SOCIOLOGY
PAPER I

MAINS VALUE
ADDITION MATERIAL

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SOCIOLOGY THE DISCIPLINE

Sociology is THE SYSTEMATIC AND SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR, SOCIAL GROUPS AND SOCIETY. Sociology is a discipline that examines how humans interact with each other and how human behaviour, values, and norms are shaped by STRUCTURAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FORCES and look at how we help create those social structures and institutions.

Sociology Has a Long Past But Only a Short History:

Sociological thinking predates the establishment of the discipline itself.

Plato

Origins of Paradigmatic Assumptions of Sociological Theory

Plato's Six Basic Assumptions of Society
- Man is an organism.
- Organisms tend toward survival.
- Man survives in groups.
- Man is a social animal.
- Man lives in an *ordered* society.
- The order of society is knowable.

(Rose 1967 and Carroll 1972 in Denisoff, Callahan, and Levine 1974:4-5)

- Gave Six basic assumptions of society

James Harrington (1670s)

• An ideal constitution to create a Utopian society. Harrington's vision of the ideal state—an aristocracy of limited, balanced powers. Harrington believed that democracy is most stable where a strong middle class exists and that revolution is a consequence of the separation of economic and political power.

ABDEL RAHMAN IBN-KHALDUN

He was committed to the scientific study of society, empirical research, and the search for causes of social phenomena. He devoted considerable attention to various social institutions (for example, politics and economy) and their interrelationships. He was interested in comparing primitive and modern societies.

EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY:

- The emergence of sociology as a scientific discipline can be traced to that 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.

WHAT CHANGES NOW?

THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION AND MODERNITY &SOCIAL CHANGE IN EUROPE

- The "Commercial Revolution" refers to a series of events between 1450 to approximately 1800. These events signalled a shift from the largely subsistence and stagnant economy of medieval Europe to a more dynamic and worldwide system.

ASPECTS OF COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION:

- A SHIFT FROM LAND ROUTES TO SEA ROUTES.
- EXPANSION OF BANKING: Credit facilities were expanded, making it easy for merchants all over Europe to do business.
- 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.
- STRENGTHENING OF MONARCHY: This period saw the strengthening of monarchy, THE DECLINE OF THE CHURCH AND THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS.

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION AND MODERNITY &SOCIAL CHANGE IN EUROPE:

- THE 'RENAISSANCE' PERIOD saw the beginning of the 'Scientific Revolution'. It marked an era of description and criticism in the field of science. IT WAS A CLEAR BREAK FROM THE PAST, A CHALLENGE TO OLD AUTHORITY. Art, literature and science all flourished. A scientific approach to Nature and the human body became prevalent,
- In the field of navigation and astronomy, Vasco da Gama reached the Indian shores in 1498. Columbus discovered America in 1492. Remember, this was the era of expansion of trade and the beginnings of colonialism,
- A strong interest in astronomy, important for successful navigation also grew. The

first major break from the entire system of ancient thought came with the work of Nicholas Copernicus: the heliocentric theory. The human being was not at the centre of the universe, but a small part of a vast system.

- DISSECTION OF THE HUMAN BODY HELPED PEOPLE GAIN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ITS WORKING. Circulation of blood was discovered by William Harvey (1578-1657). This led to a lot of rethinking. The human organism came to be viewed in terms of interrelated parts and interconnected systems. This had its impact on the social thought of Comte, Spencer and Durkheim, to name a few.

DARK AGES → COMMERCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION → ERA OF ENLIGHTENMENT → GROWTH OF SOCIOLOGY

IMPORTANT FACTORS LEADING TO GROWTH OF SOCIOLOGY:

1. Enlightenment:

- The Enlightenment was a period of remarkable intellectual development and change in philosophical thought.
- Enlightenment thinkers championed reason and empirical evidence as essential tools for understanding and problem-solving.
- They believed human reasoning could unravel the universe's laws, enabling control over the natural world.
- Enlightenment thinkers posited universal social laws, paralleling the laws of nature, underpinning the emergence of sociology.

> Thinkers of Enlightenment:
>
> Charles Montesquieu gave the idea of Separation of powers
>
> Jean Jacques Rousseau (in 1700s) told the idea of social contract.
>
> René Descartes, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke.

MAJOR IDEAS:

- Emergence of the application of the scientific method to social issues.
- Ideas are to be derived from the real world and to be useful to the social world, especially in the critical analysis of that world.
- Their Belief was that people could comprehend and control the universe by means of reason and empirical research. Because the physical world was dominated by natural laws, very likely that the social world was too.
- Thinkers like Alexis de Tocqueville and Karl Marx were most directly and positively influenced by Enlightenment thinking.

- These thinkers found traditional values and institutions to be irrational.
- They had a mission to overcome these irrational systems with rational ones.

2) Counter Reaction to the Enlightenment:

- Irving Zeitlin observes that "Early sociology developed as a reaction to the Enlightenment."
- French Catholics had counterrevolutionary philosophy ideas (like that of Louis de Bonald and Joseph de Maistre (1780s-90s). They viewed God as the source of society and Enlightenment philosophers are tampering it, which is a holy creation.
- Bonald opposed anything that undermined such traditional institutions as patriarchy, the monogamous family, the monarchy, and the Catholic Church.

Zeitlin (1996) outlined 10 major propositions emerging from the Conservative Reaction:

- Society is the most important unit of analysis: Society is seen as more important than the individual. Society produced the individual, primarily through the process of socialization.
- No emphasis on the individual: A society that consisted of roles, positions, relationships, structures, and institutions where individuals were simply filling these units within society.
- The parts of society are interrelated and interdependent. Because the parts were interrelated, tampering with one part could well lead to the undermining of other parts and, ultimately, of the system as a whole.
- Change is a threat to society and its components including individuals
- Society and its components were acting to satisfy people's needs. When these components were disrupted, people were likely to suffer, and their suffering was likely to lead to social disorder.
- Large-Scale Components of Society: They are useful for both the society and the individuals. Thus, there is little desire to look for the negative effects of the existing structures and institutions.
- Small units within society: These were family, neighbourhood, religious and occupational groups which were essential to individuals and society. They provided intimate environments for people to survive in modern societies.
- Modern social changes Such as industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization, have disorganizing effects. These have an emphasis on developing ways of dealing with their disruptive effects.

- Conservative reactions: Their reaction brought the focus on the importance of non-rational factors (ritual, ceremony, and worship, for example) in social life.
- Hierarchical system: Conservatives supported the existence of a hierarchical system in society. It was seen as important to society that there be a differential system of status and reward.

3) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION:

- The French Revolution, which erupted in 1789 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.

Negative Changes

- Particularly, Chaos and disorder after the French Revolution.
- A desire to restore order to society.
- Some wanted a return to the peaceful and relatively orderly days of the Middle Ages.
- Others recognized that social change had made such a return impossible. Thus, they sought instead to find new bases of order in societies.
- This was one of the major concerns of classical sociological theorists, especially Comte, Durkheim, and Parsons.

4) Industrial Revolution & Rise of Capitalism:

- The Industrial Revolution is not a single event but many interrelated developments. It Transformed the Western world, Society shifted from a largely agricultural to an overwhelmingly industrial system.
  ISSUES:
- THE CONDITION OF LABOUR: A new population earning their livelihood by working in the factories arose. In the early years, this working class lived in poverty and squalor. They were socially deprived
- TECHNOLOGY AND THE FACTORY SYSTEM: Technology and the factory system have been the subject of countless writings in the nineteenth century. Both the conservative and radical thinkers realised that the two systems would alter human life for all times to come.
- RURAL –URBAN MIGRATION: The impact of technology and factory system led to large-scale migration of people to the cities.
- FAMILY RELATIONS: Women and children joined the workforce in the factories. Family structure and interactional relations changed.

- OCCUPATIONAL RELATION: The siren of the factory seemed to rule peoples' lives. The machine rather than man seemed to dominate work.

5) Rise of Socialism

- Two Types of Thinkers / Thought Emerged:
- Marxian / Socialist - They Aimed at coping with the excesses of the industrial system and capitalism. Karl Marx was an active supporter of the overthrow of the capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist system.
- Reformative but Opposed to Socialist thought. - Weber and Durkheim, were opposed to socialism as envisioned by Marx. They recognized the problems within capitalist society. They sought social reform within capitalism rather than the social revolution. They feared socialism and this fear played a far greater role in shaping sociological theory.

6) Feminism

- Feminist activity and writing started reaching a highpoint during the Liberationist moments of modern Western history.
- They were more organized, and focused efforts in the 1850s as part of the:
- Mobilization against slavery
- Political rights for the middle class - Massive mobilization for women's suffrage
- For industrial and civic reform legislation in the early twentieth century, especially the Progressive Era in the United States.
- There were a number of women who were associated with this field. For Example: Harriet Martineau, Beatrice Potter Webb, etc. But their creations were, over time, pushed to the periphery of the profession. History of male response to feminist claims is only now being written.

7) Urbanization

- Urbanization attracted early sociologists, especially Max Weber and Georg Simmel.
- First major school of American sociology, the Chicago school, was in large part defined by its concern for the city and its interest in using Chicago as a laboratory in which they study urbanization and its problems.

8) Religious Change

- Many early sociologists came from religious backgrounds. They brought to sociology the objective of improving people's lives. Comte imagined sociology to be transformed into a religion. Durkheim, Marx and Weber wrote extensively on religion.

9) **The Growth of Science**

- Emphasis on science was increasing not only in colleges and universities but in society as a whole. The technological products and the prestige of science were rapidly rising. Many wanted to model sociology after the successful physical and biological sciences.

10) **POST ENLIGHTENMENT THEORIES:**

- In the early part of the nineteenth century the **philosophy of history** became an important intellectual influence. The basic assumption of this philosophy was that society must have progressed through a series of steps from a simple to complex stage. The social thinkers who developed the philosophy of history such as Abbe Saint Pierre, and Giambattista, were concerned with the whole of society and not merely the political, or the economic, or the cultural aspects.
- **The biological theory of evolution**: Sociology moved towards an evolutionary approach, seeking to identify and account for the principal stages in social evolution. It tended to be modelled on biology, as is evident from the widely diffused conception of society as an organism, and from the attempts to formulate general terms of social evolution. Herbert Spencer and Durkheim are good examples of this kind of writing.
- **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. The social survey is one of the principal methods of sociological inquiry.

- **THESE EXTENSIVE CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY ABOVE MENTIONED FACTORS INVOLVED, MOREOVER, A MAJOR PARADOX**.
- These changes brought a new society with great productive potential and more sophisticated and complex ways of living.
- While, at the same time generated extensive disruptions in traditional patterns of life and relationships as well as creating new problems of overcrowded and unpleasant urban conditions, poverty and unemployment.
- Sociology as a distinct discipline emerged against the background of these intellectual and material changes in the second half of the nineteenth century.

- In Other words to understand the complexity brought by modernity, and to formulate rules for a better society early sociologists stressed the adoption of a scientific method of Investigation for the Society.

Modernity is associated with the sweeping changes that took place in the society-particularly social, economic and cultural changes. Modernity involves values and norms that are universal in nature.

This is the outcome of the Process of Modernization. It represents substantial break with traditional society. Modernity and Modernization represents substantial breaks with traditional society.

Modernization is an idea before it is a process. As it is an idea, there is no agreement among social scientists on its meaning and interpretation. The concept of modernization emerged as an explanation of how Western countries/ societies developed through enlightenment, industrialisation and capitalism.

SOME TOPICS:

WHERE DOES MODERNITY FIT INTO ALL THIS:

Modernity and Social Changes in Europe and the Emergence of Sociology

- The roots of the ideas developed by the early sociologists are grounded in the social conditions that prevailed in Europe. The emergence of sociology as a scientific discipline can be traced to that 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 a new awakening in the French philosophers of the eighteenth century.

  Problems and Reactions associated with it.
- The rise of capitalism and the industrial economy led to social differentiation and growing inequalities. The gap between the rich and the poor widened, and social stratification became more pronounced.
- The erosion of traditional norms and values due to modernization and industrialization led to feelings of social disorientation and anomie.
- Modernity brought increased diversity and cultural conflicts due to migration, globalization, and colonialism. Search for solutions.
- Sociologists focused on studying social stratification, class divisions, and the consequences of inequality. They proposed solutions such as advocating for social

reforms, labour rights, and redistributive policies to address these inequalities. They examined the impact of urbanization on social relationships, community breakdown, and the alienation of individuals.

- Karl Marx examined the capitalist mode of production and its impact on workers. They proposed solutions such as worker empowerment, collective bargaining, and the establishment of workers' rights and protections.
- Émile Durkheim studied the importance of social cohesion and the role of social institutions in maintaining order. They emphasized the need for shared moral values, social integration, and the development of cohesive social structures.
- Sociologists conducted empirical research, collected data, and developed theories to understand social structures, institutions, and processes. This led to development of sociology as a body of knowledge.

Scope of the Subject

Evolution of Modern Sociological Thought						
France	Montesquieu (1689–1755) Rousseau (1712–78)	Saint Simon (1760–1825)	Comte (1798–1857) Tocqueville (1805–59)	Durkheim (1858–1917)		Althusser (1918–90) Baudrillard (1929–2007)
Germany	Kant (1724–1804)	Hegel (1720–1831)	Feuerbach (1804–72)	Marx (1818–83) Weber (1864–1920) Horkheimer (1895–1973) Habermas (1929–) Dilthey (1833–1911) Schutz (1899–1959) Frankfurt School (1923–)		
Italy				Pareto (1848–1923) Mosca (1858–1941)		
Britain	Adam Smith (1723–1790)	Ricardo (1772–1823)		Spencer (1820–1903)		Giddens (1938–)
USA				Mead (1863–1931) Sorokin (1889–1968) Merton (1910–2003) Garfinkel (1929–) Chicago School (1920s–40s) Parsons (1902–79) Dahrendorf (1929–2009) Berger (1929–) Mills (1916–62) Wallerstein (1930–)		
India				Ghurye (1893–1983) Dumont (1911–98) Beteille (1934–) D P Mukharjee (1894–1961) A R Desai (1915–94) Srinivas (1916–99)		

THINKERS:

HEGEL	Dialectics (dynamic view, Thesis, Anti Thesis, Synthesis), Idealism (emphasises the importance of the mind and mental products).
FEUERBACH	Feuerbach's materialism emphasizes studying real individuals rather than abstract concepts.
HABERMAS	Critical School, a key aspect of the Frankfurt School tradition, emphasizes rational communication as a means to overcome societal inequalities. It critiques how modernity's instrumental reason marginalizes individuals and advocates for a communicative rationality that fosters genuine dialogue, leading to more just and democratic societies.
SPENCER	Social Darwinism - applies Charles Darwin's evolutionary principles to society, suggesting that societies and individuals naturally evolve through "survival of the fittest." o Organismic Analogy - a core concept in his evolutionary sociology, likens society to a biological organism, suggesting that it comprises interconnected parts functioning harmoniously to maintain equilibrium and adapt to changing environments.
GIDDENS	Theory of Structuration - Analysing creation and reproduction of social systems. It is an analysis of both structure and agents (without giving primacy to either).
GRAMSCI	Was a Marxist, his theory of Hegemony - posits that ruling classes maintain control not only through force but also by shaping dominant ideologies that are accepted as common sense by the subordinated classes.
CW MILLS	Sociological Imagination - It involves an individual developing a deep understanding of how their existence and daily lives are a result of the historical process and occur within a larger social context.

ROBERT PARK	Chicago School - Small's concept of "cosmopolitan canopy" focused on diverse urban interactions fostering tolerance. Park's "human ecology" viewed cities as ecosystems, studying interactions between people and their urban environment and shaping modern sociological research.

The Initial phase (1838-the 1880s):

- **Macro-ism:** Understanding society in terms of Macro units. These encompass institutions like governments, economies, religions, and educational systems.
- EG: Social Statics, Social Dynamics Saint Simon- Social Physics. - He emphasized understanding society through observation and empirical analysis, proposing that social physics could explain social laws.
- **Inductivism** is a theory emphasizing the scientific method's reliance on observation and empirical evidence to formulate general principles.
- EG: August Comte - Social Positivism, asserts that the study of society should mirror the scientific methods of the natural sciences, emphasizing empirical observation and objective analysis. Herbert Spencer - Organismic Analogy
- **Humanism**: It is a perspective emphasizing human dignity, agency, and potential. It rejects deterministic views, accentuating individual creativity and societal progress. Sociology should focus on improving societal issues.

2nd phase (1880s-1940s) Widening of Scope

- Macro School Continued
- Micro Realities Introduced: Max Weber's Start of interpretative sociology
- Two schools Emerged

Synthetic	Formal
It Focused on **Macroism** by Bringing all social sciences together. Sociology can study everything (Socio-Centrism). **Durkheim** proposes: 3 divisions of Sociology **Social Morphism**- density of population and other preliminary data which is likely to influence the social aspects. **Social Physiology** – dynamics processes as religion, morals, law, economic and political aspects. **General Sociology**- To discover the general social laws which may be derived from the specialized social processes. **Pitirim Sorokin:** **General sociology**- Same institutions in the World: Family, Religion found everywhere. **Specific sociology** – Caste in India, Race in America. **Karl Mannheim**: Discusses structure and broader ideas - asserting that different social positions offer unique perspectives, leading to diverse interpretations of reality, fostering a nuanced understanding of ideology and knowledge. Book - Ideology and Utopia.	It Focused on **Microism**. Its Chief proponent: Max Weber. **Weber:** Max Weber's theory of types of social action classifies human behaviour into four categories: instrumental rational action driven by calculated goals, value-rational action guided by deeply-held beliefs, effectual action guided by emotions, and traditional action stemming from custom. **George Simmel**: Forms of interaction (formal & informal) - delineated the dynamics of social interaction through his "Forms of Interaction" theory. He differentiated between formal interactions, governed by established norms and roles, and informal interactions, marked by spontaneity and personal connections. o Types of interactants (whether known or strangers. Behaviour varies). **Ferdinand Tonnies:** Differences in social groups: o "Gemeinschaft" (community) is characterized by strong interpersonal bonds, shared values, and organic relationships, and "Gesellschaft" (society) typified by utilitarian associations, individualism, and impersonal interactions in modern industrialized settings, reflecting shifts from traditional to modern social structures.

3rd phase (1940s to 1990s)

Blending of Formal and Synthetic Schools

- **Parsons:** The SOSA (Structure of social action) - that human behaviour is driven by individual motivations within a framework of shared cultural values and social norms. It emphasizes the interplay of subjective meanings and objective structures, shaping social order through functional differentiation and role systems.

- **CW Mills**: Sociological Imagination - emphasizing the link between personal troubles and societal issues. It enables understanding of how history, culture, and structures shape individual experiences, fostering critical sociological analysis.
- **Anthony Giddens**: Theory of Structuration. Double Hermeneutics - denotes a reciprocal interpretive process where social researchers acknowledge their preconceptions while understanding subjects' meanings, facilitating a balanced understanding of both objective structures and subjective experiences.

Present Phase – 1980s onwards:

- Wider varieties of interest: Health, IT, Biotech, Networking, Defence, Environment.
- The emergence of Post-Modernist thought: Deal with Metanarratives. No way to differentiate between true and untrue stories.
- **Michel Foucault**: **Discourse analysis**. examines how language and knowledge construct power dynamics. It explores how institutions control thought by shaping discourse, revealing how societal norms and control mechanisms operate through language.
- **Jacques Derrida o Deconstruction** - **Deconstruction** challenges fixed meanings by revealing contradictions and complexities within texts. It underscores language's instability, exposing hidden biases and emphasizing multiple interpretations, deconstructing hierarchical binaries for nuanced understanding.

Sociological Imagination

To put it simply, sociological imagination is an ability to connect personal challenges to larger social issues.

As part of explaining his conception of sociological imagination, Mills made an important distinction between "personal troubles" and "public/social issues." In our personal lives, we make decisions that impact our family, friends, coworkers, and other communities where we're involved. *Personal troubles* involve an individual's private problems in relation to others.

In contrast, *public/social issues* are forces that are outside of the personal control of an individual. For living in an environment where there is pervasive poverty, racism, sexism, etc.

Mills notes that *personal troubles* can become *social issues* once they're pervasive enough, i.e. once the problems people face in their lives are common among their community, those problems can become a societal issue.
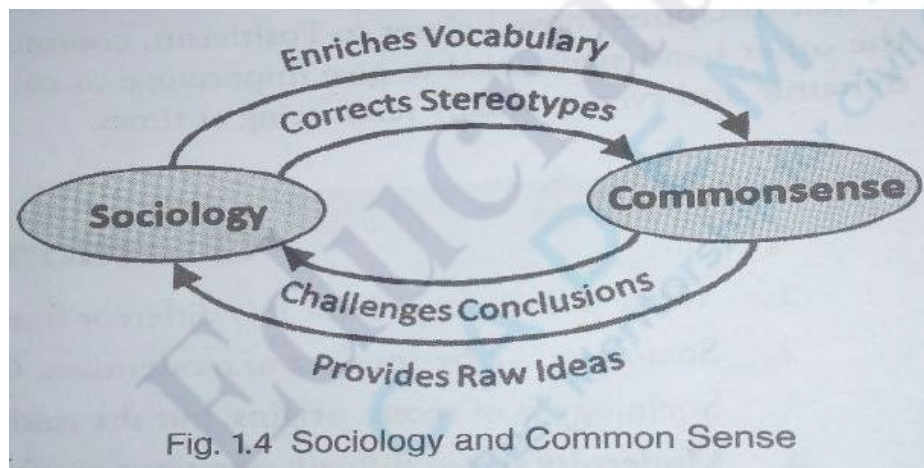

Sociology and Common Sense:

Weber – routine knowledge we have of our everyday world and activities.

Alfred Schutz – organised, typified stocks of taken-for-granted knowledge. And generally, not questioned.

Point of similarities:

- Sometimes folk wisdom is close to socio. For example, give someone a bad name and it will be blamed for many things. **Howard Beckers**- labelling theory of deviance.
- Common sense is often related to social relationships, social settings or institutions which fall under the purview of sociology.
- Common sense gives raw material for sociology.
- Common sense can even be supportive of sociological theories.

