants the sociologists to rememberthat social usages or beliefs may be functional for some groups anddysfunctional for others in the same society.For example: Majority fundamentalism in religion can prove to be disastrous for minority religion followers.As a result, the functionalists, says Merton, ought to specify theunit for which the given social or cultural item is functional
- **Functional universalism**:This postulate holds that all social or cultural forms have positive functions. But Merton argues that an item a social belief or a cultural practice may have dysfunctions also.And it may happen that a net balance of functional consequences isnegative, not positive. For example Cricket may promote patriotism in Indo-Pak matches but it may intrigue into space needed for development of other sports in India and stardom of the cricketing world can actually pull the culture of sports down. Hence, both functions and dysfunctions need to be studies before arriving at any conclusion.
- **Functional Indispensability**:

  Implicit in this postulate is the belief and Malinowski asserts it that whatever fulfils some vital function, be it a custom, a cultural practice, is indispensablein that society. In other words, all that persists in a society is indispensableand nothing, it seems, can be altered.

  A functional analyst, Merton says, should assume that nothing, in fact, is indispensable. There are functional alternatives, equivalents or substitutes.In other words, the same function served by a given item, under changedcircumstances, may be fulfilled by another item. For example, in modernsocieties where women too work outside the home, some functions of thefamily such as, childcare can be performed by other institutions like creches,daycare centres, and so on.Another example: Education system which is impersonal, one sided and where student is a passive recipient, may get endorsement from its backers for imbibing discipline and obedience in the students. But Paul Freire, in his master work 'Pedagogy of the oppressed' argues thatthere is an alternative form of education, dialogical

education, in which both the student and the teacher are equally active, which is more creative and more humane.

Paradigm for functional analysis and Parson's pattern variable versus Merton's paradigm

According to Merton, tools of logical classification called paradigms are necessary steps in constructing such theories of the middle range. The paradigm brings out into open the array of assumptions, concepts and basic propositions employed in a sociological analysis. It reduces the possibility of randomness and arbitrariness in sociological research.A paradigm for functional analysis therefore helps to make clear how to conduct functional analysis, what to study, what to emphasise upon and how to locate one's analysis in the ideological struggle between conservatism and radicalism. Merton says that something that is a regular practice can be included for functional analysis but not idiosyncrasies or peculiarities of a single individual. Hence it has to be a regularised, patterned and standardised social practice.

Parsons on the other hand treats theory in a very general and abstract manner. He favours a rigorous logical method of classification of concepts in his formulation of "pattern variables" or "types of orientations". He develops a universal theory which explains all actions across time and space. It places undue emphasis on functionality and integration of social actions which Merton questions.

Robert K Merton and study of deviance

Norms are prescribed standards which guide and regulate behaviour. They are accepted by the group and shared by group members. For this reason, it is only with reference to norms that we can speak of, or define deviance. Deviance essentially refers to that behaviour which departs from some norms or standard of behaviour.

It is not easy to define deviance because it is not easy to define norms which are different in different societies. For example, prostitutionmay be viewed as well as defined by law as deviant behaviour in India and USA.

Deviance can be interpreted only in the socio-cultural context in which it occurs. Deviance is not absolute but relative to the social expectations, norms and rules of a particular society.**Thus, deviance can vary with time, culture and social position**

Types of deviance:

Different scholars classify deviance under three categories:

1. **Cultural and Psychological Deviation**: In cultural deviation one departs from the norms of a culture, while the psychological deviant deviates from the norms in personality organisation, for example, the psychotic and neurotic.

2. **Individual and Group Deviation:** In individual deviation, the person deviates from the norms of a sub-culture. For example, a boy belonging to an educated and respected family takes to drugs and becomes a school dropout. In group deviation, the deviant sub-culture has norms which are condemned by the conventional morality of the society, for example, a street-corner gang of unemployed youth indulging in all sorts of unlawful activities.

3. **Primary and Secondary Deviation Social Deviance**: Primary deviance refers to the violation of social norms committed by a person who is not labelled as a deviant, and who is basically a conformist in his or her life. The deviant act is trivial or tolerated or concealed so that one is not identified as a deviant. For instance, slipping an extra apple into the shopping bag without paying for it etc. Secondary deviation is that which follows from one's public identification as a deviant. One is labelled as a deviant. The labelling process is often the point of no return in the development of deviance. It leads to isolations, possible dismissal, ostracism and sometimes even imprisonment.

Theories of deviance:

Scientists have offered a variety of theories to explain deviance. Biological theories tend to focus on hereditary, anatomical or physiological factors (mesomorph, ectomorph and endomorph). Psychological explanations tend to discuss personality, movies, aggression, frustration, and other

subjective factors (eg, Sigmund Freud theory links deviance with super ego). Sociologists usually emphasise socio-cultural factors. Some of these explanations have more empirical support than others.

Sociological Theories of deviance: (i) Anomie theory (ii)Socio-cultural learning theory (iii) Labelling theory and (iv) Conflict theory

(I) Anomie theory:

Anomie refers to a social and cultural condition in which there is either conflict of norms or ambivalent orientation towards norms. The credit for bringing out the implications of anomie for a general theory of deviant behaviour goes to the American sociologist, Robert K. Merton (1968). He aimed at showing how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society, to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming conduct. Merton attempted to specify the **social and cultural situations** which generate varying ratesand types of deviant behaviours in different social structures.

He identified two important elements of social and cultural structures:

(i) Culturally prescribed goals: These culturally prescribed goals are held out as legitimate objectives, for all the members of the society. The members are supposed to strive for these objectives.

(ii) Actual structures: provide the accepted modes or ways of reaching these goals. They are normatively controlled means to pursue the ends. It also depends upon what Merton calls, **Opportunity structure in society.** As these opportunities are unequally distributed there is unequal access to legal means to achieve goals.

Thus **cultural goals are held out equally for all whereas institutional means to achieve them are not equally available.This differential access to legitimate means and opportunities to achieve goals results in strain, namely, a sense of frustration and injustice.Deviant behaviour can be seen as a symptom of this strain**.When people are unable to realise the culturally prescribed aspirations, through socially structured avenues which are not equally available to them, they may adopt alternative, illegitimate means to achieve them.

Thus Merton propounds that deviance is present in so called normal people and is a result of **mismatch between culturally prescribed goals and means.The term anomie, derived from Émile Durkheim, for Merton means a discontinuity between cultural goals and the legitimate means available for reaching them.** Merton believes that all subscribe to the American Dream, but the

ways in which people go about obtaining the Dream are not the same because not everyone has the same opportunities and advantages as the next person.

Merton's Paradigm of Deviant Behaviour		
Attitude to Goals	**Attitude to Means**	**Modes of adaptation**
accept	accept	Conformity
accept	reject	Innovation
reject	accept	Ritualism
reject	reject	Retreatism
reject/accept	reject/accept	Rebellion

1. **Conformists**: attaining of societal goals by socially accepted means eg. IAS prep

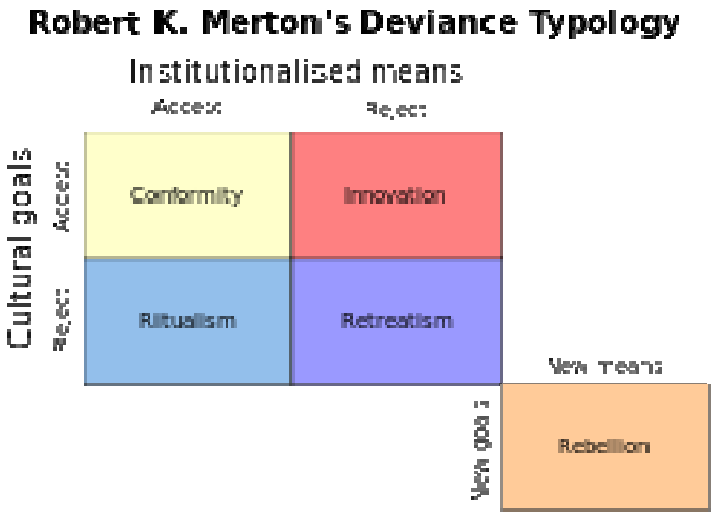
2. **Innovators**: Innovators find and create their own way to go about obtaining what they want, and a majority of the time, these new ways are considered to be socially unaccepted and deviant. Eg: Kejriwal

3. **Ritualists**: Ritualists continue to subscribe to the means, but they have rejected the overall goal; they are not viewed as deviant.

4. **Retreatists**: Retreaters want to find a way to escape from everything and therefore reject the goals and the means and are seen as deviant.Eg: Taliban

5. **Rebellions**: Rebellion is a combination of rejection of societal goals and means and a substitution of other goals and means. They are also seen as deviants.Eg: revolutionaries during British Raj.

Therefore, Merton developed a middle range theory to explain deviance present in various forms. This theory would not be applicable in normless societies, but present where uniform norms and values are present.



***Criticism of this theory*:**

- **Different goals**: Critics argue that it wrongly assumes that a single system of cultural goals is shared by the entire society. The goals are different for different people. Everyone does not aim for the same goals.
- **Different Responses**: The critics point out that it has also failed to explain why some people choose one response, while others choose a different one.
- **Serious Crimes**: Some have been pointed out that certain types of deviance-rape, the behaviour of hippies in the 1960s-have not been accommodated in his analysis.
- **Society's reaction**- Other critics argue that Merton's theory ignores the influence of society's reactions in the development of deviance

(II) **Socio-cultural Learning Theories:**

(a) Sub-Culture or Culture Transmission Theory: They simply mean "a culture within a culture".

(b) The Differential Association Theory: Devised by Sutherland, to understand Why are some people attracted to deviant behaviours while others are not. The variations in group involvement's are known as "differential association". He did not believe that contact with criminals is a necessary condition for a person to become deviant.

(III) Labelling Theory:

Labelling theory looks specifically at the consequences of labelling a person "deviant".First, it directs attention to the fact that social deviance, as defined by social norms, is relative and Secondly, the role of those involved in labelling a person as deviant, is itself an independent variable in creating or leading to deviance.

(IV) Conflict Theory:

Conflict theory argues that most societies have many groups which have different, often conflicting values. The strongest groups in a society have the power and authority to define the values of weaker and subordinate groups as deviant.

Difference between Non-conformist and a deviant

First, unlike the criminal, the non-conformist announces his dissent. Secondly, the non-conformist is not an opportunist. They challenge the legitimacy of the norms and expectations and reject them. But the criminal does not have the courage to reject their legitimacy. He does not agree thattheft is right and murder virtuous, he or she simply finds it expedient to violate the norms and evade them. Thirdly, the non-conformists believe that they are gifted with a 'higher morality' and want to alter the norms of the group accordingly. The criminal does not have, however, any such vision of morality.

The fact that the non-conformist "tends to elicit some measure of respect" implies that the membership group begins to become uncertain about itself, about its norms, and values.

Robert K Merton and study of Reference Group

Elaborated and substantiated it in his famous book (1949) Social Theory and Social Structure.

A person to lead a normal existence is not to live in isolation. He lives amidst relationships and giveshisconsent to the expectations of the groups to which he belong.

Reference Group:

A reference group is one to which a person always refers in order to evaluate his achievements, his role performance, his aspirations and ambitions. It is only a reference group that tells him whether heisright or wrong, whether whatever he is doing;he is doing badly or well. These reference groups can be (i) membership groups of which a person is part of or (ii) even non-membership groups. The fact, therefore, is that not solely membership groups, even non-membership groups act like reference groups. Human beings look at themselves not solely through the eyes of their group members, but also through the eyes of those who belong to other groups.

Concept of Relative Deprivation

Merton's understanding of relative deprivation is closely tied to his treatment of reference group and reference group behaviour. Essentially, Merton speaks of relative deprivation while examining the findings of The American Soldier, a work published in 1949.**Happiness or deprivation are not absolutes, they depend on the scale of measure as well as on the frame of reference.**Merton gives an example of a married soldier who is serving at a distant land. Now his unmarried associates in the army are relatively free. They don't have wives and children, so they are free from the responsibility from which married soldiers cannot escape. In other words, married soldiers are deprived of the kind of freedom that their unmarried associates are enjoying. Likewise, the married soldier feels deprived when he compares himself with his civilian married friend.Because the civilian friend can live with his wife and children and fulfil his responsibility. The married soldier therefore, feels deprived that by virtue of being a soldier he cannot afford to enjoy the normal, day to day family life of a civilian.

Concept of group:

Merton speaks of three characteristics of a group and group memberships.

- First, there is an objective criterion, viz., the frequency of interaction. In other words, the sociological concept of a group refers to a number of people frequently interact with one another.
- A second criterion is that the interacting persons define themselves as members. In other words, they feel that they have patterned expectations or forms of interaction, which are morally binding on them and on other members.

- The third criterion is that the persons in interaction are defined by others as 'belonging to the group'. These others include fellow members as well as non-members.

Nation, for example, is a collectivity, not a group, because all those who belong to a nation do not interact with one another. Nation as a collectivitycontains groups and sub-groups within it.

Anticipatory Socialisation

Merton speaks of anticipatory socialisation in the context of non-membership reference groups. It is like preparing oneself for the group to which an individual aspires**but does not belong**. It is like adopting the values, life-styles of a non-membership reference group. For an individual, says Merton, anticipatory socialisation 'may serve the twin functions of aiding his rise into that group and of easing his adjustment after he has become part of it'.

***Marginal man*: Anticipatory socialisation can be dysfunctional if it exists in a relatively closed social structure**. For example, if a village boy aspires to get into a privileged school. He goes for anticipatory socialisation by trying to imitate the smartness of the students of that school. If the system is open and he is able to get into that school that anticipatory socialisation will be helpful but if the system is too closed and keeps him away from admission, he will become what Merton calls – **a marginal man. In a closed system, Merton observes, an individual is unlikely to choose non-membership group as a reference group.**

Positive and Negative Reference Groups:

Reference groups, says Merton, are of two kinds. First, a positive reference group is one, which one likes and takes seriously in order to shape one's behaviour and evaluate one's achievements and performance. Secondly, there is also a negative reference group which one dislikes and rejects and which, instead of providing norms to follow, provokes one to create counter-norms.

Merton and sociology of science:

Merton carried out extensive research into the sociology of science, developing the Merton Thesis explaining some of the religious causes of the Scientific Revolution, and the Mertonian norms of science, often referred to by the **acronym "Cudos**". This is a set of ideals that are dictated by what Merton takes to be the goals and methods of science and are **binding on scientists**. They include:

- **Communalism** – the common ownership of scientific discoveries, according to which scientists give up intellectual property in exchange for recognition and esteem.
- **Universalism** – according to which claims to truth are evaluated in terms of universal or impersonal criteria, and not on the basis of race, class, gender, religion, or nationality;
- **Disinterestedness** – according to which scientists are rewarded for acting in ways that outwardly appear to be selfless;

- **Organized scepticism** – all ideas must be tested and are subject to rigorous, structured community scrutiny.

Merton introduced many relevant concepts to the sociology of science, including **'obliteration by incorporation'** (it occurs when at some stage in the development of a science, certain ideas become so accepted and common-use that their contributors are no longer cited eg periodic table by Mendeleev, Self-fulfilling prophecy by Merton).

Matthew Effect: New focus on the social organization of science led Merton to study the reward system in science, priority disputes between scientists, and the way in which famous scientists often receive disproportionate credit for their contributions, whereas lesser known scientists receive less credit than their contributions actually merit.

Self-fulfilling prophecy**:** Merton's concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy stems from the Thomas theorem, which states that "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.'' Merton gives an example of this.There's a bank which is functioning normally**.** Then one day, a large number of customers come to the bank at once—the exact reason is never made clear. Customers, seeing so many others at the bank, begin to worry. False rumours spread that something is wrong with the bank and more customers rush to the bank to try to get some of their money out while they still can. The number of customers at the bank increases, as does their annoyance and excitement, which in turn fuels the false rumours of the bank's insolvency and upcoming bankruptcy, causing more customers to come and try to withdraw their money. At the beginning of the day, the bank was not insolvent. But the rumour of insolvency caused a sudden demand of withdrawal of too many customers, which could not be answered, causing the bank to become insolvent and declare bankruptcy.

Therefore, their behaviour is determined in part by their perception and the meaning they ascribe to the situations they are in, rather than by the situations themselves.

Role model and reference individual:

The reference individual has often been described as a role-model. Yet, says Merton, there is a difference. The concept of role-model can be thought of as more restricted in scope, denoting a more limited identification with an individual in only one or a few selected roles. But the person who identifies himself with a reference individual will seek to "approximate the behaviour and values of that individual in his several roles".

Merton and Parson's critique

Common Elements

- Both considered sociology to be a scientificdiscipline.
- Both Parsons and Merton have followed a functional approach of analysisin their sociology
- Both Parsons & Merton have dealt with concepts of role, status,social structure,socialsystem,group.

Differences:

- Parsons has a universal and generalapproach to theory in sociology. His conceptual schemes are more abstractand relatively free from the limitations of space and time. Merton, on theother hand, takes a more modest view of sociological theory.
- But functionalism as dealt with by Merton is located intime and space. It deals with empirical reality. He places functionalism differently in complex societies that what is advocated by Malinowski and Brown. Parsons concepts of functionalprerequisites such as "adaptation", "goal-orientation", "integration" and"latency" are independent of time orplace.
- Approaches the problem more cautiously emphasising the need forlimitations of empirical verification of hypotheses.Parsons on the other hand treats theory in a very general and abstractmanner.

Criticism:

- over-dependence of functionalism on the assumption that a social system is based on principles of agreement or consensus.It thus neglects aspects of dissent and conflict in the social system.

GH MEAD

ARTICLE ON MEAD

Mead's Analysis of Self and Society

Dr. Ari Santas[1]

Mead begins with the idea of the human organism as existing in a social context. We are beings with a certain physical form in an environment that is both precarious and stable.[2] We are in need of food, shelter and other basic goods and need each other's help to secure them. Our youth need a particularly long period of nurture and care from both parents and community (Mead, *MSS*, 241) before reaching (relative) independence. The combination of our instinctive drives towards food, sex, and parenting and the long period of maturation to adulthood conspire to create a human environment that necessitates interaction and cooperation. It is out of this context of cooperation and mutual need that the self emerges.[3]

Drawing on the work of Darwin and Wundt on the concept of a gesture, Mead explains how self-consciousness—the first stage in the development of the self—emerges out of the use of significant symbols. Human beings, since they are in need of one another and therefore must live amongst each other, must learn to anticipate what each other is doing by reading gestures as signs of more overt behavior to come. We read each other's facial expressions and bodily movements as signs of behavior to follow, so when someone clenches his teeth and balls his fists, we know to expect trouble. On the other hand, when someone approaches with open arms and a smile we (ordinarily) expect friendly interaction. Gestures, in short, are attitudes, that is, the beginnings of acts. After some experience with them, we can read them as signs of something more, and adjust our conduct accordingly.

But the capacity to read signs does not give us self-consciousness. As Hume showed us more than two centuries ago, any being capable of sentience is capable of associating images and reacting accordingly (Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, IX). The key to self-conscious for Mead is in the concept of significance. All gestures have meaning insofar as they can be read as signs of something to come, but gestures take on significance, become significant symbols, as the gesturer comes to recognize that the symbol is being used for the very purpose of showing that

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1 . Excerpted from Santas, Ari, "Institutional Consequences of Mead's Institutional Theory of Self," in Geller and Bube, eds., *Conversations with Pragmatism* (Rodolpi, 2002).

2. I use the phrase 'precarious and stable' in the Deweyan sense (Dewey, *Experience and Nature,* Chap. II.)

3. Unlike some of the neo-pragmatists (e.g., Rorty, *Contingency*), who argue that "convention goes all the way down," Mead grounds his idea of the socially constructed self in a biological/environmental context.

there is something to come. That is, significant symbols are gestures consciously made. The question, of course, is how we come to do this. The common assumption has been that there is a pre-existing self that is self-aware and decides to use these gestures in this way (because it is in his or her interest, presumably to do so); but this is clearly wrong. There is no self-interested party already there, looking for tools to secure a better future for him or herself.[4] For Mead, self-consciousness emerges as we come to respond to our own gestures ***at the same time as those around us***. One of the peculiarities of the verbal gesture is that we can hear it as others do. The fact that we can hear ourselves makes for the possibility of a common response from speaker and listener (whether or not the gesture is made in a conscious manner). A baby, for instance, can upset itself at the sound of its own cry, hearing it, interpreting it as a sign of distress, and responding to it as such (thus creating at the same time an escalation of the original problem!). Initially, the mutual response to the gesture is no doubt unconscious, but after it happens a few times, the gesturer and the audience recognize the similarity of response and begin to identify the two responses as a common response. What results is a simultaneous internalization of other and externalization of self. That is, we see their response as our response and our response as theirs.

Mead calls this initial act of self-awareness the first stage in the development of self and characterizes it as "taking the attitude of the other."[5] This stage marks our ability to see ourselves as others do. Having internalized the other, we are now in a position to adjust our behavior to accommodate the anticipated response of the other. By the same token, having externalized the self, we can also see others as ourselves and anticipate their behavior by comparing it to our own. The result is the emergence of internal dialogue and the beginning of mental life.

This much is achieved by any child spoken to on a regular basis. The first stage of self, self-consciousness, is present in anyone (or anything) capable of linguistic behavior. The next stage—the one that appears to be lacking in so many of us today—is the stage of the ***unified*** self. This stage of self is not one that exists as all or nothing, but as more or less. The problem for us is primarily one of how to get more (though sometimes, perhaps, less!).

A self, inasmuch as it takes the attitude of the other, acts in anticipation of the response from that other. This response to anticipation of response makes for a self that is dialectical, one

4. Barbara Herrnstein Smith's interest theory of meaning is guilty of this mistake (see Herrnstein Smith, *On the Margins of Discourse,* Chap. IV).

5. What is interesting about Mead's view is that unlike traditional theories of mind, this one asserts that there is no awareness of 'self' without an awareness of 'other' (and vice versa), that the self is not some ontological given; yet unlike a typical behaviorist--who also denies the giveness of self--Mead does not try to explain away the phenomenon of self-consciousness by appeal to reductionist biologism.

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that is both subjective (spontaneous) and objective (conventional). Mead expresses this dialectical character of the self in terms of 'I' and 'me.' The 'me' corresponds to an internalized other which makes demands on us (by virtue of our anticipations), and the 'I' is what responds to those demands. The 'I' is spontaneous and the 'me' is conventional. Since we interact with more than one other, this dialectical character is multiply complex. For every association to which we belong there is a set of anticipated responses that we are responding to. That is, there is a 'me' demanding responses from an 'I' ***for every other with whom we interact***. The self, then, is not merely the interaction of an 'I' and a 'me', but a nexus of interacting 'I's and 'me's operating more or less simultaneously.[6]

Notice that Mead's dialectical picture of self is unlike the accounts given by Aristotle and Kant in at least two ways. First, there is not merely a dual self, but a nexus of interactions of 'I's and 'me's. This recognition of multiple sub-selves accounts for the complex character of human personality in a way that a dual conception cannot. Second, the relation between 'I' and 'me' is fully dialectical, that is, the self is a third[7] emerging out of this interaction. Both Kant and Aristotle had identified the "true self" with reason and had viewed the other half of our dualistic nature as somehow extraneous or corrupting; Mead, on the other hand, picks no favorites, but simply acknowledges the complexity of the human self.

This view of self as complex nexus of sub-selves inverts some of our old questions regarding personality. In the past we might have been tempted to ask how multiple-personality and schizophrenia are possible; the better question given the foregoing analysis is whether and how there can be unity at all! Perhaps this is what David Hume had in mind when he turned his gaze inward in search of a self and declared that all he could find was a bundle of perceptions. All one needs to do is reflect on the various directions her roles are pulling her if she wants to feel doubtful about who she is.

For Mead, the answer to the question of unity lies in the concept of the "generalized other." To the extent that the various activities in which we engage have a common goal, or, end-in-view, we shall interpret our various responses to the various demands eliciting them as many responses to the same basic demand. To the extent that these common goals are missing, we are likely to look

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6. An ambiguity in Mead here is whether there is one 'I' and many 'me's or many sets of 'I's and 'me's. Presumably he had in mind a single 'I,' but there doesn't seem to be a reason for excluding the other possibility. Although the resolution of this ambiguity may have some bearing on the issue of unity, answering such a question is beyond the scope of this essay.

7. I use the term 'third' here in the Peircean sense. Peirce argues that there are three categories of being: *Firstness*, an immediate, unanalyzable present, *Secondness*, a lawless struggle in experience with the objects of perception, and *Thirdness*, a source of meaning and law which is irreducible to either of the previous categories (see Peirce, "The Principles of Phenomenology").

upon each other as objects of indifference, at best, mistrust, at the worst. Mead uses the game of baseball to illustrate. Players are required to do many things during a game. A short stop must catch the ground ball heading towards her, anticipating the throw to the awaiting first baseman,[8] or to second base (if there's a runner at first), or elsewhere as the situation demands. There are a variety of responses to a single event of a ground-ball-hit-at-short, though the idea in each case is the same--retire the side. As a hitter, the same short stop is required to perform actions quite different from the acts of fielding, but the overall call to response is the same—to win the game. Similarly, the various roles played by the players have a common end-in-view, so that the various demands of the teammates have become internalized as instances of a general demand to win the game. We might even go beyond the winning mentality and see even the demands of the umpires and members of the other team as general demands for excellence in athleticism and spirit. Or we might, on the other hand, fall into the common trap of hyper-individualizing our behavior. "Show-boating" is a relatively benign example of this, accepting bribes is a malignant one.

The internalization of general demands is what Mead calls "taking the attitude of the generalized other." This attitude is the key to unifying the disparate modes of behavior of an individual into a unified body of conduct and what makes for the second stage of self: an individual with a self-concept, with ***personal*** identity, or, character.

Unified conduct creates unified selves. As the demands of the others solidify into common goals, we generalize the internalized others into a generalized other. What makes this organization of demands possible is an organization of associations, what Mead calls an institution. For every generalized other whose attitude we take, there is an organization of activity--an institution--that makes this possible. Just as there are various selves working together to form an institution, there are (by virtue of the institution) various sub-selves "working together" to form a unified self.

Society, on this account, is not merely a collection of individuals, and not merely an organization of individuals; it is an organization of organizations of organized attitudes. There are sub-selves which themselves make up selves, which make up institutions, which in turn make up "super institutions," or, society at large. Society, in its most complex form, is the interaction of all these entities. Interestingly, every entity in the process can be characterized both as a self and as a society, but this is only because Mead has blurred the distinction between self and society.

Such an account explains why Mead saw institutions as personal sort of entities, organizations that could be called organ***isms***, and really a type of self. But we must be careful. Mead did not follow Hegel in making the organic whole more important than the individual.

8. The fact that the ball is sometimes dropped because the fielder is looking towards first base instead of the ball is testimony to this anticipation.

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Although our task here is to find how one might acquire more unity in the self we have to acknowledge that too much unity can be just as pernicious as not enough (actually, more pernicious, given our long history of organized atrocity).