Fig. 1.4 Sociology and Common Sense

Point of differences:

- **Common sense is status quoist but sociology professes active change**. It even debates structure and agency intellectually (man-society dualism: man creates society or vice versa).
- **Sociology is sceptic while common sense is enforced through tradition**. Peter Berger: Sociology has a "debunking" attitude towards the world, which is usually taken for granted by Sociologists.
- Sociology has an **Irreverent attitude** towards religion (Durkheim, Weber, And Marx). Common sense explains many things irrationally. *For example, poverty is due to the wish of god.*
- Sociology is **verified, self-correcting and academic discipline**. On the other hand, Common sense is assumptive which sometimes is discontinuous/ paradoxical (for

example, opposite attracts as well as fights). Also, common sense is not coherent across countries and eras. Common sense has specific roles and duties assigned for genders, poor and tribal (stereotypes).

Margaret Mead's study of tribals in the Papua New Guinea region found certain gender role reversals contrary to common sense.

- Common sense is **highly value-laden.** Whereas, Sociology attempts to be objective and scientific.
- Common sense **lacks validity and reliability.**

Post-Modernist claim that sociology is not superior to common sense as there is nothing as eternal truth.

- **Anthony Giddens** has said that sociological investigation often becomes common sense. *For ex sociological investigation of marital breakups has made people believe that marriage is a risky business*.
- **Phenomenologists:** attempting to study "what" people do and not "why" people do certain things.

Gramsci – Creation of the Common Sense:

- Role of "common sense", i.e. dominant ideas about society and about our place in it, in producing cultural hegemony.
- For example, the idea that one can succeed monetarily if one just tries hard enough, is a form of common sense that has flourished under capitalism, and that serves to justify the system.
- For instance, if one believes that all it takes to succeed is hard work and dedication, then it follows that the system of capitalism and the social structure that is organized around it is just and valid. It also follows that those who have succeeded economically have earned their wealth in a just and fair manner and that those who struggle economically, in turn, have earned their disenfranchised state.
- This form of common sense fosters the belief that success and social mobility are strictly the responsibility of the individual, and thus obscures the real class, racial and gender inequalities that are built into the capitalist system.

Comparison with other Social Sciences:

Sociology and History

"Sociology without History is rootless and History without Sociology is fruitless

- The study of history involves looking at the past to learn what happened, when it happened, and why it happened.
- Sociology also looks at historical events within their social contexts to discover why things happened and, more importantly, to assess what their social significance was and is.

Sociology	History
Similarities in different events	Differences in similar events
Focusses on pattern of events	Focusses on personalities, events (**Trevor – Roper**)
Analytical	Descriptive
Generalising	Particularising
Nomothetic	Idiographic (**by Radcliffe Brown**)

Historical Concepts have been used by:

- Marx (Historical Materialism).
- Durkheim (empirical evidence, evolution of societies – mechanical, organic solidarity).
- Weber (Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism).
- Indology (GS Ghurye, Louis Dumont).
- EH Carr says – the more sociological the history becomes and the more historical sociology becomes, the better it is.
- Historians almost as a rule study the past, sociologists are more interested in the contemporary or recent past.
- Historians earlier were content to delineate the actual events, to establish how things actually happened, while in sociology the focus was to seek to establish causal relationships.
- According to Radcliff Brown, "Sociology is nomothetic, while history is idiographic". In other words, sociologists produce generalizations while historians describe unique events. This distinction holds true for traditional narrative history but is only partly true for modern historiography. There are works for serious historians which abound in generalizations while sometimes sociologists have concerned themselves with the study of unique events. "The Polish Peasant" by Thomas and Zelencki consists of a

mere description of a peasant family, and therefore, is idiographic as any historical study can be.

Today, however, history is far more sociological and social history is the stuff of history. It looks at social patterns, gender relations, mores, customs and important institutions other than the acts of rulers, wars and monarchy. It has been well said that "sociology without history is rootless and history without sociology is fruitless".

Socio and Economy:

- Economics is the study of production and distribution of goods and services. The classical economic approach dealt almost exclusively with the inter-relations of pure economic variables: the relations of price demand and supply, money flows, output and input ratios, and the like
- The sociological approach looks at economic behaviour in a broader context of social norms, values, practices and interests
- EG: Does peer pressure result in buying a large flashy car, or does concern about gas mileage lead to the purchase of a fuel-efficient or hybrid vehicle? What social and cultural factors contribute to the differences in the portion of income saved by the average wage earner in different societies?

Examples of Economics and Sociology joining hands

- Advertisements – to study consumer behaviour, values, norms, culture.
- Pierre Bourdieu – economists shall look into all costs of the economy including crime and suicides.
- Neil Smelser – put forward the idea of industrial sociology for a better understanding of modern society.
- Weber – PESC showing affinity of certain religions to have better economic prospects.
- Marx – Economic Determinism, mode of production, etc.
- Goldthorpe, Veblen - technology available to a society determines the character of its culture.
- Alfred Marshall – father of welfare economics.
- Thomas Piketty – In 21st-century capitalism is causing extreme inequality.

Sociology	Economics
1. It has wider scope because it studies all type of social relationship.	1. It has narrow scope because it studies economic institution and economic activities of man.
2. It is abstract in nature. Its variables are very difficult to measure.	2. It is concrete in nature. Its variables are easy t measure and quantified.
3. It is general science.	3. It is special science.
4. Social relationship is the core subject matter of sociology and it study man as social animal.	4. Production and distribution of goods and services are the basic subject matter and study man as a wealth disposer.
5. It is young science.	5. It is an age-old.

Of late, the interactions between two disciplines have been on the increase. For example, numerous sociological studies have directly concerned themselves with problems of economic theory; a recent example is Barbara Cotton's book "The Social Foundations of Wage Policy" which attempts a sociological analysis of the determinants of wages and salary differentials in Britain.

Further, there are sociological works concerned with general features of economic systems. This is particularly so in the study of problems of economic development in developing countries. One of the famous works of this kind has been that of 'dependency theorists'. Thus it can be said that increasingly the two disciplines are coming closer.

Socio and Political Science

- The birth of Sociology related to the political upheaval of the French Revolution.
- Conventional political science was focused primarily on two elements: political theory and government administration. Neither branch involves extensive contact with political behaviour.
- Sociology is devoted to the study of all aspects of society, whereas conventional political science restricted itself mainly to the study of power as embodied in formal organization.
- Sociology stresses the interrelationships between sets of institutions including government, whereas political science tends to turn attention towards the processes within the government.

Concepts used by sociologists:

- Marx – use of sociology to bring about political change (communism).
- Weber – bureaucracy, concept of power.
- Pareto, Mosca, Robert Michels – Oligarchy.
- CW Mills – Elite theories, Democracy.
- Parsons – in AGIL Model: Politics gives goals to society.
- Dependency Theories (Wallerstein)– convergence of international politics and global level sociology.
- Social concepts such as ethnicity, caste, gender, social class and religion used to mobilise people politically and formation of political parties.
- Sociology helps in determining political behaviour (including voting patterns and psephology). The concept of Reservation is also a sociological manifestation in Politics.
- Neil Smelser - protests, social movements and right movements.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish political science from political sociology. There are a number of Marxist studies having Marxist-socialist ideas as their hypothesis. Also as the modern state is increasingly getting involved in providing welfare amenities, the sociological slant to political activity and political thinking is gaining more and more acceptance.

Socio and Anthro

- The social science most closely related to sociology is cultural anthropology.
- The two share many theories and concepts and often overlap. The main difference is in the groups they study and the research methods they use.
- Sociologists tend to study groups and institutions within large, often modern, industrial societies, using research methods that enable them to gather specific information about large numbers of people.
- In contrast, cultural anthropologists often immerse themselves in another society for a long period of time, trying to learn as much as possible about that society and the relationships among its people.
- Sumner – studied folkways (society + tradition)
- Malinowsky – religion theory using Anthro methods
- Durkheim – ethnography of Arunta Tribes, DOL theory.
- MNS, Andre Beteille, SC Dubey, etc. – field study (borrowed from Anthro) to study Indian villages.

Difference between Sociology & Anthropology

Sociology	Anthropology
2. Sociology is the study of modern civilized and complex societies.	2. Anthropology concerns with un civilized or primitive and non literate societies.
3. Sociologist study the institutions marriage, family or processes such as change, social mobility.	4. Anthropologist study human primitive cultures.
4. Sociologist studies small as well as large societies.	5. Anthropologist usually concentrate on small societies.
5. Sociology makes use of observation, interview, social survey, questionnaires and other method of techniques in its investigations.	6. Anthropologist directly go and live in the communities they study. They make use of direct observations and interviews.

- Today the distinction between a simple society and a complex one itself needs major rethinking. India itself is a complex mix of tradition and modernity, of the village and the city, of caste and tribe, of class and community. Villages exist in the heart of the capital city of Delhi. Call centres serve European and American clients from different towns in the country.

- It had been feared that with the decline of simple societies, social anthropology would lose its specificity and merge with sociology. However, there have been fruitful interchanges between the two disciplines and today often methods and techniques are drawn from both. There have been anthropological studies of the state and globalization, which are very different from the traditional subject matter of social anthropology.

- On the other hand, sociology has been using quantitative and qualitative techniques, and macro and micro approaches for studying the complexities of modern societies. In India, sociology and social anthropology have had a very close relationship.

Socio and Psychology:

- Psychology is often defined as the science of behaviour. It involves itself primarily with the individual. It is interested in her/his intelligence and learning, motivations and memory nervous system and reaction time, hopes and fears.
- **Social psychology**, which serves as a bridge between psychology and sociology and maintains a primary interest in the individual but concerns itself with the way in which the individual behaves in social groups collectively with other individuals.
- Sociology attempts to understand behaviour as it is organized in society which the way in which personality is shaped by different aspects of society. For instance, the economic and political system, their family and kinship structure, their culture, norms and values.
- **J.S. Mill** believed that a general social science could not be considered firmly established, until its inductively established generalizations, can be shown to be also logically deducible from laws of mind. Thus, he clearly sought to establish the primacy of psychology over all other social sciences.
- **Durkheim** on the other hand made a radical distinction between the phenomena studied by sociology and psychology respectively. EG: Durkheim who sought to establish a clear scope and method for sociology in his well-known study of suicide left out individual intentions of those who commit or try to commit suicide in favour of statistics concerning various social characteristics of these individuals.

Sociology	Psychology
1. It is general science.	1. It is special science.
2. It studies social relationship, social institution or all aspects of man and society.	2. It is the science of human mind and mental process is the subject matter of Psychology
3. Primary concern of sociology is group behavior.	3. Primary concern of psychology is individual behavior.
4. It used questionnaire methods.	4. It used experimental method.
5. It is young science.	5. It is older than sociology.

INTERACTION BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY:

- Weber – importance to meanings attached by the actor.

- Cooley – looking glass self, he says that individuals form their self-concept through perceiving how others view them, internalizing these perceptions, and constructing their identity based on social interactions, shaping behaviour and emotions.
- Mead – symbolic interactionism.
- Durkheim – suicide is not a psycho phenomenon. Social currents causing deviance.
- Ginsberg, Nadel – sociological studies can be enriched by psychological interpretations.
- Gerth and Mills – "role" as the meeting point between social structure and individual character.

Yet, in spite of these efforts sociology and psychology continue to offer alternate accounts for behaviour, and if they are to be brought closer together, it will be necessary to work out more rigorously the conceptual and theoretical links between them.

Socio and philosophy

- Socio emerged largely as a philosophical ambition. As a separate body of knowledge
- Sociology raises a lot of philosophical questions and tries to answer them.
- **Giam Battista** - philosophy of history – distinguishes societal and political realms, illuminating the separation between broader societal elements and specific political structures.
- **Karl Mannheim** – ideas of the sociology of knowledge had a direct contribution to epistemological questions and thus to philosophy. Marxist sociology has, with time, become Marxist philosophy or Marxism.
- **Alfred Vierkandt** – sociology is productive only when it has a philosophical base. Philosophical orientation gives meaning to what are just facts and figures.
- **Gunnar Myrdal** – chaos cannot organize itself into a cosmos, we need viewpoints.

Sociology

Paper - 1

Chapter - 2

Sociology as Science

Science, Scientific methods and critique

SOME STORIES:

Karl Popper

- Karl Popper in 1934 wrote The Logic of Scientific Discovery.
- He said, "Whenever we propose a solution to a problem, we ought to try as hard as we can to overthrow our solution, rather than defend it."
- In other words, philosophy and science could no longer be about finding evidence to prove a theory – this wasn't rigorous enough. Real philosophers or scientists would work to prove themselves wrong, attempting to find the holes in any existing theory.
- Popper was critical of inductive thinking being used in philosophy and science. Inductivism attempts to prove something by proving something based on the observations made in favour of the statement.
- For example, from the observation that all the swans we have seen are white, we assert that 'swans are white'. But Popper says that we only need one case where this is not true.
- For instance, when black swans were discovered in Australia that led to the realisation that inductive reasoning is faulty.
- Popper says that theories are never ultimately and conclusively verifiable, they are only "provisional conjectures" which can find apparent corroboration.

David Deutsch (Book – "The Beginning of Infinity"):

- Flaws of Inductivism: Logical gaps following from the fact that there is no natural law of Induction.
- The Future doesn't resemble the past.
- Most of Science predicts how things work that no one of us has ever experienced.
- The deceptiveness of the senses.
- Fallibilism is the recognition that there are no authoritative sources of knowledge, nor any reliable means of justifying ideas as being true or probable. Even the best explanations contain misconceptions in addition to Truth.

Sociology is a science or not

- Sociology emerged due to challenges posed before modernity.
- Initial sociologists wanted to develop Sociology on the basis of natural science- Saint Simon (social physics), August Comte (statistics and dynamics), Herbert Spencer (organismic analogy), Durkheim (moral density, moral volume).
- But it was found sociology could not stand all parameters of natural science so debate started whether 'sociology is a science'

Science has four preconditions
- Intersubjective reliability: (Intersubjectivity between people is there if they agree on a given set of meanings or a definition of the situation. It refers to shared meanings constructed by people in their interactions with each other and used as an everyday resource to interpret the meaning of elements of social and cultural life),
- Objectivity in research,
- Quantifiability of the phenomenon and
- Theoretical orientation.

Sociology can be believed to be a Science:

- Intersubjective reliability (class, caste, family, etc.),
- Objectivity (absolute not possible but training – Durkheim and Weber used scientific methods to ensure it),
- Quantifiability (social phenomenon can be observed albeit directly/indirectly- Durkheim social facts and Weber- Ideal types),
- Theoretical orientation (sociology has made theories valid in specific socio-cultural contexts; Durkheim's theory of religion and parsons' theory of social system claimed to be universal theory).

Sociology can't be seen as a Science:
- Problem of Quantification: Although some aspects of sociological phenomena can be quantified using statistical methods. But, a large part of it is essentially qualitative in nature and hence is not amendable to quantitative techniques. EG: Happiness.
- Problem of Generalization: Sociologists have not been successful in arriving at law-like generalizations through their studies. The reason for this failure lies in the very nature of the subject matter of Sociology. Human behaviour does not follow recurrent patterns like physical objects.
- Lack of intersubjective reliability: no clarity with respect to family, class etc.
- Problem of Objectivity: Objectivity refers to a frame of mind whereby the personal prejudices and predilections of the scientists do not contaminate the collection and analysis of data. However, it has been found that objectivity is a near impossibility in sociological research. At best the sociologist can try to minimize subjectivity. EG: Verstehen is a vague method.
- In the light of above limitations, it is hard to admit that Sociology can be a positive science.
- Certain sociologists like Max Weber have questioned the very idea that Sociology can ever be a positive science.
- Social sciences study human behaviour which is guided by meanings and motives, and any attempt to study human behaviour would be incomplete unless it takes into account these meanings and motives. Thus Weber finds the use of positive science methods alone as inadequate for the study of human behaviour in society.

WHAT IS THE ANSWER THEN??

Karl Popper argued that Science is not a body of knowledge, but rather a method of systematic, rational and objective set of steps to explore the truth. Hence, sociology is a science as it has:
- Methodology (positivism/non positivism),
- Spirit (critical),
- Purpose (to know the truth),
- Consequences (curiosity and solving the problem).

Scientific method of sociology:
- Method/ procedure followed while conducting research. it has many stages,
- identification of the problem of research,
- Review of Literature,
- Construction of Hypothesis,
- Collection of Data,
- Checking Reliability and Validity,
- Testing Hypothesis with Facts,
- Develop General Laws and Theories,
- Presentation of Data (needs to be objective and no place for prejudice and emotions).

Criticism to scientific method:
- Method is just a means to an end Scientific method is just one method among many Glorifications of one method are bad for the growth of knowledge.
- Thomas Kuhn: Scientific revolution is a continuous, collective method. Even with non-scientific methods, many disciplines have grown and matured – e.g. history, philosophy,

- Adorno • 17-18th century- science attempted to study nature. • 19th century: science attempted to exploit nature. • 20th century: warhead, destructive power of science • 21st century: colonised by state and capitalists (tech- which curtails choices and freedom). So we should not celebrate science.
- Carl Jung: Subjective things like happiness, beauty, knowledge, pleasure etc. cannot be measured with scientific methods. So methodology should be discipline-specific.
- Paul Feyeraben: The scientific method is a form of 'epistemology anarchism', i.e. Science has spread anarchy that any discipline not following the scientific method should not be taken seriously. Science can't deal with human problems.

CONCLUSION:

Sociology is a science since it fulfils the basic requirements of the science viz. it has perspective, a consensus with regard to subject matter and a set of methods to explore the subject matter, it may not be called a positive science but it is definitely a social science.

Theory and Facts (For Short Question)

There is an intricate relation between theory and fact. The popular understanding of this relationship obscures more than it illuminates. They are generally conceived as direct opposites. Theory is confused with speculation and theory remains speculation until it is proved. When this proof is made, theory becomes fact. Facts are thought to be definite, certain, without question and their meaning to be self-evident. Science is thought to be concerned with facts alone. Theory is supposed to be realm of philosophers. Scientific theory is therefore thought to be merely summation of facts that have been accumulated upon a given subject. However if we observe the way scientists actually do research, it becomes clear 1. Theory and fact are not diametrically opposed but inextricably intertwined.2. Theory is not speculation.3.Scientists are very much concerned with both theory and facts. **A fact** is regarded as an empirically verifiable observation. A theory refers to the relationship between facts or to the ordering of them in some meaningful way. Facts of science are the product of observations that are not random but meaningful, i.e., theoretically relevant. Therefore we cannot think of facts and theory as being opposed rather they are interrelated in many complex ways. The development of science can be considered as a constant interplay between theory and fact.

Theory is a tool of science in these ways

1.it defines the major orientation of a science, by defining the kinds of data that are to be abstracted.
2.it offers a conceptual scheme by which the relevant phenomena are systematized, classified and interrelated.
3.it summarizes facts into empirical generalizations and systems of generalizations.
4. It predicts facts and
5. It points to gaps in our knowledge.

On the other hand facts are also productive of theory in these ways :

(1) Facts help to initiate theories.
(2) They lead to the reformulation of existing theory.
(3) They cause rejection of theories that do not fit the facts.
(4) They change the focus and orientation of theory and
(5) they clarify and redefine theory.

There is interplay between theory and fact. Although popular opinion thinks of theory as being opposed to fact since theory is mere speculation, observation of what scientists actually do suggests that fact and theory stimulate each other. The growth of science is seen is seen in new facts and new theory. Facts take their ultimate meaning from the theories which summarize them, classify them, predict them, point them out and define them. However theory may direct the scientific process, facts in turn play a significant role in the development of theory. New and anomalous facts may initiate new theories. New observations lead to the rejection and reformulation of existing theory or may demand that we redefine our theories.

MAJOR THEORETICAL STRANDS (PERSPECTIVES) OF SOCIOLOGY

Like natural scientists, sociologists use the scientific method, a process by which a body of scientific knowledge is built through.

Observation, Experimentation, Generalization and Verification.

- The collection of data is an important aspect of the scientific method.
- But facts alone do not constitute a science. To have any meaning, facts must be ordered in some way, analyzed, generalized, and related to other facts. This is known as theory construction.
- Theories help organize and interpret facts and relate them to previous findings of other researchers.
- Unlike other means of inquiry, science generally limits its investigations to things that can be observed directly or that produce directly observable events. This is known as empiricism: the view that generalizations are valid only if they rely on evidence that can be observed directly or verified through our senses.

Positivism

The word positivism is derived from the French word positivism, in turn, derived from positive.

- In its philosophical sense, it means 'Imposed on the mind by experience'.
- Positivism asserts that all authentic knowledge allows verification and that all authentic knowledge assumes that the only valid knowledge is scientific.

Auguste Comte's Positivism

Auguste Comte (1798–1857) first described the epistemological perspective of positivism in Course in Positive Philosophy, a series of texts published between 1830 and 1842. These texts were followed by the 1844 work, A General View of Positivism.

r him, the physical sciences had necessarily to arrive first, before humanity could adequately channel its efforts into the most challenging and complex "Queen Science" of human society itself.

His View of Positivism, therefore, set out to define the empirical goals of the sociological method.

> **Comte's Idea of Social Evolution**
>
> Comte offered an account of social evolution, proposing that society undergoes three phases in its quest for the truth according to a general "law of three stages".
>
> **Theological Phase** • The theological phase of man was based on whole-hearted belief in all things with reference to God. • God, Comte says, had reigned supreme over human existence pre-Enlightenment. • Humanity's place in society was governed by its association with the divine presence and with the church.
>
> **Metaphysical Phase** • Comte describes the metaphysical phase of humanity as the time since the Enlightenment, a time steeped in logical rationalism, to the time right after the French Revolution. • This second phase states that the universal rights of HUMANITY are most important. The central idea is that humanity is invested with certain rights that must be respected. • In this phase, democracies and dictators rose and fell in attempts to maintain the innate rights of humanity.
>
> **Positive Phase** • The final stage of the trilogy of Comte's universal law is the scientific, or positive, stage. The central idea of this phase is that individual rights are more important than the rule of any one person. • Comte stated that the idea of humanity's ability to govern itself makes this stage inherently different from the rest. • There is no higher power governing the masses and the intrigue of any one person can achieve anything based on that individual's free will.