Liberals, libertarians, and anarchists tend to be suspicious of institutions, and for good reason. Institutions have always tended to be static beings, putting more emphasis on convention and conformity that anything else. The result has been a brutal uniformity imposing itself on individuality and difference. Less official institutions such as gangs and cults are also capable of exploiting our desire for stability and unity for inappropriate purposes. But the tendency towards complete uniformity is nothing more than what it is—a tendency. Institutions can also be dynamic inasmuch as they can allow for growth and change within their organization. What we need is a balance, in both our institutions and in our personhood, between too much unity and not enough. A dynamic structure which finds this balance is Dewey's and Mead's ideal of democracy.

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GH Mead- Self and identity

George Herbert Mead occupies a special position among those who are today recognized beyond dispute as the classical sociological theorists. By the time of his death he had not published a single book, and was scarcely known outside the circle of his students and immediate colleagues. Moreover, he had never actually taught in the sociology faculty: his life's work was in the fields of philosophy and psychology, and his sociological influence was at first almost entirely limited to the course on social psychology that he gave for decades in Chicago.After Mead's death, the school of `symbolic interactionism' played a decisive role in assuring his influence in sociology.Mead's main service is to have developed a pragmatist analysis of social interaction and individual self-reflection.

Drawing on the work of Darwin and Wundt on the concept of a gesture, Mead explains how self-consciousness—the first stage in the development of the self—emerges out of the use of significant symbols.Human beings, since they are in need of one another and therefore must live amongst each other, must learn to anticipate what each other is doing by reading gestures as signs of more overt behavior to come.. We read each other's facial expressions and bodily movements as signs of behavior to follow, so when someone clenches his teeth and balls his fists, we know to expect trouble.

Mead speaks of an `**I** ' and a `me'. The `I ' refers in the traditional philosophical sense to the principle of creativity and spontaneity, but in Mead it also refers biologically to man's instinctual make-up.The `**me'** refers to my idea of how the other sees me or, at a more primal level, to my internalization of what the other expects me to do or be. If I encounter several persons who are significant references for me, I thus acquire several different `me's', which must be synthesized into a unitary self-image for consistent behaviour to be possible. If this **synthesization is successful**, the `**self ' comes into being**: that is, a unitary self-evaluation and action-orientation which allows interaction with more and more communicative partners; and at the same time, a stable personality structure develops which is certain of its needs.**Mead's model is oriented to dialogue between instinctual impulses and social expectations.The 'me' corresponds to an internalized other which makes demands on us (by virtue of our anticipations), and the 'I' is what responds to those demands.** Both Kant and Aristotle had identified the "true self" with reason and had viewed the other half of our dualistic nature as somehow extraneous or corrupting; Mead, on the other hand, picks no favorites, but simply acknowledges the complexity of the human self.In Mead's model, action is made up of four stages: **impulse, perception, manipulation and (need-satisfying) consummation.**

Symbols:

In Mead's view, human though, experience and conduct are essentially social. Human beings interact in terms of symbols, the most important of which are contained in language.

Role Taking:

In order for interaction to proceed, each person involved must interpret the meanings and intentions of others. This is made possible by the existence of common symbols, but actually accomplished by means of a process that Mead terms as Role Taking.Role-taking is a process of imaginatively occupying the position of another person and viewing the self and the situation from that person's perspective

Self:

According to Mead, there are two stages of development- play stage and game stage. In play stage, infants and young children first of all develop as social beings by imitating the actions of those around them. For example, they may play being a doctor, parent or a nurse. In doing so they become aware that there is a difference between themselves and the role that they are playing of what Mead calls as 'significant others'

As they grow, Children enter game stage and imitation takes a form of role taking in more complicate games/situations. Mead calls it 'taking the role of other' or landing into the shoes of other and learning what it is to be like that. where anticipation of an individual partner's behaviour is no longer enough and action must be guided by the conduct of all other participants. They become aware of their relationship with others. In doing so they see themselves in terms of collective view point of the other players.**It is only at this stage that children develop a concept of self.Children achieve an understanding of themselves as separate agents from 'me'- by seeing themselves through eyes of others.**

We achieve self-awareness, according to mead when we learn to distinguish between the 'I' and the 'Me'. The '**I' is the unsocialized infant, a bundle of spontaneous wants and desires**. '**Me', as Mead used it , is the social self. INDIVIDUALS DEVELOP SELF CONSCIOUSNESS BY COMING TO SEE THEMSELVES AS OTHERS SEE THEM.**

A further stage of child development, occurs when child is about 8-9 years old when he starts taking part in organized games. It is at this period that they develop a sense of values and morals according to which social life is conducted. **The individual actor must orient himself by a goal that is valid for**

all the other actors – agoal which Mead, with its psychical foundations in mind - calls the `generalized other'.

In Mead's view, the development of consciousness of SELF is an essential part of the process of becoming human being. It provides the basis of thought and action and the foundation of human society. In Mead's view thinking is simply an 'inner conversation'. Thus, unless individuals are aware of the self, they will be unable to converse with themselves and thought would be impossible. By becoming SELF CONSCIOUS, people can direct their own actions by thought and deliberation. This provides the basis for cooperative action in society. Individuals will become aware of what is expected of them will tend to modify their actions accordingly. The will be conscious of the general attitudes of the community, and judge themselves in terms of generalized other.

The self is reflexive, meaning a person can perceive herself as both the individual doing the acting as well as the object on which action occurs.MEAD'S VIEW OF SOCIAL INTERACTION SEES HUMANS BOTH ACTIVELY CREATING THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND BEING SHAPED BY IT.Society, on this account, is not merely a collection of individuals, and not merely an organization of individuals; it is an organization of organizations of organized attitudes. There are sub-selves which themselves make up selves, which make up institutions, which in turn make up "super institutions," or, society at large. Society, in its most complex form, is the interaction of all these entities.

TOPIC – 05- Stratification and Mobility

Concepts

Social Stratification- Intro, concepts equality, inequality, hierarchy, exclusion, poverty,deprivation

Social stratification is a process through which groups and social categories in societies are ranked as higher or lower to one another in terms of their relative position on the - scales of prestige, privileges, wealth and power**.(#ranking#relativeposition#scale)**

***Organizing principle*:**

1. **Status**: Relative position in terms of honour & respect. Inherited t birth and ascribed. Status groups go for exclusivity. (#honour & respect # status group # exclusivity)
2. **Wealth**: changes in different societies in time & space; Can be acquired but usually linked with status
3. **Power**: Relatively diffused attribute because not exclusive. As per Weber, it is ability of a person to impose his will over others even against their resistance. Legitimate power is authority. It is usually linked to status but in modern societies status, wealth and power may not be in great tandem.

Equality-inequality: Meaning→ views of different scholars→ significance today→conclusion

The state of being same is equality and opposite of that would be inequality. Based on the tolerance to inequalities societies can be divided into pluralistic, multi-cultural and uni-cultural. Social inequality has been an area of interest of man due to its pervasive nature and is one of the major basis of social stratification. Often, social differences are sourced from natural differences and with time they may take a more concretized form of inequality eg race, ethnicity or gender. Some scholars have defended to inequality and some of them have strongly opposed it.

- Classical scholars like Plato and Aristotle justified social inequalities on the basis of natural inequalities. To Plato, inequalities could be coercive and legitimate and legitimate inequality is instrumental for social progress. Aristotle supported limited citizenship based on gender &wealth.
- Vilfredo Pareto propounded that every person is naturally endowed with different kinds of residues eg sex residue, power residue, wealth residue and justifies social inequalities on such basis.
- J.J. Rousseau believed that there is a difference between social inequalities and social differences and former should give way to latter in modern society. Believed→biologically based inequalities→relatively unimportant as basis of social stratification.

- Tocqueville, vouches for competitive inequality as against perpetual inequality.
- Marx envisioned a society which he thought would be completely equal but Weber challenged that with studies indicating that economic equality does not necessarily lead to social equality. Andre Beteille talked of distributive dimension of inequality and relational dimension of inequality. The former is a quantitative aspect as against latter which is qualitative. According to him, biological differences can become biological inequalities only when culture endorses them. He shows, in his study of Indian society that very often distributive inequality turns into relational inequality.

The most important aspect of inequality is that factors that define equality change across societies. According to AmartyaSen, equality of opportunity determines the equalitarian nature of a society. But some scholars argue that hidden behind the veil of equality are certain barriers of entry which can only be experienced.

- For example, right to free legal aid in a society where private lawyers are better than public lawyers brings in certain degrees of inequality.

Social inequality is characterized by the existence of unequal opportunities and rewards for different social positions or statuses within a group or society. It contains structured and recurrent patterns of unequal distributions of goods, wealth, opportunities, rewards, and punishments.There are two main ways to measure social inequality: inequality of conditions, and inequality of opportunities. Functionalist theorists believe that inequality is inevitable and desirable and plays an important function in society. Conflict theorists, on the other hand, view inequality as resulting from groups with power dominating less powerful groups

Though all societies vie for egalitarianism, it remains a figment of imagination because power, prestige and wealth are unequally distributed among people. Also, in societies, differences and inequalities can both mutually co-exist. For example, there may be a difference between two Brahmins and inequality between Brahmins and dalits. Hence, complete identity is rare in social phenomena and equal usually means ‘roughly similar’.

Hierarchy:

Hierarchy refers to a situation where social positions are fixed and ranked above one another. A hierarchical system is usually closed to mobility and change. According to Louis Dumont, Hierarchy is feature of social system, where normative principles determine the utilitarian and instrumental principles in the affairs of the society. In other words, in a hierarchicalsystem it is not the economic, political and other secular factors which define the standards of evaluation of the normative or value aspects of society but it is the other way round. Hierarchical system is different from Stratificational system on the basis of its flexibility. Hierarchical setup is relatively closed and doesn’t allow mobility.

Whereas, stratification does, though not without barriers. Hence, hierarchy is marked by exclusion and inclusion whereas stratification is marked by differences and inequalities. Within a stratification system, hierarchy may be present and vice versa. For example, in the caste system as a stratification system, hierarchy of prestige mirrors hierarchy of power.

Poverty: Poverty is a relative condition of absence of some desirable component in society. Mostly, the term is used in an economic sense. A condition of lacking vital resources- is often qualified as relative and absolute. Absolute poverty- means lacking the truly basic necessities for living- food, water, shelter. Relative poverty, on the other hand,means lacking those things which most people in the society possess.It is a matter of debate if poverty is a result of social divisions and hierarchies or vice versa.

In modern societies, poverty is generally relational of which Merton talks about in his reference point theory. Even Marx talks about pauperization, by which he means increasing mismatch between exchange value of labour and use value of labour. Functional perspective endorses to such inequalities & calls it a social necessity.

Condition of poverty generally entails lack of opportunities & mobility, even in most open of societies **Exclusion/Inclusion:**

- Weber's status groups
- Elite theory-self exclusion versus forced exclusion
- Sources of exclusion: punishment, Ethnicity, Sexuality, Disease (HIV etc), caste, race
- Scope of coming back- open vs closed systems; permanent vs temporal exclusion- uprooting of apartheid, reservation policy in India.
- Repercussions of exclusion- deviance,retreatists, rebellion, crime.
- Difference between exclusion & inequality and exclusion & alienation

Hierarchy Vs Stratification

Dipankar Gupta has sought to clarity that the common textbook analogy of stratas to geological layers within the earth's crust is misleading. But Gupta argues not all systems of stratification are hierarchical. Some are, but many we not. Differences rather than hierarchy are dominant in some stratificatorysystems. In other words, the constitutive elements of these differences are such that any attempt to see them hierarchically would do offence to the logical property of these very elements. The layers in this case are not arranged vertically or hierarchically, but horizontally or even separately. For example, It would be futile, and indeed capricious, if any

attempt was made to hierarchize languages or religions or nationalities. Similarly, Secular India again provides an example of religious stratification where religions are not hierarchized or unequally

privileged in law, but have the freedom to exist separately in full knowledge of their intrinsic difference.

Theories of social stratification

Social Stratification- Different theories

1. **Functional perspective-**

- There are certain functional prerequisites which must be met
- Assume that parts of society form an integrated whole
- Concerned with role of SS in integration & continuance of society. SS is a dynamic system characterized by social mobility and continual restructuring of the rules of consensus building
- It recognizes the role of competition and conflict but also postulates existence of institutional mechanism like socialisation, education, empowerment by democratic participation etc through which aspirations of social mobility may be realized.
- This theory postulates analogy between social order and organism; both have internal mechanisms for self-regulation and self-corrections.

***Talcott Parsons*:**

- Order, stability and cooperation in society are based on **value consensus.**
- SS derive from such mutually acceptable values.
- There is no conflict as highly placed individuals fulfil the criteria developed by consensus
- Organization & planning- between diff strata→that of cooperation & interdependence
- Power difference, as drawn from legitimate authority. Used to achieve goals set by society
- Thus,(i) SS is in inevitable in every society as from shared values(ii) it is functional.
- Criticism: other sociologists think it to be divisive and not integrative

***Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore*- role allocation & performance:**

- One of the functional pre-requisite for survival of system- effective role allocation:
    - All roles must be filled;by those- perform best ; after training; do conscientiously
- All societies need some mechanism for effective role allocation and that mechanism is SS
- Higher rewards for certain people are necessary in order to build higher motivations
- Criteria to measure importance of a position (i) functionally unique (ii) dependence.
- Thus functionally necessary- solution to problem faced by all social systems.

Melvin M. Tumin- Critique of Davis & Moore

- **Importance**-Questioned adequacy of measurement of functional importance of positions. Many occupations that are little rewarded can be very important to society. Cannot say if doctors more important than farm labourers
- **Power & rewards**: influence & bargaining power also play a role which was ignored by D&M

- **Talent Pool-** D&M said only most talented will occupy positions. No effective measure to measure talent till date.
- **Motivation:** D&M- SS motivates talented. Tumin- more often barrier to motivation. Also, certain groups form status groups & impose barriers to entry to maintain high rewards Eg American Medical Association.
- **Inequality of opportunity:** SS are inherently antagonistic to equality of opportunity
- **Divisive-** SS encourages suspicion, mistrust and therefore divisive & not integrative.

2. Marxist Perspective/Dialectical perspective:

- **Class-** a social group whose members share the same relationship with factors of prodn.
- **Classes historically (diff modes of prodn)-** primitive communism→ancient→feudal→capitalist
- **Classes** did not exist in primitive commn as same rship with FOP, but as society expanded beyond level of subsistence, classes emerged & diff became most stark in capitalism
- **R'ship b/w 2 classes** is that of conflict & interdependence however dependence is not propotion8
- **Polarization:** (a) homogenisation of working class (b) income gap, thus, pauperization (c) competition will drive petty bourgeois towards proletariat.
- **False consciousness-**class in itself (same defn as class) becomes class for itself (by realization of true nature of exploitation)→ true class consciousness→revolution→new non-antagonistic strata/order→ no strata of inequalities
- Marx treats social order as a product of historical materialistic conditions: these are defined by modes of production and relations of production, and are continually undergoing change due to technological innovations and attempts within the society to resolve various social conflicts which are universal.

3. Weberian perspective:

- **Like Marx, saw class in economic terms-** social group, sharing similar position in market economy
- **SS** resulted from **struggle for limited resources in society**
- Major class division b/w **those who owned resources vs those who did not**
- **Difference-** saw a property less groups in the middle expanding, Therefore no polarisation
- **Believed** that market situation→collective social action→ but only **one of the several possibilities**
- **Disagrees with Marx on** political power necessarily being a function of economic power.
- **Status situation:** difference in distribution of **social honour.** Occupations, ethnic & religious groups and lifestyles are accorded diff degrees of esteem & prestige by society members.
- **Status group:** A group whose members are awarded similar amount of social honour & thus share same status situation. Eg: **Caste groups** distinct honour and lifestyles
- **Usually** class and status groups mirror each other but sometimes same class situation will not necessarily belong to same status groups eg: *Noveaux Riches (*newly rich) are sometimes excluded from status groups because of their tastes and mannerisms.

- **Parties** include groups which are interested in influencing policies for self interest of its members. They, like status groups may cut across class boundaries.
- **Hence,** Weber's analysis of classes, status groups and parties suggest that no single theory can explain their relationship and SS is an interplay between these three factors.

4. **Darhendorf and Coser- Conflict Theory**:

- Like Marx believe conflict present within different levels of the stratification system
- but do not believe that it will polarize classes and lead to revolution.
- Conflict is present because of inherent differences in organizing principles of social stratification and in search of upward mobility.
- They believe that such dynamics create porosity within the stratification system and conflict leads to internal adjustment rather than complete supplanting of the system, as envisaged by Marx.
- It is closer to functional perspective rather than dialectical materialism interpretation.

5. **Erik Olin Wright's theory of class:**

- Combines aspects of both marx and Weber's theory
- There are 3 dimensions of control over economic resources in modern capitalist production and these allow to identify difference classes present in society
    - Control over investment or money
    - Control over physical means of production (land, factories, offices etc)
    - Control over labour power
- Members of capitalist class have control over each one of them, whereas working class have control over none of them.
- Between two classes lies a group of managers, white collared workers etc whose positions are ambiguous and Wright calls them contradictory class locations.
- They sell their expertise and skills.

Dimensions

Dimensions – Social stratification of class, status groups, gender, ethnicity and race.

Ques (SS of classes, problem of gender, what's class, note on ethnicity &dev, note on caste within class & class within caste, caste as a class, status consistency vs status inconsistency)

Social Stratification of class:

What is a class (diff perspectives)→ SS→SS and class→scope of mobility→conclusion

What is class?

- Among, scholars, there is a difference of opinion on what constitutes class. Thus, naturally, there would be difference between which are the classes.
- Class is largely considered an industrial phenomenon as expansion of production forces beyond needs of subsistence, created stark distinctions between people, both economically and politically.
- But class is a pre-marxian idea. Aristotle divided society into 3 classes- upper, middle and poor but this term was first used by St. Simon as a synonym for estates.
- There are particular characteristics of class:
    - Classes are arranged in a vertical order
    - There is an idea of permanent class interest among the members of classes
    - Idea of class consciousness and solidarity is present among the members
- Thus class, endorses to the idea of social distance and class distinctions get expressed in form of social inequalities and social boundaries.
- Marx defines it as 'a social group sharing same relationship with the means of production'. Hence, he historically identified different antagonistic classes across modes of production.Acc to him 2 classes stand opposite to each other in ancient, feudal and capitalist mode of prodn. Primitive communism doesn't have any concept of classes as the rship with MOP is same. He believed classes drift away from each other and true class consciousness leads to class struggle which will establish a state of communism with no classes at all.
- Like Marx, Weber also talks of classes- propertied and propertyless. But there were more classes in property-less category and differentiated on the basis of their skills, capacity and talent which are identified in terms of their economic relationship in a market situation. These classes are:
    - Propertied upper class
    - Property less white collar workers

  - Petty bourgeois
  - Manual working class
- He talks about how classes affect 'life chances' and 'lifestyle' of members. Also, he gave the concepts of status closure and status groups which create sense of exclusion and inclusion in society. With increasing division of labour and increased role of govt., it was observed in the '50s that embourgeoisement was actually happening leading to expansion in the middle class.
- Ralf Dahrendorf , unlike Marx, argues that classes will became more and more heterogeneous with time and working class will get further divided into –unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled.
- Similarly, Anthony Giddens suggests that there are 3 classes- upper- who hold means of prodn; middle- who hold technical means and lower- who hold manual labour. Frank Parkin was another scholar who classified SS on similar lines. (He said Middle class doesn't aspire for either upper or lower class and acts as a buffer against polarization as envisaged by Marx)
- Pierre Bourdieu suggests horizontality in stratification in form of different capitals in society. Those who hold economic capital are industrial capitalists, those who hold cultural capital are knowledge capitalists and those who hold symbolic capital are power capitalists.
- Classes vary in consistency, depending on weightage given to ascription or achievement. In tradition societies, societies were more consistent but less mobile because of high ascriptive associations whereas modern societies are market by more fluidity in classes owing to achievement orientation.
- Class and social mobility- in next section
- Conclusion: Hence, classes stratify societies and answer to certain kind of sociological questions on poverty, exclusion, deviance, social inequalities, social mobility, social change, status, power, life chances and life styles. Criteria of identifying classes may differ among different scholars but a sense of class is ingrained in the minds of members of the class and hence influence on every aspect of society. With increasing economic development, there is a persistent effort to re-distribute wealth, income through progressive taxation, estate duties and taxes on capital gains. Therefore, there is equality of living standard, growth of middle class. But, to Marx's disappointment, it seems classes are here to stay for a long time to come in one form or the other.

Social Stratification of Status groups:

What are status groups→ Factors affecting SGs→ SS based on SGs→Concl

- While class is dependent particularly on economic variables, status groups are founded on the differences in honour and prestige differences.
- Status is one of the most ancient system of social stratification where ranking is done on the relative position in terms of honour and respect. In traditional societies it was attached to birth, hence was ascriptive, but in modern societies it is more achievement oriented.
- Status group is a Weberian concept which he defined as a social group who are awarded a similar amount of social honour and therefore share the same status situation.
- Unlike class members who are more disunited, status groups share same lifestyle, identify with their social group and place restrictions in the ways outsiders interact with them.
- Status groups are more closed and try to influence their idea of superiority or difference by maintaining status boundaries and imposing certain qualifiers on other people, which Weber called Social Closure.
- For example, Caste system is most prominent form of status group classification, where social honour, lifestyles and prestige were sharply differentiated.
- In many societies class and status groups are closely linked to each other but that is not always the case. For example fire fighters and doctors for the highest status groups in US, despite there being richer businessmen economically above them. Similarly, *nouveaux riches* may not get the kind of equal status treatment as compared to other elites.
- Hence, status groups may not necessarily be linked to economic or political status of a person. Today, it is also a question of legitimacy that is accorded to a person's status by the way of his deeds. With rise of civil society, status is getting attached with nobility, transparency of deeds. More philanthropic one are respected more. It is a different matter that philanthropy maybe again linked to the economic and political milieu of a person. Thus status group, today is a dynamic system of social stratification which needs to be continuously needs to be proven by deeds and is less ascriptive as it was in the past.

Social Stratification of Gender:

Natural vs social diff→ sex vs gender→gender as basis of inequality→thinkers→concl

- Gender is one of the most pervasive and prevalent social characteristics upon which social distinctions are made between individuals. Gender distinctions are found in economic-, kinship- and caste-based stratification systems.

- The United Nations Report (1980) declares that Women constitute half the world's population, perform nearly two thirds of its work hours,receive one tenth of the world's income and own less than one hundredth of the world's property
- Social role expectations are often formed along sex and gender lines. Entire societies may be classified according to the rights and privileges afforded to men or women, especially those associated with ownership and inheritance of property. In patriarchal societies, such rights and privileges are granted to men over women; in matriarchal societies, the opposite holds true.According to Kabeer (1995:37) 'biology is gendered as well as sexed'. Male and female aretranslated as man and woman based on mutually exclusive traits of masculinityand femininity.
- Growing up of a female child is marked by severe controls, idealization offamilial roles, and emphasis on female modesty and strong value attached tovirginity of female.The pre-pubertal phase is looked upon as intrinsic purity stage and it iscelebrated in a number of ways, like worshipping and feeding virgin girls on8th day of Navaratri.
- Sex- and gender-based division of labor is historically found in the annals of most societies and such divisions have increased with the advent of industrialization. Karuna Ahmad finds four trends in women's employment:(a) clustering of women in a few occupations (b) clustering either in lowstatus occupation or in the lower rungs of the prestigious profession, (c)women receive lower salaries than men, (d) high proportion of highly educatedand professionally trained unemployed women.
- Gender, as a form of stratification, difference and inequalities found mention in the literature since 70s when feminism started taking shape. It was observed that gender differences were present in every sphere of society in terms of status, wealth and power. Matrilineal societies like theKhasisare often cited to rebuff the idea that women in allsocieties are discrinlinated. Recent writings have shown how even among a matrilinealsociety like the Khasis, control of property and decision makingwithin the family (theprivate domain) often resides with the male head-the brother instead of the husband.
- Rousseau argued that biological inequalities matter least in form of social stratification, but feminists argue that most ancient form of system of SS is based on gender. They aren't incorrect as Plato placed reproductive role of women higher than their productive roles. Similarly, Aristotle was against citizenship for women.
- In modern societies, recognition of the fact that sex is biological and gender is cultural got a push as feminists studied gender. Their studies generally focussed on the exploitation, inequalities and stigmas that come attached to gender. Not only is she supposed to be

shorterthan 'her' men folks, be weaker, weigh less but also dress, walk, speak, gesticulatedifferently.

- There are different streams of Feminism which study gender differently:
    - Radical Feminism: They see society as patriarchal and blame man for exploitation of women.
    - Marxist & socialist Feminism: They see capitalists as main beneficiaries of women exploitation as in pursuit for profits either they hire women at lower wages or gain from women's unpaid work indirectly as men are able to work at costs of their wives. Also, at this time the question of sexual inequality treated interms of division of labour (Marxist approach) considers women as 'reserve army'.
    - Liberal feminists are most moderate of them all and believe that it is culture that is culprit for women's plight and not men. They aim for gradual changes in political, economic and social systems.
- ShulamithFirestone, is a radical feminist who traces origins of gender stratification in biological differences. She believes that women are disadvantaged by their biology due to which their dependence on man increased, which provided the blueprint for different forms of exploitations meted out to her.
- Michelle Rosaldo was the first to argue that it is division between the private (domestic) world which is reason for women subordination to men. Through example of Mbuti pygmies of Africa, she argued that where men and women share domestic lives, those societies are relatively egalitarian.
- Marxist scholar, Fredrick Engels, puts a theory which says that in primitive communism women had a higher position than men but as society developed and forms of private property underwent changes, men control over these increased, putting gender equality on the backburner. He believed that capitalist society, despite all its issues, provided an opportunity for women to work at par with men and gain som equality. But, observed that bourgeoisie women were still forced to submit to male control.
- Hartmann believes that capitalism and patriarchy are very closely connected- and describes them as intertwined, but she does not believe interests of men as identical to capitalists. For eg: Capitalists may want them to work at low wages but men may want them to be at home to perform services for them.
- Sylvia Walby in her book 'theorizing Patriarchy' says that patriarchy is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality and identifies 6 patriarchal structures which help men to

maintain dominance over women- paid work, patriarchal culture, sexuality, violence , state and relations within household.

- Paidwork- male dominated unions ensured that women interests are kept at bay.
- Culture- key sign of femininity today is sexual attractiveness of a woman.
- Sexuality- Young women who are sexually active are tagged by males as slags whereas for young men it is a sign of virility
- State- State policies, though have undergone changes, are still anti-females in many aspects
- Relations within household- At many points don't recognize the work of women and relations patrilocalnature of marriage give women a very disadvantageous start.
- Violence- final form of manifestation of dominance of man on woman.

- Even religion has been portrayed as one of the factors promoting patriarchy. Eg: In Christianity, as an afterthought, projects Eve as produced from Adam's spare rib and origins to all human sufferings are held to have their source in her actions.
- When gender is combined with other forms of prejudices like race, ethnicity and poverty, then it becomes worst form of exploitation.
- Different scholars suggest various ways to end such prejudices where androgyny or placing men and women at par has gained most popularity.
- With development, many societies are giving high priority to gender in every aspect of planning- right from law and order, to budgeting and from households to parliament. Concepts like gender budgeting lay emphasis on gender equality. In India, we see gender inequalities present in every sphere of life and totally different rules for women, but more and more are coming to realize the cultural angle to such prejudices and awareness on such issues is getting gaining spread.

RACE as a form of Social stratification

Race→Race and inequality→Contemporary significance, mobility and change. Extra- Race vs Caste

- From early in human history we see a move to classify and categorize people on the basis of their perceived differences. In the 17th century, with European expansion to new parts of the world, we see a rise of the ideology of racial stratification with Europeans placing themselves at the top of the scheme.
- Following Darwin's biological theories of natural selection, the concept of Social Darwinism arose in the 1800s arguing that certain social or racial groups were more successful & thus superior than others.

- Racism as a word entered oxford only in 1910.
- Racism as a system of stratification is loaded with both prejudice and discrimination based in social perceptions of observable biological differences between peoples.
- It often takes the form of social actions, practices or beliefs, or political systems in which different races are perceived to be ranked as inherently superior or inferior to each other, based on presumed shared inheritable traits, abilities, or qualities.
- In a given society, those who share racial characteristics socially-perceived as undesirable are typically under-represented in positions of social power, i.e., they become a minority category in that society.
- This minority status does not necessarily have to do with population. For eg: Demographically speaking, whites were a minority in South Africa before 1994, but sociologically speaking, they were in majority.
- Minority members in such a society are often subjected to discriminatory actions resulting from majority policies, including assimilation, exclusion, oppression, expulsion, and extermination.
- There can be two kinds of racisms in systems of social stratification- Overt and covert
- Overt racism usually feeds directly into a stratification system through its effect on social status. For example, members associated with a particular race may be assigned a slave status, a form of oppression in which the majority refuses to grant basic rights to a minority that are granted to other members of the society.
- More covert racism, such as that which many scholars posit is practiced in more contemporary societies, is socially hidden and less easily detectable.
- Covert racism often feeds into stratification systems as an intervening variable affecting income, educational opportunities, and housing.
- Both overt & covert racism can take the form of structural inequality in a society in which racism has become institutionalized.
- Different sociologists argue how class forms stratification but race forms hierarchy. Studies at diff points of times have indicated how race is a factor that hinders social mobility. Eg: Blacks are generally concentrated in limited areas. Immigration-host theories further the ideas of immigrations being responsible for problems of the hosts & hosts are generally perceived to be of a particular race. In his book 'Invisible Man', Ralph Ellison talks about the atrocities blacks face on account of their colour.

- Robert K Merton and Gunnar Myrdal advocated that every coloured American is following institutionally prescribed means to pursue culturally prescribed goals but still they are subjected to inequalities.
- John Rex and Paul Hirst, see race as a product of capitalism, where economic opportunities were seen in outside labour and acts like slave trade brought down the costs. Discrimination meted out to them, is attributed to the lowly tasks that they performed in the past. This view has been contradicted by scholars like Kenan Malik who rejected the connection between the two.
- Today, Greater openness and diversity among ethnic groups has led to the questioning of concept of race on the basis of the growing number of individuals identifying as multiracial, multiethnic, or even multinational.The lines between ethnicity and race are getting blurred and contemporary stratification cannot be explained independently on any one line of race, ethnicity or even class for that matter. But injustices in many parts, are also developing new shapes and kinds, keeping pace with such changes.
- Apology was rendered by whites during the Durban conference but when we see Ferguson, US killings on the basis of perceived race, it becomes clear that race as a factor of stratification may have been declared illegal but it still pervades the minds of many. One can argue that lynching of North eastern student Nido Tania in New Delhi last year can be categorised as a form of racial hatred born out of stereotyping.

Extra- Caste Vs Race

Dalit sociologists consider both largely similar- Both grounded on social justification of inequality, both seen through lens of natural inequalities, both a form of discrimination.

Andre Beteille and Dipankar Gupta point out historical differences between the two. Brahmanic supremacy has always been questioned in form of Jainism, Buddhism, Bhakti etc and white supremacy remaind unchallenged for a long time. Caste is a dynamic system, and allows for movement within, but race is more rigid for that matter. They also consider caste more complex that race where within caste there can be number of sub-castes carrying different statuses, but race is much macro in nature.

ETHNICITY as a form of Social stratification

- **It is derived from the Greek word ethnos meaningnation which is not depicted as a political entity but as a unit of persons with commonblood or descent.**
- An ethnicity, or ethnic group, is a socially-defined category of people who identify with each other based on common **ancestral**, **social, cultural, or national experience.**

- In English, the term referred for a long time tosomeone who was neither Christian nor Jew, i.e., a pagan or heathen. In other words,ethnics were those 'others' who are not 'us'.
- A look at the literature reveals three popular conceptions of ethnicity: biological, culturaland psychological. The biological conception is based on a common genetic descent. Inthis sense, ethnicity has been treated as synonymous with race.The second conception of ethnicity involved a new thinking which differentiated race from ethnicity. This view treated race as a cultural phenomenon. The third conception of ethnicity defines it in terms of the consciousness of a commonidentity. Instead, awareness among the members of a group regarding their similarity to each other.
- Depending on which source of group identity is emphasized to define membership, the following types of ethnic groups can be identified as ethno-racial, ethno-religious, ethno-linguistic, ethno-national or ethno-regional group.
- Ethnicity as a basis of social stratification is concerned with how people are ranked differently on basis of rewards and privileges in a society.Hence, the focus of ethnicity is not just on the people of a particular ethnicity, but also the context in which they are places as it is then that ethnicity assumes significance.
- Ethnicity is much more elastic a concept as compared to race or caste and is usually used for invoking political milieu. Though some forms of ethnicity are much more ingrained a complex than others, however, by way of language shift, acculturation, adoption, and religious conversion, it is possible for some individuals or groups to leave one ethnic group and enter another.
- According to Karl Deutsch, ethnicity has been instrumental for balkanisation and rise of so many nations in Europe, post-World War.
- Gellner and Wallerstein advocate that merit-based nature of modern societywill dissipate any divisions on basis of ethnicity and abilities will spell out class positions. They believe that modern principles lead to more homogenization and thus disappearance of cultural and ethnic identities. But critical theorists like Habermas and primordial theorists like Borris and Richmond argue that ethnicity becomes more prominent in modern times to preserve itself from drastic changes and is present in covert forms even in modern socities. Writers like Glazer (1975) have contended that not only does ethnicity not ceaseto exist in a modern society, but is actually 'revived' and what's more, the increasing importance of ethnic identities or ethnicization can be attributed to the very conditions of modernisation.
- Paul Hirst applying Marxist ideology, advocates that ethnicity is used by capitalists to keep working class divided, so as to prevent any revolution from happening

- Paul Brass (1991) discusses three ways of defining ethnic groups: a) in terms of objective attributes, b) by reference to subjective feelings and c) in relation to behaviour. The first definition implies that there are some distinguishing objective cultural features that separate one group from the other-language, territory, religion, dress etc. All these arecalled ethnic markers. The second aspect, i.e., presence of subjectivefeelings implies the existence of an ethnic self-consciousness. ourselves.-The third dimension, namely, the behavioural one,points to the existence of concrete, specific ways in which ethnic groups do or do not behave in relation to, or in interaction with other groups
- The Various studies have established how ethnicity plays a role in social privileges allotted in a society.
- Ethno-violence are seen in areas where immigration host model sees crisis as instead of acknowledging to differences and providing space for inclusive developments, hosts expect immigrants to fit into their cultures, smoothly and invisibly as far as possible.
- Eg: Nuer and Dinkatribes war in South Sudan which ravaged the country, was primarily ethnic in nature. Indian states were cut out on ethno-linguistic basis are still more demands are coming in. Crimea was taken away by Russia from Ukraine justifying large Russian population in Crimea. Hitler's holocaust was also a form of ethno-religious war.
- Hence, we see wide manifestations of ethnicity ranging everyday prejudices to formation of nations.
- Ethnicity as a system of social stratification, both integrates and disintegrates societies and hence, is of great interest to contemporary sociologists.

Social mobility

Social mobility- open & closed system, types of mobility, sources & causes of mobility

- Social Mobility means change from one social position to another. It normally entails changes in the life-chances and lifestyles. (Life chances- chances of obtaining those things defined as desirable by the society). Having said that, it is important to note that social mobility may not just be limited to class. For example, simply adapting to a new language or mannerisms may increase mobility of a person in a relatively open structure.
- Implicit in invoking the concept of social mobility is the recognition of social hierarchy and gradation in society. This gradation is usually in terms of power, wealth and prestige.
- Strata sub-cultures tend to be particularly distinctive when there is little opportunity to move from one stratum to another. This opportunity to move decided whether a system of stratification is open or closed.

Types of social mobility:

(a) *Horizontal versus Vertical*

Horizontal social mobility means movement by individuals or groups from one position to another in society which does not involve a shift into a higher or lower stratum. For example, from one citizenship to another, from one family (as husband or wife) or another by divorce and remarriage, from one factory to another in the same occupational status, are all instances of horizontal social mobility.More contemporary sociologist Anthony Giddens considers that there is a great deal of mobility along the lateral direction in modem societies. He prefers to define horizontal mobility as lateral mobility.

Essentially vertical mobility involves a movement which ensures enhancing or lowering of rank. According to Pritrim Sorokin, the direction of the transition there are two types of vertical social mobility: ascending and descending, or 'social climbing' and 'social sinking' respectively.Anthony Giddens refers to vertical mobility as movement up or down the socio-economic scale. According to him, those who gain in property, income or status are said to be upwardly mobile, while those who move in the opposite direction are downwardly mobile

Interestingly, Giddens comments that in modem societies vertical and horizontal (lateral) mobility are often combined. For instance, on individual working in a company in one city might be promoted

to higher position in a branch of the firm located in another town, or even in a different country. In fact mobility is being considered as a factor of promotions in modern societies.

(b) ***Intra-generational and iner-generational mobility***

Intra generational mobility talks about individual's own career-how far they move up or down the social scale in the course of their working lives. It is also often popularly called career mobility. Alternatively, one can analyse how far children enter the same type of occupation as their parents or grandparents. Mobility across the generation is called Intergenerational mobility. Since it just covers one lifetime, it throws less light on the openness of the society as a whole.

Studying the American occupational structure, Blau and Duncan have found that a person's chances of moving up the occupational ladder are strongly influenced by (i) amount of education (ii) nature of first job (iii) father's occupation.

(c) ***Absolute and Relative mobility***

(d) ***Structural and Circular mobility***

(e) ***Upward and Downward mobility***

Open and Closed system-

- Weber talks of social closure by different status groups, eg caste exogamy crime.
- Open systems permit flow of statuses, powers and prestige both horizontally and vertically.
- Most open societies tend to be highly industrialised. Additionally,urbanization contributes to vertical social mobility because ascriptive criteria become lessimportant in the **anonymity of the city.**
- Very little vertical mobility is possible in a closed society. Pre-modem Colombia and Indiamore or less approximate such type. In contrast, an open society allows for greater vertical social mobility.
- However, even in open societies people cannot move from one stratum to another without resistance.
- Blau and Duncan in their study on mobility of different societies that most open societies have fairly high degree of vertical social mobility but the social distance travelled is not very long.
- Every society has established criteria - which might be propermanners, family lineage, education, or racial affiliation etc., which must satisfied beforepeople can move to a higher social level.

- What makes mobility a reality is a change in occupation structure, enlarging the range and proportion of middle - and upper-level occupations while reducing the proportions of lowerones. Mobility created by changes in the occupational structure of the society is called structural mobility.
- Lipset&Bendixstudy on social mobility confirms that rate of mobilitydisplay a basic similarly across industrial societies. But they also point out that the highmobility of industrial societies is less an effect of greater openness of these societies. "Instead they consider the high mobility as primarily caused by structural change of thesesocieties.

3. Sources of mobility: Stratification system, Economic criteria, Role of state and Value system.

Causes of mobility

According to Russian sociologist, Sorokin, there are certain primary factors that affect mobility-in all societies, and secondary factors that are specific to particular societies at particular times. He listed four primary factors, namely the

- **demographic** factor,
- the **abilities** of parents and children,
- the faulty **distribution of individuals** in social positions, and
- the change of the **environment**.

1. **Demographic factor:** In general, it has been observed that the birth rate of higher groups is lower than that of lower groups. Even though the death rates of the lower groups are higher, the net reproduction rate is such that there is usually some room at the top for members of lower groups.This is true not only in terms of higher and lower groups, but also in terms of urban and rural populations. The latter usually have higher net reproduction rates. Despite this, urban populations have been growing much more rapidly than nlral ones. This is due largely to migration, rather than due to a natural increase in population.From the mobility angle, this means that new kind of vacancies are created which must then be filled.

2.Talent and Ability: Sorokin notes that usually, abilities of parents and children do not match. In ascriptive societies, children may not always be as suited to their inherited status positions as their paren**ts.**Lipsetand Bendix state that there are always new supplies of talent which must be absorbed somewhere or the other. Even in societies with inherited status positions, there were always opportunities for talented individuals to be upwardly mobile. Forexample under feudalism's first age, individuals with military prowess could rise. But critics argue that that’s not always the case, as satire on "The Rise of the Meritocracy" by Michael Young, effectively debunks the mythhat the

'open' societies are really responsive to talent and ability.The class of origin still matters in that the topmost positions and the lowest positions are largely self-recruiting.

3. **Faulty distribution of individuals: Pareto says that 'history is graveyard of aristocracies'.**He contended that over time generations lose their innate qualities, or persons from lower strata might exhibit those qualities, and thus a change in the personnel of the elite would take place.

4. **Change in social environment:** Changes of various kinds, economic, social, political, legal, technological, and other, have an effect on social mobility.

5. Lipset and Bendix, list five main points, the factors of social mobility in industrial societies. These are:

- **Changes in the number of available vacancies**
- **Different rates of fertility**
- **Changes in the rank accorded to occupations**
- **Changes in the number of inheritable status positions**
- **Changes in legal restrictions pertaining to potential opportunities.**

6. Goldthorpecities the work of **Miller**, who, using more data than Lipset and Bendix, shows that in factthere is a lack of convergence between the rates of mobility of industrial societies. This shows that perhaps it is not industrialization per se, but also other factors, such as cultural factors, the education system etc., which also have a bearing on social mobility

7. Barriers to mobility: Marxian viewpoint

8. Subjective factors: Aspirations, motivation of people, degree of exclusivity. Merton has also written about the importance of the reference group in determining social behaviour. He states that the individual who seeks to be mobile has as a reference group a non membership group, rather than his own group, goes for anticipatory socialization.

Causes for downward mobility:

- Downward mobility can occur because certainoccupations have lost in prestige through a reranking of positions, and thus their occupantshave moved down.
- In a number of cases however, it may not merely be a case of demotion,but rather, that those very positions cease to exist.For example the coming of polyester and other synthetic fabrics in India has drastically reduced the demand for cotton.

***Social Mobility & Social Change*: Giddens criticizes conventional discussions of mobility** which look at classes as fixed categories which can be populated by different people at different times. Schumpeter for example likens classes to buses, which have different passengers at different times.

Merton's work on social structure and anomie, sheds more light on this. He differentiates between socially accepted goals and means of achieving these goals. The goals refer to the values of society. Those who accept the goals and the means of achieving them are Conformists. But there may be those who-reject the goals, i.e. The values, as well as the means of achieving them. These people may either retreat from social life, Retreatism, or may rebel against society, Rebellion. In the latter case, they may, as referred to earliest, postulate a new structure of society, rather than seek advancement within the given structure.

Give examples like- top 20% control 80% wealth, Scotland wanted to go for vote for independence as 432 individuals controlled 50% of property in Scotland.

TOPIC-06- Works and Economic Life

Social organization of work in different types of society

1) slave society:

2) feudal society:

3) industrial /capitalist society:

Social Organization- meaning:

Social organisation is a **heuristic device** that is concerned with the **choices and decisions** involved in **actual social relations**

Slave Society:

- The relation of masters to slaves is considered as thevery essence of slavery. In this system of production the master has theright of ownership over the slave and appropriates the products of theslave's labour.The owner left the slaves only with the bare minimumnecessities to keep them from dying of starvation.
- In the slave-owning society, primitive tools were perfected and bronze andiron tools replaced the stone and wooden implements. Large-scaleagriculture, live stock raising, mining and handicrafts developed.
- The article "slavery' in the **Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1968)** makes a distinction between primitive, ancient, medieval and modemslavery.
    - Here we mention only two main types of slavery-ancient slavery and NewWorld slavery. Ancient slavery was prevalent in ancient Rome and Greece. Hereslaves were usually foreign prisoners of war. In New World slavery, the basis ofdevelopnlent of slavery were colonial expansion and racist ideology.
    - In this system, the slave was designated as the master's property. The slave had no political and social rights.
    - It is said that the decline of slavery was primarilybrought about, by the inefficiency of slave labour
- India- Both male and female servants and slaves performed specialisedfunctions in domestic and non-domestic services of the privileged class. Theywere also used as an object of display. Payments to the servants were verylow. Slaves were very cheap, even cheaper than

animals. A woman slave fordomestic work cost from 5 to 12 tanka (the monetary system introduced inmedieval India), a concubine, 20 to 40; untrained slave boys, 7or 8 tanka; andtrained slaves, 10 to 15 tanka during AlauddinKhilji reign.

- **Treated as chattels**: **To be freed by the master was an act of commendable charity but for the slaves themselves to flee was a sinful assault on private property.**
- Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves - a captive of war, a slave of maintenance, a son of a female slave, one purchased for money, a slave obtained as a present, a hereditary one, and one condemned to slavery for any offence

Feudal society:

- The term feudalism is derived from the institution of 'fief', which wasa piece of landed property. During the medieval period of Europeanhistory, this form of property was given to a vassal by a lord in returnfor military service.
- The defining feature of the estate/feudal system, was that the position held in the society, depended entirely in terms ofownership of land.
- The evolution of the feudal system brought about the development of exchange of agricultural and manufactured products in regional markets.People started using inanimate sources of energy, viz., waterand wind, besides human labour. The crafts advanced further, newimplements and machines were invented and old ones were improved. Thelabour of craftspersons was specialised, raising productivity considerably.
- Nevertheless, these relations were more progressive than in slavery system,because they made the labourers interested, to some extent, in their labour.The peasants and the artisans could own the implements or small parts ofland.Power was handed down through family lines, with peasant families serving lords for generations and generations.
- In India, a feudal type of society started emerging during the Gupta perigd (AD 1300-600) which gradually got stabilised. Land grants were made by the Guptaemperors, their feudatories and private individuals which created a class ofpowerful intermediaries between the king and the masses.Further, land grant became more common duringthe post-Gupta period.
- over the years, the term feudalism has also come to acquire a genericmeaning and is frequently used to describe the **pre-modern agrarian societies in other parts of the world as well.The distinctive feature of the agrarian class structure in feudalism is the relationship of "dependency" and "patronage" that exists between the cultivators and the "overlords".** The cultivating peasants have to show a sense of "loyalty" and obligation

towards their overlords. his sense of loyalty is expressed not only by paying a share of the produce of land to the landlord but very often the peasants are also obliged to work for the overlord and perform certain duties without expecting any wages in return.**Bonded labour example:** In **TehriGarhwal district of Uttaranchal**, a labourer, usually belonging to theuntouchable castes of **Doms and Koltas** borrows a small sum of money from a landowner inorder to get married and subsequently becomes bonded to his landowner-moneylender.

Modern/Capitalist Society- social organisation of work:

- **Features of capitalist society:**
    - Private ownership of means of production
    - Profit as incentive
    - Free competition for markets
    - Restless expansion and investment to accumulate capital.

Giddens

- **Highly complex division of labour** and high degree of specialization- UK census lists some 20,000 distinct jobs in the British economy.
- Shift in **location** of work. Earlier small scale artisanship from home. Now shift towards factories.
- High **economic interdependence**.
- From **animate** to **inanimate power**
- **Taylorism& Fordism→Post Fordism (**collaborative work groups, mass customisation, global production)

Marx

- Saw this dialectical and leading to alienation from **product, process, society and self.**

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (Marxist scholars)

- Capitalists need surplus amount of labour to enhance their bargaining potential and exert managerial control over them. Thus organisational structure in industries **is used to perpetuate class divisons.**

CW Mills:

- Book: **White collar**-alienation

- The market buys personality of a worker and not always his skills. Thus, some pieces of personality given importance and in order to chase them, he alienated himself from his true self.

Herbert Marcuse:

- Book**- One Dimensional Man**
- False needs and perceived happy consciousness prevent worker from realizing the true nature of alienation. Leisure becomes means of escape to refresh oneself and get back to work.

Emile Durkheim

- Functionalist view- he's cautiously optimistic about DOL.
- Industrial societies based on mutual interdependence. Hence, promote integration.
- But increased social differentiation may lead to anomie, if sufficient social controls and moral obligations are not present.
- Durkheim argued that this can be taken care by increased integration, moral education, encouraging occupational associations and development of code of ethics.

Adam Smith:

- **Wealth of nations**, begins with an example of how an individual worker can make just 20 pins in a day, but if the work is broken down among 10 specialized labourers, they could together make 48000 pins, therefore increasing production by 240 times. Similarly,

Fredrick W Taylor:

- Proposed scientific time and motion processes which increase production manifold. These principles were applied by Henry Ford in his automobile factory and an assembly line came into being. Fordism is the name given to designate the system of mass production tied to the cultivation of mass markets.

But fewer people work in factories than before as lot many new forms of occupations have come up.

The model of social organization on which modern industries work is not same everywhere. In the western civilisation the individual is given importance and the values and norms of the society uphold the individual's rights, but in Japan, the 'individual' is subordinated to the society. The Japanese industrial corporation works like big communities. Wages and salaries are paid according to the seniority of the worker concerned and not so much by his qualifications. A strong sense of

corporate solidarity binds the workers and the managers into a well-knit and efficient productive unit.

Professionalism in modern economy:

- **Functionalist**: Points at integrative, educating and regulating role of professional assns.
- **Ivan Illich**: are self serving groups that create artificial barriers for entry and cause demand supply mismatch.
- **Baritz**- book 'servants of power'- these assns serve ruling class.
- **Weber** assumed congruence of position and knowledge/merit. Thus for him positional authority was reinforced as it was flowing from expertise. But that is not the case, as observed today. Thus there maybe a conflict between professional and bureaucratic authority. Professional authority originates from expertise whereas bureaucratic from position, rules & regulations.

Technology and work experience:

- **Robert Blauner:** Author of **alienation and freedom**
  - Divides alienation into 4 dimensions:
    - Degree of **control** of workers on their work
    - Degree to which they are **involved** in their work.
    - Degree of **meaning and purpose** they find in work
    - Degree to which they are **socially integrated** to their work
  - He suggests that as managers and workers discuss technical problems, alienation reduces.
  - Higher degree of job content, responsibility and job rotations add variety & reduce alienation
- **Goldthorpe and Lockwood** in their study of **affluent workers of Luton,** find that **instrumentalorientation** and worker's expectations out of work are more important factors than technology.
- **Wedderburn**found support to both Blauner's and Goldthorpe's ideas and found that men's orientation towards work was largely instrumental but at the same time worker's who had more control over their work processes were more satisfied from work.

Work and leisure:

- **Stanley Parker-** Three patterns of relationship between leisure and work:
  - **Extensional pattern-** leisure that supports better performance at work
  - **Neutral Pattern**

- **Opposite pattern**

- **CW Mills-** Each day men sell little pieces of themselves in order to buy them back each night and weekends with coin called fun but leisure does not provide the fulfilment that work denies.

Pre Industrial:

- General skills. Eg: ironsmith making plough would do everything end to end himself
- Small scale artisanship based out of home: All family members would be involved
- Most population worked on farms and were economically self sufficient.
- **Durkheim:** Less social differentiation, DOL relatively unspecialized; solidarity based on similarities; lack of individuality and conscience collective at maximum.

Formal and informal organization of work

Organization is a **group** with an **identifiable membership** that engages in **concerted collectiveaction** to achieve **common purpose**.

Formal organization

- Formal organisation is one that is rationally designed to achieve its objectives, governed by rules, regulations and procedures.
- Formal organisation is asocial collectivity, the goals of which are formally defined. It has authority(ies) vestedwith power. The authorities are expected to mobilise the power vested in them forachieving the goals of the formal organisation.
- Formal organisations operate through**impersonal, universalistic rules and procedures**, which are expected to be mobilisedacross the board impersonally.
- **David Silverman** has suggested that the '**formal organisations**'have **three distinguishing features**:
    - They arise at an **ascertainable moment** in time
    - They exhibit patterns of **social relations** which are **less taken for granted** than those in non-formal organizations (such as family) andwhich organisational participants **often seek to coordinate and control**
    - **Considerable attention** is paid to these socialrelations & to plan changes in them.
- Early formal organisations were discussed in 2 contexts- factory and state. Fredrick W Taylor studied the factory and Weber, in his study of bureaucracy, studied the formal structure of a state.

Arguments against formal (rational) orgn

- **Ritzer-** Mcdonaldisation i.e. increasing rationality leads to irrational outcomes. It is dehumanising.
- **Formal & Informal relations-Weber** gave importance to formal relations within an organisation.

  Peter Blauon the other hand, studies informal relations within formal organisations and found that they actually tend to increase the efficiency of workers instead of pulling it down. Informal networks bring life into the organisations.
- **Elton Mayo's study of human relations- Study of Hawthrone works of GE, Chicago**
    - It came as a response to classical theory which laid emphasis on formal structure

- He believed classical school underemphasized socio-psychological aspect of formal orgn
- He found that work satisfaction depended largely upon informal social pattern of work group
- Where norms of higher coopn were estb because of feeling of imp, physical conditions.
- Work is a group activity and group collaboration is not by accident
- Informal groups within work plant exercise strong social controls
- He performed some experiments like illumination experiment (which studied the impact of physiological aspects), relay assembly test room exp (which studied what impact did change in working conditions – financial, rest periods etc have on morale); Mass interviewing program- found that hearing grievances alone may increase their morale
- He did not reject classical theory completely, but tried to close its gaps , thus called neo classical theory.

- **Criticisms**: lacks scientific validity; Marxist find it another way to exploit by de-emphasizing economic factors; it ignored environmental factors (found that working conditions, rest hours etc did not boost morale); behaviour of workers in experiments was not natural; over-concerned with happiness; Goldthorpe and Lockwood had pointed towards instrumental orientation of work.

Arguments against bureaucracy **(**use it under formal orgn/weber's study of bureaucracy)

- **Robert K merton:** Bureaucracy is **rule ritualism** which provides no space for creativity or own judgement. It leads to **displacement of goals** as **rules become end in itself.**
- **Alvin Gouldner:** Study inside **industrial mine**. How degree of bureaucratisation changes (see Weber)
- **Burns and Stalker:** argue that system should not be **mechanistic like bureaucracy but organic.** Organic systems are more efficient, responsive, flexible , yet most efficient when healthily nurtured.
- **Robert Michels:** In his political theory- **'iron law of oligarchy'** on On bureaucracy & democracy→ says that flow of power towards the top is an inevitable part of increasingly bureaucratised world. Bureaucracy is sworn enemy of individual liberty. Thus is equates organisations with oligarchy.