- Auguste Comte's Positivism: Comte calls these three phases the universal rule in relation to society and its development.
- Neither the second nor the third phase can be reached without the completion and understanding of the preceding stage. All stages must be completed in progress.
- Positivism aims at understanding the world as cause-and-effect relations that can be observed.
- Verified data (positive facts) received from the senses are known as empirical evidence; thus, positivism is based on empiricism.

BASIC TENETS OF POSITIVISM:
1. They laid particular emphasis on behaviour that can be 'directly observed'. Factors like feelings, and meanings that cannot be directly observed are not important.
2. It emphasized understanding 'external realities' and rejected the study of internal aspects like – meanings, motives etc. Durkheim called for studying 'social facts' as these are seen objectively in a similar manner by everyone.
3. Discovery of the 'cause and effect' relationship while studying the phenomenon.
4. It stressed upon use of 'scientific methods' similar to those used in natural sciences. For example, Durkheim used statistical techniques similar to natural sciences in his famous study of suicide.
5. It focused on 'empiricism' and rejected commonsensical speculations.
6. Positivism also focuses on the formulation of 'theories' and 'universality' of laws and principles.
7. Based on the knowledge and theories, it also talked about the 'predictability' of social events. For example, Comte believed that he had discovered a law of social organization that can predict the future course of the evolution of societies and he also mentioned various stages in this process.
8. It emphasized the use of 'inductive' approaches. It gave primacy to inductive knowledge similar to natural sciences.
9. Finally, positivists argued that sociological knowledge should be 'testable'. In fact, positivists believed that 'true knowledge is the one which can be tested'.
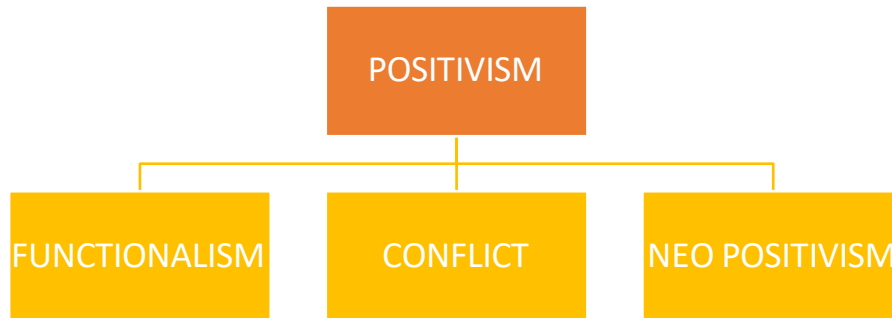
Positivism & Early Sociologists:

- Saint Simon – Sociology as Social Physics.
- Herbert Spencer - Advocated Organismic Analogy to study Society.
- Auguste Comte introduced positivism in Sociology.
- Emile Durkheim – His bringing forth the concept of social facts further enriched Positivism as applicable to Sociology. He advocated recording even those things which are not directly observable but affect humans from outside. For example, Customs, Belief Systems, etc.
- Merton – Used in his study of Reference Group Behaviour. Collected data on American Soldiers to show Relative Deprivation.
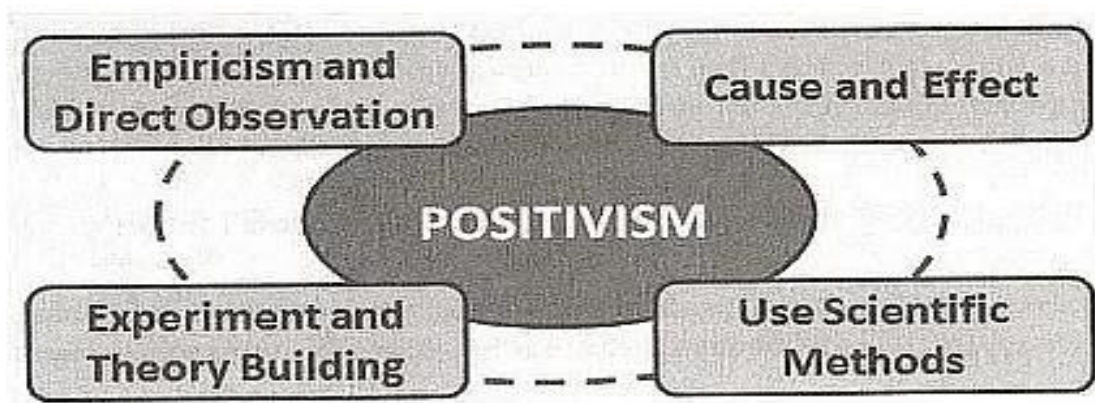
FUNCTIONALISM:

- The central idea of functional analysis is that society is a whole unit, made up of interrelated parts that work together. Functional analysis (also known as functionalism and structural functionalism) is rooted in the origins of sociology.
- **Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer** viewed society as a kind of living organism. Just as a person or animal has organs that function together, they wrote, so does society. And like an organism, if society is to function smoothly, its parts must work together in harmony.
- **Emile Durkheim** also viewed society as being composed of many parts, each with its own function. When all the parts of society fulfil their functions, society is in a "normal" state. If they do not fulfil their functions, society is in an "abnormal" or "pathological" state. To understand society, then, functionalists say that we need to look at both structure (how the parts of a society fit together to make the whole) and function (what each part does, and how it contributes to society).
- **Robert Merton and Functionalism**. Robert Merton (1910–2003) dismissed the organic analogy, but he did maintain the essence of functionalism—the image of society as a whole composed of parts that work together. Merton used the term functions to refer to the beneficial consequences of people's actions: Functions help keep a group (society, social system) in balance. In contrast, dysfunctions are consequences that harm a society: They undermine a system's equilibrium.

MARXISM (CONFLICT PERSPECTIVES):

- The conflict perspective views society as composed of diverse groups with conflicting values and interests. In any society, these groups have differential access to wealth, power, and prestige. The most important aspects of the conflict perspective are the Marxian approach, which focuses on economic determinism and the importance of social class, and the neo-conflict approach, which focuses on differential power and authority.
- **The Marxian Approach to Conflict:** The theoretical roots of the conflict perspective can be traced to Karl Marx. Often, the values and interests of different groups conflict with one another.
- According to Marx, these conflicts are determined by economics and are based on social class, and the struggle between the different values and interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is inevitable.
- When these battles occur, the dominant group attempts to force its values and ideology on less powerful groups. The result is the domination and exploitation of the masses (the proletariat) by the rich and powerful members of society (the bourgeoisie). The conflict perspective is not solely Marxist sociology, however; today conflict theorists often take a neoconflict approach.
- **The Neoconflict Approach**: Social conflict can be viewed as a necessary and even functional social process. From this perspective, conflict necessitates negotiation and compromise; hence it can produce order and a reaffirmation of the social structure.
- **C. Wright Mills and the "Power Elite"** C. Wright Mills promoted the conflict perspective for analyzing the distribution of power and authority in the United States. In The Power Elite (1956), he contended that post–World War II U.S. society was dominated by a powerful military, industrial, and political elite that shaped
- Foreign and domestic policy for the benefit of the wealthy and powerful class. His approach focused on historical and structural analyses of class conflict and the uses of ideology for domination.

Neo-positivism:

Also known as logical positivism or logical empiricism, is a philosophical movement that emerged in the early 20th century, primarily in the Vienna Circle. It aims to apply the methods and principles of the natural sciences to philosophical inquiry. Here are 10 simple points to explain neo-positivism:

1. **Empirical Foundation**: Neo-positivism emphasizes the importance of empirical evidence as the foundation for knowledge and understanding of the world.
2. **Verification Principle**: Claims and propositions should be verifiable through empirical observations or logical analysis to be considered meaningful.
3. **Scientific Method**: Neo-positivists advocate for the scientific method, which includes observation, experimentation, and formulation of theories based on observed data.
4. **Rejects Metaphysics**: Neo-positivism rejects metaphysical claims, considering them as nonsensical or meaningless, as they cannot be empirically verified.
5. **Logical Analysis**: It emphasizes the importance of logical analysis and language in understanding and formulating meaningful statements or theories.
6. **Reductionism**: Neo-positivism often employs reductionism, breaking complex ideas or statements down into simpler, more empirically verifiable components.
7. **Mathematical Logic**: Neo-positivists utilize mathematical logic as a tool for analyzing and clarifying philosophical propositions and concepts.
8. **Analytic-Synthetic Distinction**: Neo-positivists distinguish between analytic statements (true by definition) and synthetic statements (verified through empirical evidence).
9. **Unity of Science**: Neo-positivism aims for a unified approach to scientific knowledge, attempting to integrate various scientific disciplines under a common framework.
10. **Anti-Metaphysical Stance**: Neo-positivism rejects metaphysical claims and emphasizes a commitment to empirical evidence, logical clarity, and the scientific method as the basis for meaningful knowledge and understanding.

Criticism:

1. **Interpretative School** – Weber, Dilthey – Not possible to study human behaviour using methods of natural sciences.
2. Sociology should be concerned with SU of OR (Subjective Understanding of Objective Reality).
3. **Post Modernists** – Derrida, Foucault – Reality can be studied in many ways.
4. **Interactionist** – Mead, Cooley, Blumer- Actions and Interactions result in Social Actions.
5. **Phenomenologist** – Peter Berger, Schutz – Generalisations not possible. Positivism is not concerned with Sociology but is concerned with making Science out of Sociology. Social realities are made, dismantled, and remade.
6. **Ethnomethodologists** – Garfinkel – Reality be studied from the People's perspective and not the Researcher's perspective.
7. Positivists themselves are divided between the use of Inductivism and Deductivism.
8. **Anthony Giddens** – Theory of Structuration.
9. **Gunnar Myrdal** - Complete objectivity is not desirable.
10. **Jurgen Habermas** – Since humans study humans, thus, complete separation of facts and values is not possible.
11. **Max Horkheimer** – Positivism is engaged in 'objective anarchism', an obsession to study everything objectively.

Fact value and objectivity

A fact is regarded as an empirically verifiable observation. It has its own independent existence. Facts can be perceived by our tactical and audio-visual senses etc. in a similar manner by each one of us. Facts remain the same in every situation and for all observers.

Value in sociology refers to subjective disposition arising out of experience, bias, preferences and beliefs and so on. Values can be personal, cultural, temporal and situation-specific and may not remain the same over a period of time. Values represent what one believes and not necessarily what actually is. They refer to socially accepted standards of desirability and undesirability.

> **The View from Nowhere: Idea of Thomas Nagel**
>
> Humans experience the world from a perspective.
>
> Eg: A room may feel hot or cold for different persons, but its temperature is independent of their experiences.
>
> Thomas Nagel's 3 steps to arrive at the idea of objective qualities:
>
> 1. Realize that our perceptions are caused by the actions of things around us, through their effects on our bodies.
>
> 2. Realize that since the same qualities that cause perceptions in us also have effects on other things and can exist without causing any perceptions at all, their true nature must be detachable from their perspectival appearance and need not resemble it.
>
> 3. Form a conception of that "true nature" independently of any perspective. Nagel calls that conception the "view from nowhere"

Objectivity is an approach in which the attitude of a scientific investigator is detached, unprejudiced, value-free and free from biases. Values are the basis of biases and subjectivity and they flow from different preconceived notions like caste, gender, culture, class, religion, ideology and so on. Robert Bierstedt defines it as 'objectivity means that conclusions arrived at as a result of inquiry and investigation are independent of the race, colour, creed, occupation, nationality, religion, moral preferences and political predisposition of the investigator'.

Value Free Ideal
- Scientists should strive to minimize the influence of contextual values on scientific reasoning, e.g., in gathering evidence and assessing/accepting scientific theories.
- According to the VFI, scientific objectivity is characterized by the absence of contextual values and by exclusive commitment to cognitive values in stages (ii) and (iii) of the scientific process.

Cognitive Values
- These are taken to be indicative of the truth of a theory and therefore provide reasons for preferring one theory over another.
- These are:

a. Predictive accuracy: Scope; Unification; Explanatory power; Simplicity; Coherence with other accepted theories.

      b. Kuhn even claims that cognitive values define the shared commitments of science, that is, the standards of theory assessment that characterize the scientific approach as a whole.

Value-Neutrality Thesis
- Scientists can—at least in principle—gather evidence and assess theories without making contextual value judgments.

- Hugh Lacey distinguishes 3 principal components or aspects of value-free science:
- Impartiality means that theories are solely accepted or appraised by virtue of their contribution to the cognitive values of science, such as truth, accuracy or explanatory power.
- Neutrality: means that scientific theories make no value statements about the world: they are concerned with what there is, not with what there should be
- Autonomy: This excludes the influence of contextual values, as stated above.

Objectivity: It allows Sociologists to have positions or opinions if it is based on scientific methods, evidence-based reasoning, logic, etc.
- The focus is on means, that is, the methods. Values or Personal biases come from Race, caste, language, religion, culture, etc.
- The source of value is, thus, through Socialisation.

Problem of loss of objectivity appears at different stages:
1. Choice of the topic is not considered a problem of subjectivity:
   - Max Weber - Distinguish between value freedom and value reference. Value references can be made while doing the investigation. Value reference has to be ensured.
   - Merton – The very choice of topic is influenced by the personal preferences and ideological biases of the researcher.
2. Formulation of problem: Formulation of the problem depends on the prevailing choice of investigators' debates and this issue is considered objective.
3. Accumulation of data faces the problem of objectivity.
   - Andre Beteille – Brahmins did not let him visit the Untouchables' locality; hence subjectivity can also creep in because of field limitations.
   - William Whyte – the study of Italian criminals concluded. "I started as a Non- participant observer but ended as a participant non-observer"
4. Interpretation of facts Interpretation of facts is also coloured by the viewpoints of the investigator.
   - Robert Redfield (functionalist) and Oscar Lewis (Marxist) studied the same village in Mexico around the same time but their interpretations differed vastly.
5. Theories also suffer from biases
   - Durkheim gave the functional theory of religion. Whereas Marx gave the conflict theory of religion
6. Testing is subjected to the researcher's bias • As the tendency would be to produce the same results. Durkheim's Study of Suicide is accused of this.

Objectivity has been found to be neither possible nor desirable:
- Gunnar Myrdal- Total objectivity is an illusion. It amounts to falsifying history and loss of the basic purpose of the discipline which is of reformist agenda.
- Alvin Gouldner says that Fact and Value cannot be separated in empirical research.
- Herbert Marcuse – Objectivity in Sociology is a limitation of the discipline.
- Theodor Adorno – Positivism is negative dialectics that something bad can also emerge from the process of dialectics. No need to attach any value to the process of dialectics.

WAYS TO REDUCE SUBJECTIVITY:
- Durkheim preferred inductive methodology and Statistical Techniques.
- Weber also suggested scientific methods (Verstehen, Ideal Types) to ensure objectivity.
- Weber - Training the investigator.
- Stating one's own bias.
- Organising criticism through Peer Review
- Stating field limitations.
- Triangulation – Using various methods to cross-check the outcome.

Non-Positivist Methodologies

When it was realized by scholars that sociological issues could not be addressed using fixed laws only, they turned from positivism to non-positivism. While positivist methodologies saw society as given and man as a mere part of it governed by its rules. Positivists on the other hand considered man as an independent-thinking being who can influence society. They rejected the over-socialized conception of man. Non-positivist methodologies, thus, tried to gauge what goes inside the mind of man and how it affects society.

- Accepts that reality is independent of our thinking about it, and that observation and measurement are at the core of a scientific endeavour.
- Accepts that observation is laden with theory, beliefs and values.
- Recognises that observation can contain error.
- Observation is fallible and theory revisable.
- Researchers are inherently biased by their cultural and social/political positioning and experience.

BASIC TENETS:

Various elements that run common to these methodologies are:

- Non-positivists study the internal processes represented through emotions, motives, aspirations and the individual's interpretation of social reality. For example - Ethnomethodology relies upon the everyday methods used by actors and their narratives.
- Non-positivists emphasized using qualitative methods and not scientific methods. Earlier non-positivists like Weber and Mead emphasized upon use of scientific methods, but later non-positivists like Alfred Schutz and Garfinkel out-rightly rejected their use.
- Non-positivists also suggested understanding social reality and not predicting events. They refrained from the formulation of generalized universal theories. Weber and Mead stressed cause and effect relations, but Schutz eliminated such a possibility.
- Non-positivists also highlighted the impossibility of total objectivity and hence were accommodative of subjectivity in research.

Why the need of Non–Positivist Methodologies:

- Kant – Ideas are important, as they change society. It drew from hermeneutics i.e. study of interpretation. Society is highly subjective so the emphasis is on understanding (or interpretation) as an explanation is not possible.
- Martin Heidegger talks about how the interpretation of text and context will give 'what is' and 'what ought to be'.
- Wilhelm Dilthey says that reality should be understood in **three** different ways:
1. Experience,
2. Expression (opinion of others) and
3. Comprehension (interpreting information).
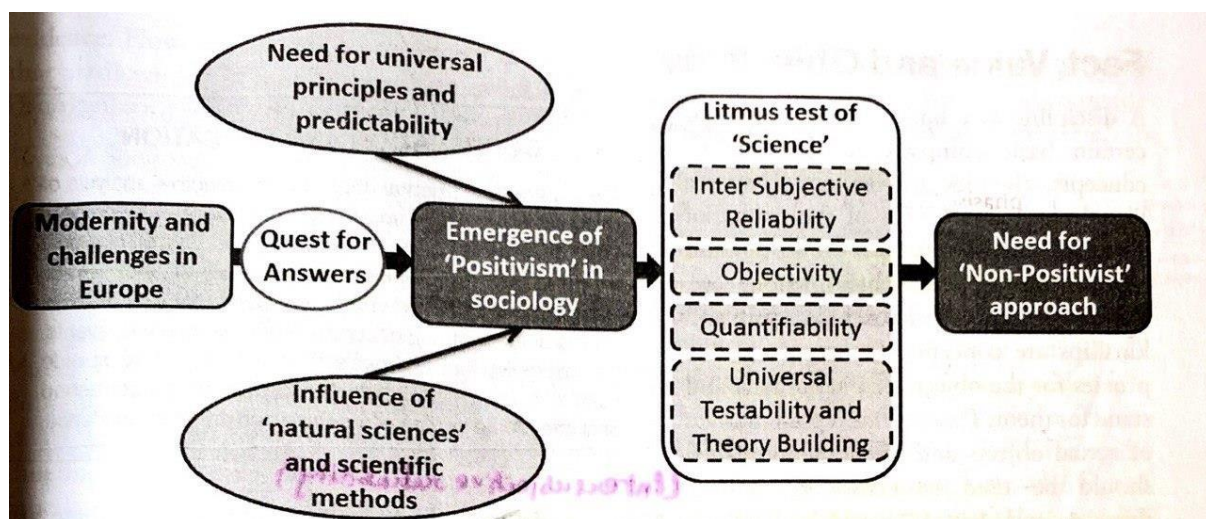
Conclusion
- Ray Pawson: 60s hangover.
- Alan Bryman: The choice of methodology depends on the type of research. Emphasis is on purposive research.
- Post-modernist: No knowledge is untrue, voices of diverse groups be encouraged, metanarratives.

Positivism vs Interpretivism

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	Positivism	Interpretivism
DEFINITION	Positivism is a sociological approach that states human behavior and society should be studied using scientific methodology	Interpretivism is a sociological approach that states it is important to understand or interpret the beliefs, motives, and actions of individuals in order to understand social reality
BEHAVIOR	Believes that human behaviour is based on social norms as society shapes individuals	Believes that individuals are complex and that each have different experience and view the same reality in different ways
AIM	Discover the laws that govern human behavior	Gain an insight into individuals; understand why people behave in certain ways
METHODS	Qantitative methods such as statistics, surveys and questionnaires	Qualitative methods such as participant observations and unstructured interviews

More Details on Non–Positivist Methodologies Ethnomethodology

- The study of "the body of common-sense knowledge and the range of procedures and considerations by means of which the ordinary members of society make sense of, find their way about in, and act on the circumstances in which they find themselves".
- Ethnomethodology was proposed by **American sociologist Harold Garfinkel** beginning in the late 1940s, but it was first systematized with the publication of his 'Studies in Ethnomethodology' in 1967.
- Ethnomethodology is certainly not a macro sociology in the sense intended by Durkheim with his concept of a social fact, but its adherents do not see it as a microbiology either.
- Ethnomethodologists are interested in neither micro structures nor macro structures.
- They are concerned with the artful practices that produce both types of structures.
- Hilbert argues that ethnomethodology "transcends" the micro-macro issue because it is concerned "with social practices" [membership practices].
- These are the methods of producing both: microstructure and macrostructure as well as any presumed 'linkage' between these two".
- EG: Institutional study of the police department. Rules, laws, procedures etc. don't determine individuals but are used by individuals to accomplish tasks and create institutions. EG: Crime rates are compiled not only due to rules but also to justify the very existence of the institution.

BASIC TENETS:

- Many Ethnomethodologists begin with the assumption that society exists only in so far as members perceive its existence.
- From the results of numerous investigations, it appears that social life is ordered and regular and that social action is systematic and patterned. Typically, the sociologist has assumed that social order has an objective reality. Ethnomethodologists either suspend or abandon the belief that an actual or objective social order exists. Instead, they proceed from the assumption that social life appears orderly to members of society.
- Thus, in the eyes of members, their everyday activities seem ordered and systematic but this order is not necessarily due to the intrinsic nature or inherent qualities of the social world. In other words, it may not actually exist. Rather it may simply appear to exist because of the way members perceive and interpret social reality. Social order therefore becomes a convenient fiction.
- *IDEA OF REFLEXIVITY:* Ethnomethodologist argues that the social world consists of nothing more than the constructs, interpretations and accounts of its members. The job of the sociologist is therefore to explain the methods and accounting procedures that members employ to construct their social world. According to Ethnomethodologists, this is the very job that mainstream sociology has failed to do.
- *IDEA OF INDEXICALITY:* Indexicality – It means that the sense of an object or phenomenon is context-specific. For example, the same question may elicit different responses in different situations like informal conversations, interviews etc. Members make a sense of a phenomenon in the context of the phenomenon.
- Thus, Ethnomethodologists devote a lot of attention to analyzing people's accounts, as well as to the ways in which accounts are offered and accepted (or rejected) by others. This is one of the reasons that ethnomethodologists are preoccupied with analyzing conversations and 'conversation analysis' is one of the important parts of Ethnomethodology.

Various Problems with Ethnomethodology:

- Ethnomethodology has been labelled as conventional or 'folk' sociology. Its critics have argued that the members who populate the kind of society portrayed by Ethnomethodologists appear to lack any motives and goals.

- Inability to deal with social structure: As Anthony Giddens remarks, there is little reference to 'the pursuance of practical goals or interests'. There is little indication in the writings of Ethnomethodologists as to why people want to behave or are made to behave in particular ways.
- Critics have argued that Ethnomethodologists have failed to give due consideration to the fact that members' accounting procedures are conducted within a system of social relationships involving differences in power. Many Ethnomethodo-logists appear to dismiss everything that is not recognized and accounted for by members of society.
- The tension between ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts.

> **Conversation Analysis** is the empirical study of conversations, employing techniques drawn from Ethnomethodology.
>
> Conversation analysis examines details of naturally occurring conversations to reveal the organizational principles of talk and its role in the production and reproduction of social order. In this, all facets of conversation for meaning – from the smallest words like Umm, Ooo etc. to the timings of pauses, interruptions etc. are also studied.
>
> Ethnomethodologists were concerned with showing how in daily life, order is created. EG: In day-to-day conversation, no one is in charge of the distribution of turns of talk. Still, they are in order with a series of turns for each speaker.

Garfinkel's approach is "to detect some expectancies that lend commonplace scenes their familiar, life-as-usual character, and to relate these to the stable social structures of everyday activities.

Phenomenology

- It simply means the study of a phenomenon in society.
- Phenomenologists argue that the subject matter of the social and natural sciences is fundamentally different.
- As a result, the methods and assumptions of the natural sciences are inappropriate for the study of man.
- While natural sciences deal with matter and understand and explain the behaviour of matter, it is sufficient to observe it from the outside.
- Unlike matter, man has consciousness- thoughts, feelings, meanings, intentions and an awareness of being.
- For example, imagine the response of early man to fire caused by volcanoes or spontaneous combustion. He did not simply react in a uniform manner to the experience of heat. He attached a range of meanings to it and these meanings directed his actions. For example, he defined fire as a means of warmth and used it to heat his dwellings; as a means of defence and used it to ward off wild animals; and as a means of transforming substances and employed it for cooking and hardening the points of wooden spears. Man does not just react to fire; he acts upon it in terms of the meanings he gives to it.
- If action stems from subjective meanings, it follows that the sociologist must discover those meanings in order to understand action. He cannot simply observe action from the outside and impose an external logic upon it. He must interpret the internal logic which directs the actions of the actor.
- Max Weber was one of the first sociologists to outline this perspective in detail. He argued that sociological explanations of action should begin with 'the observation and theoretical interpretation of the subjective "states of minds" of actors'.

- The naturalistic paradigm, the countermovement of the positivist paradigm, presumed that reality was not fixed but based on individual and subjective realities.

THINKERS:

Edmund Husserl
- Phenomenology is a research approach aimed at the study of the variability of human experience of social phenomenon.
- Husserl believed that phenomenology suspended all suppositions was related to consciousness, and was based on the meaning of the individual's experience.
- It involves the systematic investigation of consciousness.
- Husserl rejected the belief that objects in the external world exist independently and that the information about objects is reliable.
- He argued that people can be certain about how things appear in, or present themselves to, their consciousness.
- To arrive at certainty, anything outside immediate experience must be ignored, and in this way, the external world is reduced to the contents of personal consciousness.
- Realities are thus treated as pure 'phenomena' and the only absolute data from where to begin.

Alfred Schutz's 'The Phenomenology of the Social World' in 1932

- Schutz was focused on the way in which people grasp the consciousness of others while they live within their own stream of consciousness.
- Much of Schutz's work focuses on an aspect of the social world called the 'life-world', or the world of everyday life. Phenomenology studies the everyday phenomena that happen in our social lives. Our life-world or everyday world is an intersubjective world in which people both create social reality and are constrained by the preexisting social and cultural structures created by their predecessors.
- Schutz focused upon the dialectical relationship between the way people construct social reality and the stubborn external social and cultural reality that they inherit from those who preceded them in the social world. He was particularly interested in 'typifications' i.e. way the phenomenon that is being experienced is classified according to previous experience. It helps in a quick understanding of reality and makes it more predictable. EG: Marriage brings 2 different individuals from different life worlds and puts them in close proximity to each other. Out of these 2 realities, emerges one new reality.

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann: book 'The Social Construction of Reality, 1967
- Phenomenologists reject a causal explanation, generalization of theory and use of any specific methods.
- According to Phenomenologists, there is no reality beyond the subjectivity of the individual. They say that in order to decipher the phenomena, sociologists must immerse themselves into the areas of life they seek to investigate, rather than attempting to fit the data into predefined categories.

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM (INTERACTIONISM)
- The name was coined by Herbert Blumer of the Chicago school, following the lead given by Mead.
- In essence, Blumer (1969) identified four basic tenets of symbolic interactionism.
1. Individual actions take place in response to the meanings that gestures or objects have for them.
- For example, if the sign of red means danger in any particular setting, then individuals will act accordingly.

2. All interactions take place within already defined and categorized social contexts. o In other words, all social situations are already provided with meaning in terms of a shared classification that is well understood by all who share that common social setting.

➢ Like if something is sacred in a society, then all members would be already aware of it and will act accordingly.

3. These meanings emerge from the continued interactions that persons in a society have with each other and with society at large. o For example, a child may learn that the temple is sacred from his parents, but this particular meaning will be confirmed for him by other members of the society so that later it will become a part of the generalised system of meanings that he or she holds.

4. Meanings are not static, and new meanings may be imparted and old ones discarded as a part of social interaction with others.

➢ Like if a new object emerges that is considered sacred by some, then over time the meaning can be accepted or even rejected by more members, and a change can occur or be nipped in the bud, depending upon the circumstances.

- Thus following Mead, Blumer considered individuals and society as enmeshed and not separate from each other.
- Blumer considered symbolic interaction as the particular form of interaction that can only take place between human beings as they interact according to the meanings that they impart to objects and gestures (including language).
- He was particularly critical of the efficacy of positivist scientific methods for the study of social behaviour.
- Thus an investigator of human behaviour must get an in-depth understanding of that behaviour. That can only be achieved by qualitative methods, what Blumer has referred to as, 'sympathetic introspection'. Which requires an analyst to put himself or herself in the place of the other person to understand his or her behaviour.

KEY TERMS:

- **Meaningful Symbols**: George H. Mead (1863–1931) insisted that the ongoing process of social interaction and the creating, defining, and redefining of meaningful symbols make society possible. Meaningful symbols are sounds, objects, colours, and events that represent something other than themselves and are critical for understanding social interaction. Language is one of the most important and powerful meaningful symbols humans have created because it allows us to communicate through the shared meaning of words.

- **Definition of the Situation**: The definition of the situation refers to the idea that "if [people] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas and Thomas, 1928:572). Simply put, people define social reality through a process of give-and-take interaction. Once a definition is established, it shapes all further interactions. For example, have you ever decided that you were "in love" with someone? If so, how did that change the way you interacted with that person? Conversely, what happens when a married couple decides they are no longer in love? If they define their marriage as meaningless or decide they have irreconcilable differences, how does that affect their relationship? Is a marriage likely to survive if both partners have defined it as "over"?

- **The Looking-Glass Self:** The looking-glass self refers to the idea that an individual's self-concept is largely a reflection of how he or she is perceived by other members of society (Cooley, [1902] 1922). Society is used as a mirror to reflect a feeling of self-pride, self-doubt, self-worth, or self-loathing. These important elements of symbolic interactionism contribute to socialization and the process of becoming human as we establish our personal and social identities.

- **Dramaturgical Analysis:** A useful theoretical framework within symbolic interactionism, dramaturgical analysis, uses the analogy of the theatre to analyze social behaviour. In this approach, people are viewed as actors occupying roles as they play out life's drama. In real life, people do not passively accept others' definitions of the situation or the social identities

assigned to them. Rather, they take an active part in the drama, manipulating the interaction to present themselves in the most positive light. Thus, people often use impression management to communicate favourable impressions of themselves (Goffman, 1959).

- **The Labeling Approach**: Another theoretical viewpoint within symbolic interactionism is the labelling approach, which contends that people attach various labels to certain behaviours, individuals, and groups that become part of their social identity and shape others' attitudes about and responses to them. For example, in Outsiders, Howard Becker (1963) explored the fascinating world of jazz musicians and how their non-traditional music, penchant for marijuana, and open racial integration during the 1950s led mainstream Americans to label them "deviant."

Critique:

- Interactionists have often been accused of examining human interaction in a vacuum. They have tended to focus on small-scale face-to-face interaction with little concern for its historical or social settings (Marxian Criticism).
- As William Skidmore comments, the interactionists largely fail to explain 'why people consistently choose to act in given ways in certain situations, instead of in all the other ways they might possibly have acted'. In stressing the flexibility and freedom of human action the interactionists tend to downplay the constraints on action.
- Critics argue that such meanings are not spontaneously created in interaction situations. Instead, they are systematically generated by the social structure.
- Marxists have argued that the meanings that operate in face-to-face interaction situations are largely the product of class relationships. From this viewpoint, interactionists have failed to explain the most significant thing about meanings: the source of their origin.

VALUE ADDITION:

Deconstruction means to break down the subject into very small parts to know the context and the history related to it.

Deconstruction is defined as a way of analyzing literature that assumes that text cannot have a fixed meaning.

An example of deconstruction is reading a novel twice, 20 years apart, and seeing how it has a different meaning each time. A philosophical theory of textual criticism; a form of critical analysis.

Like the 'Men at work' sign is used for construction sites, this shows that when this sign was invented, only male workers were preferred over women. Now we use 'Work in process' this shows that how things changed with respect to times as the rise and involvement of women in the working society.

Discourse, as defined by Foucault, refers to:

- Ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations between them.
- Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern.

Erving Goffman's Dramaturgical Approach –

- In his book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (**1959**) Goffman outlined his dramaturgical approach.
- Goffman uses theatre as a metaphor to represent how people behave in society and represent themselves. According to this approach, the individual is an actor and society is a stage. In simple words, the dramaturgical approach points out the commonalities between theatrical performances and the 'acts' that human beings put on in their everyday interactions. It states that human social interactions are fragile, and maintained by performances.
  - ➢ **Social Life as Theatre**: Goffman likens everyday social life to a theatrical performance, with individuals as actors on a stage.
  - ➢ **Front Stage and Back Stage:** He divides social interactions into "front stage" (public interactions) and "backstage" (private interactions), where different behaviours and roles are displayed.
  - ➢ **Impression Management**: People engage in impression management, consciously or unconsciously, to control the impression they make on others, like actors trying to maintain a specific character.
  - ➢ **Roles:** Individuals adopt roles (e.g., parent, teacher and friend) in various social situations, and these roles come with expected behaviours and norms.
  - ➢ **Audience:** The people with whom individuals interact are the audience. People often tailor their behaviour based on the perceived expectations and judgments of the audience.
  - ➢ **Face:** Goffman introduced the concept of "face," which is the public image or social identity a person presents. People work to maintain or save face by managing their behaviour and impressions.
  - ➢ **Masks and Performances:** Individuals wear social masks, which are the personas they adopt in different situations. These masks can be adjusted to suit the specific social context.
  - ➢ **Scripted Interactions**: Social interactions often follow scripts or social scripts, which are predetermined patterns of behaviour and communication. People use these scripts to guide their actions.
  - ➢ **Spoiling Performances:** Sometimes, interactions don't go as planned, and individuals may "spoil" their performances by revealing unintended information or emotions.
  - ➢ **Critique of Society**: Goffman's dramaturgical analysis sheds light on the constructed nature of social reality and how societal norms and expectations shape human behaviour. It highlights the performative aspects of everyday life.

In essence, Goffman's dramaturgical analysis offers a framework to understand how individuals navigate and manipulate social situations, emphasizing the role of impression management and the theatrical nature of human interaction.

Research Methods and Analysis

Method is a tool or a technique used to collect data. It is a procedure for obtaining knowledge based on **empirical observations and logical reasoning.**

Methodology is logic of scientific investigation. **Methodology means description, explanation and justification of methods and not the methods themselves**. Methodology refers to philosophy on which research is based. This philosophy includes assumptions and values that serve as basis (rationale) for research and are used for interviewing data and reaching conclusions

QUANTITATIVE METHOD:

Babbie, Earl R. writes in **The Practice of Social Research (2010) that:** Quantitative research focuses on gathering numerical data and generalizing it across groups of people or to explain a particular phenomenon.

They emphasize:

- Objective measurements
- Statistical, mathematical, or numerical analysis of data
- Data collected through **polls, questionnaires, and surveys**, or by manipulating pre-existing statistical data
- Use of **computational techniques**.

Positivism

- Use of statistical data
- Correlation (between different social facts- **Durkheim protestants and high suicide)**
- **Causation**- to find cause and effect but the possibility of third factor
- **Multivariate analysis:** isolating effect of a particular independent variable on dependent variables.
- Use of computer software to study the statistical significance of correlation
- **Theorisation:** to form laws of human behaviour. For e.g.: Durkheim (suicide), Comte (3 types of society)
- Inductive methodology

Strengths of Using Quantitative Methods Quantitative researchers try to:

- Recognize specific variables
- Isolate specific variables contained within the study framework
- Seek correlation
- Relationships and causality
- Attempt to control the environment in which the data is collected to avoid the risk of variables, other than the one being studied, accounting for the relationships identified.
- Allows for a broader study, involving a greater number of subjects, and enhancing the generalization of the results.
- Allows for greater objectivity and accuracy of results.
- Generally, quantitative methods are designed to provide summaries of data that support generalizations about the phenomenon under study.

- In order to accomplish this, quantitative research usually involves few variables and many cases, and employs prescribed procedures to ensure validity and reliability.
- Personal bias can be avoided by keeping a 'distance' from participating subjects and using accepted computational techniques

Qualitative Research

Qualitative researchers stress the:

- Socially constructed nature of reality
- The intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied
- In general, qualitative researchers attempt to describe and interpret human behavior based primarily on the words of selected individuals

According to Maxwell (2009), there are five, not necessarily ordered or sequential, components in qualitative research designs:

- **Goals:** Describe the central research problem being addressed but avoid describing any anticipated outcomes.
- **Conceptual Framework**: What literature, preliminary studies, and personal experiences can be used. If appropriate, describe why earlier studies using quantitative methods were inadequate in addressing the research problem.
- **Research Questions**: Qualitative designs generally lack an accompanying hypothesis or set of assumptions because the findings are emergent and unpredictable. In this context, more specific research questions are generally the result of an interactive design process rather than the starting point for that process.
- **Methods:** Unstructured approach allows the researcher to focus on the particular phenomena studied. This facilitates an understanding of the processes that led to specific outcomes, trading generalizability and comparability for internal validity and contextual and evaluative understanding.
- **Validity**: Qualitative researchers must attempt to rule out most threats to validity after the research has begun by relying on evidence collected during the research process itself in order to effectively argue that any alternative explanations for a phenomenon are implausible.
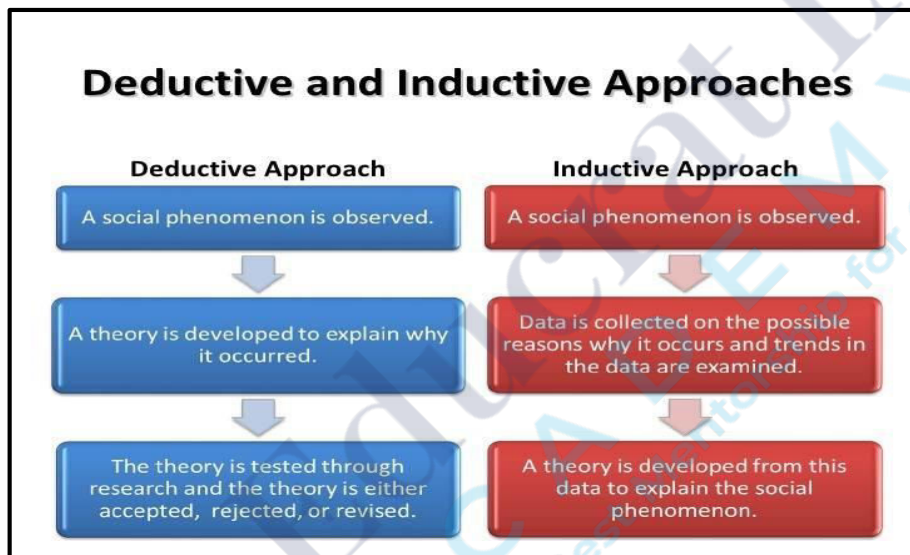
Advantages of Qualitative Research	Disadvantages of Qualitative Research
• Obtain a more realistic view of the lived world that cannot be understood or experienced in numerical data and statistical analysis.	• Drifting away from the original objectives of the study in response to the changing nature of the context under which the research is conducted.
• Provide the researcher with the perspective of the participants of the study through immersion in a culture or situation and as a result of direct interaction with them.	• Arriving at different conclusions based on the same information depending on the personal characteristics of the researcher.
• Develop flexible ways to perform data collection, subsequent analysis, and interpretation of collected information.	• Replication of a study is very difficult. • Research using human subjects increases the chance of ethical dilemmas that undermine the overall validity of the study.
• Yield results that can be helpful in pioneering new ways of understanding.	• An inability to investigate causality between different research phenomena.
• Respond to changes that occur while conducting the study and offer the flexibility to shift the focus of the research as a result.	• Difficulty in explaining differences in the quality and quantity of information obtained from different respondents and arriving at different, non-consistent conclusions.
• Provide a holistic view of the phenomena under investigation.	Requires a high level of experience from the researcher to obtain the targeted information from the respondent.
• Respond to local situations, conditions, and needs of participants.	
• Interact with the research subjects in their own language and on their own terms.	• May lack consistency and reliability because the researcher can employ different probing techniques and the respondent can choose to tell some particular stories and ignore others.
• Create a descriptive capability based on primary and unstructured data	

Quantitative vs. Qualitative

- In the former research, the **problem is specific** and precise in the later research, it is **general and loosely structured**
- In the former, the **hypotheses are formulated before the study**; in the latter, **hypotheses are propounded either during the study or after the study.**
- In the former, **concepts are operationalized**; in the **latter concepts are only sensitized**.
- In the former, **sampling is representative**; in the latter, it is not representative.
- In the former, all types of measurements/scales are employed; in the latter, mostly nominal scales are used.
- In the former, for data collection, generally investigators are employed in big researches; in the latter, the researchers analyse data single-handed.

Deductive and Inductive Approaches

Deductive Approach	Inductive Approach
A social phenomenon is observed.	A social phenomenon is observed.
A theory is developed to explain why it occurred.	Data is collected on the possible reasons why it occurs and trends in the data are examined.
The theory is tested through research and the theory is either accepted, rejected, or revised.	A theory is developed from this data to explain the social phenomenon.

Sociology and Laboratory Experiment

Why Sociologists don't use Lab Experiment

- Unnatural situation while society is natural
- Artificiality of situation can lead to loss of ecological validity
- **Payne and Payne** – Getting informed consent is difficult without altering behaviour (ethical issue): **HAWTHORNE EFFECT**
- **Payne and Payne** - Human beings are complex; matching one with other is impossible
- Alan Bryman says that human being as an independent variable cannot be manipulated beyond an extent. E.g.: changing male to female.
- Impossibility of fitting entire society into the lab.
- Longitudinal Studies can't be conducted - Difficult to keep subjects long in the lab to study social change

Examples of the Lab Experiment in Sociology

- Children were impacted by viewing violent images
- Milgram conducted Shock Experiment to study obedience.

Field Experiment

- Because of inability to perform lab experiments.
- Intervening in the social world such that hypothesis can be tested by isolating particular variables.
- **E.g. - study was done by J.W. Sissons** (an actor dresses up like a businessman and a labourer, asked direction, businessman gets most replies)
- **Natural experiment**: when researcher doesn't intervene and simply observes

Problems

- Not completely possible to control variables as directed
- Presence of researcher can affect results (Hawthorne effect)
- Problem of informed consent (ethical issues)
- Mostly confined to small scale studies for a short period.
- Finding samples that are representative.

Comparative Methods

- Comparing various studies/societies/times/groups and variables
- Identifying critical factors leading to different outcomes
- Used by **Karl Marx, Durkheim and Weber.**
- If a particular social phenomenon is studied in different contexts and causes found out, then a cause effect relationship can be established.
- Speculation is a necessary element in this.

Victor Jupp says that method can be used to do-

- **Content Analysis** (comparing documents)
- **Historical analysis** (comparing time periods)
- **Official statistics analysis** (comparing areas, groups, etc. in terms of social indicators)

Benefits:

- Less moral issues (easier to obtain prior consents, generally, of previous researchers)
- No direct intervention
- Less likely to artificially affect behavior of subjects (Hawthorne effect eliminated)
- Can be used in both quantitative and qualitative.
- Can be used to establish correlation and causal connection
- Analyse large scale social change over long periods of time.

Drawbacks

- Paucity of desired data

- Difficult to determine independent variables.

Critical Social Science Methodology:

- Every social science has some sort of criticism present but **Lee Harvey says that critical school goes beyond.**
- It denies the **objective status of knowledge or knowledge that can be gained by quantitative and qualitative processes.**
- Knowledge is a process which is never complete and never finished. Sometimes the need of the hour is to go beyond dominant ideologies.
- **For e.g. Harvey says that feminist studies on housework are able to show that housework produces things of value.**

LEE HARVEY MAIN FEATURES of critical social research

- Abstract concepts and ideology
- Totality (historical context): why it exists in a particular form.
- Deconstruction and Reconstruction
- ➢ **DECONSTRUCTION:** Elements of social life are taken apart to try to discover its essence. EG: Marx discovered essence of capitalism is commodity.
- ➢ **RECONSTRUCTION:** thinking of familiar aspects in unfamiliar ways.
- **Praxis:** practical reflective sociology; to understand about ways that exist to inform oppressed about the structure of society; emancipatory concern.