- **Peter Sleznik-** in his book '**TVA and grass roots'** argues that the basic need is that of survival and if bureaucracy affects that need, then that leads to crisis in society. Organisations need to be flexible and restructure power in order to create more participatory and adaptive structure.
- **Giddens**: in defence of bureaucracy observes that as organisations expand in size, power relations become looser and there is increased decentralization in decision making. It is not possible to have a top down approach as size increases. Eg: Transnational organisations can be **ethnocentric**- where power resides in home country; **polycentric**- where it is shared or **geocentric**- where it's most flexible.
- **Michael Foucault**: says that architecture of any organisation, depends on its social make up and authority system. In his prison studies, he shows the darker side of modernity.

Informal organization

- According to Anthony Giddens, the term **informal economy** refers to transactions made outside the sphere of regular employment, sometimes involving exchange of cash for services provided, but also often involving the direct exchange of goods or services.
- So work is not necessarily paid. Housework, do-it-yourself work, all are forms of work.
- The overwhelming majority of the work force in India (97%) lies in the informal sector.
- In 1970, J. Keith Hart, an anthropologist who specialised in African societies, was working for a research project of the International Labour Organisation

  Hart has noted **certain characteristics** of the informal sector that make workers in this sector different from the formal sector. These are:

  1. **Low levels of skill**. Workers in this sector have **low levels of education** and thus they have low skills. This is the reason why they are engaged in jobs involving **low technology**. Worker in the formal sector have higher degree of skill and their position in the labour is better.

  2. **Easy entry**. Getting work in the informal sector is **comparatively easier** than in the formal sector. He shows that any able bodied person, irrespective of the skills possessed can become a **day labourer**.

  3. **Low paid employment**. Because of the requirement of low skills and the easy entry, work in the informal sector has low returns.

  4. The fourth characteristic of the informal sector, according to Hart is that it is **largely composed** of **immigrant labour**.

ILO definition of informal sector:

- Easy entry for new enterprises

- Reliance on indigenous resources
- Small scale operation
- Family ownership
- Unregulated and competitive markets
- Labour intensive technology
- Informally acquired skill of workers

Earlier informal sector was taken to be shrinking but later studies show that not only has it grown in developing economies but its large presence was found in developed economies too. They are functional eg- street vendors market low cost products which no one else would 2% of labour force in Delhi comprises of street vendors. Also, these organisations give employers options of cheap labour to escape draconian labour laws.

Ela Bhatt points out informal sector includes significant category of people who were earlier employed in formal sector but were laid off because of shutting down of factories eg: Textile mills in Ahmedabad and Mumbai with popularity of synthetic yarn.

SharitBhowmiksays there are 2 kinds of informal sector:

1. **Informal Economy:** includes street vendors, home based workers, rickshaw pullers etc
2. **Informal employment:** includes casual and contract labourers in formal economy as working conditions and wages are similar to that of informal sector.

Kabeersays that as most women find their employment in informal sector, this has helped in increasing their autonomy, but the work conditions are harsh and they usually face health issues.

Informal Sector in urban economy**- Jan Breman(**Handbook of Indian Sociology)

- High rate of urbanisation is not marked with equivalent rise in formal sector employment.
- Describes informal sector as **colourful arrangement** of irregularly working people that **scratches around for a living close to or at bottom of the urban society,** where life and work are both precarious.
- Informal sector is unregulated, unorganized and unprotected. Trade unions and other collective organisations are rarely visible in informal sector.
- He proposes a **formal-informal continuum:**
    - Difficult to demarcate between informal and formal as both overlap and are interdependent.

    - Though top and bottom of an urban economy can be easily distinguished, there is a diffusion zone where formal and informal labour maybe together and there is no dividing line.
- Rejects the view that informal sector being mobilized to become micro-entrepreneurs as upward mobility very less and growth of informal sector has outpaced formal sector.
- He classifies majority as so called **self-employed** as **camouflaged wage labourers.** For example- rickshaw pullers and auto drivers with vehicle on rent or street vendors who get specific products from larger retailers.

Breman identifies certain distinct characteristics of informal sector:

- Composed of heterogeneously composed categories of working people who have no formal training
- No source of income apart from own labour
- Much higher participation of women and children
- Low status attached with informal self employment.
- He divided informal sector into
    - Petty bourgeoisie- self employment, brokers, contractors, agents
    - Sub-proletariat- casual and unskilled; move from one place to another for employment; have temporary employmnts
    - Paupers- lumpendrags of society whose presence nobody values. Totally alienated from consumption and labour itself.
- He maintains that there is fluidity among the above class structure though drastic upward/downward mobility is rare.

Workers in the formal sector are engaged in factories, commercial and service establishments and their working conditions, wages and social security measures **are legally protected**. The wages of formal sector workers are **substantially higher** than those engaged in the urban informal sector. Moreover, **a range of labour laws, guaranteeing permanency of employment and provision for retirement benefits, protect their jobs.**

Types of exchanges:

Exchange is interaction done with anticipation of reward or return of actions. Basis of exchange is reciprocity. **Exchange Theory-** People are motivated by their self interests in their interactions with other people.

As advocated by **Karl Polanyi,** it can be of three types:

- **Reciprocity (barter):**In the absence of money as a store and measurement of value and medium of exchange, economic transactions were always on exchange. Barter is a direct form of exchange. **Silent trade-**It was an exchange system where the exchanging parties do not know each other personally.Another example is **Jajmani system**-It is system of economic and social relationship existing between various castes in villages. The patron is known as jajman and the service castes are known as kamin.It is still prevalent in villages.While the landowning high caste families receive services from lower castes and in return members of the low castes receive grains.

- **Redistribution (ceremonial)**: Ceremonial exchange confers prestige on donors and receivers of goods.**Often the purpose of exchanging goods are to maintain amicable relations between groups to minimise the possibilities of conflict or simply display of greatness.** For example: **Malinowski studies Kula exchange in Trobriand islands:http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kula_ring**

  According to Malinowski it is a ceremonial exchange participated by the inhabitants of a closed circle of Trobriand Island. It has no practical or commercial value. The system of exchange is regulated in a kind of ring with two directional movements. In clockwise direction,the red shell necklaces called Soulava circulate and in anticlockwise circulation the white arm shells known as Mwali circulate among the members of the Kula.Objects given and taken in Kula are never subjected any bargaining.

- **Market exchange.**
  - For money
  - For ex: Work done in exchange for regular wage/salary is called an **occupation**.

Labour and society

Industrial democracy:

- Industrial democracy is an arrangement which involves **workers making decisions, sharing responsibility and authority in the workplace**. While in **participative management** organizational designs workers are listened to and take part in the decision-making process, in organizations employing industrial democracy they also have the final decisive power (they decide about organizational design and hierarchy as well)
- **Paul Blumberg** once put it, the failure of the public corporation suggests that direct involvement of employees is essential if the meaning of work is to be changed. **Peter Drucker**also highlighted the importance of industrial democracy.
- Despite universal acknowledgement of democracy, as **Philip Slater and Warren Bennis** have argued, we have a long way to go before democracy is fully implemented into the corporate world. While business leaders extol the virtues of democracy on ceremonial occasions, often they would be the last to think of applying them to their own organizations because of a peculiar attitude which claims that democracy is a nice way of life for nice people, yet a kind of expensive and inefficient luxury for managing an organization
- Use of strike as a method of protest through trade unions. Unions developed as a means of redressing power imbalance between the workers and employers.
- Workers today having voting rights in the political sphere, and there are established forms of negotiations with the employers, by means of which economic benefits can be pressed for anfd grievances be expressed
- However, since 1980s , trade unionism has seen a relative decline in the western world and this is due to more importance on the service sector instead of manufacturing sector. Global shocks can also be one reason where unemployment rates increased and reduced the bargaining power of workers.

Feminisation of work- Giddens- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender_role

- Until recently, paid work in the western world, was the domain of men
- Reports in UK suggest that 3/4th of the women are engaged in low paying and part time work of clerical, cleaning, cashiering and catering nature of work.
- **Women and workforce- historical view**

- For vast majority of traditional societies, productive activities and household activities were not separate. Women often had considerable influence on household decisions which were placed highly with economic decisions.
- **Ann Oakley** points out that much of this changed with the separation of workplace from household. Contract workers as individuals were recruited in factories and not as families.
- **She points that 25-40% of wealth created in industrial countries is because of unpaid labour at home.** With increasing division, ideas of public sphere and private sphere got entrenched into the minds of people. Men, by account of being part of public sphere enjoyed more participation in political and market affairs whereas women remain limited to boundaries of domestic work.

- **Growth in women's economic activity**
  - Increased participation over last one century. First, because of increased demand of labour during world wars. Gap between employment rates of men and women reduced thereafter.
  - Reasons: Economic pressures, automation at home, nuclear families and more time, personal ambition by women propelled by movements in 60s and 70s
- **Gender and inequalities at work:**
  - **Occupational segregation**- traditionally part of poorly paid & routine work. Occupational segregation can be vertical or horizontal. Vertical- less authority jobs and horizontal- altogether different kinds of jobs; Sex-role stereotyping have played a role in this segregation. **Rosabeth Moss** in her study of corporations, argues that women are excluded from gaining power becase of **homo-sociability** of men.
  - **Concentration in part-time work-** are seen to be offering much more flexibility to employees than full time work. Thus, often favours women who try for work-life balance. But carries certain disadvantage like low pay, job insecurity and limited opportunities for advancement. Acc to surveys, many women happily chose part-time work
  - **Wage gap-** Avg pay of women much lower than that of men. But many minimum wage programs, esp in western countries have narrowed this gap.
  - **Egalitarianism in domestic work-** Studies have shown that with full time working women in high income families, domestic work sharing is more egalitarian but not full egalitarian.

Post Fordism trends:

- Collaborative group work- to increase worker motivation
- Flexible production and mass customisation
- Global production

Current trends in occupational structure

- **White collar jobs**- Beginning of 20th century was dominated by blue collar works in western countries. Now it is more of white collar work in the service industry.
- **Growth of knowledge economy**: Refers to economy where ideas, information, and forms of knowledge underpin innovation and economic growth. Majority of popn is not engaged in physical production of goods but in their design, development, technology, marketing, sale and servicing.
- **Multi skilling-** Specializations are often assets but if employees have difficulty in applying narrow skills creatively in new contexts, they may not be seen as a benefit in a flexible, innovative workplace. In both skilled and unskilled work sectors, personal skills are highly valued.
- **Training on the job-**Many companies prefer to hire capable non specialists who are able to develop new skills on the job.
- **Homeworking-**In high trust organizations,this is very acceptable.
- **End of career for life and rise of the portfolio worker-**one who works for his portfolio and then skips to new job.

Social significance of work

- Characteristics of work today:
    - Money
    - Activity level
    - Variety
    - Temporal structure
    - Social contacts
    - Personal identity

Taylor- Scientific principles of management

Father of scientific management proposed 14 principles of scientific management:

1. **Division of work**
2. **Discipline**

3. Parity between **Authority- responsibility**
4. **Unity of command**- subordinate should receive orders & be accountable to just 1 superior
5. **Unity of direction**- all related activities should be put under just one group
6. Subordination **of individual interest**
7. **Remuneration**- fair, reasonable and rewarding the effort.
8. **Centralization** v/s decentralisation
9. **Order**- Social (takes care of fluidity within orgn) and material (ensures safety & efficiency @ work)
10. **Equity**- employees must be treated kindly, fair and impartial manner
11. **Stability** of tenure of personnel
12. **Initiative** on part of individuals should be encouraged
13. **Espirit de corps**- Team spirit helps develop an atmosphere of mutual trust & understanding
14. **Scalar chain**- Clear line of authority & chain of command. Concept of **gang plank** using which subordinate may contact a superior , defying hierarchy of control, in emergencies.

Critical Management Studies:

Critical management studies (CMS) is a loose but extensive grouping of **theoretically informed critiques of management, business and organisation**, grounded originally in a critical theory perspective.

Hugh Wilmott is believed to be its originator. They began to question the politics of managerialism and to link the techniques of management to neo-liberalism. These new voices drew on the **Frankfurt School of critical theory** and the **work of Michel Foucault**. Later Feminism, queer theory, post-colonial theory, anarchism, ecological philosophies, and radical democratic theory also had some influence.

Actor- Network Theory:

Actor–network theory, often abbreviated as ANT, is an approach to **social theory and research**, originating in the field of science studies, which **treats objects as part of social networks**. Although it is best known for its controversial insistence on the capacity of nonhumans to act or participate in systems or networks or both, ANT is also associated with forceful critiques of conventional and critical sociology. Sees buildings, machines, people, material – all equal actors in the system. **This is called principle of generalized symmetry.**

Social network: All direct and indirect connections that link a person or a group with other people & groups

Social Capital:

The fruits of organisational membership, the social knowledge and connections that enable people to accomplish their goals and extend their influence is called social capital.

It is linked to studies of **Pierre Bourdieu** and **Robert Putnam.** It includes useful social networks, sense of mutual obligation and trustworthiness and understanding of the norms that govern effective behaviour and in general other social resources that enable people to act effectively.

Putnam points that there are two kinds of social capital

- **Bridging social capital**→ outward looking and inclusive
- **Bonding social capital**→ inward looking and exclusive

In his book **Bowling alone,** Putnam points at decline of social capital in America. He also notes that strong social capital encourages democracy.

Self Help Groups as informal organisations:

- Self-help groups are a growing phenomenon across national borders and social/political systems. They affect the individual participants' activity level, strengthening of their self-perception and sense of belonging.
- empirical sociological evidence shows that health care professionals - nurses, psychologists, social workers - have become an integrated part and thus essential actors in self-help groups within as well as outside the framework of the formal health care system.
- In developing countries, organizing poor into small thrift and created groups, called SHGs is thought as an alternative credit institution to combat the crisis of petty credit requirements.
- An SHG (having its origin in Bangladesh) is a group of about 20 people from a homogeneous class, who come together for addressing their common problems. They are encouraged to make voluntary thrift on a regular basis. They use the pooled resource to make small interest bearing loans to their members.
- **From Yojana:** The process helps them imbibe the **essentials of financial intermediation** including **prioritization** of needs, **setting terms** and **conditions** and accounts keeping.This gradually builds **financial discipline and credit history** for themselves. '**Cold (Outside) money'** gets added to the own '**warm money'** in the hands of the groups, which have become structures, which are able to enforce credit discipline by being able to save and

borrow regularly without many hassles.The **peer pressure** ensures timely **repayments** and replaces the "Collateral" for the bank loans.**At present, there are over 16 lakh SHGs operating all over the country, of them 90 percent being women SHGs. It is a solid means of women empowerment.** Many SHGs have taken **social issues** as well like anti-liquor movement etc. Thus not only economic upliftment but also social upliftment. A **case from Kerala, where a dalit boy was not allowed to enter shiva temple, dalit women SHGs sat on dharna and prevented upper caste boys from cisiting the temple too.**

- In spite of the apparent success of the concept, still many bankers are yet to whole-heartedly support the groups with credit**. The deep rooted traditional mindset of banks which views poor, as credit risks, is difficult to change. Examples of Ladakhi women SHGs** show how SHGs SMEs are used to preserve dying cultures in form of handicrafts etc.
- The NGOs in India have promoted microfinance through women SHGs. However, diff institutional forms are not value neutral and have vested interests involved. The interests of those MFIs and SHGs conflict. Poverty reduction and empowerment will suffer unless the institutions are owned and managed by the poor. The govt, banks and wholesale financing organisations now work with NGOs that promote SHGs.
- Sustaining an SHG is more uphill a task than starting it. According to **Chamala**, sustaining SHG involves following considerations:
    - Achieving the group task
    - Developing the individual
    - Building and maintaining the group
- **Gender angle**: The"policies of exclusion" of the so called patriarchal societies throughout the world, especially in the Least Developed and Developing countries are primarily responsible for marginalization of women, both covertly and overtly.

Theories:

- **helper-therapy principle:** People who are suffering from their own difficulties find that their painful experiences can help others in the same boat, thus enabling them to realize the humanitarian or existential meanings of their experiences. Additionally, people can deepen their understanding of their own problems by helping others in similar circumstances.

Social determinants of economic development:

- Non-economic or social dimension has been' added to the concept of economic development **by UNO**. According to UNO, "Development concerns not only man's material needs, but also improvement of social conditions of his life. Development is, therefore, not only economic growth but growth plus change – social, cultural and institutional as well as economic".
- **Gunar Myrdal** has pointed out **six important factors affecting development**:
    - output and income,
    - conditions of production,
    - levels of living,
    - attitude towards life and work,
    - institutions and
    - politics.

  The first two refer to economic factors, the next two to non-economic factors, and the last two are mixed category.
- From Ramesh Singh (economics)- human development debate

Impact of new global economy on work orgn and family structure

Globalization has **several dimensions**: **political, technological, human, environmental and cultural.**These dimensions can reflect or contribute to the exclusion of the economically and educationally poor people especially in developing countries, and environmental degradation, as well as the growth of prosperity and peace in some areas.

Globalization is hardly a new force affecting India. To think so is to ignore a diverse and pluralistic long-standing civilization that was shaped by a long list of "invading" (globalizing) cultures that became what we now know as India. The previous globalizers of India include the Aryans, Greeks, Turks, Afghans, Muslims and most recently, the Europeans, Portuguese, French, Dutch and finally the English.

- Nuclear families
- Urbanisation
- Migration- Acculturation gaps
- Shifting of values- individualism and collectivism
- Women empowerment
- Domestic threats
- Health issues

- Crime- illicit drug trades, organized crimes, cyber attacksetc

On Family structure:

- Ever since the growth of human civilization, change has remained a consistent part of every society though there have been variations in its state and directions. At different phases of growth the processes of change have affected the various aspects of society.
- The processes of social change like: Modernization, Westernization, Urbanization and Sanskritization have contributed a lot in changing the Society.
- Family size is changing rapidly
- Changes in functions of family:
- Equality within family:
- Change in recreational activities
- Inclination towards private schools
- rapid change can encourage fundamentalism, a desire for the past, and a loss of tolerance for differences in religion and culture.

Work Organisation:

- Stock market crashes of 1994 and 2008- Millions of people lost prosperity and livelihoods, and education and health services were among those cut across the region
- Cyber attacksetc
- Child labour: eg: Globalization most directly exploits an estimated 300,000 Indian children who work in India's **hand-knotted carpet industry, which exports over $300 million** worth of goods a year.
- Work from home, gender parity, DOL etc. points mentioned in modern societies done earlier.
- New kinds of jobs- eg bouquet business, travel agencies etc
- Paternity leaves etc
- **William Whyte** described the "**organization man"** inAmerica five decades ago as These individuals **"have left home, spiritually as well as physically, to take the vows of organization life, and it is they who are the mind and soul of our greatself-perpetuating institutions**

Individual:

- **Double self/bicultural identity:** which means that part of one's identity is rooted in the local culture while another part stems from an awareness of one's relation to the global world.
- **Difficulty to adapt, thus identity confusion-**
- **Self selected culture-** can chose from among plater of cultures and many times revivalism

Globalisation and marginalization:

With millions of poor farmers, rural laborers, urban unemployed, slum-dwellers, 3 million refugees, 100 million street children, and the millions displaced by 'the development' projects, poverty in this era of globalization has assumed new dimensions.

Emerging pattern of sex roles in modern society-

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender_role#Changing_roles

The **first wave of feminism was successful to bringing the right of vote to women.** This success was due to the contributions of the "Suffrage Movement" in the early 1900s.

The **second wave of feminism had a lot of women theorizing gender roles** as well as their explanation on why society is constructed in this specific patriarchal way.

Gender role is a theoretical construct involving a set of social and behavioral norms that, within a specific culture, are widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex.

Societies can change such that the gender roles rapidly change. The 21st century has seen a shift in gender roles due to multiple factors such as new family structures, education, media, and several others. A 2003 survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicated that about 1/3 of wives earn more than their. With the importance of education emphasized nationwide, and the access of college degrees (online, for example), women have begun furthering their education. **Family structures are changing, and the number of single-mother or single-father households is increasing.Fathers are also becoming more involved** with raising their children.

Changing concept of property:

Here are various theories of property for justifying its existence and its changing realm.

- Thus the Romans divided things into two - *Things in Patrimony* (things capable of being taken in private ownership) and *things out of Patrimony* (things which cannot be owned privately).
- According to Locke, **property** was originally owned in common by all men, however, men had a natural rights to appropriate this common **property** for their own private use where they themselves had laboured to create it .Locke conceptualized what became known as the "**social contract**" where individuals agreed to hand over particular powers to the government to control in exchange for a protection of fundamental natural rights of life, liberty and **property**.
- **Utilitarians, like Hume,** Private **Property** existed because it had become a social convention that individuals obeyed, it being in their mutual interest and the general public utility to do so. He believed that common good led an individual to concur with the system of rules implementing private **property** but ultimately, all **property** was subordinate to the authority of civil laws.
- **According to Kant's 'Will Theory',** said basic concept of **property** is "an expression of will over a thing against other." Under Kant's theory, there must be union of wills or recognition of general will which can convert the individual's possession into aright.

- The same sort of debate, between individualism and society, goes on today over topics like welfare, social security, gun control, and affirmative action. **But as the nature of the economy changed, property rights changed with it.** Jobs and benefits, or stock ownership, became just as important as land. The law changed to give employees some protection and to recognize intangible **property** as well as real**property**. As the information age has evolved, we have seen additional changes in **property**. Trademarks and copyrights may be far more valuable than land. The framers of the Constitution could not have foreseen **property** rights in Internet web sites, body parts, and fertilized human eggs, and yet we must adapt their ideas to fit these new realities.

TOPIC-07- . Politics and Society

Sociological theories of power

- Sources of power and indicators to measure power
- Authority and legitimacy
- Community power
- Sources of legitimacy of power
- A study of power invariably involves an investigation of social class
- Authoritarian personality
- Are power and authority getting broad based in India today?
- Power and authority

Introduction

- power is a universal phenomenon in human activities & socialrelationships, there is no uniform conceptualisation of it. Power-mill, Power Loom, Maths- power-all mean to increase capacity)
- In simple terms power refers to *the ability of a person to influence* the *behaviour* of another person or a group of persons **in** *accordance* with his / her own wish.
- *Tawney*, "Power may be definedas the *capacity of an individual*, or group of individuals, to *modify* the*conduct of other individuals* or groups *in a manner in which he desires*, and*to prevent* his conduct being *modified* in the manner in which *he does not*".
- Power heralds a *relationship of subordination and superordination* betweenpeople. But why are people placed unequally afterall? Hobbes says in the nature of man, we find three causes of quarrel : Competition,Diffidence, and Glory. The life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short'. Thus a need to have central authority and this idea resounded in writings of Locke and Rousseau too.

a) Max Weber: Power and Domination

- Power isdefined as an *actor's chance to impose his/her will* on another (*even againstthe resistance* of the latter) in *social relationship*.Power represents action likely tosucceed even against the opposition and resistance of those to whom it isapplied.
- He distinguishes between power and dominance as that the *former does not imply the right to commandand the duty to obey*while the latter implies the probability of gaining willing obedience.power is in essence a sociological concept whereas dominance isa socio-psychological concept.power is located in groupsand it manifests in inter-group relations,

whereas dominance is essentiallylocated in the individual and it is expressed in inter-personal relationships.There are two kinds of domination: (i) in which the *dominant is able to convince the subordinate actors* that it is their *interest which isbeing served* by allowing him/her do what he/she is doing. (ii) The second type of domination is the onewhich is *exercised by virtue of authority*. He further classifies 3 kinds of authorities (i) Charismatic (ii) Traditional and (iii) Legal Rational

- Weber's concept of **class**, status and party along with his analysis of stateand bureaucracy are the centre of his concept of power. Each grouping isfocussed around or oriented towards power as an independent point ofconflict. Each represents an aspect of and a basis for power.
- Power can alsoemerge from status or party (associations concerned with acquiring power)or can also be pursued for its own sake.party refers any voluntary association, which has the aim ofsecuring directive control of an organisation to implement certaindefinite policies within the organisation

b) Karl Marx: Class and Power

- To marx power means coercion which state exercises for promoting the interests of the dominant class
- He stresses that powerful & powerless have varied interests, thus ,class conflict.
- The super structure of any form of society is affected by itsinfrastructure i.e., the economic activities of the society.
- Lackof naked oppression does not mean that domination is not taking place. Itis only that the dominated are unaware of their condition, because of theeffectiveness of the ideologies into which they have been socialised.
- The only way to return power to the people is communal ownership of theforces of production.

c) Parsons on power:

- Parsons regards power as something possessed by society as a whole. Assuch power is a generalised facility or resource in the society. amount of power in society is measured by the degree to which collectivegoals are realised. Hence, it is not a zero sum game as Mills would've proposed.
- Thus, the greater the efficiency of a social system forachieving the goals defined by its members, the more power exists in society.This view is known as a variable sum concept of power.

- He believes that order, stability and cooperation in society arebased on value concerns, that is a general agreement by members of societyconcerning what is good and worthwhile.
- For example ifmaterialism is a major value of the Western Industrial society, collective goalssuch as economic expansion and higher living standards can be seem to stemfrom this value. The more able Western societies are also to realise thesegoals, the greater the power that resides in the social system.
- power is an integrative face in socialsystem just as social stratification
- power is only one among several differentways in which one party might secure the compliance of another to a desiredcourse of action. Parsons says compliance can be secured by applying positive(rewards) or negative (coercion) sanction

Each of the four reveal internal characters of a sub-system – for example Authority in second cell (g):

- **Higher Level and Generality**

Diagram : Political complex

A	Means : Regulation	Goal specification : Authority	G
L	Values : organisational effectiveness	Primary Norms : Leadership	I

Lower Level and Generality (Authority)

Allocation of budgetary resources	Allocation of organisational responsibilities
Valuations of control of membership contributions	General powers of making bonding decision

d) Pluralistic theory of power:

- Pluralist theory argues that political power is dispersedamongst a wide variety of social groups rather than an elite of ruling class. Robert Dahl belongs to this school.
- Robert Dahl, an advocate ofthis theory who termed rule by many as 'polyarchy'.

e) New Pluralistic Theory:

- They argue that the modernindustrial state is both more complex and less responsive to popular pressuresthan the classical pluralist model suggests.Neopluralistssee elites, especially corporate elites as having a greater degree ofinfluence than other groups on government/state policy

f) Elite theory of power

g) Robert Michels: The Iron Law of Oligarchy

- Michels believed that the *craving for power is inherent* in the nature ofhuman beings. Those who acquire power, *seek to perpetuate* it.

h) Steven Lukes: Power and Human Agency

- Lukes argues that power is not just about decision making but also about 2 more aspects: **non-decision making and shaping desires.**
- Lukes affirms*that often human agents have several options* or alternatives beforethem from which they choose their course of action.
- Two conclusionsemerge from this perspective: the one who exercises the power had theoption or the alternative to act differently; and those on whom the powerhad the option or the alternative to act differently, if power was not exercisedover them.
- He cites *the example of an employer* who declares someof his workers redundant because he wants to cut costs. In another case,an *official government liquidator* declares an insolvent company bankruptwhich throws the workers out of work. While *the first case is a case ofsimple exercise of power, the second is not* because we assume that theliquidator had no alternatives before him.

i) Anthony Giddens: Power as Dependency and Domination

- He distinguishes *between power in the broad sense and in the narrow sense*. While in the broad sense, the person has the *transformative capacity* to*directly* impact the consequences, whereas in the narrow sense, the person *has capacity to influence* the outcome that essentially *depends upon others*. In the second case the *thrust is on domination.*

j) Michael Foucault: Power as Domination

- He distinguishes between the characterof modern and classical power.
- *Disciplinary power as modern form of domination* stands out in sharp contrastwith *sovereign power as pre-modern domination.*While in the disciplinarymodel there is *contrasting constitution of actors*,the sovereignty model is based on *thegivenness of the actors* involved.
- His works analyse the link between power andknowledge.It is not possible for power to be exercisedwithout knowledge. It is impossible for knowledge not to endangerpower.
- Power, is not to be considered as opposite to reason; but on thecontrary as the necessary condition for the construction of knowledge.**He strongly believes that POWER IS NOT POSSESSED BUT EXERCISED.**
- **Quite interestingly, he sees power being exercised only when people have some freedom. Power never allows total control and constantly produces resistances and evasions as people often try to get away from the grasp.**

K) post modernists: believe that we have entered an era of **simulacra –** signs which mask the fact that reality no longer exists.