- **Martyn Hammersley:** Difficult to identify sources of oppression. An oppressor could also be oppressed simultaneously, and 'who is oppressor'is subjective.
- Phil Carspecken says that critical theorists should be open to finding evidence that contradicts their theories. Research should be systemic and in this way close to the truth

Feminist School (Part Of Critical School)

3 approaches

- Attack on Male-stream research
- Distinctive feminist research methods
- Feminist standpoint epistemology

Attack On Malestream	Feminist Research Methods	Feminist Standpoint Epistemology
Research based on male samples, apply to males, concern of females overlooked and women presented in stereotypical ways. **Ann Oakley says that household work is not studied at all**, Goldthorpe says that husband's class becomes wife class	**Ann Oakley: Closer relationship between interviewer and interviewee breaks down barriers** and brings a feminist approach to the interview. **Criticism:** Nothing new, just an unstructured interview. But Oakley goes beyond as it involves advising and helping the interviewee	Examining the unique experiences of women in society. **E.g.:** experience of black lesbian women different from white middle-class counterparts. **Criticism:** Ray Pawson o It is difficult to convince the respondents that they are oppressed; It also excludes men and thus excludes the oppressor, thus, bringing in incomplete analysis and solution.

Post-Modernist Methodologies

- No basis of ruling out some knowledge being untrue
- **Meta narratives** (opinions rather than objective reality)
- No way to distinguish between true and untrue stories
- **Deconstruction** (given by J. Derrida. Implies that language cannot represent),
- **Foucault's Discourse analysis**, etc. It generally does not create new knowledge but criticises existing knowledge.

Criticism

- **Phil Carspecken** believes that there are ways of convincing others about the validity of knowledge (if the argument is grounded in reality rather than mere persuasion)
- **Mats Alvesson** says that post-modernist should refine rather than reject conventional studies. **He proposes a method of 'reflexive pragmatism'** which involves the researcher to produce data pragmatically without expecting it to provide an objective picture of reality.

TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION:

Primary Sources:

How to choose a primary research method

- Source of funding may specify types of methods (many funding bodies prefer quantitative method)
- Theoretical and practical consideration of topic (e.g.-class behaviour requires qualitative data while voting pattern requires quantitative techniques)
- Primary resources should have reliability and validity
- Govt. policies can demand a certain type of research methods and data
- **Practicalities:** Availability of data, the possibility of interviewing the subjects (like murderers, gangsters, etc.)
- **Ethical Concerns:** Informed consent, confidentiality, to avoid harm and to do good

Case Studies:

- Yin has defined case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context
- Makes no claims to be representative; makes detailed examination of a single example, therefore, lacks external validity.
- **Howard Becker**: the aim of a case study is to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the group under study
- It helps to generate new hypothesis or falsify a general theory about social life.
- For E.g**.: K Gough study about Nayars which established that family is not always based on marital bonds.**

Various types of Case Studies

1. **Critical:** to test a hypothesis or see reactions of an event (religion cults reaction when world didn't come to an end in 2012)
2. **Extreme or unique case**: Margaret Mead studied tribals in Pacific and found atypical gender relations.
3. **Revelatory case**: gaining access to new aspect previously inaccessible. E.g.: black uneducated gangsters
4. **Longitudinal case:** to study case at two or more points (to see effects of social change)
5. **Representative or Exemplifying case.**

Advantages of Case Study
- It makes **in-depth study possible**.
- It is flexible with respect to using methods for collecting data, e.g., **questionnaire, interview, observation, etc.**
- It could be used for studying any dimension of the topic, i.e., it could study one specific aspect and may not include other aspects.
- It can be conducted in practically any kind of social setting.
- **Case studies are inexpensive**.

Drawbacks of Case Studies

- No generalizations can be made (uniqueness).
- Bryman suggested a number of case studies on the same type of phenomenon to generalize.
- **Karl Popper** – Unique case studies help in **the falsification of universal theories.**
- **Thomas Kuhn** – Case Studies help in furthering **the Paradigm of methodologies.**
- **Missing validity:** The investigators in the case study fail to develop a sufficiently operational set of measures. As such, checks and balances of reliable instruments are found missing.

Life Histories

- Specific type of case study which concerns individual life.
- **Alan Bryman** calls it as biographical method. Uses extended, unstructured interviews or personal documents. **E.g., study of polish peasants.**
- It can be used as **sensitising and motivational tool**; provides rich detail cutting through dense jargon of theoretical sociology.
- **Ken Plummer** calls it **'analytical induction'** as life histories provide the starting point of studies or to falsify old ones.
- Feminists have used this method to highlight exploitation. **e.g. Maria Mies found that discussion of domestic violence has helped other women to come out.**
- Critical researchers have used this technique to raise awareness of people's own exploitation. Trend of studying various life histories simultaneously

Pilot Studies

- It is a **small scale preliminary study** done before the main research.
- Checks feasibility of study, suggests improvement in design of research and save time/money in conducting a flawed and inadequately designed research.
- **It helps improve response rate**. For e.g., Hannah Gavron found it necessary to establish a rapport with respondents
- May help in **developing research skills**

Social Survey:

- A survey is an attempt to provide an overview. It is a **comprehensive or wide-ranging perspective on some subject based on information** obtained from a carefully chosen representative set of people.
- In history of measurement in sociology, **Le Play is often considered the father of the modern social survey.** He had workers live with families in order to gather data on attitudes and beliefs, family budgets and family expenditures as ways to determine families' standards of living. **Durkheim's survey on suicide was another pioneering effort.**

Three types
1. **Factual:** for descriptive information e.g.: the census
2. **Attitude survey:** to discover opinion or subjective states of individuals
3. **Explanatory:** to test or form theories or hypothesis

There are two principles that guide selection in a survey –

I. **The first principle is that all the relevant sub-groups in the population should be recognized and represented in the sample**. Most large populations are not homogenous – they belong to distinct sub-categories. This is called **Stratification**. For example, when doing research on attitudes towards religion, it would be important to include members of all religions.

II. The second principle of **sample selection is that the selection of actual unit** – i.e. person or village or household – should be **based purely on chance**. This is referred to as **Randomization**.

The survey's main advantage as a social scientific method is that it allows us to generalize results for a large population while actually studying only a small portion of this population. The bigger the sample the more chance it has of being truly representative; the extreme case here is that of the census, which includes the entire population. Thus, **a survey makes it possible to study large populations with a manageable investment of time, effort and money**.

Questionnaire:

A list of pre-set questions generally repeated to every member of the sample. **It can be administered through:**
1. Structured or unstructured interview
2. **Postal questionnaire:** response rate poor but cost-effective
3. Administering questions to a group
4. Over the telephone
5. Via email or online method (problem of digital divide)

Following guidelines should be followed for framing and asking questions:

- **Questions should be clear and unambiguous**: The question like, "What do you think about the proposed peace plan for Kashmir?" may not be clear to respondent who does not know anything about the peace plan.
- **Questions should be relevant**: Sometimes the respondents are asked to give opinions on issues on which they have never given any thought, e.g., "What is your opinion on the economic policies of the BJP, the Congress and the CPI parties?" Such questions are bound to be disregarded by the respondents.
- **Questions should be short:** Long and complicated items are to be avoided. The respondent should be able to read an item quickly, understand its meaning and think of an answer without difficulty.
- **Negative questions should be avoided**: The appearance of a negation in the question paves the way for easy misinterpretation. For example, asking to agree or disagree with the statement, "India should not recognize the military rule in Fiji", a sizeable portion of the respondents will not read the word 'not' and answer on that basis.
- **Biased terms should be avoided**: Prejudice affects the answers. For example, the question, "Have military rulers in the neighbouring country always hampered our country's progress?" may encourage some respondents to give particular response more than other questions do.
- **Respondents must be competent to answer**: The researcher should always ask himself whether the respondents he has chosen are competent enough to answer questions on the issue of research. For example, asking daily wage labourers to give their views on 'communal violence' may not be rational.
- **Respondents must be willing to answer**: Many a time people are unwilling to share opinions with others, e.g., asking Muslims about Pakistan's attitude towards Muslims in India.

Types of Questions:

Primary, Secondary and Tertiary:

- **Primary Questions elicit information directly related to the research topic**. Each question provides information about a **specific aspect of the topic**. For example, for determining the type of family (whether it is husband-dominant, wifedominant, equalitarian), the question "who takes decisions in your family" is a primary question.
- Secondary questions **elicit information which do not relate directly to the topic,** i.e., the information is of secondary importance**. They only guard the truthfulness of the respondents,** e.g., in the above topic, the question "who decides the nature of gift to be given in marriage to family relative" or "who finally selects the boy with whom the daughter is to be married" are the secondary questions.
- **The tertiary questions are of neither primary nor of secondary importance**. These only **establish a framework that allows convenient data collection and sufficient information without exhausting or biasing the respondent.**

Closed-ended and Open-ended Questions:

- The **closed-ended questions are the fixed-choice questions**. They require the respondent to choose a response from those provided by the researcher. Here is one example: "Whom do you consider an ideal teacher?" (a) who takes teaching seriously; (b) who is always available to students for discussions and guidance; (c) whose approach to students' problems is flexible;
- The **open-ended questions are free-response questions** which require respondents to answer in their own words. For example: (1) Whom do you consider an ideal teacher?

The advantages of open-ended questions are: The researcher gets insight in respondent's understanding.

When the total answers categories are very large (say, 50 or more), it would be awkward to list all of them on a questionnaire; but if some were omitted, then there would not be appropriate answers available for all respondents.

Since the respondent gets freedom in answering, the researcher gets more and varied information

The disadvantages of open-ended questions are: • Sometimes responses received are **irrelevant**. • It is **difficult to classify** and code all responses. • Since the data are not standardized, statistical analysis and computation of percentages become difficult. • Sometimes the responses given are very lengthy and analyzing them becomes time-consuming. • Semi-literate respondents find it difficult to answer open questions since they require better ability to express one's feelings

The advantages of closed-ended questions are: • They provide a **greater uniformity of responses**. • It is **easy to code, score and process standard answers** which saves time and money. • The respondent has not to use much brain as he is often clearer about the meaning of question. • Little time is taken to complete questionnaire. • Answers can be compared from person to person. • Irrelevant responses are not received and the answers are relatively complete.

The disadvantages of closed-ended questions are: • The respondent may not get all alternative responses as some important responses might have been omitted by the researcher. • The respondent does not think and does not involve himself in giving free information. He ticks even wrong answer. • Many a time the respondents do not find those answers in the closed questions which correspond to their true feelings or attitudes

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Direct and Indirect Questions:

- Direct questions are personal questions which **elicit information about the respondent** himself/herself, e.g., "Do you believe in God?"
- Indirect questions seek information about other people, e.g., "Do you think that people of your status and age believe in God now-a-days?"

Nominal, Ordinal and Interval Questions:

- **Nominal question is one in which its response falls in two or more categorie**s, e.g., male/female; rich/poor, married/unmarried; rural/urban; illiterate/educated; Shia/Sunni; Hindu/Muslim**. Nominal question is also called classification scale**.
- **Ordinal question is one in which the responses are placed in rank order of categories.** The categories may be **ranked from highest to lowest, greatest to least, or first to last**. Examples: ⌉ Smoking: regularly/occasionally/never ⌉
- Interval question is one in which the **distance between two numbers is equal**. For example: ⌉ Present age: 10 or below/11-20/21-30/31-40/41 and above

Advantages of Questionnaire	Limitations of Questionnaire
Lower cost: Questionnaires are less expensive than other methods. Even the staff required is not much	**The mailed questionnaires can be used only for educated people**. This restricts the number of respondents.
Time saving: Since the respondents may be geographically dispersed and sample size may be very large, the time required for getting back the questionnaires may be little greater but usually less than that for face-to-face interviews	**The return rate of questionnaires is low**. The common return rate is 30 to 40 per cent.
Accessibility to widespread respondents: When the respondents are separated geographically, they can be reached by correspondence which saves travel cost.	The mailing address may not be correct which may omit some eligible respondents. Thus, the sample selected many a time is described as biased.
No interviewer's bias: Since the interviewer is not physically present at interviewee's place, he cannot influence his answers, either by prompting or by giving his own opinion or by misreading the question	Sometimes different respondents interpret questions differently. The misunderstanding cannot be corrected.
Greater anonymity: The absence of the interviewer assures anonymity which enables respondent to express free opinions and answers even to socially undesirable questions	There may be bias in the response selectivity because the respondent having no interest in the topic may not give response to all questions.
Standardized wordings: Each respondent is exposed to same words and therefore there is little difference in understanding questions. The comparison of answers is thus facilitated.	Questionnaires do not provide an opportunity to collect additional information while they are being completed.
No variation: Questionnaires are a stable, consistent and uniform measure, without variation	Researchers are not sure whether the person to whom the questionnaire was mailed has himself answered the questions or somebody else has filled up the questionnaire.

	Many questions remain unanswered. The partial response affects the analysis.
	The respondent can consult other persons before filling in the questionnaire. The responses, therefore, cannot be viewed as his opinions

Interviews:

Lindzey Gardner (1968) has defined interview as "a two-person conversation, initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him on the content specified by the research objectives of description and explanation"

Types of Interview:

Unstructured V/s structured interviews:
- In the **unstructured interview**, there are no specifications in the wording of the questions or the order of the questions. The interviewer forms questions as and when required. **The structure of these interviews is flexible, being presented in the form of guide.**
- The **structured interview is based on the structured interview guide** which is little different from the questionnaire. **In reality, it is a set of specific points and definite questions prepared by the interviewer**

Individual V/s group interviews:
- Individual interview is one in which **the interviewer interviews only one respondent at a time.**
- In group interview**, more than one respondent are interviewed simultaneously.** The group can be small, say, of two individuals (e.g., husband and wife, or two co-workers in a factory, etc.) or large, say, of 10 to 20 persons (e.g., all students in a class

Unique V/s panel interviews:
- Unique interview is one in which **the interviewer collects entire information in one interview**. However, he is not barred for approaching the interviewer for the second time for seeking additional information.
- In panel interview, **the interviewer collects information from the same group of respondents two or more times at regular intervals.**

Styles
- **Non directive:** avoiding expressions of disapproval or approval. Howard Becker says it is polite but bland.
- **Aggressive:** taking positions and showing opinionated attitude as people open up on prying.
- Howard Becker recommends it but says that if overused, it can antagonize respondent. Only be used once and one on one.

Some more advantages are:
• the response rate is high,

- in-depth probing is possible,
- respondent's confidence can be sought through personal rapport,
- interviewer can explain difficult terms and remove confusion and misunderstandings,
- administration is easy because respondents are not required to be educated or handle long questionnaires,
- interviewer gets opportunity to observe respondents' non-verbal behaviour,
- identity of the respondent is known, and

Disadvantages of Interview

- The interviewees can hide information or give wrong information because of fear of identity.
- Interviews are more **costly and time-consuming than questionnaires**.
- **The nature and extent of responses depends upon interviewee's mood.** If he is tired, he will be distracted. If he is in hurry, he will try to dispose off the interviewer quickly.
- There could be variability in responses with different interviewers, particularly when interview is unstructured.
- The interviewer may record the responses differently, depending upon his own interpretation sometimes.
- If **offers less anonymity** than other methods.
- It is less effective for sensitive questions

Ethnography:

Long term observation of certain group in a social setting • Study of the way of life.

Introduced by Anthropologists like Malinowsky.
It involves:
1. Participant observation
2. In depth interviews
3. Studying qualitative documents

TYPES:

Participant Observation
Participant observation is a method in which the **investigator becomes a part of the situation he is studying**. He involves himself in the setting and group life of the research subjects. He shares the activities of the community observing what is going on around him, supplementing this by conversations and interview. In India, **M.N. Srinivas had used this method in studying the process of 'sanskritisation' in Mysore.**

• **OVERT:** identity revealed (morally correct, may stop studying objectively) (William Whyte)
• **COVERT**: identity not revealed (may not influence behaviour, personal safety at risk, authorities may seek cooperation if researcher manage to get into close group like criminals, difficult to gain trust)

Natural and laboratory observation:
- Natural observation is one in which observation is made in natural settings.
- Laboratory observation is one in which observation is made in a laboratory.

Advantages of Participant Observation

- Researcher self is not imposed, **symbiotic interactions can be closely observed**,
- An extended period of observations means behavioral changes can be observed,
- Helps in generating new hypothesis,
- High **ecological validity**,
- Helps in seeing how members construct society around themselves (post constructionist point of view)

Disadvantages of Participant Observation

- Time consuming,
- Can study only a small group,
- Researcher personal life can be impacted,
- The researcher may have to engage in activity they dislike (or even illegal ones),
- Safety issue,
- Higher or powerful class may not be studied,
- Difficult to become part of a group sometimes.
- Studies can't be replicated,
- The researcher may stop noticing nuances after some time,
- Validity may be impacted by the presence of researcher (can be corrected by validation by members, triangulation, grounded theory i.e. Theory formed from analysis of data).

Critical Ethnography

- It is **used both to develop and test theories simultaneously** i.e. oppressed studied and interviewed about the impact of oppression simultaneously; forwarded by critical school
- Phil Carspecken says that **critical ethnography is concerned about social inequalities and directed towards positive social change,**
- It helps in revealing oppression and educating people about the oppressions.
- Martyn Hammersley is hostile to this method as he says how subjects of theory can check the validity of the theory.
- Patti Lather also says that **critical ethnography seems circular as it is building a theory which is also used as an evidence.**

Patti Lather has suggested way out of this circle by:

1. **Triangulation** (cross checking with different methods i.e. quantitative data of a survey can be checked by in-depth interviews)
2. Construct validity
3. **Face validity** (testing the findings on few members)
4. **Catalytic validity** (For her, catalytic validity refers to research that not only displays 'the reality altering impact of the inquiry process' but also empowers the research subjects to 'gain self-understanding and self-direction'

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Focus group Discussion is a **form of qualitative research that is used most often in product marketing and marketing research**. During a focus group, a group of individuals - usually 6-12 people - is brought together in a room to engage in a guided discussion of some topic

The participants of a focus group are selected based on their relevance and relationship to the topic under study. They are not typically chosen through rigorous, probability sampling methods, which means that they do not statistically represent any meaningful population. Rather, **participants are chosen through word-of-mouth, advertising, snowball sampling**, or similar, depending on the type of person and characteristics the researcher is looking to include

Advantages of Focus Groups:
There are several advantages of focus groups:

As a socially oriented research method, it captures real-life data in a social setting.

It is flexible.

It has high face validity, meaning that it measures what it is intended to measure.

It generates quick results.

It costs little to conduct.

Group dynamics often bring out aspects of the topic or reveal information about the subject that may not have been anticipated by the researcher or emerged from individual interviews.

Disadvantages of Focus Group
There are also several disadvantages of focus groups:

- The researcher has less control over the session than he or she does in individual interviews.
- Data are often difficult to analyze.
- Moderators require certain skills.
- Differences between groups can be troublesome.
- Groups can often be difficult to pull together.
- The discussion must be conducted in a conducive environment.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

Data that has already been produced i.e. **census, letters, diaries, surveys, newspapers, autobiographies, victimisation, or self-report.**

➢ Can be **contemporary or historical**
➢ Used when primary data is tough to produce
➢ Validity and reliability vary from source to source
➢ Positivists like **Durkheim used secondary data uncritically**.

• Phenomenonologists discard the secondary sources that give statistics as they are assumed to be social construct and are open to interpretation. E.g.: Cicourel thought that youth from the lower class are likely to be seen as delinquent.

Life Documents

• Personal records of individual's experiences and social actions like **Diaries, photos, letters, biographies, memoirs, suicide notes, films, paintings, music, e mails** etc. Polish peasant study
• **Ken Plummer** says that life documentaries are declining as they are unrepresentative
• They are open to interpretation and may reflect only a floating situation like anger/happiness

Visual Analysis

• It **involves the examination of different types of secondary sources, from mass media to life documents and historical resource**s. It can be divided into moving and still images. For e.g. how photojournalism influences the perception of important historical events or study of advertisements. But there are ethical and confidentiality issues.

Content Analysis:

Analyses content of documents.

Ray Pawson gives four approaches:

1. **Formal content analysis:** emphasis on reliability and objectivity; ignores inherent meanings, for e.g.: number of words devoted to a topic
2. **Thematic:** how often theme is presented
3. **Textual:** how a text encourages/ discourages an interpretation
4. **Audience:** focussing on responses of the audience.

Assessing secondary resources

1. **Authenticity**: genuineness of author
2. **Credibility**: accuracy of author
3. **Representativeness** (time and accessibility)
4. **Meaning**: understanding of document

Combining various methods

- **Alan Bryman** says that the difference between quantitative and qualitative research is over-polarized.
- Even Weber used a combination of various methods.
- **New age is of methodological pluralism.**

Martyn Hammersley has suggested three methods for combining various methods:

1. **Triangulation**: one method checks the authenticity of other (e.g. both quantitative and qualitative methods are used to verify each other)
2. **Facilitation:** one method helps the other method. E.g: Interview helps in producing questions for the questionnaire. Martyn Hammersley has suggested three methods for combining various methods
 3. **Complementarity:** various methods are used to cover various aspects. E.g., questionnaire to produce statistical data while qualitative method to understand meaning behind the pattern.