Sources of Power

- **Mann** (1986) would identify 4 sources of power-**ideological, economic, military, & political.**
- **Galbraith (1984)** classifies three sources of power **- personality,property and organisation**
- *Gerth and Mills*: The obedience may rest upon*fear, rational* calculations of advantage, lack of *energy* to do otherwise, *loyalty*, or any other reason.
- Robert Michel&Vilfred Pareto- Inherent. (theory above)
- Marx: in economic structure
- Weber: Class, status group and party all are sources of power
- Parsons: Value consensus and common goal achievement
- Pluralists like Dahl- Everywhere
- Antonio Gramsci- in modern societiesbourgeoisie had established hegemony, ideological leadershipor domination. Sources of power may be illegal too.
- Other: number, Skills and abilities, Media, Resources, organisation etc

Power Vs Authority

- Power can be understood in 2 main ways. First is type of conception ofpower pins at a kind of **generalised capacity to act.**The other & more complex conception is that power whichinvolves both **capacity & a right to act** which derives from the consent ofthose over whom power is exercised.
- *When power acquires legitimacy* or justification it is understood as authority.
- Authority receives voluntary obedience.
- Power for Parsons is a direct derivative of authority; authority for him isinstitutionalized legitimation

Power in Local Communities

- The focus of community power is on decisions that are crucial to the peoplein a community
- **Robert Dahl**
    - Power structure is pluralistic.
    - He carried out event analysis of New Haven.
    - He concluded that there's not one centre of power but manyloci of power exist.
    - Dahl believes that mayors and their staff have increasinglyby become the initiators and organisers of important community decision.

Power and class:

- **Marx**
- **Weber:** class is an expression of economic order to be more precise it isdetermined by a persons' market situation. He also identifies middleclass, a group that can be placed between these two.

Instruments of Power

- 3 main institutions that accord right to use of power- **Coercive, Compensatory and Conditioned:**
- **Coercive:** wins acceptance by threatening, intimidatingor inflicting on others with dire consequences
- **Compensatory:**offers the individual a reward or payment sufficiently advantageousor agreeable so that he (or she) forgoes pursuit of his own preferences toseek the reward instead.
- **Conditioned:**This kind of power isachieved by changing the attitude and belief of the individual or group. most crucial and pervasive kind of power to the functioningof modern society

Contexts of Power

There are four main contexts where power can be exercised. They may be seen in the contexts **of political affairs, institutional patterning, ensuringlife chances, and personal relations (Tumin)**

Measuring power

- Show influence on decisions.
- **Robert Dahl** in his book **Who governs?** Examined local politics of New Haven, Connecicut to conclude that varied interest groups impact the decision.. Local politics was a **business of bargaining and compromising, with no one group dominating the decision making.**

Nation, state, citizenship, democracy, civil society, ideology

- Participatory democracy? What conditions conducive for it
- How civil society and democracy mutually reinforce each other
- Impact of democratic political system on traditional social structure
- Merits and demerits of secret ballot in democracy
- Evaluate functioning of political parties in democracies of third world
- Pressure groups and economic development

Nation:

- The word nation is derived from the Latin word nation which means “born”.
- This means that nation is of people descended from common stock
- Culturally see themselves one (thus cultural nationalism)
- A nation is people’s consciousness of **unity**
- The United Nations Organisation (UNO) is a union of sovereignstates and not of nations
- It has following characteristics:
    - Nation is a psychological concept unlike state which is territorial
    - Nationhood is a subjective concept
    - Nationhood is not enforceable by law unlike state
    - A state may consist of one nation or many nation. Similarly nation may be split.
- Thus, has 3 dimensions- **poltical (**having political unity); **cultural & psychological**
- **Two traditions in social sciences of nationalism:**
    - **Objective- german→**Nation as seen as cult identity as they share common language, religion, history etc
    - **Subjective- French→**Nations as political communities. Most modern nations like this. Have invented traditions and are imagined nations.
- **Marx** criticized nationalism for hiding reality. Today, trans-nationalism, long-distance nationalism.

Civil Society:

- Civil society became a key element of**the post-cold-war zeitgeist**.
- **2 functions:** Defence against excesses of state &strengthens democracy
- **Hobbes and Locke** understood civil society as a stage in human history where all were at war against all but **Adam Ferguson** is credited with the modern day understanding of civil society
- term ‘civil society’ can be traced through the works of Cicero and other Romans to the ancient Greek philosophers. In its classical usage civil society was largely equated with the state.
- Civil Society in modern sense can be traced to **Thomas Paine to George Hegel**, developed the notion of civil society as a **domain parallel to but separate from the state** where citizens associate according to their owninterests and wishes.
- **Antonio Gramsci**: civil society is a **special nucleus of independent political activity**, a crucial sphere of **struggle against tyranny.**

- **David Held:** Civil society is made up of areas of social life—the domestic world, theeconomic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction—which areorganised by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groupsoutside the direct control of the state."
- **Robert Michels**: Decentralization serves as a mechanismby which weak leaders seek to get away from the dominion of the strongerones.He *laid thrust on developing the spirit of free inquiry, criticism and control of the leaders among the masses*. It maybe noted that these are imperative in the process of strengthening democracy
- it includes the plethora of organisations including interest groups or pressure groups.
- **Larry Diamond**: Civil society performs following important functions:
    - **Limit state power**
    - **Empower citizens**
    - inculcate and promote an arena for the development of democraticattributes amongst the citizens— tolerance, moderation etc
    - To function as a recruiting, informational and leadership generating agency
    - To generate public and political support
    - Election monitoring
- **Scholte**: 6 areas where civil society could advance democracy:
    - **Public education**
    - **Voice to stakeholders**
    - **Policy inputs**
    - **Transparency of governance**
    - **Public accountability**
    - **Legitimacy**
- But **democratic dangers of civil society:**
    - Civil society activities may not essentially pursue democratic purposes
    - Civil society might draw away from democracy
    - Ill-equipped government agencies can not handle civil society inputs
    - Inadequate representation could seriously undermine the very fabric of democracy
    - concern for global democracy could be insensitive towardsthe local cultural practices
    - Civil society may lack internal democracy

Democracy

- **Abraham Lincoln**- Democracy is by the people, for the people and of the people. **Mosca argues it can be by the people and for the people but never of the people.**
- **Pluralists call it polyarchy**
- **Robert Michels: Iron law of Oligarchy**- he propounds that democracy calls for organisation, which leads to oligarchy.
- Sharp contrast could be visualised between ancient Athenian democracy and modern liberal democracy, representative democracy and deliberative democracy, national democracy and cosmopolitan democracy.'
- common theme : it is a condition where a community of people exercises collective self-determination
- **Scmitter and Karl:** Itsystem of governance in whichrulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens,acting indirectly through the cooperation of their elected representatives"
- **Mosca** believed that democracy is different from other forms of govt as it allows great amount of elite being drawn from different backgrounds. between the elite and the masses is the category of the sub-elite constituted of the 'new middle class which provides new recruits to the category of elites.
- Founder of pluralistic perspective Tocqueville believed that democracy would become unworkable if one division in society came o dominate all others.
- Its an illusion to Marxists. Real power is with controller of means of production.

State

- The term 'state' is commonly used as a synonym for nation, government, society or country.
- **Aristotle** defined state: a unionof families & villages having, for its end, a perfect & self-sufficing life.
- **Das and Chaudhary:**when a group of people are permanently settled ona definite territory and have government of their own, free from any kindof external control, they constitute a state.
- **State uses power as a mechanism to keep society bound together. State vs society:** The state is the agency which performs the political function in society and as such is a sub-system of the society
- **Greek philosophers** have viewed the state as a natural & necessary institutioncoming out of the needs of human beings as a political animal. **Marxists** have viewedthe state as an instrument of exploitation in the hands of the ruling class. **Sociologists**have defined the state as an association which legally maintains social order within acommunity. The state has also

been viewed as society, divided into government andsubjects, within the allotted physical area, a supremacy over all otherinstitutions.

- From the above definitions certain essential properties of the state emerge, viz., (i) apopulation, (ii) a territory, (iii) a government and iv) sovereignty
- **Marx on state:**
    - Has no fully developed theory on this but did discuss
    - Marx traces the development of thestate to the division of labour in the society.
    - becomes more and more complex andthere arises some central organising agency to control.
    - exercises power and authorityfor promoting the interests of the dominant class and suppressing andexploiting the weaker classes who are collectively called as proletariat.
    - The super structure of any form of society is affected by its infrastructure i.e., the economic activities of the society.
    - Marx distinguished five historical epochs in the development of humanity each depicting its on characteristics and state.
    - Those who own means of production control the state. He sees as a bourgeois design to keep class antagonisms in check. Thus, 90,000 Athenians were able to control 4 lakh slaves.
    - Marx believed thestate to be a sort of conspiracy against the working class, or that the wealthof the bourgeoisie could be used to ensure that whoever is in power pursuesits interests
    - When the classless society is established and there is no suppressivefunction for the state, it would be required only to perform the economic functions and state would **wither away**
- **Neo Marxists like Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser**influences post-Marxism to a great extend. According to Antonio Gramsci, inthe modern conditions it is the political party, which forms the state. Hewas an advocate of **arbiter theory of state**. He emphasised that the degreeto which the domination of the ruling class is achieved not only by opencoercion but is also elicited by consent. He argued that the ideological andpolitical superstructures are relatively autonomous of the superstructure. He talked of **reciprocity between structure and super structure.**

- **Weber on state**
    - He suggests in **Politics as a Vocation** that state is a humancommunity or a special kind of institution that claims the monopoly oflegitimate use of physical force within a given territory
    - A monopoly oflegitimate violence is therefore the practical expression of statesovereignty.
    - 4 defining characteristics of a state:
        - Has legal and administrative order
        - Has an administration which works as per legislative orders
        - Has binding authority over all its members
        - Can use force that is legally prescribed and permitted
    - Legal, religious and political institutions and their interrelationships has decisive significance to economic structures and economicdevelopment not vice-versa as seen by Marx.
- **Durkheim on state**
    - discusses the nature & features of the State in his work**Professional Ethics & Civic Morals**
    - His views on stateare very much associated to his explanation of division of labour and typesof solidarity.Therewas no politics or state existed in primitive societies
    - Asorganic solidarity develops, power of state develops so also therights of the individuals.
    - Durkheim makes a clear distinction between society and the state. Every society is despotic. For Durkheim society is 'sui-generis'. His notion of society dominatedeverything else; society exists over and above the individual over whom itexercises an immense power.
- **Liberal theory on state:**
    - The liberal theory of state -Hobbes and Locke. These thinkers argued that the societyhad risen out of voluntary agreement, or a social contract
    - state is a neutral arbiter amongst competing groups and represents common good.
- **Pluralistic theory:**
    - They agree with Weber on power being a zero sum game.
    - Pluralists believe that arough equality exists amongst organised groups and interests in that eachenjoys some measure of access to government and government is

prepared tolisten impartially to all. They believe that state is a true broker between diff conflicting groups.

- **Structural functionalists** like **Poulantzas**pay lesser focus on individuals (like Marx) but more on the state as a **factor of cohesion of a social formation.**
- **Hegemony: Antonio Gramsci-** Entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its domination but also manages to actively maintain consent of those over whom it rules.
- **Stateless Societies:** Evans Pritchard carried out study of Nuer society in Africa which consisted of some 40 different tribes, none of which had a head or a chief. Men who believed they had been wronged were expected to challenge the offender to a duel to death. No govt could claim monopoly to use force ni a legitimate way. Thus, it can be called a stateless society.
- **State in traditional societies:** Chief Authority as a Titular Head, Secular Authority Endowed with Sacredness, Necessity of Acquiring a King, Patrimonial Authority, Delegation of Authority, Legitimacy Derived from Myths, INSTITUTIONS TO PREVENT ABUSE OFAUTHORITY.
- **State in moderns societies:**can be best described in terms of (1) Ideology (2) Structure, (3) Function, (4) Process and (5) Basis of Legitimacy
- **Ideology:**Ideology may be defined as **an integrated system of beliefs and symbols** which havean **appeal to the followers beyond their rational and objective meaning.** It has the power to sway the sentiments of the followers. It is accepted as an article of faith.**Communism** is the best example of an ideologywhich extends to political and other fields.**Religious fundamentalism** also has formed a fertile soil'in many countries'. **Political elites** belonging to dominantethnic groups in ethnically pluralistic societies are finding **ethnicism** as a convenientideology for achieving their political ambitions.
- **Structure:**i) Traditional Oligarchies (monarchic and dynastic) ii) Totalitarian Oligarchies- total penetration of state in lives of people- Chinese iii) Modernising Oligarchies- Latin America iv) Tutelary Democracies-has given rights to people but leg & judiciary not free and concentration of power in exec- eg:pre 1988 pak v) Political Democracies- pol parties and media are free and competitive- USA, UK, india.
- **Function:*Input functions***: i) Political Socialisation and recruitmentii) Interest articulationiii) Interest aggregationiv) Political communication***Output Functions:*** v) Rule makingvi) Rule applicationvii) rule adjudication
- **Political processes**

- **Basis of legitimacy:** According to Max Weber there are three ways of legitimising authority. They are (1) Traditional, (2) Charismatic and (3) Legal-rational ways (in modern states but we still do see **coup d'états.**

Liberalism, Libertarianism and Freedom:

Liberalism: Liberalism signals a **cluster of political ideals** advocated (and put into practice)**within a tradition of political thought and political activity.** Key liberal themes include the **right to private property** and advocacy of the **rule of law** as well as defence of the **traditional freedoms** — freedom of speech and artistic expression, freedom of association, religious freedom. **libertyis not a value-neutral concept**, it is always normative, always accompanied by a positive ethical charge

Libertarianism: is the **theoretical stance** of one who strictly **limits the competence** of government to collective defence, the protection of negative rights, rights of non-interference, and enforcement of contracts.

Freedom: The concept of **freedom is thinner** than that of liberty and **carries less evaluative baggage. Hegel**dismissed the notion, implicit in utilitarianism, that a man is free to the degree that he can do whatever his inclination lead him to desire.In this way, acceptance of moral requisites is not the acceptance of alien constraint, but is the recognition of the rational.**Durkheim** is emphatic that the individual personality is overwhelmingly influenced by the characteristics of the form of society in which he exists and into which he is socialised.On **Rousseau's** account, moral freedom is the freedom, which is attained by those who can control their own desires. For **Kant**, **autonomous action** consists in living in accordance with the laws, which one has determined for oneself as possible for each agent to follow.

States and Globalisation

- **Giddens**defines globalisation as **intensification of worldwide social relationships which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away.**
- Analysis of Power and state cannot be limited to territorial boundaries of countries today
- **Kenichi-** management guru – book **Borderless world-** enthusiastic advocates of globalisation
- **Kevin Bonnett:**Globalisation can strengthen local and small scale nationalism as defence.

Citizenship-

- Basic premise of citizenship that its not just state that has rights over citizens but citizen also have rights over state. Basically linked to **accountability of state**

- **TH Marshall made first systematic study of citizenship in his book *citizenship and social class.*** Different rights→ civil rights, right to vote; social rights etc
- **Concept first developed in Greek city states.** But highly restricted to just upper classes.
- **2 aspects** i) Basis of access to citizenship (ii) Quality of citizenship rights→**jus sanguine and jus soli**
- **Can be active-** achieved or **passive-** handed by govt
- **Parsons argues that growth of citizenship is a measure of modernisation as it is based on values of universalism and achievement**
- Case of global citizenship- a nation state and its boundaries are increasingly blurring

Power elite, bureaucracy, pressure groups, and political parties

- Identity politics
- Bureaucracy in new capitalistic economy
- CW Mills Power elite
- New elite in power structure (hindu article there as well)
- Informal structure of bureaucracy
- Role of pressure groups in economy
- Meaning and role of voluntary organisations to transform society using state action
- Social disorganization
- Dysfunctions of bureaucracy
- Formal and informal structure of bureaucracy
- Bureaucracy in developing societies
- Power of elite and masses in democratic societies

Power Elite:

- **Pareto**
    - explained the concept of elite the terms of a class of people with **highest indices**
    - He defined elite by reference to facts which an outside observer is able to verify.
    - elite is divided into governing elite and non-governing elite.
    - Pareto, however, recognized the element of mobility in the elite class. He propounded the idea **of 'circulation of elite'**. There are two kinds of circulations. One between Elites and non-elites and the other among elites.**History is never ending circulation of elites and will always be a graveyard of aristocracies.**
    - Pareto places particular emphasis on psychological characteristics as the basisof elite rule. He argues there are two main types of governing elite, whichhe calls 'lions' and 'foxes'. Lions achieve power because of their ability totake direct and decisive action & they tend to rule by forcewhereasfoxes rule by cunning and guile, by diplomatic manipulation & wheel dealing.
- **Gaetano Mosca**
    - was the first to draw **a distinction between elite and the masses**.
    - The masses are in majority but ruled by a minority which has monopoly over all means of power.Mosca believed that rule by a minority is an inevitable feature ofsocial life.
    - He believed that democracy is different from other forms of govt as it allows great amount of elite being drawn from different backgrounds. between the elite and the

masses is the category of the sub-elite constituted of the 'new middle class which provides new recruits to the category of elites.

- **C. Wright Mills**
    - Limited his analysis to American Society in the 1950s
    - Explained elite rule in the institutional manner instead of psychological manner. "the Power Elite" that the **structure of institutions** is such that the top of the institutional hierarchy largelymonopolises power. He explained in terms of a unified power group composed of top government executives, military officials, and corporation directors called **Elite Unity.**
    - Mills proposed that pyramidof power may be conceived as formed of three layers.The apex isoccupied by power elite, the second layer is occupied by middle levelsof power (constituted of diversified interestgroups) while the third layer is occupied by mass society
    - Mills lays emphasison increasing concentration of power and the ascending of power elite
    - For Mills, the power elite represents a body of people with commoninterests. He argued that **American society was dominated by power elite of unprecedented power & unaccountability.** Eg: bombing of Hiroshima, Nagasaki. Free from popular control, power elite pursued its own concerns- Self-aggrandizement and power.
    - Mills said that, theinterests of the major institutions (corporations, armed forces, executivebranch of government) whose leaders constitute the power elite aregreatly enhanced in the existing power arrangements.
    - Mills wouldconsider power as a 'zero-sum' concept
- **Elite pluralism:** Believe that western societies are basically democratic and agree that power is widely spread. But on the other hand donot accept that members of society have exactly same amount of power but is concentrated in certain representatives of society whom they call elites.

Pressure Groups:

- **Intro:** The emergence of special interest groups alongside the politicalparties and the demand for democratic governance has made interest groups the greatestimpetus as well as the greatest threat to the rights of ordinary individuals and to democracy
- **Classified as protective (**Indian Medical assn., Trade unions etc) or **promotional (**greenpeace)

- **Another classification by Gabriel Almond:**
    - **Associative:** well defined, structured, formally organised
    - **Non-associative:** based on common ethnicity, caste etc. come when situation demands
    - **Institutional:** who work within formal institutions.Eg IAS in India, Army in pakistan
    - **Anomie :**those which primarily rely on illegal means.
- Aninterest group is an organisation which tries to influence the public policy for its own personaland partisan interest without being part of the government.
- They aremicrosporas of diffused social interests and help in crystallising group specific demands.
- Can bring pressure in number of ways: **Contribute funds; Appeal public opinion, civil disobedience, provision of expertise, illegal payments.**
- **Paul hirst** has studied interest groups as a **symptom of associationalistethics**and based upon the **distrust of the centralised state** for 2 reasons, that the state is a compulsory community although most genuine communities are freely formed, second; it made omnipotent claims to regulate social life.
- **David Reisman**
    - proposed the concept of veto groups (explained in terms of a diversified and balanced plurality of interest groups, each of which is primarily concerned with protecting its jurisdiction by blocking actions of other groups which seem to threaten that jurisdiction
    - Riesman, on the other hand, proposed a pyramid formed of two layers. Riesman did not recognize the presence of powerelite. The upper layer is occupied by veto groups.
    - Riesman lays emphasis on increasing dispersion of power and thetendency toward the dispersal of power among a plurality of organizedinterests.
- **Olsen** linked interest groups to **corruption**: Olsen has also described in his other work **The Rise and Decline of Nations**that the rent seeking comes out of protectionist policies & the state under theinfluence of organised interests which further protect andsustain the rent seeking
- **Olson** has mentioned three categories of interest groups on the basis of the their politicalconstituency; **privileged, intermediate and latent:**
    - **Privileged:** benefits from a tariff such as Reliance, or a trade union which is part of the political partysuch as All India Trade Union Congress

- **Intermediate:**The intermediate group is not privileged butsustains its collective action on the basis of mutual watchfulness over each other's behavioursuch as the teachers associations
- **Latent:**The third type of interest groupis neither privileged or intermediate but is more or less non-existent. People for animals, Senior citizens assn., helpageindiaetc

It is not a logical conclusion that political parties have lost their representative character in policy process and are now groping in to win the support of interest groups. They are still the most accepted, widely dispersed and territorially represented structures of democracy which continue to be in an advantageous position as frontline representatives of people.

Political parties:

- **Weber** was among the first to develop definition of party. Acc to him party is an associative type of social relationship, the membership in which rests on formally free recruitment. It operates in terms of goal oriented coordinated actions.
- political party has been defined as an association organised in support of some principle or policy which, by constitutional means, it endeavours to make the determinant of government.
- Political parties are indispensable for the working of a democratic government
- According to **La Palombara and Myron Weiner**, political parties come into being when 2 conditions exist 1) attitude of citizens that they have right to influence power 2) group of elite who want to acquire power through public support.
- The number of political parties functioning within a state is also an important aspectof a political system. There are states with only one political party (For eg. China).There are also states with a number of parties.In a multiparty system where the coalition government consists of anumber of small parties, there can be political instability as some parties may withdrawtheir allegiance
- From pluralistic perspective, competition between 2 or more political parties is the essence of democracy. **Lipset says:** Democracy is a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the govt. officials and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of population to influence major decisions by choosing among the contenders for pol office.
- **Robert McKenzie:** Political parties must not be seen as the sole **transmission belts** on which pol ideas and programmes are conveyed from citizens to leg. Pol parties adapt and mould as per interest groups influence.

- **Function of political parties:**
    - Interest articulation
    - Interest aggregation
    - Political communication
    - Political mobilisation
    - Political recruitment
    - Political socialization

Kinds of political parties:

- Cartel party- high stature, less number
- Branch type- mass parties, recruit as many people as possible
- Cell type- work in clandestine manner- eg- stalni's party
- Militia- fascist, strict disciplined, army type.

Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution.

- Collective action in politics can bring integration and disintegration
- Social movement as expression of protest
- Meaning and modes of political participation. What prevents people from participation in it?
- Social structure and political participation
- Power of unorganized people in bringing about change in democratic society

Social Movements:

- **Social movement can be termed as collective action of people towards social changeThe**
- ***International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*** (1972) defines a socialmovement as a variety of collective attempts to bring about change
- **Turner and Kilhan**define a social movement as a "collectivity which acts with some continuity topromote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part"
- **Qualifying features of a social movement**
    - social movements involve collective actionas against actions of a small group of individuals
    - collectiveattempt is designed to promote change or resist change in the society in whichthe attempt is made.
- Social movements involve collective action by the people. Any form ofcollective action cannot be labelled as a social movement, even if it is directedtowards changing the existing social values. For example, in some places whena car or a truck knocks down a pedestrian a mob collects immediately andstarts beating up the driver.
- Other movements in society like trade union movement are different from social movements in the sense that they are institutionalized movements. They function under a given set of rules.
- The two very important features of social movements, namely, **sustained action and spontaneity** operate simultaneously. Eg: sporadic outbursts such as beating up a rash driver are collectivebehaviour, which is spontaneous. It is not a social movement because it is notsustained.
- ***Types of Social Movements*:**
    - **Migratory Movements:** Eg: Mass exodus of Keralites to Middle East
    - **Reform Movements**: Socio-eco reform movements in 19th century India
    - **Revolutionary Movements**: Aim at reconstructing entire social structure. Eg. FR
    - **Resistance or Reactionary Movements:** Eg: Islamic Fundamentalism
- ***Functions of Social Movements*:**
    - **Mediation:** Help to relate individual to larger society
    - **Pressure:**
    - **Clarification of conscience collective:** generate and develop ideas
- ***Origins of social Movements*:**
    - **Observable and objective problem**
    - **Leadership**
    - **Ideology**
- **M.S.A. Rao (1979)** had done a great deal of research on social movementsand he identified three factors relating to the origins of social movements:

- **Relative Depriviation:** Eg: Naxalism
- **Structural Strain:** Eg: Women's movement
- **Revitalisation:** which promotes patriotism,& national pride caused by youth movements.

- ***Role of Leadership*:**
  - No social movement begins all of a sudden because people feel they have common problem
  - Leaders are imp because they help clarify the issues andthus shape the movement
  - The importance of leadership does not necessarily mean that it is all pervading, Social Movementsthat people have no independent role.
- ***Role of Ideology*:**
  - In very rare cases are people attracted to a movement because of a promise forbetter facilities. There is something deeper, which makes people committed toit.
  - People need something larger to sustain interest in a social movement. Rewards can just be short term but ideology is for long term
  - Ideology very simply denotes a set ofrelated beliefs held by a group of people.
  - Both the Naxalite movement and the Bhoodan movementhad the same goal of helping to overcome the problems of the rural poor. TheBhoodan movement adopted a peaceful, non-violent approach. The Naxalite movement on the other hand adoptedmore forceful means.
- ***Life cycle of social movement*:**
  - **First:** Reflects unrest present in society
  - **Second:** Collective excitement can be witnessed
  - **Third:** Formalisation stage of movement
  - **Fourth:** Institutionalisation
  - **Fifth:** Dissolution
- **Simon hallsworth**
  - Term is generally applied to new movements like feminism, environmentalism etc
  - New social movements are based on certain issues.
  - **These issues can be of two types: Promtional and protective.**
  - **New features of social movements**
    - Extended definition of what is political to even h/h, individual prejudices etc
    - No central leadership
    - Reject bureaucratic structures in favour of more informal structures
- **Anthony Giddens**:
  - As modernityhas moved into phase what he calls **high modernity**, it has 4 features:
    - Capitalism, Industrialism, Surveillance, Military power
  - Social movements are of 4 types correspondingly:
    - Labour movements, Ecological movements, Free speech/democratic movements, Peace movements**respectively**

Sovereignity:

- **Hinsley-** "Sovereignity implies an idea that there is a final and absolute political authority in the political community and that no final an absolute authority exists elsewhere.