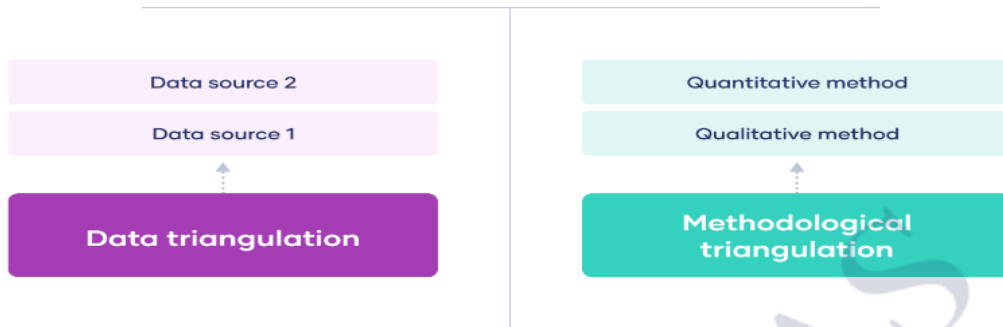## THINKERS WHO USED METHODOLOGICAL PLURALISM:

- **DURKHEIM**: While using statistical technique, he made mental sketches of different groups.
- **CICOUREL**: In his study of juvenile delinquents, he collected statistics on law enforcement. While being an ardent qualitative sociologist, he used statistical help.
- **Teela Sanders**: study on sex workers. Used participant observation + interviews.

TRIANGULATION

Triangulation was **introduced into social science research in 1959 (Fiske & Campbell), with the agenda of building the most comprehensive and coherent pictures of the social situations under investigation**. Since then, many researchers have built research projects that include multiple data sources and methods of data collection; in fact, **triangulation is considered the cornerstone of mixed methods research**. Denzin was an early adopter and he identified four key types of triangulation (2015):

- *Data triangulation* involves **collecting information from multiple sources to establish what occurred from different angles**. In the example of an accident reconstruction, investigators interview passengers, witnesses, and car mechanics.
- *Methodological triangulation* refers to using different research methods such as **interviews, surveys, participant observation, photography, video, and ethnography, among others, to collect data in a variety of ways and for differing forms of analysis**. In a car accident reconstruction, this could mean collecting witness statements, deposition transcripts, photographs, videos, debris, and collision measurements.
- *Theory triangulation requires* **researchers to look at the material from different explanatory perspectives and frameworks**. Accident reconstructionists would review all the data collected to determine the velocity, acceleration, energy, and momentum of the vehicles at the time of impact, in order to explain the principal direction of force that occurred at the time of the collision.
- *Investigator triangulation* **occurs when more than one person takes part in the research**, such as when multiple police officers examine a traffic accident or help analyze the data that was collected. When investigators come from different disciplines, the process and results are described as multi- or interdisciplinary.

Triangulation in research

Types of triangulation

Data triangulation → Data source 1, Data source 2

Methodological triangulation → Qualitative method, Quantitative method

Investigator triangulation → Researcher 1, Researcher 2

Theory triangulation → Theory 1, Theory 2

Scribbr

VALUE ADDITION:

SERENDIPITY:

In general, **serendipity is the act of finding something valuable or delightful when you are not looking for it.** In information technology, serendipity often plays a part in the recognition of a new product need or in solving a design problem. **Web surfing can be an occasion for serendipity since you sometimes come across a valuable or interesting site when you are looking for something else**

- Qualitative research inevitably contains such "good fortune," but **serendipity consists in how we transform our fortune into substantive discovery.** Since Malinowski (1950), many fieldwork classics provide evidence of the importance of interpreting and capitalizing on unpredicted, unplanned events.
- Yet, traditionally, ethnographers were reluctant to discuss their errors and chance occurrences, even when these events proved to be the basis of subsequent insight, perhaps fearing that it would confirm the belief that ethnography was truly dilettantism.
- With the growth of the "reflexive turn" in ethnography - what some have labelled the "new ethnography" (Dowd, 1994), the inclusion of occurrences of serendipity in accounts of fieldwork is a battle won long ago, perhaps contributing to the heroic image of the ethnographer who pulls meaning from chaos. We have come to present ourselves as lovers of the play and surprise of research.
- **The most influential attempt to apply the concept of serendipity to social scientific theorizing has been the one by Robert Merton.**
- As Merton (1962) noted, "There is a rich corpus of literature on how social scientists ought to think, feel, and act, but little detail on what they actually do, think, and feel". Merton (1968, p. 157) provided a systematic attempt to make sense of serendipity in sociology, speaking of the serendipity pattern, whereby unexpected data provide the spark for the creation of theoretical analysis.
- For Merton three features characterize datum that fit into a serendipity pattern: it must be **"unanticipated," "anomalous," and "strategic"** (i.e., with implications for the development of theory).
- In contrast to a positivist (or postpositivist) view, we suggest that **serendipitous insight provides the opportunity for constructing a plausible story**. We do not deny the reality of an external world, but only suggest that numerous possible explanations exist and that chance events can be made serendipitous if the event provides the opportunity for storybuilding.

THE VARIABLE

- **A variable is a characteristic that takes on two or more values.** It is something that varies**. It is a characteristic that is common to a number of individuals, groups, events, objects, etc.** The individual cases differ in the extent to which they possess the characteristic.
- Thus, age (young, middle-aged, old) income class (lower, middle, upper), caste (low, intermediate, high), education (illiterate, less educated, highly educated), occupation (low status, high status), etc., are all variables.

TYPES:

Dependent and Independent Variables:
- A **dependent variable** is one which **changes in relationship to changes in another variable.**
- An **independent variable** is one whose **change results in the change in another variable**. In a controlled experiment, the independent variable is the experimental variable, i.e., one which is withheld from the control group.
- **In experiments, the independent variable is the variable manipulated by the experimenter.** For example, a teacher wants to know which method of teaching is more effective in the students' understanding: lecture method, question-answer method, visual method or combination of two or more of these methods. **Here, teaching method is independent variable which is manipulated by the teacher**. The "effect on students' understanding" is the dependent variable. The dependent variable is the condition we are trying to explain.

Active and assigned variables: Manipulated or experimental variables will be called active variables, while measured variables will be called assigned variables. In other words, **any variable that is manipulated is an active variable and variable that cannot be manipulated is an assigned variable**

Qualitative and quantitative variables:
- The quantitative variable is one whose values or categories consist of numbers and if differences between its categories can be expressed numerically. Thus, age, income, sizes are quantitative variables.
- The **qualitative variable is one which consists of discreet categories rather than numerical units.** This variable has two or more categories that are distinguished from each other. Class (lower, middle, upper), caste (low, intermediate, high) sex, (male, female), religion (Hindu, non-Hindu) are all qualitative variables

Continuous and Discreet variables
- Discreet variables have a definite value.
- Continuous Variables can't be expressed as a particular value.
- **Example:** Studying in which class will elicit a number whereas the level of learning will have limitations in being expressed as a number, though attempts are made to make continuous variables discreet.

Hypothesis

- G.A. Lundberg: It is a **tentative generalization**, the validity of which remains to be tested.
- It may be any hunch, guess, imaginative idea or intuition which becomes the basis of action or investigation and tries to correctly explain a phenomenon.
- It is **indispensable for any scientific investigation** as it always guides and give direction to the investigation.
- When verified and found true, **hypothesis leads to formation of theory.**
- The most important function of hypothesis is to adequately explain all facts connected with it.

Advantages of Hypothesis
- It enables direct enquiry along right lines
- Suggests experiments and observation
- Helps to collect necessary evidence.
- It determines method of verification as well as procedure for enquiry.
- It limits scope of enquiry to manageable area and enable search only for relevant facts.
- It leads to discovery of laws and conclusions which are significant for advancement of knowledge.

Types of Hypothesis

1. **Inductive** – After reasoning from multiple inputs.
2. **Deductive** – based on prevalent ideologies, viewpoints, important issues facing the society, attempting to falsify a prevalent theory, etc.
3. **Crude** – which is at low level of abstraction and indicates kind of data to be collected but does not lead to higher theoretical research.
4. **Refined** – is more significant in research and is at higher level of abstraction.

Pre-requisites for a good hypothesis are –

- It should be **based on sound reasoning and ample preliminary information**. It should not be a wild guess
- It should be **specific and precise**. It should be able to narrow down the scope of sociological investigation in manageable limits
- It should also direct the investigation on the right track. **According to Northrop, 'Function of a hypothesis is to direct our research'.**
- It should also clarify the scope of enquiry.
- It leads to general laws and principles and also exemplifies the causal relationships between the various variables. It should explain the general phenomenon and not the exception.
- It should be able to be tested and its testability should be in time bound manner.
- It also provides a **framework for organizing and summarizing the results**

Types of Hypotheses:

- **Working hypothesis is** a preliminary assumption of the researcher about the research topic, particularly when sufficient information is not available to establish a hypothesis, and as a step towards formulating the final research hypothesis.

- **Scientific hypothesis** contains statement based on or derived from sufficient theoretical and empirical data.
- **Alternative hypothesis** is **a set of two hypotheses (research and null) which states the opposite of the null hypothesis.** In statistical tests of null hypotheses, acceptance of Ho (null hypothesis) means rejection of the alternative hypothesis; and rejection of Ho means similarly acceptance of the alternative hypothesis

  (Generally, a statement of hypothesis which is given at the start of testing a hypothesis is called 'null hypothesis' and the one which is adopted after rejection of such null hypothesis is called 'alternate hypothesis')
- **Statistical hypothesis**, according to Winter (1962), is a statement/observation about statistical populations that one seeks to support or refute. The things are reduced to numerical quantities and decisions are made about these quantities, e.g., income difference between two groups: Group A is richer than Group B. Null hypothesis will be: Group A is not richer than group B. Here, variables are reduced to measurable quantities

Uses of Hypothesis

- Forms starting point of investigation
- Makes observation of experiment possible
- Aid to explanation
- Makes deduction possible

Thus, without hypothesis, an investigation becomes unfocussed, hence, it is required at every stage of enquiry
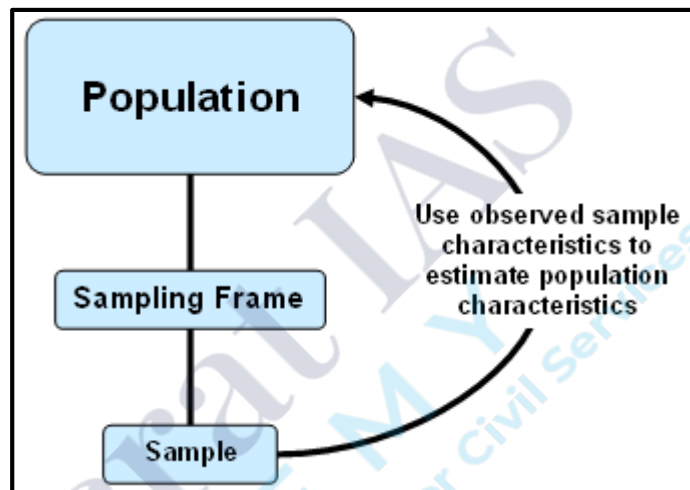
Basics of Sampling

What is a sample?

- A sample is a **subset of the population from which data are collected.**
- A sample is a portion of people drawn from a larger population. It will be representative of the population only if it has same basic characteristics of the population from which it is drawn.

Key sampling terms

- **Target Population:** Complete group of interest
- **Sampling Frame:** List of the sampling units present within the target population
- **Sample:** Subset of the (target) population
- **Participant Group:** Individuals who are selected as part of the sample and who choose to participate

Purposes of Sampling:

Sarantakos has pointed out the following purposes of sampling:

- Population in many cases may be so large and scattered that a complete coverage may not be possible.
- It **offers a high degree of accuracy** because it deals with a small number of persons.
- **In a short period of time, valid and comparable results can be obtained**. A lengthy period of data collection generally renders some data obsolete by the time the information is completely in hands. For example, collecting information on the attitudes of voters' preferences during election period, or demanding action against police personnel responsible for using violence against women demonstrators, or for making a large number of accused persons in the police lockup blind.
- Sampling is less demanding in terms of requirements of investigators since it requires a small portion of the target population.
- **It is economical since it contains fewer people**. Large population would involve employing a large number of interviewers which will increase the total cost of the survey.
- Many research projects, particularly those in quality control testing, require the destruction of the items being tested. If the manufacturer of electric bulbs wishes to find out whether each bulb met a specific standard, there would be no product left after the testing

Advantages of Sampling:

- It is not possible to study large number of people scattered in wide geographical area. Sampling will reduce their number.
- It **saves time and money**.
- It saves destruction of units.

- It **increases accuracy of data** (having control on the small number of subjects).
- It **achieves greater response rate**.
- It achieves greater cooperation from respondents
- It is easy to supervise few interviewers in the sample but difficult to supervise a very large number of interviewers in the study of total population.
- The researcher can keep a low profile.

Types of Samples

- **Probability (Representative):** A sample that is selected in such a way as to be representative of the population
- **Nonprobability (Non-Representative):** A sample that is not selected in such a way as to be representative of the population

Probability Sampling

1. **Random Sampling:** Each unit has an equal chance of being chosen (less costly and time-consuming).

2. **Systematic Sampling:** A random starting point but next members are chosen on a fixed interval. Say, every 10th or 20th item to be selected.

Both techniques rely on law of averages that eventually representative sample will be formed.

3. **Stratified Random Sampling**: Division of sample frames into groups to ensure sample is representative. Division is based on variable which researcher wants to control.

4. **Census:** Sample consisting of the entire population

• **Example:** A high school math teacher decides to use a new method of communication with parents to increase parent involvement. At the end of the year, the teacher would like to know if parents thought the new approach was effective. The teacher attempts (and succeeds) to obtain parent responses from the parents of all students in her classes.

Non-probability Sampling

1. **Quota Sampling**: Quota is filled for a particular category and till then no responses will be collected. It is quicker and cheaper with no need to produce a sampling frame. Everybody doesn't have a chance to get selected. Difficult to fill quotas of a minority.

2. **Multistage sampling**: Samples from the sample when the population is large. E.g. -opinion polls

3. **Snowballing sampling**: Involves using of personal contacts of one sample entity to bring in others. E.g. criminals bringing their friends. Specific and used when other techniques can't be used.

4. **Volunteer sampling**

5. **Convenience sampling –** Easily accessible and available.

6. **Purposive sampling**- Deliberately selected sample on the basis of certain variables. E.g: Sample for study of domestic violence from areas where incidents are higher in frequency.

Convenience Sampling:

- Sample consisting of units within the population that require minimal effort to reach o Example: A researcher would like to investigate the prevalence of suicidal tendencies among college students. ▪ The researcher recruits' students enrolled in introductory social science (e.g., psychology, sociology) courses.

Disadvantages

- Selection of proper size of sample is a difficult job, sample may not be truly representative.
- Improper selection of sampling technique may affect the whole process
- Fault of biased selection will lead to inaccurate results
- Validity is not as accurate as in census method

Cluster sampling

- This type is **usually used when a target population is spread over a wide area.**
- **An opinion poll on voting behaviour**, for example, might involve a sample of 1000 people representing the 40+ million people eligible to vote in a General Election.
- For a simple random sample the researcher might have to question 10 people in New Delhi, 15 people in Mumbai and so forth - an expensive, time-consuming process: results from the poll would be out of date before it could be finished.
- **To avoid these problems, a researcher can use cluster samples that:**
  1. Divide the country into smaller sampling units (such as constituencies) and then into small units within constituencies (localities).
  2. Individual localities are then selected which, based on past research, show a representative cross-section of voters.
  3. A sample of electors is taken from a small number of localities across the country.
  4. Each cluster in the sample is a small-scale version of the target population.

Advantages

- **This type of sample is time, money and effort efficient:** relatively small samples can represent very large target populations.
- Once a reliable sample has been established, the researcher can use the same (or very similar) sample repeatedly (as with political opinion polling, for example).
- Where samples are based on relatively small areas, the researcher can easily expand or contract the sample size in subsequent studies.

Disadvantages

- Unless great care is taken, the cluster samples will be unrepresentative of the target population. Some groups, depending on their size and diversity, may be over or under-represented in a cluster
- Although it is a relatively cheap form of sampling, this is not necessarily the case. A sample that seeks to represent the whole of Britain, for example, is still going to be too expensive to initially construct for many researchers

Way forward:

Karl Popper: Researcher should try to falsify their theories by looking at untypical examples.

Herbert Blumer: Study best-informed members of social groups rather than a cross-section of a group

Why Go for Non-Representative Sampling:

- **Choice:** If the researcher isn't interested in making generalisations from a sample - they might simply be interested in the behaviour of a group itself, rather than what they may or may not represent - they may decide to use non-representative sampling.
- **EG: Ward's (2008) research into drug selling among 'rave' dance participants in London, for example, simply focused on the behaviour of a relatively small subcultural group.** This is a perfectly acceptable situation as long as the researcher doesn't try to generalise their findings to other, supposedly similar, groups.
- **Necessity:** Circumstances sometimes make it impossible to create a representative sample and the researcher may be forced to settle for opportunity sampling.
- EG: Wanted to study a religious group called The Church of Scientology. When Church leaders refused to cooperate with his requests for information about membership, Wallis was forced to find ex-members who could put him in touch with current members. In this Way he created a (non-representative) sample of Church members to study.

Advantages of Non-Representative Sampling

- No sampling frame is available.
- There are situations that would be impossible to research using another sampling technique.
- The researcher knows little or nothing about the characteristics of their target population.
- In terms of resources it can be a **cheap and quick method** (although this depends on both sample size and the speed at which it's possible to contact respondents).

Disadvantages of Non-Representative Sampling

- The sample is likely to be **unrepresentative** and there is no way of reliably checking its representativeness.
- It can be a **relatively expensive and time-consuming technique** if the sample is large, widely dispersed across a large area and respondents are reluctant or unable to suggest further potential respondents.
- A **self-selected sample is a distinct possibility because this type of sample effectively "picks itself" rather than being selected by the researcher.**
- There is the risk of creating statistically inadequate samples - a sample that is too small to accurately represent a target population.

Reliability & Validity:

Reliability:

Reliability is the consistency of your measurement, or the degree to which an instrument measures the same way each time it is used under the same condition with the same subjects. In short, it is the repeatability of your measurement

There are two ways that reliability is usually estimated: test/retest and internal consistency.

Test/Retest: Test/retest is the more conservative method to estimate reliability. Simply put, the idea behind test/retest is that you should get the same score on test 1 as you do on test

> **The three main components to this method are as follows:**
> 1. Implement your measurement instrument at two separate times for each subject;
> 2. Compute the correlation between the two separate measurements; and
> 3. Assume there is no change in the underlying condition (or trait you are trying to measure) between test 1 and test 2.

Internal Consistency: **Internal consistency estimates reliability by grouping questions in a questionnaire that measure the same concept**. For example, you could write two sets of three questions that measure the same concept (say class participation) and after collecting the responses, run a correlation between those two groups of three questions to determine if your instrument is reliably measuring that concept.

Validity:

Validity is the strength of our conclusions, inferences or propositions. More formally, Cook and Campbell (1979) define it as the "best available approximation to the truth or falsity of a given inference, proposition or conclusion." In short, were we right?

Types of validity

Alan Bryman outlines four types of validity

1. **Measurement validity/ Construct validity:** Whether a measure that is employed really measures what it claims. E.g. If IQ tests really measure intelligence

2. **Internal validity:** If one thing is said to cause another, this explanation will be internally valid, if the causal relationship is true. E.g. Pierre Bourdieu- Different cultural settings produce different educational achievements.

3. **External validity:** If study can be generalized to situations other than study itself.

4. **Ecological validity:** How accurately a research mirrors natural setting or real experience. Lab experiments may lack ecological validity.

OTHER TYPES:

Construct Validity

- Mc Burney and White defined construct validity as the property of a test that the measurement actually measures the constructs they are designed to measure.
- There are two types of construct validity— **'convergent validity' and 'divergent validity' (or discriminant validity).**
- **Convergent Validity**- It means the extent to which a measure is correlated with other measure which is theoretically predicted to correlate with.
- **Discriminant Validity**- This explains the extent to which the operationalisation is not correlated with other operationalisations that it theoretically should not be correlated with

Face Validity

- **Face validity refers to what appears to measure superficially.**
- It **depends on the judgment of the researcher.** Each question is scrutinised and modified until the researcher is satisfied that it is an accurate measure of the desired construct.
- The determination of face validity is based on the subjective opinion of the researcher.

Validity and Reliability Compared:

- The real difference between reliability and validity is mostly a matter of definition
- It is my belief that **validity is more important than reliability because if an instrument does not accurately measure what it is supposed to,** there is no reason to use it even if it measures consistently (reliably).
- **So what is the relationship between validity and reliability?** The two do not necessarily go hand-in hand. At best, **we have a measure that has both high validity and high reliability.** It yields consistent results in repeated application and it accurately reflects what we hope to represent.
- **It is possible to have a measure that has high reliability but low validit**y – one that is consistent in getting bad information or consistent in missing the mark.
- It is also possible to have one that has low reliability and low validity – inconsistent and not on target.
- Finally, it is not possible to have a measure that has low reliability and high validity – you can't really get at what you want or what you're interested in, if your measure fluctuates wildly.

KARL MARX:

Marx was unhappy with the societal climate of his time, in which the **working class (proletariat) were being exploited by the upper/middle class (bourgeois)** by using the labor of the working class to fatten their own wallets.

Marx envisioned a revolutionary society in which everyone's needs are met, and **no class divisions exist**. This system, also known **as "socialism",** was **Marx's vision for the perfect society**. The world is decidedly physical and it is within our power to shape society, economics and politics.

In his "**Theses on Feuerbach**" he wrote: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it".

- His reliance on **complex philosophical traditions and implicit use of words met with criticism from Vilfredo** Pareto who made the classic critique of Marx by comparing his words to a fable about bats**.** When someone said they were birds, the bats would cry, "No, we are mice." When someone said they were mice, they protested that they were birds. Whatever interpretation one makes of Marx, others can offer alternative interpretations.

MARX'S OBSESSION WITH CAPITALISM:

- Capitalism is an **economic system** in which **great numbers of workers who own little produce commodities for the profit of small numbers of capitalists** who own all of the following: the commodities, the means of producing the commodities, and the labor time of the workers, which they purchase through wages.
- It is much more than an economic system. It is **also a system of power**. The secret of capitalism is that political powers have been transformed into economic relations.
- **Capitalists seldom use brute force**. They can coerce workers through their power to dismiss workers and close plants.
- Capitalism, therefore, is not simply an economic system; it is also **a political system, a mode of exercising power, and a process for exploiting workers.**
- Marx intends to reveal the internal contradictions that he hopes will inevitably transform capitalism.

MARX WAS INFLUENCED BY:

- Marx is considered to be a radical thinker who influenced the course of history. His understanding about society were **highly influenced by socioeconomic conditions of Europe in 19th century**. The position of workers was bad and his writings seem to be a reaction to the prevailing condition and looking for a possible solution
- **Smith & Ricardo** – Economics
- **Hegel** – dialects
- **Feuerbach** – Materialism
- **Darwin** – evolution model
- **Spinoza, Hume** – political thought, democracy

Hegel: the dialectic of history:

Hegel was the most influential thinker of the first half of the nineteenth century in Germany and, arguably, in Europe as a whole.

BASIC IDEAS:

- **HISTORY-AS-A-WHOLE**: The history of all humanity can, he argued, be grasped as a single, unified, organised and rational progress. History might look like a mere accidental succession, one thing after another in a rather disorganised, chaotic sequence, but that impression is only superficial. Seen in the right way, **hi**story can be recognised as making up a coherent story about development and progress.

- **Idealism** Hegel's study of the mind was **THE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDEAS**, so naturally he concentrated upon those areas of society that were creative or expressive of ideas: art, abstract thought (particularly philosophy) and religion. **HENCE HEGEL IS TERMED AN IDEALIST**. he thought that the true nature of history and human existence was to be understood in terms of the development of thought, of ideas.

- **Dialectical logic**: In grossly simplified terms, we may glimpse Hegel's dialectical logic as an exposition of the way in which seeming opposites can be reconciled and combined in a new unity.

- HEGEL IS SAYING THAT **HISTORY ARISES FROM CONFLICT**. FAR FROM CONFLICT BEING AN UNDESIRABLE AND UNNECESSARY BLEMISH UPON THE FACE OF HUMAN EXISTENCE, IT IS THE DRIVER OF HISTORY, THE ESSENTIAL MOTOR OF PROGRESS. CONFLICT ENGENDERS NEW AND BETTER IDEAS AND PUSHES TOWARDS A MORE COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING.

- Over the course of history, human beings necessarily represent something less than the true or full nature of humanity. For just as the full potential of the seed is only realised when the plant is fully matured, so the full potential of human beings will only be realised after the period of growth—**i.e. history—is over**. The **achievement of complete freedom will be the 'finished growth' of human beings. Consequently, there will be an end to history.**

Marx's reformation of Hegel:

Although he was the youngest member of the young Hegelians, Karl Marx inspired their confidence, respect and even admiration. They saw in him a **'new Hegel'.**

- For Marx, the real history of human development could not be a history solely of thought or ideas; it would have to be a history of human life in the real world, i.e. **the world of economic and political being**

- Hegel's idea of history cannot offer a progress of history to real, practical freedom. It only resulted in freedom in theory.

- If history progresses through intellectual development, then most people will be excluded from it. But this is not true, as they have produced history alright.

Marx's Dialectic:

While most philosophies, and indeed common sense, treat contradictions as mistakes, a **dialectical philosophy believes that contradictions exist in reality and that the most appropriate way to understand reality is to study the development of those contradictions.**

Marx did not believe that the contradictions of capitalism and class contradictions could be worked out in our understanding, that is, in our minds. **Instead, for Marx these are real, existing contradictions. These can be resolved by a life-and-death struggle that changes the social world.**

Contradiction of profit-making is at the heart of Capitalism. Can only be resolved through social change and not philosophy.

Fact & Value

- Sociologists believe their **values can and must be separated from their study of facts about the social world.** Dialectical thinker believes it is impossible and also undesirable — work will be dispassionate & inhuman.

Reciprocal Relations

- For the dialectical thinker, social influences never simply flow in one direction as they often do for cause-and-effect thinkers.
- **Example:** o Increasing exploitation by capitalists → workers dissatisfied and more militant or increasing militancy → capitalists becoming more exploitative to crush resistance

Past, Present, Future

- Dialectical sociologists are concerned with **studying the historical roots of the contemporary world.**
- Marx: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living."
- Future trends of the society can be discerned only through a careful study of the contemporary world.

No inevitabilities:

- The relationship between the present and the future need not imply that the future is determined by the present.
- Terence Ball describes **Marx as a "political possibilist" rather than a "historical inevitability".**

The simple model of the dialectic — **thesis, antithesis and synthesis** - implies that a social phenomenon will inevitably spawn an opposing form and that the clash between the two will inevitably lead to a new, synthetic social form.

- But in the real world, there are no inevitabilities. • Furthermore, **social phenomena are not easily divided into the simple thesis, antithesis, and synthesis categories adopted by some Marxists**.

Dialectician is interested in the study of real relationships rather than grand abstractions.

- It is this disinclination to deal in grand abstractions that led Marx away from Hegel and would lead him today to reject such a great oversimplification of the dialectic as thesis, antithesis, synthesis.

Actors and Structures

- There is a **dynamic relationship between actors and social structures.**
- Heart of Marx's thought lies in the relationship between people and the large-scale structures they create. On the one hand, these large-scale structures help people fulfill themselves; on the other, they represent a grave threat to humanity.
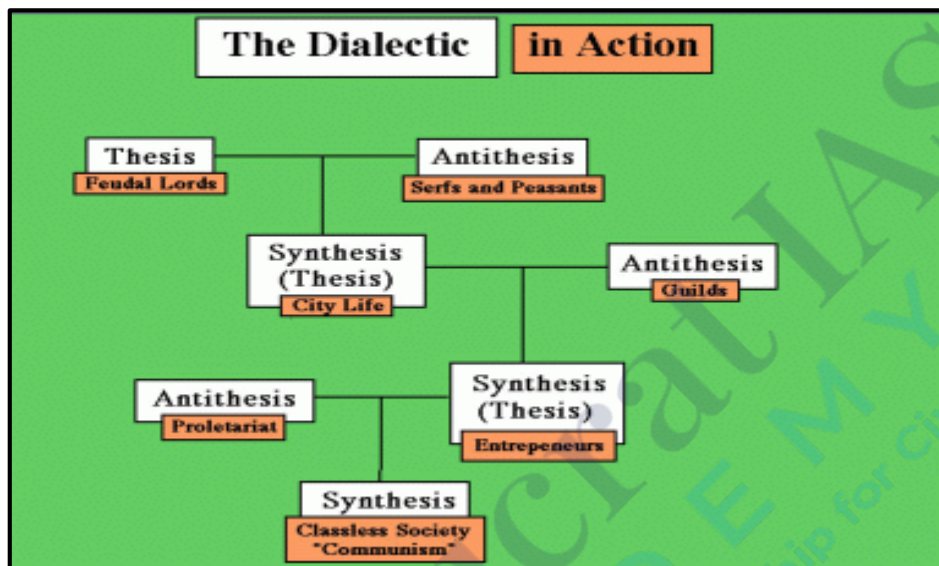
HISTORICAL MATERIALISM:

Marx general ideas about society are known as his theory of historical materialism. Marx himself termed it as the materialistic conception of history.

The clear exposition of his theory is found in the book **"A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy"**.

It is a conception of society in terms of evolutions from one stage to another, which **Marx refers as modes of production, and material or economic factors** have a pivotal role in historical change. It is an inquiry into nature of relations between man and man, and man and things as history proceeds.

This theory contains 2 inter related aspects:

1. **Materialistic conception of society (System view).**

2. **Evolution of Society (Dynamic view).**

Materialistic conception of Society	Evolution of Society (Dynamic view)
His conception of society is based on **centrality of production**. Economic infra shapes or gives rise to social element of superstructure where in turn helps in functioning of economic infra	According to Marx, **Production is the first historical act and also a necessary condition of history.** Production represents the material factors and society changes with changing material factors. The evolutionary view of Marx explains both societies in the past as well as in future.

EXPLANATION:

- According to Marx, 'History is a process of man's self creation'. Since man's involvement into relations of production creates history, it is necessary to understand history to understand society
- '**In order to survive, man must produce**' – Proclaimed Marx. Production is essential for the survival of human beings. It is the first historical act and had been universally part of human history throughout.
- **Man produces to satisfy his needs which are ever growing and according to Marx – 'Man is a perpetually dissatisfied animal'.** Once a set of needs is satisfied, new ones are created. Thus, production continues and history proceeds
- In order to produce, **man must enter into 'relations' with others.** WHY?
- Man together produces more than is isolation. Hence relations of productions from, giving rise to society.

KEY IDEAS:

Relations of Production or social relations of production, according to Marx, are of **two types in any mode of production** –

Relations between man and man – They pertain to the associations which individuals form in order to undertake production. **These associations also lead to stratification and formulation of 'classes'** depending upon different positions in the production process.

- Broadly, there are two classes – **'the haves'** – who **own the production and earn profit** or benefits, and '**the have nots'** – **who sell their labor and earn wages in an industrial society**. Nature of these relations is in form of 'antagonistic cooperation'. This is because of an essential contradiction between the interests of the two classes.

Relations between man and things – **They are of nature of 'ownership' and 'nonownership' of things** required in the production. 'The haves' own the production process in a capitalist society, whereas 'the have nots' are non-owners in the production process and just own their own labor

Forces of Production

Include the material aspect of the production.

- These have 2 aspects,
- **Man** - which includes the **entrepreneur, worker in a capitalist society**. This includes the living component of production having consciousness.
- **Things** - which includes **tools, techniques, equipments** and other non–living components.
- **Marx also called them as Means of Production**. This also includes skills, technical know-how needed for production.

WHY DOES FOP AND ROP CHANGE OVER TIME:

- Major changes in society occur when **new forces of production are evolved (which also create new relations of production) which replace the older ones and create a new mode of production**
- A contradiction between the older and new forces of production is resolved by replacement of older mode of production by the newer one.
- In every society, there is centrality of one major thing. **Every FOP has its own set of ROP**. Its systematic rather than accidental.
- **Dialectical relationship between the forces and relations of production:** In revolutionary period, **one class is attached to the old relations of production**. These relations hinder the development of the forces of production. A**nother class, on the other hand, is forward looking. It strives for new relations of production**. The new relations of production do not create obstacles in the way of the development of the forces of production. They encourage the maximum growth of those forces. **This is the abstract formulation of Marx's ideas of class struggle. – The dialectical relationship between the forces of production also provides a "theory of revolution".**
- Existing ROP (THESIS) contradicts new FOP (ANTI THESIS), resulting in new MOP (SYNTHESIS)
- **For example –** in feudal society, land is central, in capitalist society, capital is central. Forces of production help in transforming the things which are available in nature into things which can be exchanged in market.
- **Forces of production also represent man's control over nature**. As the history proceeds, man's control over nature increases. Thus, man and nature are in a state of constant struggle. Thus, the development in the forces of production can be seen in terms of man's increasing control over nature.
- **Both the forces and relations of production change continuously and together the two constitute 'economic base' or 'infrastructure' of society**. This constant interplay results into a particular type of social formation which is 'mode of production' or society or social formation according to Marx.

He conceptualizes 4 stages of societies in the past and 2 more in future.

Stages

- **Primitive communism**

- **Ancient mode of Production**

- **Feudalism**

- **Capitalism – Present (In Europe)**

- **Socialism**

• **Communism**

Primitive Communism –

- In this mode of production, **all are equal and have equal access to forces of production** and society is hunting gathering society. Forces of production are at extremely low level and there was **de facto equality in society as food is also abundant as population is low.**
- Relations of production were **based upon cooperation, rather than domination** as ownership of forces of production was communal.
- With invention of new tools, forces became sophisticated. **Communal structure of society starts to break up as new form of social organization emerge with emergence of private ownership**.
- This leads to conflicts and contradiction between erstwhile mode of production and emerging new mode of production which is termed as **'negation of primitive communism'.** Those who held command over tools emerged as 'masters' and those who became dependent became 'slaves' in new mode of production

Ancient Slave Mode of Production

- In this mode, some men have control over skills and tools and others were subordinate to them. **This mode symbolises ancient slavery** in which slaves didn't have control on their labor also. As population further increases, slaves are pressurised to produce more and more and their exploitation increases and slave revolt. **New forces of production emerge in form of agriculture and feudalism emerges.**

Feudal mode:

- With time population increases. Slaves are prescribed to produce more & more food leading to their even increasing exploitation.
- The struggle starts within ancient mode of production and new forces of production start emerging pertaining to agriculture. Slaves know these techniques.
- When the exploitation reaches at its peak, the slaves' revolt and want to work independent on fields. **Gradually, with time a new mode of production, i.e. Feudal mode, evolved in which few people who owned the land, now known as feudal lords emerged, who were erstwhile masters**. The erstwhile slaves now became serfs
- Serfs were free, but were forced to cultivate on land of feudal lords and have to pay tax and service which kept on rising leading to revolt of serfs when mature conditions arrived.

Capitalism:

- During this period, due to the higher population the **rationale of mass production started**. Few feudal lords developed factories, requiring labor.
- At an appropriate time, serfs will revolt and will move towards factories. **Gradually, a new mode of production emerged in which production is done by machines in the factory owned by the capitalist** who is erstwhile feudal lord workers in the factories are erstwhile serfs.
- **Workers are free to sell their labour and get wages** in lieu of their work wages are minimum at subsistence level and gradually the workers start feeling exploited as his unable to fulfill their needs.

- Marx argued that capital produces nothing. Only labor produces wealth, yet wages paid are too low. **The difference between the two is the 'surplus' which is gobbled up by capitalists**. Workers lose control over their labor as well and start feeling alienated.
- The most significant contradictions that leads to class conflict in capitalist society is – **contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist form of appropriation**. It leads to conflict and exploited workers will unite and revolt heralding new mode of production – socialism eventually leading to communism.

Marx terms Feudalism and Capitalism as 'negation of negation' as these modes of production negate a mode of production which has itself negated another mode of production.

Future stages include

Socialism:

- It is a transitory mode of production in which proletariat will topple bourgeiose in a revolution and will control forces of production. **Marx calls it as 'dictatorship of proletariat'** as, for a short while, worker controls the forces of production.

Advanced Communism:

- It is the final mode in **which forces of production will be communally owned** as workers too renounce their rule and everyone will carry on his own creative pursuit **and there will be no class in society.**
- **There will be no state** and a person's true self or being will be re-integrated with oneself.
- According to Marx, this will be the **last mode of production as the contradiction will be resolved in it and hence there will not be any new relations of production.** In this mode of production, collective production will remain, but the qualitative nature of relations will be transformed and ownership will also be now collective.
- Dialectical principle will cease to operate in this mode of produciton and this stage will be a closing chapter of dialectical materialism.
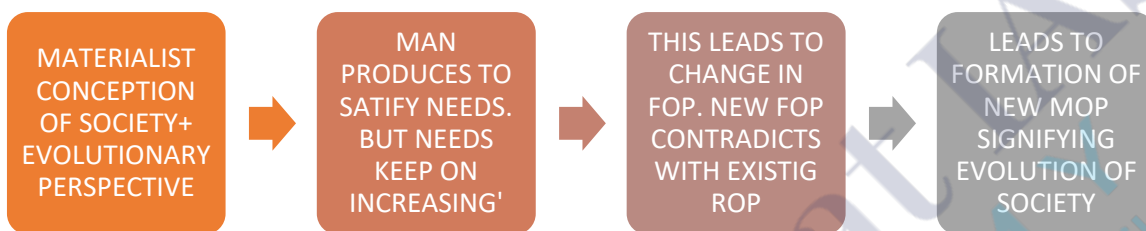
Thus, Marx' dynamic model of society is based upon following propositions – a continuous change in the forces and relations of production in response to changing material conditions; a continuous struggle between two classes till capitalism and its resolution in socialism and communism; a continuous struggle between man and nature throughout history will be resolved in communism.

General criticism of Marx:

- **Fukuyama** is hinting that Marx was wrong. End means history as a 'single, coherent, evolutionary process' (Hegel & Marx's version) ended. But Big events will still occur. **Prevalence of liberal democracy, the most remarkable macro-political phenomenon of last 400 years — this cannot be a Western Cultural Imperialism.**
- **Similarly G. Myrdal** opined that state and its policies are important factors for change and and because of state intervention there is change in infrastructure.
- **Melovan Djilas** criticizes **Marx as a utopian thinker** because the kind of communist society which Marx talked about could never emerged and the communist society which emerged does not stick to Marxian Ideology

- **The philosophic basis of Marxist is purely material. It does not believe in religio**n, God as the change of heart feelings. **His view regarding human nature is very narrow**. In this opinion men is selfish and works only according to his class and interest. But along with it there are also feelings of mutual cooperation, sacrifice, love and sympathy too.
- Marx also over emphasised conflict and ignored social order aspect. **Coser and Simmel** even went on to say that conflict also has its own functions.
- Conflict is attributed to relations with economic infrastructure, but **Dahrendorf** says differential authority structure or is root cause of conflict

SUMMARY OF H.M.

| MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF SOCIETY+ EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE | ➤ | MAN PRODUCES TO SATIFY NEEDS. BUT NEEDS KEEP ON INCREASING' | ➤ | THIS LEADS TO CHANGE IN FOP. NEW FOP CONTRADICTS WITH EXISTIG ROP | ➤ | LEADS TO FORMATION OF NEW MOP SIGNIFYING EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY |

MODE OF PRODUCTION:

Mode of Production refers to the general economic institution i.e., the particular manner in which people produce and distribute the means that sustain life.

- The **force of production and the relations of production together define the mode of production**, e.g., Capitalistic mode of production, feudal mode of production, **etc For Marx, the mode of production is the main determinant of social phenomena.**
- Modes of production can be distinguished from one another by the different relationship between the forces and relations of production
- In Marx's writings historical periods are founded and differentiated on the basis of the modes of material production. In other words, **the basis of history is successive modes of material production.** The forces and relation of production are two aspects of mode of production.
- The forces of production shapes the relations of production and the two together define the mode of production. The successive modes of production are the basic element of a systematic description of history

Society contains 2 parts: -

i.   **Economic Infrastructure** which includes forces & relations of production.
ii.   **Social Superstructure** which includes **religion, family, values, morality, law, education**, etc.
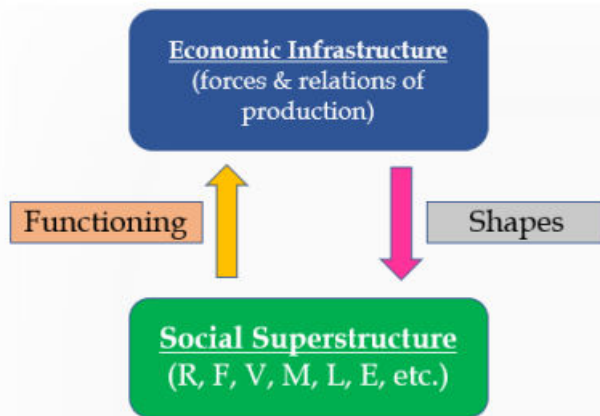
In brief, **according to Marx, economic infrastructure shapes social superstructure**, which in turn helps the functioning of economic infrastructure.

Crucial element in defining mode of production is 'the way in which the surplus is produced and its use controlled' (Bottomore).

- **Surplus means the amount that remains. surplus takes the form of profit.** Surplus **is produced by exploiting the working class and is sold for more than the wages given to the workers**. Because production of surplus enables societies to grow and change, this factor is taken to be most important in defining mode of production.
- **Each mode of production has its specific relations of production**. These are not developed by chance or by accident. They are deliberately ordered because they help the property owning class extract the surplus from the working people.
- Take an example, the relations of production under feudalism, in which the serf is dominated in all respects by the feudal lord, are necessary to enable the feudal lord to appropriate the surplus from the serf. If such a relationship is continued under capitalism it will fail. Therefore a new set of production relations develop under capitalism that enables the capitalist appropriate surplus value from the workers
- **Neither the forces of production nor the relations of production are fixed and static**. Even within a given mode of production the forces of production may change.
- In any society, we may find that over the years greater production follows improvements in technology. The capitalist nations are very different from what they were to hundred years ago, when capitalism was born. This change in the productive force has resulted in changes in the relations of production. The workers, today, may not be as exploited as the factory workers a hundred years earlier.
- Marxists would, however, argue that exploitation still remains, because the modern worker, with modern technology, produces more surplus value than his predecessors, and he does not proportionately earn that much more

The four modes of production, identified by Marx during his studies of human societies:

<u>PRIMITIVE-COMMUNAL:</u>

- The primitive-communal system was the **first and the lowest form of organization** of people and it existed for thousand of years. **Man started using primitive tools**; he learned to make fire, cultivation and animal husbandry.

- 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**. Therefore, these relations were based on mutual assistance and cooperation.
- These relations were conditioned by the fact that people with their primitive implements could only withstand the might forces of nature together, collectively

ANCIENT MODE OF PRODUCTION:

- Ancient mode of production refers to the forms which precede feudal mode of production. **Slavery is seen as the foundation of the productive system.** The relation of masters to slaves is considered as the very essence of slavery.
- In this system of production the **master has the right of ownership over the slave and appropriates the products of the slave's labour.** The slave is not allowed to reproduction.
- The slave works at the master's land and receives his subsistence in return. The master's profit is constituted by the difference between what the slave produces and what he consumes. The slave was deprived of his own means of reproduction.

FEUDAL MODE OF PRODUCTION:

- Just as capitalist exploited the workers or the 'proletariat', so did the feudal lords exploit their tenants or 'serfs'. **Capitalists grabbed surplus value and feudal lords appropriated land rent from their serfs.**
- Serfs, being legally unfree, were deprived of property rights, though they could use the 'lord's property. They were obliged to surrender their labour, or the product of their labour, over and above what was needed for family subsistence and the simple reproduction of the peasant household economy.
- Serfs or the producers were forced to fulfill the economic demands of an overlord. These demands could be in the form of services to be performer. **These could also be in the form of dues to be paid in money or kind.** The dues or taxes were levied on the family holding of the peasants
- In this mode of production, **serfdom implied a direct relation between rulers and servants**. In feudal serfdom, the instruments of production were simple and inexpensive.
- **The evolution of the feudal system brought about the development of exchange of agricultural and manufactured products in regional markets**, Special needs of the ruling class and high ranking Church officials gave an impetus to the growth of commodity production, including consumption goods such as silks, spices, fruits and wines.
- Around this activity developed international trade routes and mercantile centres. **It laid the foundation for capitalist relations of production which were to become the main contradiction of the system** and cause its downfall. In the course of this transformation, many peasants were expropriated from their lands and forced to become wagelabourers

CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION:

- Capitalism refers to a mode of production in which **capital is the dominant means of the production**. Capital can be in various forms. It can take the form of money or credit for the purchase of labour power and materials of production.