- **Thomas Hobber:** Social contract by all individuals relinquish all powers and rights to a sovereign entity , Leviathan, which in exercise of this supreme power would secure conditions of peaceful & commodious living.
- **Rousseau-** Sovereignity of people is when citizens obligated to only rules and laws which they have prescribed for themselves
- **David Held-** Sovereignity is the supreme law making and decision making power of the community. Thus ultimate source of sovereignity is people
- **Characteristics of sovereignty:**
    - **Absoluteness, Exclusiveness, Permanence, Universality, Inalienability, Inivisible**
- **Can be internal(**those from inside see it as sovereign) **or external sovereignty** (from outside too)

Revolution :

- occur when people's lives are improving, thus, rising expectations, instead of bitter resignation
- Unresponsive govt further fuels revolution
- Radical leadership by intellectuals- backed by ideology
- Establish new legitimacy

Terrorism:

- Like revolution, outside law but intends on creating env of fear & terror
- **Paul Johnson-** 4 characteristics of terrorism: **Bypass established channels of negotiation, not just by groups but also by state, democracies are most vulnerable to terrorism, may be a matter of definition (**today's terrorists maybe freedom fighters of tomorrow)

Collective Action:

- **Herbert Blumer:** to refer to social processes and events which do not reflect existing social structure (laws, conventions, and institutions), but which emerge in a "spontaneous" way.
- **Locher:**Collective behavior is always driven by group dynamics, encouraging people to engage in acts they might consider unthinkable under typical social circumstances
- **Blumer classification of forms of collective action:**
    - **Crowd**: crowds are indeed emotional. But to them a crowd is capable of any emotion, not only the negative ones of anger and fear. Can be joy too
    - **Public**:Park distinguishes the crowd, which expresses a common emotion, from a public, which discusses a single issue. Thus, a public is not equivalent to all of the members of a society.To Park and Blumer, there are as many publics as there are issues
    - **Mass**:It differs from both the crowd and the public in that it is defined not by a form of interaction but by the efforts of those who use the mass media to address an audience
    - **Social Movement**:They are large, sometimes informal, groupings of individuals or organizations which focus on specific political or social issues. In other words, they carry out, resist or undo a social change.**Social movements are not eternal. They**

have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.

- Power is ability of a person to impose his will on others even against their resistance. (in a social relationship)
- RH Tawney adds another dimension to it – 'includes not diluting one's will against pressure from others as well'
- It includes a relationship of SUBORDINATION & SUPERORDINATION
- Thus, power occurs in situation of inequality. Hobbes argues that people are unequally placed because of 3 reasons – competition, diffidence & glory.

TOPIC-08- Religion and Society:

Sociological theories of religion

Previous Questions:

- Short note on positive religion
- Sc has empirical means to logical ends & religion has non-empirical means to logical ends
- Science without religion is lame, Religion without science is blind. Comment in light of emerging sociological contexts in Europe, US and India
- In what ways can religion be a force both for social stability and social change
- Short note on religion and science
- Origins of religious beliefs and practices in pre modern societies
- Examine functional and dysfunctional aspects of religion in a pluralistic society taking US and India as illustrative models
- Examine functional and dysfunctional aspects of religion
- Short note on fundamentals of religion
- What is happening to religion in the face of challenges of science in modern societies?
- Religion is said to have emancipated human beings on one hand but also alienates them on other. Bring out paradoxical functions that religion plays in modern secular society
- Discuss role of religion in world today. Has the super growth in science any demystifying effect on religion
- Short note on religion and society
- Note on religious factor and economic development

Sociology and religion:

- Sociologist definition: Durkheim
  - Cultural system→commonly shared beliefs→ provide sense of ultimate meaning→by creating idea of reality→ that is sacred→all encompassing→ and natural
- Four characteristics of religion (ignou)
  - Group phenomenon
  - Concerned with supernatural or sacred
  - Beliefs and practices
  - Moral prescriptions- distinguishes b/w right & wrong more strongly than other instis
  - Thus, religion→system of moral prescriptions, beliefs and practices which aids the community of believers to communicate with supernatural
- Giddens- what to study in religion
  - Considers religion to be socially constructed and studies diff aspects to it
  - Concerned with social organization of religion
  - Often view religion as a source of solidarity

Sociology versus philosophy versus theology of religion:

i) Sociology of religion **does not ask, whether god exists**. Rather, sociology of religion asks, **if people believe that god exists**, 'why do they believe', 'how do they come to believe?, 'how do they describe their god?, and 'is there any relationship between their description of god and their social conditions?'

ii) Philosophy has many specialisations like **metaphysics, epistemology and ethics**. Metaphysics is, broadly put, the **study of the abstract**. As a metaphysician, a philosopher or religion has to **deduce arguments for and against the existence of god.** Epistemology is a study of the 'basis' of knowledge. Accordingly, as an epistemologist, a philosopher of religion **examines the possibility of knowing god through various means.**

iii) Theologians are **necessarily believers**. They believe in the existence of god (in whatever from it may be) and try to understand the nature of divine beings by studying the faith of its believers. By analysing the people's experience of god, theologians **try to understand god and god's plans**.

Theories:

1. **Naturism- Max Muller→Pg 6 Kannan**
    a. Belief that forces of nature have supernatural powers
    b. Max Muller- Earliest form of religion
    c. Nature contains suprises, terror, marvel and miracles.
    d. Man personified nature and worshipped it- studied eastern religions
2. **Ghost Theory- Herbert Spencer- Primitives**: they get the idea of a person's duality from dreams, which are considered as real life-experiences by the primitives. For them, the dream-self moves about at night while the shadow-self acts by the day. This notion of duality is reinforced by peoples' experiences of temporary loss of sensibilities. **Pg 6 Kannan**
    a. Idea of ghosts→ grows into idea of God→ ghosts of ancestors→divine
    b. Ancestor worship is root of all religions
3. **Animism/ Soul theory- EB Taylor: -** Pg 7 Kannan
4. **Magic and Religion- James Frazer-** Imitative and Contagious.- Imitative- Eg thunder brings rain→ rocks from hill top produce rumbling sound→ rain→**Pg 7, Kannan**
    a. Frazer called magic- bastard sister of religion
    b. 2 types of magic
        i. Imitative
        ii. Contagious- things in contact turn sacred/defile
    c. Means of coming in terms with supernatural & controlling environment.
5. **Product of fear- Crawley**
6. **Product of emotion- Lowie**
7. **Functional perspective**
    a. Durkheim- Kannan
        i. Book- Elementary forms of religious life.
        ii. Rejects animistic and naturism theories of religion as they explain religion as illusion
        iii. Identifies totemism as most elementary for of religion as it was

1. Simple
2. Could be explained as stand alone

iv. All societies divide world into sacred and profane

v. Totem symbolizes society and society is being worshipped indirectly through rituals, festivals etc→ impossible to exist without shared values and conscience collective

vi. Even basics like space, time, number origin from religion. It glorifies society

vii. Modern socities→ religion is like to emerge in new form as societies need cohesion which will reaffirm their values.

b. **Criticism of Durkheim**

i. Generalizes all religions from a few small societies

ii. Religion not necessarily uniting- but also dividing force

iii. Evans Pritchard→Dk gives no weight to individual or emotional needs of human beings in his study of religion. Thus more relevant to simple societies alone.

c. **Malinowski**- Magic, Science and Religion- Kannan

i. Like DK sees religion reinforcing social norms & values→ social solidarity

ii. But doesn't believe in society as God→more individual than social

iii. Collective and religious→not synonymous as many groups collective but not rel

iv. Trobriand islanders→ religion releases tension and anxiety & emotions like crisis

v. A funeral ceremony unites the family of bereaved. This reintegrates society

vi. Rituals reduce anxiety→ thus, religion promotes social solidarity by dealing with situations of emotional stress which threaten the stability of society

d. **Talcott Parsons-** Notes

i. Human activity guided, directed and controlled by norms prov by social system

ii. Cultural system provides more general guidelines for action→ beliefs, values etc

iii. Norms of direct action→ provided by cultural system

iv. Eg: Ten Commandments→ Norms associated with 'thou shall not kill'

v. Like Malinowski→ addresses particular problems → crisis and uncertainties

vi. Parsons→particular role of religion→ provides meaning to life & its contradictions

vii. Thus provides social stability

8. **Dysfunctional perspective- Karl Marx- Notes**

a. Stressed on dysfunctions of religion

b. Religion→ furthering interests of dominant class

c. Opium of masses→ allays and alleviates pain of exploitation

d. Also alienation→ dehumanizing effect→ as no control over social insti→defers happiness

e. Considers religion as a manipulative insti

f. Fredrick Engels→Oppressed classes→ most fertile ground for religious movements

i. Makes suffering look like a virtue

ii. Justifies social order & position in social strati
iii. Acts as cushion on one hand & mode of oppression on other

g. Classless society will have no religion as wouldn't be required.

9. **Robert K Merton- Functions and dysfunctions-**Relg is divisive too & not just unifying
10. **Religion and social Change- Weber- notes**
    - **a.** religion not a conservative force but brings in many changes
    - **b.** In protestant ethics identifies virtues of Protestantism that ideal for capitalism
    - **c.** Further observed→gap b/w elite & masses visible in religion too
    - **d.** Religious ideas→new monastic orders→ quite extensive economic activities
11. **Phenomenology of religion- Peter Berger- Notes**
    - **a.** In Social Construction of reality- co-authored with Luckmann
    - **b.** **World construction**→every human society→ task of constructing world around them→ understanding reality of various phenomena.
    - **c.** Society is a product→ no other bearing than the one bestowed by human activity
    - **d.** R'tion b/w man & society→dialectical→ society product of man & man product of society
    - **e.** Man creates society→in turn influenced and shaped by its product.
    - **f.** This dialectic consists of 3 steps→ Externalization, Objectification, Internalization
    - **g.** Society created→externalisation;separate→objectification;subjectivelyapptd→internalisation
    - **h.** Individuals who internalize these meaning→ not just possess them→represent & express them
    - **i.** **Religion and world construction**→influenced by world construction
    - j. Society imposes on individuals discrete meanings→ meaningful order→**Nomos**
    - k. Universe, sphere around individuals→which is completely enigmatic to them→**Cosmos**
    - l. All societies→concerned with r'shipbwnomos and cosmos
    - m. Simple societies→ merging/tight coupling b/w nomos and cosmos
    - n. Religion→**Human enterprise by which sacred cosmos is estb→cosmosization of sacred**
    - o. Sacredness→resides in objects of human experience→sacred rock, cloth etc
    - p. Believes sacred and profane dichotomy natural
    - q. Another dichotomy→ Sacred and chaos→sacred comes out of chaos & then is its antithesis
    - r. Thus, if fail to subscribe to sacred knowledge, would fall into chaos.
    - s. **Universe of meaning**→shared knowledge of life & world→socially derived
    - t. Religion helps to maintain, build and legitimize **universe of meaning**
    - u. Religion→gives order to chaos→locating them within sacred & cosmic frame of reference
    - v. Thus law located in religion→legal offence→sin against god; authority of kings→when Gods
    - w. **Universe of meaning** grounded in a social base→**Plausibility structure**
    - x. When plausibility structure changes→universe of meaning undergoes change
    - y. Thus, universe of meaning is social construction reality→

z. Universe of meaning is arbitrary→requires constant legitimacy

aa. Berger on secularization and pluralism

bb. Cosmos maynot always be considered as sacred thus, attempt to secularize cosmos

cc. Modern science has played crucial role in this process of secularization

dd. Book- Social reality of religion

ee. Berger linker pluralism to modernisation& secularization &estb link b/w both

ff. Pluralism undermined set of beliefs and weakens→sacred canopy

12. Clifford Geerz- cultural analysis

a. Culture→historically denoted patterns of meanings→embodied in symbols;

b. i.e. system of inherited conceptions→expressed in symbolic forms→ by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop knowledge about attitudes of life.

c. idea of sacred represented thorough symbols

d. Religious symbols→synthesize people's ethos and their world view→moral & aesthetic styles

e. Definition of religion→

i. System of symbols which act to
ii. Estb powerful, evasive and long lasting moods & motivations in men by
iii. Formulating conceptions of general order of existence and
iv. Clothing these conceptions→with such aura of factuality that
v. Moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic

f. Why need symbols?

i. Inability to adapt to chaos
ii. Chaos can be brought by 3 situations→bafflement, suffering & ethical paradox
iii. These 3 lack not just interpretation but also interpretability.
iv. Thus no empirical regularity (bafflement), no emotional form (suffering), no moral coherence (ethical paradox)→religion celebrates perceived ambiguities & denies religious experiences are unexplainable.

13. Gender, Feminism and Religion

a. Follow Marxists that religion is an instrument of oppression

b. Anthony **Giddens→** Christian religion is a resolutely male affair in symbolism and hierarchy

c. Karen **Armstrong**- None of religions have been particularly good to women

d. Steve **Bruce-** This is despite the fact that women participate more in organized religion. Eg: acc to 1991 British Attitudes Survey, 65% regular church attenders in Britain were women.

e. Gender inequality in religion- Historically women have not been subordinate. They note, position of women began to decline as a result of invasions.

f. Feminists-Final death knell of goddesses came with acceptance of monotheism

g. Chinese female yin and male yang. But yang considered more important

h. Hinduism only men can become priests. Sikhism relatively more equalitarian

i. Women 2nd class status ususally biological- not allowed to visit temples during child birth & menstruation. Women are deceived by religion by thinking them as equal with evident inequality

j. **El Saadwi-** talks of her tale oppression in form of female circumcision as one of the interpretations of islam.
k. **Reform-**Women Rabbis in Judaism since 1972, sign of post-patriarchy,
l. **Watson study on veiling- 3 subjects** where all of them told that burqa was functional to them
m.

Science Religion debate- Pg 9, cliffordgreetz- why religion will stay- bafflement , suffering etc

Perhaps the earliest known conflict between science and religion occurred in ancient Babylon in what is present-day Iraq. The priests had taught that lunar eclipses were caused by the restlessness of the gods.However, armed with an accurate prediction of the next eclipse, they were able to substitute a temporary king during the interval around the eclipse, thus giving protection to the real king. The substitute was killed afterwards, so that omen was always fulfilled.Perhaps the most famous conflict was between Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) and the Roman Catholic Church, largely over the movements within the solar system

Current conflicts:Homosexuality, use of fundamentalism to instigate wars on humanity

Types of religious practices:

animism, monism, pluralism, sects, cults.

- Short note on cultural pluralism
- Define sect, cult and religion. In what ways do Weber's views differ from DK's
- Note on religious pluralism

Animism-EB Tylor

- From the latin word- 'anima' means 'soul'. Means belief in spirits
- Tylor believes this to be earliest form of religion.
- Religion is a product of curiosity of man in context of existential puzzles.
- Experiences of death, disease, visions and dreams, according toTylor, lead the primitives to think about the existence of immaterial power, i.e., thesoul.
- Soul- spirit which leaves body temporarily during dreams and permanently after death
- Born to satisfy human being's intellectual need and to make sense of death, dreams and vision
- Definition of Tylor- Religion originated from the belief of spiritual beings.

2. **Monism**-

- Monism →philosophical view→variety of existing things can be explained in terms of a single reality
- The wide definition states that all existing things go back to a source which is distinct from them
- In sociology→ monism is existence of one faith and one church
- Simple society & largely medieval societies→ follow monism
- Monism strengthens religion and stands opposite to pluralism
- Argued→when single religion has monopoly over truth→effectively reinforces social norms

3. **Pluralism-**

- Berger on secularization and pluralism
    - Cosmos maynot always be considered as sacred→thus, attempt to secularize cosmos
    - Modern science has played crucial role in this process of secularization
    - Book- Social reality of religion
    - Berger linker pluralism to modernisation& secularization &estb link b/w both
    - Pluralism undermined set of beliefs and weakens→sacred canopy
- Multiplicity of denominations→ interpreted as evidence of secularization
- **Bryan Wilson**
    - Number of denominations→each with own version of truth→religious values no more community values→ceases to function traditional role of social solidarity.
- **Berge and Luckmann**

- Pluralism weakens influence of religion→**no longer single universe of meaning**

- **Roger Finke and Stark**
  - Called **religious economists→**and Contradict Berger and Bryan
  - Study if American society→religion becoming stronger
  - More options of religions with people→competition increases overall religious involvement
  - Establishment of religious tolerance in **free market of religious economy**

4.Religious organisation

- Early theorists like Mx, Wb→Religious organisations fall along continuum→churches @ one end→cults at other→sects somewhere in between→applicability doubtful in non Christian religions
- Eg: bhatt→ in India religious groups→mat, marg, sampradaya, sangh, panth, samaj, ashram, akharaetc
- Religious orgn→usually out of charismatic leader→leadership vacuum filled by institutionalisation

5. Church

- Large well estb religious body→normally formal bureaucratic structure→hierarchy of religious officials→tend to represent conservative face of religion
- Alongwith spirituality→Develops interests in wealth and temporal power
- Also estb interest in social order which legitimizes power, possessions, privileges and interests
- Involvement of church in secular matters→often led to conflicts in secular-political world
- Church accommodates itself into secular world & more socially inclusive unlike sects

6. Sects

- Small, voluntary group of members
- Stands for those who dissent from interpretation of doctrines of estb church.
- Leadership usually of lay people→ emergence from dissatisfaction of people of lower classes
- Source of guidance→religious scriptures and personal experiences
- Membership usually from lower class→feel alienated & disinherited by society
- Own rigorous standards→don't admit unless rules followed→uncompromising, absolute, demanding
- Sects elicit greater commitments and stronger demands from people
- Many argue→sectarian character→shortlived→transition to church→institutionalized
- Thus, a successful sect transforms into church due to organisational requirements→ such transformation may disaffect others and may form a separate sect→finke& stark- church sect process

7. Cults

- Small, voluntary, exclusive religious groups that have created **new religious systems**

- Sects→spin off of conventional religions but cult→ around charismatic religious leader→ compelling message of new and very different way of life
- Cults are not schismatic or splinter groups or rectify wrongful interpretation of religion like sects
- Form basis of new innovative religions.
- **Jeffery adden→** almost all religions of world including Christianity began as cult

8. Denominations

- Grow out of sect & sect grows out of church
- **Johnson→** line b/w church & denomination not very clear→ denomination when sect becomes respectful→and becomes large in terms of members→includes middle & upper class
- **Macionis→** Denomination is church independent of state eg: Baptists, Lutheranians

9. Religious Movements

- Sub type of social movements
- People join together to form new religion or new interpretation of existing religion
- Religious movements are larger than sects and less exclusivist.
- All sects & cults can be in a way considered as a religious movement
- 2 phases→ 1) from charismatic leaders till their death 2) after charismatic leaders

New Religious movements

- Broad range movements→ alongside mainstream religions
- Encompasses enormous diversity of groups
- M'ship usually from converts from well educated & middle class background
- Response to process of liberalization and secularization within society
- **Wilson→**Religious movements outcome of rapid social change
- **Others→** by people who feel alienated from society
- **3 types**
  - **World affirming→**
    - kind of self help/ therapy groups, focus on spirituality
    - don't reject outside values infact work on abilities by unlocking potential
  - **World rejecting→**
    - Critical of outside world , dd significant lifestyle changes from followers
  - **World accomodatig→**
    - Emphasize on more inner religious life over worldly concerns
    - Try to reclaim spiritual purity

Religion in modern society:

religion and science, secularization, religious revivalism, fundamentalism.

- Factors leading to growing religious revivalism in contemporary world
- Examine social dimensions of religious revivalism and fundamentalism in global context
- Short note on secularization of societies in modern world

Religion and Science

Religion is a social phenomenon which broadly refers to a cultural system of commonly shared beliefs and rituals that provides a sense of ultimate meaning and purpose by creating an idea of reality that is sacred, all-encompassing and natural.

Science is a search for knowledge as well as method for solving problems in a value-neutral and positivistic ways. Science and religion have intrigued the imagination of sociologists from the very start. Both religion and science meet at certain places and depart at some.

Commonalities:

- **Understanding:** Both religion and science are forms of human understanding. Both are **COGNITIVE**
- **Cooperation**: Religion is more collectively oriented than science, but science too emphasises team-spirit and co-operation of the scientific community.
- **Wars:** On many occasions in the past as well as present, in many a war, science and religion have acted against humankind
- **Personnel:** Both religion and science prescribe qualifications for their personnel.
- **Coming together-** Science got legitimacy with rise of protestant ethics.

Differences:

- **Experimentation:** Science is taken on face value through experimentation whereas religion is taken on faith value
- **Precision and measurement:** Science believes in precision and measurement, which is not possible for religion.
- **Application:** Scientific knowledge has more concrete application in the form of technology, which might help in manipulating nature. Religion cannot establish such concrete and immediate results
- **Universalism:** Scientific knowledge and method are valid universally, whereas principles of religious life differ from society to society.
- Pritrim Sorokin- Religion based on unquestionable faith but science based on questionable thesis.
- Religion not only cognitive but also morAL. Tells right from wrong. Science makes no such attempt.

- Berger→science played a major role in secularization of cosmos (discussed in secularisation)

- Scholars with a **positivist assumption**, very often, tried to contrast religion with science. For them, religion, when subjected to scientific analysis, ends up merely as something irrational. They argued that under the impact of rapid industralisation, religion was losing its ground. **August Comte** believed that the theological stage was the beginning, metaphysical stage was the next and the scientific stage was the last in the evolution of human societies and emphasized that religion will end after the further growth of science.

Intellectualism school tries to build bridges between science and religion by propounding that religion is a reasoned or rational response of the individual to the natural phenomena. Weber and Marx both predicted an end of religion with time but even if science is growing we see a resurgence in religion in different forms. TO give an example A day before, when Mars Orbiter Mission was about to enter Mar's orbit, india's ISRO scientists offered a model of the artificial satellite at a temple. Thus, religion seems to be fulfilling some higher purpose for those scientists who go to temple not in position of ISRO scientist but in position of a human being.

Science, Technology and social change:

- Science is systematic body of certified and changing knowledge based on observable facts and the methods used to acquire this knowledge.
- Technology is applied science. Tools tend to be much more efficient when they're made using science.
- Sociology was born out of response to rise of technology (ind'lrevn)
- **LH Morgan**one of the first to discuss role of tech→ human society passed thru'savagery, barbarianism and civilization. These 3 stages rep diff levels of tech. His theory was economic but he laid lot of emphasis on technology.
- **Parsons-** talks about change in info flow or energy flow. In the system. Change in energy flow is a result of change in technology
- **Leslie White→**tried to explain process of social ev'n in terms of technology. Has 3 components→ techno-economic, organisational and ideational. Said culture changes due to change in tech. Primitive man used muscular energy but not its more mental.
- **William Ogburn→**every technological innov'n when absorbed by society needs a support system. To absorb automobile→ education system, family system, occupational system undergoes change. **Chain reaction/domino effect**
- **Change in demographics with rise of tech.** 5 stages of demographic transition
- **Gender equality and technology-**easier for women participation & emancipation (services sector)
- **Education seen as a form of investment**
- Ecology and environment.
- Work and leisure undergoes change.

Secularization:

- **Wallace and Bruce-→** define sec'n as diminishing social significance of religion.
- **Macionis→** historical decline in importance of supernatural and sacred
- Decline In the authority of religious institutions in beliefs, values, practices, and processes by which religious institutions and symbols legitimize support and justify various aspects of society & culture
- **Berger**→Sec'n occurs @ 3 levels→ social, cultural and individual; social→ separation of religion and state; cultural – arts, literature and philosophy→individual→secularization of individual.
- **Bryan Wilson**→sec'n process by which religious thinking, practice, institutions lose significance- marriages being solemnised by courts and attendance in church decreasing.
- **Haralambos→**Proving/disproving sec'n tricky because of diff defn of religiosity. He divides religion into 2 types→**institutional** religion and **general** religion of beliefs and values.
- **At institutional level**– **4 distinct types of sec'n:-**
    - **Participation** decline as sec'n
    - **Disengagement**& differentiation as way of sec'n→ of church from wider society
    - Religious **pluralism** as a cause of sec'n
    - Sec'n of **religious instis→Will Herberg→**church spreads Am values & not rel values→**Berger &Luckmann→**Am undergone change in plausibility structure.
- **At general level- beliefs & systems- 4 trends of sec'n**
    - **Generalisation→Parsons→**As relinstis specialized→ become more generalized
    - **Individualism→Robert Bellah→**Rel increasingly individual affair
    - **Transformation→ Max Weber→** Change to seular guides to action- Protestantism
    - **De-sacralisation→**Supernatural not controlling→**Weber→**Disenchantment thru rationaliz'n
- **Weber→**increased rationalization→ result in disenchantment
- **Durkheim→** integrative functions of society will be replaced by m'ship of professional communities
- **Luckmann→** With increasing modern'n religion will not have same authority as in traditional times
- **Sec'n today balance b/w extensive empirical evidence of rel in public domain & increasing evidence of increasing selectivity among individuals over religious norms, values & authority**
- Cognitive role of religion been taken over by science.
- Earlier attendances in church high in order to socialize. Now with technology, many other means to socialize
- **Malinowski**->Religion has social and psychological roles. Social role is being taken up by secular ideas but it continues to grow at psychological level (answer to fear and anxiety)
- **Parson->** Existential puzzles which cannot be answered by science are answered by religion.
- **Secularization far less in third world countries:** People seek worldly goals but resort to religion to enhance the chances of fulfilling those goals.

Religious Revivalism:

- **Secularization→ Sociological debate (Giddens)→ to be used in religious revivalism**
  - **Michael Maffesoli**→ We live in **times of tribes**→today neo tribes→existence based on shared identities→ commitment towards neo tribes lose, weak and short lived→ need to come together→ something eternal about religion.
  - **Davie→**Sec'nprocess not that simple→ diff kind of rel→ Europe attendance low but people **believing w/o belonging.** Nordic countries→ attendance high but **belonging w/o believing.**
    - Cannot be measured thru existing churches→excludes new religions
    - Eastern societies→ little evidence of sec'n→religious fundamentalism & revivalism
  - **Berger→** Growing imp of religion in politics, contemporary societies undergoing re-sacralisation or revivalism
  - **Eg:** As a protest against injustice (with no communism in picture, hindutva coming to fill ideological vacuum against inequalities); functional for lower class- rachis ,dussehra for money etc.
  - **Third world countries-** Only technological component of modernity absorbed. Globalized world has led to return to traditionalism in lot of ways.
  - **Answers existential questions** and fills the **moral vacuum.**

Civil Religion:

- **Robert bellah→**Civil religion→ a quasi religious loyalty binding individuals in a basically secular society→eg communism, excessive nationalism etc→ pol events, birthdays, martyrdays etc.
- After French Revn→ Religion of supreme being was found which worshipped rev'n

Fundamentalism

- One way of religious revival is religious fundamentalism
- Concept popularised by Cartis Lewis.
- American Famous Scopes Monkey Trial, 1925 in which John Scopes was barred from teaching human evolution for being against religion. Ultimately he won the case.
- Revived in form of islamist and sikh fundamentalism in the 70s and 80s.
- It is interesting to see that funamenalists make full use of technology though despise modernity
- **Macionis→**
  - Conservative religious doctrine→
  - opposes intellectualism & worldly accommodation
  - in favour of restoring traditional other worldly religion
- **Hunter→**Distinctive features of fundam'm
  - Interpret sacred texts literally
  - Reject religious pluralism
  - Pursue personal experience of God's presence→ spiritual revival
  - Opposes secular humanism
  - Endorse conservative political goals

- **<u>TN Madan</u>**
    - Affirmation of inspiration, final authority of scriptures
    - Not original impulse rather a reaction
    - Intolerance of dissent
    - Cultural critique of modern societies
    - Appeal to tradition but in a selective manner
    - Capture of political power
    - Charismatic leadership
- Largely a response of globalisation and comparatively a new phenomenon.
- Traditionalism Vs fundamentalism→ F- spills to oter domains like politics; element of activism present , inward looking and self producing; appears to be traditionalistic but isn't, **sharp boundary between pure inside and polluted outside**
- **<u>Eg: Iranian Rev'n of 78-79 led by Ayotollah Khomeini</u>**

TOPIC-09- Systems of Kinship

Family, household, marriage

- What do you mean by marriage and family?
- Note on kinship and social capital
- Emerging forms of marriage & family with ex of west & east. Can there be family w/o marriage?
- Role of family in social control
- Meanings and significance of culture in human society. It's role in dev of personality.

Family

- **Giddens**: Group of persons directly linked by kin connection adults of which assume caring of children
- **Macionis**: social institution, unites people into cooperative group, to oversee bearing & raising of children
- **Horton and Hunt:** Defining family isn't easy and may point to families of affinity too:
    - Group of ancestors
    - Kinship group united by blood or marriage
    - Married couple with or without children
    - Unmarried couple with/without children
    - A single person with children
- ***Types***:
    - **Nuclear**: 2 adults, living together, own/adopted children, in a household.
    - **Joint/extended:** parents, children and other kin→consanguine; affection and responsibilities widely diffused; shildren joint responsibility; personalities with less individuality. Made of atleast 2 nuclear families- **family of orientation & family of procreation.** Partition not frequent. **Prabhu-** living members are **trustees of ancestral property. From pitris to putras.**
    - **Srinivas stuy of joint family in Coorg:**
        - Okka- patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs
        - People who don't belong to okka have no social existence at all
        - Membership of okka is acquired by birth. **His association with okka does not end with death as then he becomes part of apotheosized ancestors who are believed to look after okka. Okka has longer life than its members**
        - Marital relations are forbidden between members of okka. Leviratic unions add to strength of okka. Leviratic + traditional + cross cousin allowed= impregnable.
    - ***Nuclear Joint debate*:**
        - **Macionis**: social mobility, industrialization, ectended turning to nuclear/conjugal
        - **David Popenoe:** family changes max where state policies max eg Sweden
        - **IP Desai-** Sentiment of Jointness does not vanish with residential separation. Showed in study of Bombay that only 20% lived in small households and most near to their kins.

- **Kapadia-** showed in his study that majority prefer joint families. 3 grounds on which members believe joint family is desirable:
  - Sharing of economic burden
  - Social security
  - Fosters certain desirable qualities in individuals
- Paradoxically, joint family is both **too broad and too narrow.** Too broad as it restrains and restricts the individual, esp women. Too narrow as it limits the range of individual's social relations and loyalties & obstructs national unity & effort. Also, appear to encourage high birth rate- addl members, preserve traditions; to perform religious rites etc

Household: Single individuals/group of people who are co-residents and commensal. Single individual or group of individuals- sharing common residence, living room and essentials of life such as food.

Marriage and marriage patterns:

- Socially acceptable and approved sexual union b/w 2 adult individuals.
- It is social arrangement by which individuals & groups acquire certain rights & obligations
- Macionis: Legally sanctioned r'ship, inv eco coop, sexual activity,childbearing-> expect to be enduring
- With marriage- new status, new privileges & obligations & recognition by others. Rituals to publicize and dramatize this new change of status.
- **Endogamy & Exogamy**:
  - Every society limits choice in marriage→to chose outside specific groups. Builds **alliances** and **encourage cultural diffusion.** Endogamy- positive concept, maintain hierarchy. Incest not allowed universally (Malinowski says if incest there, then nurturing & socialising suffers)
  - Eg: India: Anuloma (hypergamy) allowed and not pratiloma (hypogamy)
- **Marital choice- Romantic love, Arranged marriages and homogamy:**
  - **Arranged:** not just exchange of children but also wealth and favours; parents select; or children may chose under parental guidance and veto- other ways in simple socieites- exchange for gifts/capturing
  - **Love:**Western mainly; **macionis:** lesser stable than arranged cuz based on only emotion which wax & wane- that's why high divorce rate in west; **Sociologists say** that even love arranged-many ways by encouraging **homogamy**- dos & donts – religion, race etc. Social influence indirectly; school, neighbourhood chosen cautiously; **Mare:**educational homogamy.
- **Monogamy and Polygamy:**
  - Most High income families (except Islamic countries)→rules of monogamy
  - **Samuel Johnson-** Monogamy prevalent mostly coz ration 1:1. **No man can have 2 wives but by preventing somebody else from having one.**
  - High level of divorce & marriage- serial monogamy
  - Polygamy can be **polygyny or polyandry**

- **Polygyny:** Not a rule but an exception + for rich & powerful. Tibet- rich people practise polygyny; **Sororal polygyny-** sisters are wives; **Levirate:** woman marries brother of deceased husband; **Cocubinage:** cohabits
- **Polyandry:**Is so rare that Murdoch calls it **ethnographic curiosity**, Todas of south India, Namib bushmen, Yaruro of Venzuela; resources ltd; avoid Division. Mainly **fraternal polyandry**
- **Eg:** Bhimsen joshi case of 2 wives & property issues (prior hindu marriage act,1955)

- **Influence of religion:** Hinduism & Catholicism doesn't allow divorce. Latter even abortion (Savita Halappanavar death in Ireland). No other group more influenced by religion than family. Economic, political, defence (nuclear wars) etc all concern of religion but surprisingly family the most important issue.
- **Rules of Residence :**Where the wife goes to live with the husband in his parents' home, residence is described as VIRILOCAL, PATRILOCAL, or PATRIVIFULOCAL, and where the husband moves to iive with the wife, it is termed MATRILOCAL. Ifhusband and wife set up their own independent home after marriage, as is usually the case in modern western society, residence is said to be NEOLOCAL. Matrilineal descent systems is also Combined with what is called AVUNCULOCAL residence, that is, residence with the mother's brother.

Kinship

- The kinship system social bonds based on blood (consanguinity), marriage (Affinity) or adoption.
- Social recognition of biological or affinity r'ships. **Social recognition** is very important. Eg: Malinowski noted that in trobriand islands, sexual intercourse and child birth are unrelated. There is sexual freedom and they believe that soul of a dead person enters mother's womb. Thus, they acknowledge relationship b/w mother and child and not father and child. Similarly, adopted child has no biological relationship with parents but is recognised by society.
- Kinship relationships can be shared or direct. Shared- eg siblings- called collaterals; direct- descent- eg: mother son etc
- In most societies rules of descent, inheritance and group identity overlap.

Theories of family:

- **GP Murdoch:**Studied 250 diff socities: Nuclear family is universal- either as sole prevailing or as basic unit of extended families ; essentially of man woman of opposite sex & children.
  - **Counter:Haralambos**- study of blacks, central Am- woman & dependant children better unit as family. Mother child r'ship is an atom of every society. **john Bowlby study of delinquent kids-** revealed that all the delinquent kids lacked intimacy with their mothers and had insensitivity towards pains of others, thus don't hesitate before violence. 2. **Israeli Kibbutz**- children don't live with parents as collective rearing in dorms.
- **Functional perspective:**
  - Ensure **continuity and consensus**→ functional l'ship of family with other social instis

- **GP Murdoch and universal functions of family:**sexual, reproductive, economic and educational→ w/o repr funct there would be no humans & w/o edu no human culture; these functions though not exclusively performed by only family; serve both individual & society inseparably; inevitability of family as primary social insti→ DOL as coop eco func b/w H&W.
  - **Criticism:**
    - doesn't look into alt instis which perform these functions
    - assumes family to be in absolute harmony which is not often the case.
- **Kingsley Davis-**Fucntions of family:
  - **Social (4)-** Reproductive, Maintenance, Placement & Socialization
  - **Psychological:** affection and security.
- **Talcott Parsons:American Nuclear Family:** Modern occupational system strips of few tradl func of family like eco & edu. Am society was witnessing culmination of long term processes of isolation, differentiation & specialization. Nuclear family retains 2 irreducible functions:
  - **Family first socializes but it does not originate the values which it imparts- these come from religion, nation, caste or class**
  - **Primary socialization-** culture & structuring of personality
  - **Stabilization of adult personalities**

  Criticism: idealising family with fully integrated DOL living in complete harmony. Doesn't give much attention to funct'l alt of family; Idealizes Am middle class as end product of evl'n
- **Vogel & Bell**→ artc '**emotionally disturbed child as family scapegoat'.**Analyze dysfuntions
- **Functions of family- Horton and Hunt-**
- **Acronym PASSERS**
  - Protective function
  - Affectionate function
  - Sexual Regulation function
  - Socialization function
  - Economic function
  - Reproductive function
  - Status definition/social placement function
- **Family- Social conflict/ Marxian perspective/critical view**
  - **Engels**- origin of family- private property & state
    - Need of men- to identify heirs- transmit property, monogamous more effective, support concentration of wealth and reproduc'n of class structure.
  - **Edmund Leach: 'A runaway world'-** pessimistic view of Ind'l society
    - Domestic h/h isolated; emotional stress; overloaded electric circuit
    - Parents fight, child'n rebel; hate finds expres'n in wider society
    - Breeds suspicion and fear with **narrow privacy and tawdry secrets**

- **RD Laing- 'politics of family'**- form alliances & play complex tactical game study of schizophrenic girl-Jane- go-between for parents to communicate with each other. Refers to family groups as **nexus.** Highest concern of this nexus is **reciprocal concern**. Offer mutual protection of each other from each other
- **David Cooper**- '**the death of the family'**- denies people to develop their own individualities; its an ideological conditioning device in exploitative society. Endlessly obedient and submissive citizens. Kills artist, visionary & revolutionary.
- **Feminist approach**- unequal power relat'ns. Some benefit more. Domestic violence, sexual DOL; cheap labour in market & no cost labour at home.; **Margaret Benson:** capitalists pay wage for one and get work done of two. Woman to take care of present and future labour; **Fran Asley:** '**Wife as sponge'**
- **Amartya Sen→Household as a cooperative-conflict unit**
  - H/H & family orgn'd along lines of residence & kinship respectively.Two may not coincide with each other @ all times @ all places.
  - Term-**feminization of poverty-** eco hardship of women headed h/h
  - Says, **ability to negotiate and decide does not remain static and varies with time with difference in experiences of household members and invocation of norms, constraints and propriety. It is here that h/h is visible in its coop'n conflict form**
  - H/h faces 2 problems simultaneously 1) coop'n (adding to total availabilities) and 2) conflict (dividing total availabilities). Who does what & who takes what responses to problem of cooperation & conflict. Sexual DOL is one part of such arrangement.
  - Sen adds new dimension than just economic & income of Marxists.
- **Stephanie Coontz**: '**The way we never were'**- trad'l family was not so golden. High death rates; avg length of marriage 12 years. Most children saw death of one parent by 21; strict authority of parents; women were meant to be virtuous and men okay licentious.

- **Changing family functions:**
  - **Parsons**- primary socialization & stability
  - **Ronals Fletcher**- no other insti can substitute family can provide alt functions but role of family has further increased by coming of such instis. May not me uint of economic production anymore but certainly is a unit of economic consumption.
  - **Horton and Hunt- on acronym PASSERS**
    - Eco functions greatly declined
    - Sexual reg'n function has reduced too
    - Reproductive func has declined in imp
    - Socialisation func'n hasgrown in imp
    - Affectional & companionship func has grown in imp
    - Eco, physical prot'n func has declined

- **<u>Young and Wilmott</u>**
- Stage 1- **Symmetrical family** in agrarian societies: Family unit of prod'n with family members
- Stage 2- **Asymmetrical family** in early Ind'n disrupted family unit with men working outside & women @ home- strict DOL
- Stage 3- **Symmetrical family-** reunites but around family as a unit of consumption. Men more leisure time & spend with family
- Stage 4- **Asymmetrical family-** empty shell and disoriented family cuz of too much career orientation.

Types and forms of family.

- Show how family is distinct from household
- Short note on industrialization and changes in family structure
- Nuclear family and industrial society

- **Kingsley Davis:** Major items in variation of marital relation: **no. of spouses; authority; strength of bond, choice of spouse, residence etc**
- **William Goode- World revolution in family patterns**- did global survey of family instis
    - Ind'ln tends to undermine extended family & larger kinship groups
    - High geog mobility decreases frequency & intimacy of contact
    - Many functions performed by family taken over by outside agencies
    - Not just ind'ln but western idea of nuclear family further spreading nuclearity
    - **Role bargaining:**individual tries to attain best possible bargain in r'ship with others
    - Says, rate may differ but in all societies families moving towards same end- institutionalising of conjugal family form or nuclear family.
- **Therborn**counters Goode and denies convergence of diff family types into one,
    - Families not becoming increasingly similar but varied and diverse patterns visible.
    - Families are **ageing** due to falling global birth rates
- **Young and Wilmott**
    - Stage 1- **Symmetrical family** in agrarian societies: Family unit of prod'n with family members
    - Stage 2- **Asymmetrical family** in early Ind'n disrupted family unit with men working outside & women @ home- strict DOL
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Lineage and descent

- Importance of lineage and descent in kinship and family
- R'ship b/w rules of descent and inheritance of property.

Descent: Descent is the principle whereby **a child issocially affiliated** with the group of his or her parents.

- Types:
  - **Bilateral or cognatic:**some societies child is regarded as a descendant **equally of both the father and the mother**, except that titles and surnames are usually passed down along male line.The individual belongssimultaneously to several descent groups - those of two parents, fourgrandparents, eight great-grandparents, and so on. This link is **limited only by memory**.Eg**Yaho tribe** of Nigeria (one side movable property other side immovable). **Saha tribe** of Brazil- Females inherit from mother and sons inherit from father.
  - **Unilineal:**descent is**reckoned UNILINEALLY**, that is, **in one line only**. 2 types:
    - **Patrilinal:** The child is affiliated either with the group of the father,
    - **Matrilineal:** affiliated to group of the mother
  - **Double Unilineal:**some societies ,child is affiliated to the **group of either parent**, **depending on choice**, or to **one parent for some purposes** (for instance,inheritance of property) and to other parent for other purposes (for instance, the inheritance of ritual)
- **Clan as a descent group:** believe to share same ancestor. May be mythical as in case of gotra.
- Functions of descent group:
  - **Exogamous**: Strong sense of shared identity
  - **Cultural function**: come together for ritual and ceremony functions
  - **Propertymanagement**: descent group will have a **built-in authority structure**, with power normallyexercisedby senior males, and it may well own corporate property
  - **Rolesharing**:An individual's economicrights & responsibilities defined by his/ her position
  - **Jural Units**: many societiesunilineal descent groups internally decide their own disputes.

But unilineal descent is not the only reality. There are different kinds of relationships and institutions which may be performing similar functions. For example as per principle of **complimentary filiation,** significant ritual and social roles of the mother's brother(s) in the lives of their sister's children.

Descent and Inheritance:

- Rules of inheritance co-ordinate with descent in most societies, but not always in a 1 to 1 manner
- In most parts of India, in past, immovable property such as land wasinherited only by sons. In absence of sons, except under rare circumstances, by nearest male relatives on the father's side. One other hand, movable property inform of cash and jewellery was given to the daughter at time of her marriage, with a certain amount of jewellery also passing from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law.
- In addition to property of various kinds, rights and obligations, esoteric knowledge,crafts and skills, etc., might be passed on in accordance with kinship roles, successionto office to chieftainship, kingship, dynasty politics etc. In such cases, individual's status is saidto be 'ascribed', not 'achieved'.
- Though it’s not much of a feature of modern societies, oneshould not underestimate the importance of kinship connections in modernsocieties too. Often one finds that in a family if father is a doctor or lawyer the son ordaughter is also likely to choose the same occupation.

Patrilineal descent system:

- **North**: A boy at birth becomes a member of his descent group, and a coparcener (partner) in a joint estate. A girl, by contrast, is only a residual member of her natal group
- number of social practices testify to fact that a woman's only legitimate roles areofwife & mother
- Spinsterhood and widowhood are inauspicious and unenviableconditions.
- Fairly substantial propertythat devolves on daughter at her marriage.however, insist that this propertycannot be considered as daughter's 'inheritance', comparable to that ofson, sincegreater portion of it is neither owned nor controlled by girl in her own right. Itis really form of 'bridegroom price'-contract
- **South**:Not so markedly patriarchal as those of the north. woman after marriage continues to have materially and psychologically important relations with members of her natal group.

Matrilineal Descent

- Empirically, you never find matrilineal systems that are an exact inverse of the patrilineal-patriarchalModel. The reason: whatever the descent system, authority is usually exercised by males
- **Nayars of Kerala: An Illustration**
    - Men resided in large and **matrilineally recruited joint families, called taravad**, along with their sisters, sister's children andsister's daughter's children.
    - They visited their wives in other taravads at night (called **'visiting husband'** system).
    - Their ownchildren resided with their mother in their mother's taravad.
    - Bond between brother and sister was strongly emphasised, and that between husbandand wife de-emphasised. Nayar women couldlegitimately have a number of visiting husbands (polyandry), provided they were ofcorrect status (i.e. higher status -Namboodiri Brahmans).
    - Also, Nayarmen could live a number of wives (polygyny). In fact, the marital bond was so Minimised among the Nayars that anthropologists have debated ifNayarsociety had the institution of marriage at all! Anthropologists have also cited that theNayar system disproves the proposition that the elementary or nuclear family is a"universal" human institution.
    - Nayar case is a useful one forillustrating the **types oftensions** that seem to be coming into **matrilineal** systems. They had rather unique way ofcoping with what anthropologists have called 'the **matrilineal puzzle'**. Effectively they ensured the unity of the **matrilineal at the expense of thesolidarity of the marital bond between husband and wife.**
- **Other Matrilineal Communities**
    - **Khasis of Assam**: matrilineal in descent, inheritance,succession, practise matrilocal residence. Youngest daughter is heiress (ultimogeniture), lives in mother's house alone with husband &children. Older daughter moves out of matrilineal household & make new nuclear families
    - **Garos of Assam:**Marriage is matrilocal forthe husband ofthe daughter who becomes the head of the household and its manager

Patriarchy and sexual division of labour

- Gender roles in changing structure of family
- Distinguish between sex and gender issues with suitable examples

From work and economic life- Shulasmith Firestone - mothering role root cause; remove it & gender equality

State only talks of gender equality, not practised in reality.

Patriarchy and Matriarchy

- to have a **patriarchal structure** when a number of factors coincide, i.e.
    - when **descent** is reckoned patrilineally,
    - when **inheritance** of major property is from father to son,
    - when **residence** is patrilocal, and
    - when**authority** is concentrated in thehands of senior males.
- There is no society on earth whose features are exact reverse of these. For even inmatrilineal, matrilocal systems, which are fairly rare, major property is usually controlledby males.Forthis reason, term 'matriarchy', though often found in literature, is **probably a misnomer**, &there is no conclusive evidence to support that matriarchy was a universal early stage in development of kinship systems.

GoranTherbon: Between sex and power

Studies 5 major family types across 20th century & shaped by particular religions:

- Sub Saharan- African (Animistic)
- European/North American (Christian)
- East Asian (Confucian)
- South Asian (Hindu)
- W.Asain& N. Africa (Islam)
    - Foll structure across families: patriarchy; marriage/non-marriage regulation of sexual behaviour; fertility and birth control measures.
    - Patriarchal power declines in 2 staegs:
        - After WW-1, Russian Rev'n promoted equality
        - Sexual rev's of mid 70s, Internation women year-1975, second wave of feminism and legislative powers to women in many countries and larger public role.
            - Families not becoming increasingly similar but varied and diverse patterns visible.
            - Families are **ageing** due to falling global birth rates
- **Hochschild:** calls working women doing house work as **second shift** for women and **stalled revolution** where house work still remains women's duty. Also, men work like repairs, lawn mowing etc are not regular but cooking etc are strictly time bound.

Domestic Violence:

- **Steinmetz**: Family provides training ground of violence.
- Child abuse 9sexual activity by adult with child for sexual gratification of former)most common- not just physical injury but also emotional damage.
- Some don't attribute it to patriarchy but to dysfunctionality of families (Conversationists)
- **Giddens:** 2 reasons for widespread domestic violence:
    - Because relates to family- emotional intensity very high
    - Certain level of violence accepted and even approved (control child)
- Prevalant more in lower classes: reason: **Goode:** Poor have fewer other means of control like higher income or education qualifications. Also stress may be induced due to cycle of poverty.

Contemporary trends

- Structural and Functional changes in modern society.
- New trends in types and forms of family in contemporary India
- Short note on changing structure of family
- Changing structure of family and marriage in modern society

- **Rapoport Et Al** argues diversification can happen on any of the five variables:
    - **Organisational-** DOL
    - **Cultural**- multi ethnic, religious etc families
    - **Class-**variations along class structure
    - **Life course**- diff types of families can be formed at different life courses
    - **Cohort**- Connections between generations- ageing family
    - **Sexual Diversity** (added by Giddens)- homosecuals, bi etc
- **Families in global contect- Giddens**
    - In developing countries widespread changes are occurring:
        - Spread of western culture
        - Development of centralized govt
        - Govt policies on families
        - Reproductive technologies
        - Large scale migration from rural to urban
        - Employmnt opportunities away from land
- **Therborn** counters Goode and denies convergence of diff family types into one,
        - Families not becoming increasingly similar but varied and diverse patterns visible.
        - Families are **ageing** due to falling global birth rates
        - He identifies some features of diversity common across societies:
            - Declining influence of kinship groups
            - Trend towards free selection of spouse
            - Increasing recognition of women rights
            - Higher levels of sexual freedom
            - General recognition towards children rights
            - Increase acceptance towards same sex partnership

- **Divorce/Marital breakdown:**
    - 3 main categories- **divorce, separation & shell marriages**
    - **Macionis**: Reasons for **high divorce rates in west**
        - Individualism on the rise
        - Economic independence- acquisitive spirit
        - Legally easier to get divorce
        - Social acceptance to divorce
        - Greater overall prosperity- easier to set individual h/h
        - Measuring scale for marriages tougher.
    - **Giddens-** Divorce rate does not indicate rejection of a marriage but indicates to rising expectation from married life. **Parsons & Fletcher also second him** by indicating that **increased rate of remarriage** supports this argument
    - **Nicky Hart-** '**when marriage ends'-** identifies 3 factors:
        - Affecting values attached to marriage: Increased expectation from marriage
        - Affecting degree of conflict: dual roles and strain on marital r'ship
        - Affecting opportunities to escape from wedlock: legally easier & social acceptance

      Says, conflict between worker role of female and normative expectations of family also lead to marital breakdown.
    - Visits to kin reduced. **Mobrien and Deborah** stuy of East London families- 14% lone parent families; 14 % step parent families; 62% dual career families. Visited parents: 60% financeial purposes and 80% babysitting purposes.
    - **Wilmott**uses the term **dispersed extended family**
    - **Rapoport and Rapoport:** Diversity in families:
        - **Symmetrical nuclear** (roles same- both go to work. Both take care of kids etc)
        - 1/3rd**single parent** families
        - **Cohabitation** without marriage
        - **Reconstituted families**
        - **Homosexual families**
        - **Communal living families:** increasing divorces. All living together

- **Remarriage, Blended/step/reconstituted families**
    - Difficulties i)biological parent elsewhere ii) cooperation issues iii) varying expetations
- **Cohabitation:** choose not to marry
- **Homosexuality:**family by choice; grounded in personal commitment as legally not acceptable; introduction of **civil partnership** to register union of homosexuals.

TOPIC-10- Social Change in Modern Society

Sociological theories of social change

Definitions:

- Social change: variations overtime in relationships among individuals, groups, cultures and societies→pervasive→need not always be drastic→subtle like voting patterns, crime rate etc
- **Horton and Hunt:** Changes in **social structure** and **social relationships** of a society. Differentiate b/w cultural change and social change even though both overlap at many times.
- The **International Encyclopaedia of the Social Science** (IESS 1972) looks at changeas the important alterations that occur in the **social structure**, or in the **pattern of action** and **interaction in societies**.
- **Three aspects of social change:** (i) Process of alteration (no ref to quality of change); (ii) link b/w culture & change (iii) can vary in scope (expanse of change) and speed
- **Social change &other closely related terms-**
    - **Evolution:** expresses continuity & direction of change. Not just change in size but structure
    - **Growth:** implies direction of change but essentially only size and quality
    - **Progress:** Direction towards some desired goal. Involves value judgement

Theories of Social Change:

- ***Cyclic Theory*:**

  Conceptualizes change as an ongoing series of cycles rather than a process with direction. To study ancient civilizations like Greece, China, Indiaetc
    - **Pritrim Sorokin- bbok- 'social and cultural dynamics'-Cyclic theory of change:**
        - Book- Social and cultural dynamics
        - Three kinds- ideational, idealistic and sensate
            - Sensate: realm of science and of direct sensory experiences.
            - Ideational: Ideational culture is spiritualistic, mystical and indeterminate
            - Idealistic: In between. characteristic of both the ideational and sensate
            - Ideational->idealistic->sensate->idealistic->ideational
            - Alters by virtue of own forces and properties
            - Linked to principle of limited possibilities of change: limit to number of alternations that can develop in a system. When all combinations complete, repetition→saw societies changing instead of progressing/decaying
    - **Oswald Spengler (Decline of West) and Toynbee (studied 21 civilizations)→**similar= all civilizations birth, grow, decay and death

- **Pareto-**in book 'The mind and society, 'Study of circulation of elites. 'history is graveyard of aristocracies'. Rests upon biological diff and little supported by evidence

Criticism of cyclic theories:

- **Horton and hunt:** Not convincing. Doesn't explain why diff societies respond diff to change
- **Ritzer:** doesn't consider socio-psychological factors. Cast men as virtual pawns.

- ***Evolutionary/Linear theories*:**

Consistent in direction; when final stage reached->evolution ends

- **Herbert Spencer:** Applies social Darwinism – simple to complex
- **August Comte-**Explains change as the outcome of man's intellectual development. He said that this intellectual dev is accompanied by moral dev, esp, the growing predominance of altruism over egoism. Law of 3 stages: theological, Metaphysical & Positive. Criticism- deterministic character and totalitarian implications
- **Durkheim-** Complexity & from mechanical to organic solidarity
- **Karl Marx-** Primitive communism-> ancient slavery-> feudal->capitalism->communism.
- **LH Morgan-** 7 technological stages from savagery to civilization
- **Hobhouse- 5 stages in intellectual history of mankind.**
  - Preliterate
  - Proto science- ancient east- Babylon, china etc
  - State of reflection in ancient east – 4-5th cent BC in china, India)
  - Stage of critical and systematic thought- Greece
  - Dev of modern scientific thought from about 16th cent.
- **Lenski and Lenski**
  - Some changes cyclic, unpatterned, but evolutionary **process of cumulative change** is predominant pattern. **Cumulative changes- 2 ways→innovation and selection.** Innovation produces new variations & selection decides which variation should lead.
  - Both processes happen at 2 levels- @ level of individual society and at world system.
  - Portray course of evolution as progressive- freedom, justice, equality, happiness etc

Criticism:

- May explain long term rends but not change on smaller scale
- Don't explain significant differences between societies at same level of evolution
- Stages of evolution not fixed in reality- leapfrogging possible
- There can be no final stage. It is always value laden
- Lacks data support.

- ***Neo-evolutionary*:** Suggest general trend towards more elaborate form of DOL
- ***Conflict Theory*:**
  - **Marx- Dialectical materialism:**
    - **Law of Unity and Conflict of Opposites**: there are internal sides, tendencies, forces of an object orphenomena, which are mutually exclusive but at same

time presupposeeach other. inseparable interconnections of these opposite tendenciesor contradictions is responsible for unity of opposites. Thiscontradictoriness of objects and phenomena of world is of a general,universal nature. There is no object or phenomenon in world whichcould not be divided into opposites. These opposites coexist and one isinconceivable without other. However, these opposites cannot coexistpeacefully in one object: contradictory, mutually exclusive character of opposites necessarily causes a struggle between them. old and new, emergent and obsolete must come into conflict. Here it isimportant to note that unity of opposites is a necessary condition of conflict, because it takes place only where opposite sides exist in one objector phenomenon. It is contradiction, conflict of opposites that is main source of development of matter and consciousness. Development isstruggle of these opposites.

- **The Law of Negation of the Negation**: The history of society also consistsof a chain of negations of the old social order by the new: as RaymondAron (1965) puts it, capitalism is the negation of feudal society, andsocialism would be the negation of capitalism i.e. negation of negation.
- **The Law of Transition of Quantity into Quality**: According to this law,process of change is not simple or gradual but it is a product of quantitativeadvances which result in abstract qualitative changes at a particular momentwhen mature conditions are present. There is never repetition ofoccurrences. This change is always from lower to higher, simpler tocomplex, homogeneous to heterogeneous levels of reality.

- **Elements of social conflict:**
  - Opposition b/w 2 or mor social categories- can be class/caste/family/prof orgn
  - All situation of conflict have element of power
  - May involve hostile sentiments and attitudes
  - Need to diff'8 b/w objective (eg resources) & subjective (eg: hatred) basis of conflict
  - Interests- economic/religious/political etc
- **Positive consequences of conflict – Coser-**
  - **social solidarity** of a given group is increased within
  - improving understanding of opponent, and creating new avenues of interaction
  - may give rise to some unchartered areas of co-operation between parties,for example the emergence of the Red Cross during World War-I.
- **Conflict-Collins-** struggle over legitimacy of authority relations→ conflict theorists view conflict as constant→ change as inevitable result between groups of diverse interests.
- **Dahrendorf**- social conflict ubiquitous→social change ubiquitous→ every element in society renders contri in disintegration &change→ every society based on coercion by few members; **thus change inevitable→ because authority relationships are pervasive & thus conflict.**

Criticism-conflict theories

- Doesn't explain all change- infact at times, conflict impedes change & fight for status quo
- There are many dysfunctions of conflict as well

- ***Functional perspective*:** Despite emphasis on social order and stability, Parsons did not deny the possibility of social change. Thisresults from specific nature of individual social systems as well as fromvery nature of motivational orientations, which organise actionsystems of members in a society:
  - The first links social systems to its externalboundary conditions, such as ecology, resources, physical and environmentalconditions as well as to historical factors such as cultural contacts, **diffusion**of ideas and interests and to social strains arising out of these historicalfactors.
  - The second relates it to motivational elements in action systems,which are essentially directional in nature. The direction of orientation ofmotives and values generates harmony as well as strain in the social system.
  - The first leads to stability, the second to change.
  - Parsons viewed socialchange at two levels, firstly, change which emerges form processes withinthe social system, and secondly, the processes of change of the social systemitself.
  - A primary factor related to processes of change within the social system isincrease in population, its density and aggregation. Factors causing strain towards change: change in demographic factors, change in physical env, change in tech, new cultural configuratiojnegdev of new religious ideas. Not exclusive but work in independent plurality.
  - Cultural factors bring about changes **within the social system** through acontinuous process of "**rationalisation**" and "**traditionalisation**" of valuesand beliefs.

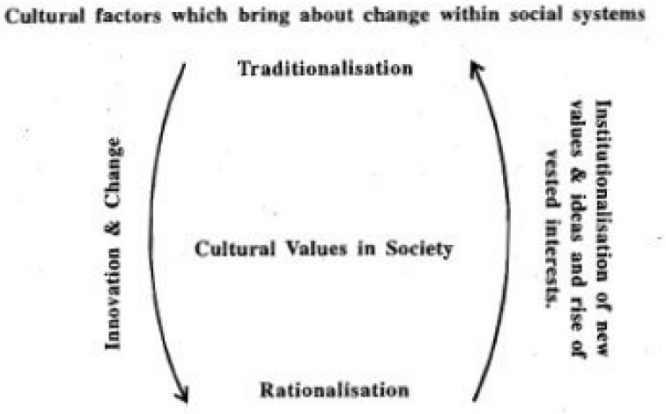


Figure 28.1 Changes within Social Systems: An Example

Parsons illustrated the processes of social change within the social system by drawing examples from the family system. The family undergoes changes inherently through the life cycle of the persons who are its members. The processes of birth, maturation, adulthood, old age and death are internal to the family system, each giving rise to social consequences which call for change and new adjustment in family roles, occupation, authority, status, as well as values and beliefs of its members. (Rest from ignou chapter on functionalism and change)

- **Structural Functional perspective:**
  - order and stability are primary concerns
  - Dominant condition of society= stability an consensus and not conflict or coercion
  - Change generally occurs in a gradual, adjustive fashion & not sudden, revolutionary way
  - Change occurs due to three sources:
    - **Adjustment** of system to exogenous change
    - **Growth** through structural and functional **differentiation**
    - **Innovations** by members of group within society
  - Concept of **dynamic equilibrium** has change built into it→ society in imperfect balance & open to ajustive changes.
  - Ogburn theory of **cultural lag** closely related

  Criticism: Van denBerghe
  - Reaction to extra systemic change is not always adjustive
  - Change can be revolutionary sudden and profound
  - Social structure itself generates change through internal conflicts & contradictions
  - Cumulative dysfunction possible which can make chaotic revolution inevitable.
- ***Social-psychological theories of social change*:**
  - Activities of people constitute the essence of change
  - **Max Weber-** Change in society due to rational thinking & questioning
  - **David mclelland-'Need fopr achievement' or the n-factor**
  - **Everett E Hagen**:earlier traditional societies= fixed status levels, authoritative, non-creative & non-innovative. But today wave of **status disregard.** Creativity, curiosity, openness
- ***Concept of social transformation*:**
  - Literal meaning of concept is'changing form/appearance/character/alter out of recognition.'
  - specifically used by Karl Marx in his book 'German Ideology' to mean a facet of social change which arises out of contradictions in society and leading to rapid change or revolution
  - May give rise to social problems as well→ social disorganisation (inadequacies in social system, ineffective working of status and roles), deviant behaviour

Development and dependency

Development:

- Change is a value-neutral concept whereas development is a value-laden concept.
- Only planned and desired changes can be described as development
- **The Three Worlds of Development (cold war era)**
  - The First World consist of countries following mainly a capitalist model of development
  - Second World had consisted of Soviet Union and the East European group
  - The Third World was andto certain extent still is generally used to refer to the less developed or developingsocieties of Asia, Africa and Latin America

Other aspects

- Development as growth
- Development as change and transformation
- **Socio-cultural Dimensions of Development**
  - Economic dev of a class does not trickledown to the entire population
  - Thus social devinc: satisfaction of basic needs, essential amenities, physical & mental health, literacy, vocation, social integration & minimization of disparities
- **Approaches to dev:**
  - **Development from the top**: Implicit in this approach is the assumption that the people who need developmentare incapable of understanding their needs, of devising development schemes andof executing them on their own
  - **Dev from the bottom:** believe fairness of intentions & abilities of people who need dev
  - **Sectoraldev**
  - **Area dev**
  - **Target group dev**
- Development as modernisation
- Negative consequences of development as economic growth
- Development-social and human dimension
  - UNDP definition and changes overtime
  - Human development approach different from economic growth approach, human capital formation/HRD approach, Human welfare and basic needs approach
- Development as freedom- AmartyaSen
- Development is about creating right conditions- **Dudley Seers**- capacity to attain basic needs, job, equality, participation, adequate educational levels, belonging to a nation
- **David Korten-** Justice, sustainability & inclusiveness

Sustainable development

  - SunitaNarain, Munshi, Eward and Woodgate, Bernhard etc
  - 1972- Stockholm conference- Human environment

- Brundtland or World Commission on environment &dev- first official defn of SD- **it's the development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs,**
- Requirements of sustainable development
- Criticism of sustainable dev- vague, oxymoronic

- **Theories of development:**
  - ***Modernisation theories-***
    - **Daniel Lerner- book passing of traditional society,** defines modernisation as the process of social change in which development is the economic component
    - **Features→** structural differentiation & specialization, capitalism, rational choice, growth of bureaucracy- rational and role differentiation, democracy, emancipation
    - **Five major dimensions of modernistion**

Modernisation				
Technological	**Economic**	**Political**	**Social**	**Psychological**
• inanimate sources of energy • modern machines • heavy technology	• market • capital • commodity • consumerism	• freedom • individualism • democracy • political participation	• mobility • occupational differentiation • universalism • specificity • urban-industrial culture • literacy and modern education	• cosmopolitan mind • achievement orientation • empathy

    - Perspectives on modernisation- ideal-typical, diffusionist, psychological & Marxist
      - Ideal typical- 2 types:
        - Pattern variable perspective- Neil J Smelser
        - Historical stage perspective- Walt Rostow:
      - Pattern variable perspective
        - Pattern variables of dev needs to be understood. These processes sometimes occur simultaneously and sometimes at different times. For example, in many colonial situations, agriculture becomes commercialised without industrialisation.
      - Historical stage perspective:
        - According to Rostow, the processes of change are simpler and self-sustaining. Economic growth could be achieved by following a five-stage model of growth. He suggested that "all societies can be placed in one of five categories or stages of economic growth".

        - The essential feature of the traditional society is that output is limited because of the inaccessibility of S&T
        - Preconditions for take off
        - Take off
        - Drive to maturity
        - Mass consumption
    - Role of rich nations in modernisation- **Macionis**- control popn, foreign aid, food, tech
    - Psychological perspective of modernisation- Need for achievement-**David mclelland**
    - **Anthony Giddens** on modernity- **Juggernaut;** runaway world- stable/out of control. Modernity is given dynamism by three essential aspects
        - Time-space separation- tech squeezes time & space
        - Disembedding social system- Symbolic tokens and expert systems
        - Reflexivity of modern society- as knowledge develops, both @ individual &insti level. Earlier- people couldn't do much as knowledge fixed.
        - Criticism- ignores roles played by power and class + reflexivity not always positive
    - Critical eval'n of modernisation theories:
        - LDCs are worse off today
        - Rich often bllock path for dev of poor countries
        - Assumes that dev countries characteristics are modern thus desirable
        - Dependency theory
- Indian experience of dev after independence:
    - Socialist path & mixed economy
    - SectoralDev
    - Community Dev and Cooperative movement
    - Target group planning
    -

Dependency and theories of dependency

- Centre and periphery theory- Raul Prebisch and Hans Singer
    - **Centre & periphery** (not underdev but mis-dev)
- Development of underdevelopment**: Andre Gunder Frank-** metropolis and satellite theory
- World systems theory**-Immanuel Wallerstein-** core, semi periphery and periphery
- **Role of rich nations in un-dev acc – Macionis**
- **Criticism-** underplays role of culture, wrongly treats wealthas zero sum game, only economic factors, too simplistic and like a protest
- **Development, planning and change (**saved chapter of IGNOU)
- **Change, Modernisation and dev (saved chpt of IGNOU)**

Agents of social change

Three basic factors of social change: Discovery, Invention, Diffusion (English words like juggernaut and bizarre from indian dictionary) , Indians caught English but not beef eating- selective

Bottomore- 2 changes in india- technology from west and social planning. SC Dubey study of Community Dev program of Plannin commission in UP covering 153 village. People accept which can be more strictly called technological innovations. Eg seeds, fertilizers etc which give immediate results but those that affect social structure like cooperative methods, land reforms, improved sanitation slowly. Dubey also **highlights the importance of communication for bringing change.**Gunnar Myrdal in his study of south Asian countries- Great Asian Drama- momentum of indian planning had failed- no land reforms, control pop'n etc

Where does social change originate; what are initial conditions of large scale changes to begin; what is rate of change; to what extent is change fortutious

Factors that affect direction and rate of social change: (i) Geography, Pop'n & ecology (ii) Technology (iii) Values and beliefs- protestant ethcs & spirit of capitalism (iv) Role of idividuals

Morris Ginsberg- factors of change:

- Conscious desires and decisions of individuals
- Individual acts influenced by changing conditions
- Structural changes and structural strains
- External influences
- Outstanding individuals or group of individuals
- Confluence of diff elements converging (eg rev'n)
- Fortuitous occurences eg black death, natural disasters etc

SOCIAL FORCES- Bottomore:

Does not refer to any forces entirely distinct from the acts of individuals, but to values an tendencies which are resultants of the interaction of individuals yet which confront any single individual as something external to him and relatively impervious to his individual criticism or influence.

- **Technology & social change:**
  - **Ogburn- cultural lag (material vs non material culture)**
  - **Introduces change by bringing alternatives**
  - **Leads to change in interaction patterns- study by Goleman in industry that intro robotics**
- **Ideology and social change:**
  - **Provides direction**
  - **Can be impediment for change as well- eg Weber study of religions- east religions**
  - **As facilitator of change- male female equality, non-violence, Protestantism**
- **Competition, conflict and social change**
  - **Competition- in mncs, markets**

- **Conflict- dahrendorf, Marx, Bottomore (**conflict b/w generations due to incomplete socialisation)

- **Role of individuals in social change**
  - **Bottomore-** voluntary acts of individuals- social forces
- **Culture and Social change**
  - Discovery, invention and diffusion
  - Culture, ,diversity and change- IGNOU chapter saved
- **Migration as agent of social change**
- **Deviance and social change**
- **War/catastrophe and social change**
- **Charisma and social change**
- **Social movements and social change**
- **Religion and social change:**
  - **Interaction between Religion and Social Order:**
    - Social Ordeyy as a concept may imply one or many of the following meanings (i)4rrangement of institutions in the society; (ii) Arrangement of roles and statusesIn the society; (iii) A smooth, well-coordinated functioning of this 'structure'**.**
    - salient features of religion
      - Religion has a cognitive function
      - Religion has an intellectual function
      - Religion is a social institution coz community of believers constitute basis
      - Religion is an ensemble of rituals and beliefs
    - A particular religion explains doctrines which explaininequalities as natural and God-given. Some religions revolve around the concept ofpersonal salvation so much that, they explain human misery in terms of 'sin' or the 'fallen state of humankind.
    - Most often religious sentiments and symbols are invoked, new meaningsare attributed to rituals and beliefs, and in the process religion becomes a vehicleof collective mobilization, for a group of believers who would like to be 'liberated'.
  - **Determining Factors**
    - New evidences/researches which cast the message of the scriptures/holy books/founder of the religion in a new light.
    - Social origins (social class, ethnicity etc.) of the clergy, clerics, priests
    - Medium through which stabilisation or change is disseminated
    - Reinterpretation ofthe Holy Books/Scriptures/Tests in the light of scholarly debates
    - Political status ofthe religions community-ruled by a colonial regime/themselves
    - Sects/cults/denominations: eg: During the 12th century, Brahminical Hinduism dominated the social order. Rigidcaste and ritual systems were the order of the day.The Veera Saiva Movement was headed by Basaveshwara,

who was the ChiefMinister and Treasurer to Bijjala 11, Kalachuri King. Veera Saiva movementfought a relentless struggle against oppressive Brahminical Hindu order. Itchallenged norms and values advocated and enforced by the Brahmins. adherents of Veera Saiva movement, held Siva as supreme God. All those whosubmit themselves before Siva, are equal irrespective of sex, caste and class,preached Basaveshvara.

- Social change:
  - **Religion and the Economic Order**: Weber , religion an illusion (Marx)
  - **Religion & political order**: Every religion has apolitical idea; a mode. of power and authority; a particularunderstanding of sovereignty. In other words, **'Kingdom of God'** and **'Darul Islam'**are political ideas.Hindu caste system, Kshatriya is ruler. many kingsclearly remained subordinated to authority of the Pope. Jews, Birsa Munda- Dharti Aba or father of world; islam revival.
  - **Religion and cultural order**- Durkheim- totem-collective effervescence. Festivals, Easter, crucification, culture and religion so closely linked. Some events of history celebrate to perpetuate a message or bring about a change. Idea of good/evil.
  -

- **Education and social change**
- **Caste, continuity an change** (IGNOU chapter saved)
- **Sc & tech and social change**

Consequences of social change:

- **Negative:** Alvin Toffler- Future Shock; Neil Postman- Technopoly; Health
- **Positive:**
  - 4 tigers- Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea;
  - Domino effect-
    - technological convergence by **Rosenberg**- machines make machines
    - Serendipity- Accidental discoveries- Fleming's penicillin & X Ray

Education and social change.

- Impediment; Pre-condition; Consequence; what kind of edu & what kind of Social change

Role of social control

- Social control as the means by which society establishes and maintains order.
- The two most important goals sought to be achieved by social control are :
  - a) Conformity to norms and expectations of the group;
  - b) Maintenance of order in society.
- GOALS OF SOCIAL CONTROL: conformity, uniformity, solidarity, continuity, social change
- **Methods of social control**:
  - **Informal/Primary social control**- family, playgroups, neighbourhood, community
  - **Formal/secondary social control**- positive sanctions in the form of reward, honour, and negative sanctions by way ofpunishments, expulsion

- **Means of social control**: Custom, Law, Religion, Education, Family, Leadership, Mass media, Force
- **Types of mechanisms**: Preventive, Manage tensions, Check deviant behaviour mechanism (psychological/physical/economic sanctions),propaganda mechanism- moulding public opinion

Education and social change

- The term 'education' is derived from the Latin word, educare which means,'to bring up', 'to lead out', and 'to develop'. In the simplest sense, therefore,education refers to the process of bringing up, leading out, and developingindividuals as mature, adult members of society.
- The invention of the printing press in the year 1423 was a milestone in thehistory of education. Books and print material now became readily available.One consequence of this was the spread of literacy.
- For long education has been identified with progress and prosperity. In fact,the spread of education is treated as an effective solution to the problems ofeconomic decline, hunger, and human poverty.
- **Education as Preparation for Social Role in IdealState**
- **Education as Cultivation of Reasoning Ability**
- **Nature and Scope of Education: Cross-culturalPerspective-**conecept of educhpt (ignou)
- **Social and Human Development Indicators**
- **Education for Capacity Building of the Poor andthe Marginalized**
- **Ending Discrimination against girls: Gender differences in enrolments and dropouts are acute in South Asiaand Sub-Saharan Africa.**
- **Innovations in Education at the Grass-roots:**
- **Barefoot College of Tilonia, Rajasthan:**Tilonia is a small village in Rajasthan. Way back in 1972 a group of students fromsome of the better-known Indian universities established The Social Work andResearch Centre (SWRC) under the leadership of Bunker Roy. This group wasgreatly inspired by Gandhian principles. 'They set up the Barefoot College inTilonia with the mission of tapping local wisdom and initiative in order toempower the villagers themselves. The Barefoot College does not draw on the Role of Education inexpertise or experience of professionals from the formal education system, Social and Humanrather the villagers are encouraged to identify and use their own skills, Development: EmergingPerspectivesknowledge and practical experience to make provision for drinking water,health, education, employment, fuel and other' basic needs.the Barefoot technologists have solar electrified severalthousand houses in at least eight Indian states, installed hand pumps in theHimalayas (a task which could not be accomplished by urban engineers), andplanned and implemented piped drinking water. Apart from the technologists,the Barefoot educators serve as trained pre-primary and night school teachers.About 3000 boys and girls attend more than 150 night schools run by theBarefoot educators.
- Education **mediates and maintains**the cultural heritage of the society. But, whilst seeking to conserve, educationmust also ensure that **culture lag in society is minimized**.
- Durkheim explainedthat education was crucial in terms of preserving a certain degree ofhomogeneity, and ingraining the essential elements of collective life.
- Mannheim argued that in the present situation no teaching was sound unlessit trained people to be conscious of the social situation in which they findthemselves, and to be able after careful deliberation to make their choicesand take decisions. Education, some philosophers believe, must therefore be for mobility, for flexibility of thought and action, for producing individualswith a high general level of culture so that theyadapt to changing economicand social conditions

- It oftencontributes to igniting, accelerating & sustaining the process by disseminating& cultivating knowledge, information, skills & values appropriate to changing socio-economic & political structure.
- Education can be planned to produce social change. We know, for example,that literacy does stimulate economic and social development.Educational innovation is more likely to produce adesired change if innovation in education is co-coordinated with changingother parts of the social structure.
- Kamat (1 985) conceptualized the relationship between education and socialchange in India in three stages.
    - In the first stage, he talks about the earlyBritish period to the end of the 19th century. In this period, the colonial socioeconomicand political structure was established in India. However it alsoplayed a kind of liberating role in breaking down traditional norms and values,which were in consonance with the older feudal, socio-economic politic andwere a hindrance to itself. It also sowed the seeds of new norms and values-of a bourgeoisie society and modern nationalism. This liberating influencewas inteinalized and worked in two directions:i) Towards a close scrutiny of the indigenous social systems and cultureleading topowerful movements of social and religious reform and protestsmovements like SatyaShodakSamajii) Towards the process of self-discovery, self-assessment in the context ofthe new situation, leading to the creation of an alternative center of social cohesion, the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation.
    - In the period between the two world wars, education assumed a mass character.Occupational and social mobility occurred among segments of population thatwere hitherto unnoticed. So far education had spread mainly to the uppercaste and urban upper strata in society. Now it began to percolate to sectionslower in the social hierarchy, the middle castes and middle strata. This carriedthe process of nationalism and social awakening still further, to the workingclass in the towns and to the peasantry in the countryside. The processconsiderably strengthened the movement for national liberation as well as themovement for social change. Meanwhile, the growth of the colonial system ofeducation was developing serious contradictions within itself and also vis-bvisthe colonial socio-economic structure. This provided added edge to theprincipal contradiction between the British imperialism and the Indian people.This contradiction was reflected in large-scale unemployment among theeducated on the one hand and the liberating influence in the strength andmilitancy of the powerful student and youth movement or the.other.
    - In the third stage, i.e. from post-Independence period up to the mid-sixties the process of social and political awakening has taken further strides. Its twoaspects, conformity and liberation, are also operating. At the same time, thecontradiction within the education system i.e., in relation the development,socio-economic structure have also sharpened.
- Also is a means of social control
- equally important to remember that the educational system itself is not free from inequalities

- In Britain there is a link between education in one of the expensive fee-paying public schools,and admission to the renowned universities of Oxford and Cambridge and access to topprofessional and management jobs.
- Primary schools:
    - According to recent figures, there are 6.9 lakh educational institutions in the country. Over70 per cent of these are primary schools. These are funded by the government, municipalcorporations and private bodies. The largest number of these institutions are funded and runby the government; however ifwe look at the figures ofthose who gain access to the prestigiousinstitutions for higher education such as the IITs, IIMs, Medical Colleges and the professionalinstitutions, a majority come from the small percentage of private schools.
- If time allows- thinkers on education – chptignou (at time of socio-II)

Science, technology and social change

Relationship between economy, technology and society

- **Technology**: described as Practical arts. Technologies have been described as bodies of skills, knowledge, and procedures for making, using & doing useful things. It centres on processes that are **primarily biological and physical** rather than psychological &social processes.
- Economy of any society is related not only to the social standards of the community but it is also a function of tools and technological inventions that have taken place in that society

Development of technology inpre-modern societies

- Simple societies:
    - During this time twogreat discoveries were made which gradually replaced hunting life with new forms ofeconomic organisations of greater complexities. These discoveries were, (a) domesticationof animals, such as cattle, and (b) agriculture.
- Pastoral Societies
- Peasant Societies
- Rise of Agricultural Surplus
- Emergence of New social Institutions: The inception of feudalism took place at this time
- Division of labour
- Growth of cities

Development of' technology in modernsocieties

- Leonardo da Vinci (1452- 15 19), famous Italian painter was also a remarkable engineer & architect who devised new weapons & even madedrawing of aeroplanes
- Industrial Revolution
- Different ways of industrialization- American Example & Japanese example (since Meiji Restoration in 1868)

Social aspects of technological development:

- Industrial Corporations
- Theses of Karl Marx and Max Weber
- **Emergence of affluent workers**: One of more influential research efforts supporting this thesis isreported in study on The Affluent Workers in The Class Structure, conducted in Englandin 1970's by Goldthorpe&Lockwood, to examine embourgeoisement hypothesis.`
- This study, has pictured the affluent worker as someone who regards his factory as only asource of his livelihood. He does not have any sense of pride in belonging to his factory. Hedoes not develop a sense of friendship or comradery with his fellow workers. Work does notanymore give him a sense of identity or meaning in life. He seeks his identity in his leisuretime activities. He looks forward to going home and spending time with his family and asmall circle of intimate friends. He leads a very private life and zealously guards his privacy.He continues to be a member of the trade union but he is not an active participant in theUnion's affairs. He looks upon the union as a mere instrument in his getting higher wages.Thus instead of becoming an active agent of social transformations the worker is becominga passive acceptor of the system and is interested only in getting a better deal for

himselffrom the system. All this evidence seems to specifically contradict Marx's comments on therole of the working class in capitalist societies.

- Alienation of modern workers

Modern technology and work relationships

- Has strengthened trend towards deskilling of jobs. Eg: Thus the secretary's skill isbroken down into operations which can now be handled by machines and less skilled workers.
- Job creation: new set of skills
- Technology and unionism
- Women and technology: On one hand empowered. But, A recent study of the impact ofmodem technology points out that the Japanese workers spend more time away from theirwives and have bound their women even more securely to the home, because of modemhousehold gadgets and television.