- In capitalist mode of production, the **private ownership of capital in its various forms is in the hands of a class of capitalists (Bourgeosie).** The ownership by capitalists is to the exclusion of the mass of the population.
- The capitalist mode of production is capable of tremendous growth because the capitalist can, and has an incentive to, reinvest profits in new technologies. **Marx considered the capitalist class to be the most revolutionary in history, because it constantly revolutionized the means of production**.
- But Marx argued that **capitalism was prone to periodic crises**. He suggested that over time, capitalists would invest more and more in new technologies, and less and less in labor.
- Since Marx believed that **surplus value appropriated from labor is the source of profits**, he concluded that the rate of profit would fall even as the economy grew.
- When the rate of profit falls below a certain point, the result would be a recession or depression in which certain sectors of the economy would collapse.
- Marx understood that during such a crisis the price of labor would also fall, and eventually make possible the investment in new technologies and the growth of new sectors of the economy. Marx viewed capitalism as a historical phase, to be eventually replaced be socialism.

Asiatic Mode of Production:
- The Asiatic mode of production is characteristic of primitive communities in which ownership of land is communal. These communities are still partly organized 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; it is also perhaps the most ancient form of this transition. It contains the contradiction of this transition, i.e. the combination of communal relations of production with emerging forms of the exploiting classes and of the State.
- Marx did not leave behind any systematic presentation of history of India. He set down his observations on certain current India question which attracted public attention, or drew materials from India's past and present conditions to illustrate parts of his more general arguments. The concept of Asiatic Mode of Production is therefore inadequate for an understanding of Indian history and society.

Critics:

Mode of production is an abstract analytical concept. In any particular society at a particular point in time there may exist more than one mode of production. However, it is possible to identify a dominant or determinant mode of production which gains primacy over all the other production system. Particularly during the period of social revolution more than one mode of production co-exist in the same society.

Class & Class struggle

Clearest exposition of which is found in the **Communist Manifesto, 1848.**

- In every society there are classes which draw from specific relations of production. •
- According to Marx, **a class is a group of people sharing the same position in the process of production**

BASCIS:

- Class is found even in the most **remote societies**. It is not only economic but also social
- Class **is relational**: one class cannot exist without the other, cannot exist in isolation.
- **Opposed interest**: leading to unequal relationships and exploitation.

2 broad classes:

For e.g. In the factory system Marx defines predominantly 2 positions: -

 Earning Profit (Haves)   **Earning wages (Have nots).**

- These 2 positions result in 2 classes capitalist & workers.
- **This is known as a class in itself** and is defined on the basis of objective criteria.

Criteria for Determination of Class: According to Marxian Literature, a social class has two major criteria: (i) objective criteria (ii) subjective criteria.

Objective Criteria (class in itself):

people sharing the same relationship to the means of production comprise a class.

- Let us understand it through an example –all labourers have a similar relationship with the landowners.
- On the other hand all the landowners, as a class have a similar relationship with the land and labourers. In this way **labourers on one hand and land owners on the other hand could be seen as classes.**
- However, for Marx, this relationship above is not sufficient to determine the class, as according to him it is not sufficient for class to be 'class in itself' but should also be 'class for itself'. What does this mean?
- **By 'class in itself' he means the objective criteria of any social class**. Obviously, Marx is not simply satisfied with objective criteria above. Hence he equally emphasize upon the other major criteria i.e., "Class for itself" or the subjective criteria.

Subjective Criteria (Class for itself):

- Any collectivity or human grouping with a similar relationship would make a category not a class, if subjective criteria are not included.
- **The members of any one class not only have similar consciousness but they also share a similar consciousness of the fact that they belong to the same class.**
- This similar consciousness of a class serves as the basis for uniting its members for organizing social action. Here this **similar class consciousness towards acting together for their common interests is what Marx class – "Class for itself".**

According to Marx, **class in itself becomes a class for itself only in capitalist mode of production**, as in earlier modes of production, change of mode of production resulted only in replacement of one set of contradiction by the other and no qualitative change in relationships of production occurs**. Before communism arrives, 'class for itself' is merely transitory in nature as old contradiction is replaced with the new contradictions.** Final transition of class in itself to class for itself occurs only in communism.

HOW DOES TRANSFORMATION FROM CLASS IN ITSELF TO CLASS FOR ITSELF OCCUR:

It is through the development of **CLASS CONCIOUSNESS**

- In capitalism both bourgeoise and proletariat have incorrect ideas about how the system works and their role in it. This is **False consciousness**
- Bourgeoise underestimate the contradictions inherent in capitalist structure and their role in increasing these contradictions. They **overestimate the durability of capitalism**.
- **EG:** exploitation of worker done in order to increase profits. However, this very exploitation will become the cause of revolution leading to overthrow of capitalists.
- In evolution towards communism, it is possible that proletariat will develop an accurate conception of how the system affects them. This will **lead to development of true consciousness or class consciousness.**
- In simple terms it refers to commonality of the problems, wages, working conditions etc. **True consciousness is one which involved a solidarity energized by an appropriate system of ideas & to fulfil the wider goal of emancipation of all.**
- Thus, the consciousness of the workers is dynamic & changes the time.

Theory of class struggle:

According to Marx, "**history of hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle**".

- In this statement **Marx considers the class struggle as basic motor of history.**
- The broad classes are in a state of a struggle reading to a process of social change.
- **For e.g.** Slaves are in conflict with the masters, serfs are in with feudal lords, and so on.

Reason for class struggle:

- Class struggle is a **result of contradictions present in society.**
- These contradictions are in the form of **property relations, interests, ideology & institution**.
- For e.g. a major contradiction in capitalist society to the division of benefits when is not common sense to the amount of work done.
- Workers do the hard work but only get subsistence wages whereas the capitalist takes away the whole profit apart from this there is a contradiction in relations of production.
- **New relations of production develop within the old one but have conflicting interests.**
- Apart from this **Marx also attributes class struggle to increasing alienation** i.e. absence of the conditions that help develop the full potential of the individual, the structure which individual the creativity of the individual

Mechanism of class Struggle:

- According to Marx, **"history repeats itself first as tragedy then as farce".**
- This statement denotes the **mechanism of class struggle in the engines of class struggle**. The class struggle increases due to ever-increasing contradictions.
- It reaches its peak and when natural conditions are present it leads to revolution symbolizing the emergence of a new mode of production.
- The mechanism of class struggle is not the same in every society.
- **Marx called slave & serf revolutions as false revolutions** as they were fuelled by false consciousness.
- The **worker's revolution will be a true revolution** as it is because of true consciousness.
- In the earlier case the have nots although are exploited, organized & developed awareness but still are aided by an emerging class.
- This emerging class represents new relation of production and are part of haves only. Their consciousness is restricted which represents true revolution.
- In capitalism, worker do not have any alternative, there is no emerging class. Which eventually leads to a true consciousness and, thus, true revolution.
- Revolution will not occur on its own but only when mature conditions exist.

Conditions for emergence of Class Struggle

These conditions include emergence of

- a critical mass of workers,
- network of communication among the workers,
- emergence/awareness of a proper ideology given by leadership
- identification of common enemy

Mature conditions

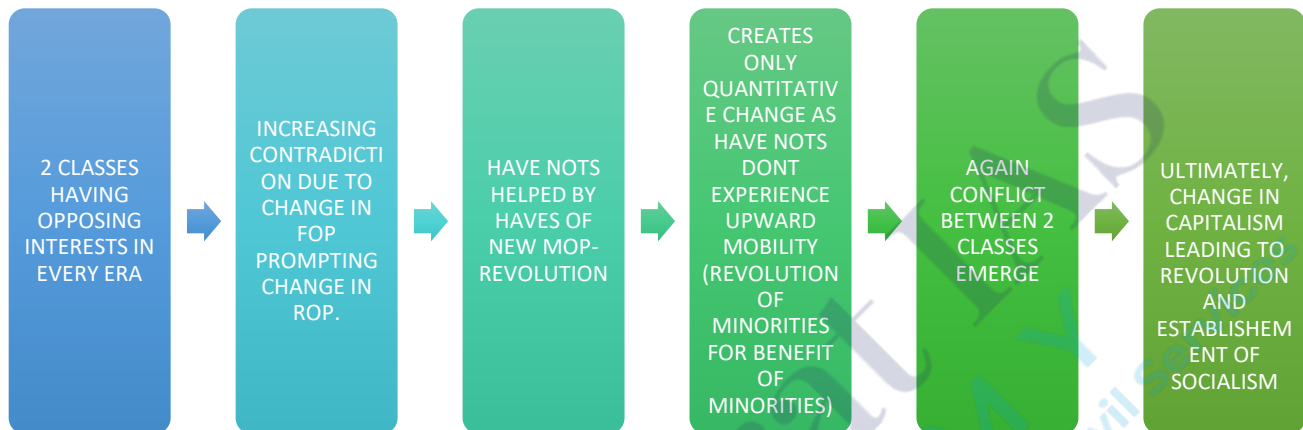These mature conditions are proceeded by the economic crisis which does the Marx harm to the have nots.

Pauperization:

- Pauperization refers to the **process through which individuals or groups of people are impoverished or reduced to a state of extreme poverty and destitution within a capitalist system.**
- **Context:** Marx argued that capitalism, due to its inherent dynamics, leads to the worsening economic conditions of the working class over time, pushing them towards greater impoverishment and insecurity.

Proletarianization (or Proletariatization):

- Proletarianization is the process by which **individuals or groups are transformed into the proletariat, the working class**. It involves transitioning from other socioeconomic roles (such as artisans, small business owners, etc.) to becoming wage laborers dependent on selling their labor for a living.

- **Context:** This transformation is central to Marx's analysis of capitalism, illustrating how the system tends to assimilate various social groups into the working class, often due to the concentration of capital and industrialization.

2 CLASSES HAVING OPPOSING INTERESTS IN EVERY ERA	INCREASING CONTRADICTION DUE TO CHANGE IN FOP PROMPTING CHANGE IN ROP.	HAVE NOTS HELPED BY HAVES OF NEW MOP-REVOLUTION	CREATES ONLY QUANTITATIVE CHANGE AS HAVE NOTS DONT EXPERIENCE UPWARD MOBILITY (REVOLUTION OF MINORITIES FOR BENEFIT OF MINORITIES)	AGAIN CONFLICT BETWEEN 2 CLASSES EMERGE	ULTIMATELY, CHANGE IN CAPITALISM LEADING TO REVOLUTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM

Homogenization (Homogenity):

- Homogenization, or homogenity, in the context of social classes, **refers to the tendency of capitalist systems to standardize and reduce diversity within a particular class**. It implies that, over time, the working class becomes more uniform in terms of economic circumstances, experiences, and class interests.
- **Context:** Marx argued that capitalism's processes, such as proletarianization and pauperization, lead to a leveling effect within the working class, creating a more homogeneous group in terms of economic conditions and experiences.

Class for Itself to Class in Itself:

- This concept encapsulates the **transition of a social class from being merely a "class in itself" (having common economic interests) to becoming a "class for itself"** (conscious of its collective interests and capable of collective action).
- **Context:** Marx believed that the working class, initially aware of their economic conditions (class in itself), must develop a higher level of class consciousness (class for itself) to effectively organize and challenge the capitalist system, ultimately striving for social change and revolution.

Polarization of Classes:

- The **polarization of classes refers to the widening gap and increasing disparities between the capitalist class (bourgeoisie) and the working class (proletariat) within a capitalist society.**
- **Context:** Marx argued that capitalism tends to exacerbate inequalities, resulting in a sharp division between the affluent capitalist class and the economically disadvantaged working class, intensifying the social and economic contrast between the two groups.

The revolutions of the proletariat will differ in kind from all past revolutions. 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**

General criticism of class struggle theory –

- Marx' futuristic conception failed to take shape even 130 years after his demise. Industrial capitalism has in fact grown stronger and socialist experiments have failed worldwide and communism is still a **utopian concept.** The qualitative transformation he talked so vociferously never happened. I
- **Frank Parkin** in his **'Class Inequality and Political Order, 1972'** points out that classes exist even in socialist countries.
- Contrary to Marxian prediction **that class struggle will intensify**, it has moderated in most of the Europe which is epitome of capitalism. Workers themselves have become affluent and now have a stake in capitalist economy. Class is, in fact, given more importance as it is now used as a source of identity.
- **Weber and others** have highlighted that apart from economic basis, there are other basis of stratification in society.
- **Lenski** asserts that even breakdown of capitalism may not lead to socialism, as other modes of production may emerge.
- According **to Dahrendorf,** contrary to Marx' prediction, the manual working class has become increasingly heterogeneous or dissimilar.

MARX on INDIVIDUAL

According to Marx, man is perpetually dissatisfied, he creates new needs once existing needs are satisfied.

- According to Marx, **human being is fundamentally a social animal**.
- Marx is interested in the structure of society. Human nature is dynamic & changes with the structure of society.
- For eg human nature in capitalism is selfish whereas human nature in communism will be cooperative.
- Apart from this dynamic aspect of nature, a part of human nature is constant.
- **This nature is one of creativity.**
- Man likes to work if allowed to do so freely & creatively. Thus, **creativity is essential to his nature.**
- This nature can be fundamentally linked to needs & perpetual dissatisfaction.
- Once the basic needs are fulfilled, he creates for new. Thus, the needs are in themselves an expression of the creativity of human beings.

Social being vs being

Thus, human nature has 2 aspects.

- **One is variable** and is defined by a particular mode of production.
- Marx called this as a **social being or social consciousness.**
- **Second is the constant aspect** when is fixed.
- Marx calls this as **"being".**
- "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence. It is their social existence that determines their consciousness"

Alienation

Alienation literally means **"separation from"** in sociology. Mentioned in **ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL MANUSCRIPTS.**

- Alienation is a situation in which a **feeling of enragement & disenchantment is experienced from a group, society situation and over the individual himself**.
- Alienation also refers to a situation of powerlessness, isolation & meaninglessness experienced by the people.

Cause of Alienation

- According to Marx, **creativity is essential** for the being of an individual.
- The productive forces sometimes hinder the realization of creative potential.
- When a person fails to find objects in nature which he can consider as the expression of his creativity, he is alienated.
- Historically, the structure of society in general and economic infra in particular is seen that its constraints the creative potential of the human being for e.g. in capitalist society.
- Work is so maddening that the worker hardly has any time to think of creativity.
- Work itself becomes the suffering.

> **Labour is: Objectification of our purpose.**
>
> Establishment of an essential relation between human need and material objects of our need. Transformation of our human nature. **Use of labour is to restricted to economic activities** — it encompasses all productive actions that transform the material aspects of nature in accordance with our purpose.
>
> We labor in response to our needs, but the labor itself transforms our needs, which can lead to new forms of productive activity.
>
> **Marx believed that the inherent relation between labour and human nature is perverted by capitalism and this perverted relation is called alienation.**
>
> We no longer see our labour as an expression of our purpose. No objectivation (The conversion of a concept or abstraction into an object).
>
> Rather than being an end in itself, labour in capitalism is reduced to being a means to an end: earning money. It is the structure of capitalism that causes this alienation.

Dual aspect:

- **In a given mode of production, it increases with time**. This is because **material forces become stronger and control over forces of production becomes tighter leading to increasing exploitation**. For example – slaves in Ancient mode of production become more alienated as they are burdened with more work and less food. Similarly, in feudalism also, taxes and hardship on serfs increases with time.

- **Its degree increases as mode of production itself changes**. Marx says, 'History of mankind is a history of alienation'. It is least in primitive communism and peaks in capitalism and work becomes a suffering in capitalism.

Alienation & Capitalism

- Marx discusses alienation in capitalism in detail. **In capitalism alienation reaches at its peak**. It is the most exploiting system which equips workers life.
- **In capitalism he explains alienation with the help of concept of fetishism. (fetish:- That object with which we have a sense of distance.)**
- In **his Das Capital,** in the chapter fetishism of commodities, he explains the **process of alienation in industrial society.**
- In such societies the commodities which worker produces become fetish for him. This denotes a

Types of alienation.

According to Marx, there are 4 types of alienation:

Alienation from the process of production

- In **capitalism**, things are produced in the factories with **the help of machines.**
- Machines run on inanimate source of energy.
- **The process of production is pre-designed**. The worker has no control over it. He just mans the machines.

Alienation from the product

- In capitalism things are **produced in a mass quantity having the same quality**.
- Worker has **no control over quantity as well as quality**. He cannot control the sale of the product also.
- Moreover, he has to purchase the same product from the market while he has produced. He feels separated from the product.

Alienation from fellow workers

- Workers are working in the factory.
- Workers may associate with each other but the process of production is such that he has no time to interact with fellow workers.
- **A feeling of alienation (Marx) developed in the workers as they were restricted to their domestic spaces under "work from home."**
- They were alienated from other fellow workers and also from the society.
- There was **no clear distinction between work and leisure**. This impacted mental health conditions of many.

Alienation from self

- The worker feels so helpless that he starts doubting even his own existence.
- He is working for 16 hours coming back to home barely has time to interact with family. Sleeps and comes back to factory again in the morning. His salary is low, he is free to sell his labor, but the freedom is deceptive because in order to survive he has to work.

- He loses a sense of control over his own will. This is a **state of self–alienation**.
- **It is expressed in 2 forms. o Firstly, at the level of things. • Secondly, at the level of his own ideas.**

In capitalism, alienation reaches its peak & Marx denotes this state by a statement o **"Subject – object, relationships get inverted. Objects become subject matters".**

Distortion of capitalist society

1. Monotony of doing same specialized task

2. Humans **no longer creative** but focus only on owning objects

3. Structure of manufacturing forces to work on minute details- no full use of capability

4. **Natural connections between hand and head broken**- few people to mental work

Therefore alienation increases—focus on natural powers and needs.

Leads to inverted Reality

- **People most important to society are at bottom** i.e. producers who actually produce. Capitalists only live off the labor of workers

- Inverted sense of what is real- prices determined by individual but seen as market determined.

- **Hidden reality**- illusion seen as fact. Capitalist exploit workers but workers seen poor due to inefficiency

Emancipation from enslavement achieved in socialist society brought through 'praxis' i.e. concrete action informed by theory. Not content with philosophizing- need to act

Marx' idea of alienation is criticized on following grounds –

I. **Karl Popper** says that alienation can be breeding ground for creative ideas also.
II. **Durkheim** had highlighted that **anomie and alienation** can be corrected by existing structures also.
III. **Goldthorpe and Lockwood** in their Affluent Worker study highlight that work is just a means to an end which is better standards of living. Workers are more concerned about the latter. Workers are more concerned about what happens outside the factory and it shapes their behaviors and attitude more than the work itself. Workers can satisfy their expressive and affective needs through family relationships.
IV. According to **C W Mills** in his study of middle class entitled '**White Collar, 1951', it is not just the working class that suffers alienation, but white collared staff also witness alienation**. Even white collar staff has to assume a false personality at work in terms of fake smiles, artificial politeness etc which alienates them from their true self. According to him, their personality is also sold to employer.
V. **Robert Blauner** in his study 'Alienation and Freedom. 1964' has highlighted that alienation depends on technology used at work. In different industries using different technologies, degree

of alienation is also different. Different technologies provide for different degree of control workers have on their own work and different degree of sense of meaning in their work.

DE-ALIENATION:

- Merely creating a theory of alienation is not the objective of Marx.
- He also **suggests a process of de–alienation**.
- Workers alienation will lead to organized efforts to change the situation.
- Workers will think of an alternative which aims at **emancipating the whole society & not only the workers.**
- They've understood it is not the capitalist who is the major culprit but the structure of society.
- **Marx believes that even capitalists are alienated.**
- A capitalist does not know what he is doing but he derives satisfaction from his profits earned. **Merely abolition of private property cannot solve the problem. The whole process of production is to be transformed.**
- **Socialism will be a transition phase alienation will disappear in communism.**
- The state of de–alienation is represented by his concept of "**Total Man".**

Total Man. "It is possible for me to do one thing today, other tomorrow. To hunt in the morning & to fish in the afternoon to rear cattle in the evening & to criticize after the dinner. I have mind but without becoming a hunter, fisherman, herdsman and critic."

This statement denotes the freedom of individual in terms of his being.

Finally, Marx says de–alienation involves reintegration of one's self with oneself.

Commodity Fetishism:

According to Marx, '**commodity' is a product of labor of man.**

- Earlier, commodities were produced by man for satisfaction of his needs and personal use and hence, they had **'use value'** according to Marx, but in modern capitalist industries when worker is not entitled to the fruit of his work, they have now '**exchange value'.**
- Use value is connected to the intimate relation between human needs and the actual objects that can satisfy those needs. It is difficult to compare the use values of different things.
- For example, bread has the use value of satisfying hunger and shoes have the use value of protecting our feet and the two cannot be compared as both are 'qualitatively' different.
- But in capitalism commodities come in the market and are exchanged for money and other things as they are now only 'quantitatively' different
- **Commodities are the products of human labor,** but they can become separated from the needs and purposes of their creators and the exchange value floats free from the actual commodity and seems to exist in a realm separate from any human use.
- In capitalism, it seems that the commodities and the market for them have independent existences. As the commodities take on an independent, almost mystical external reality, they appear like fetishes to those who produce them.
- **By fetish, Marx meant a thing that we ourselves make and then worship as if it were a god or spirit.** In capitalism, the products that we make, their values, and the economy that consists of our exchanges all seem to take on lives of their own, separate from any human needs or decisions.
- Even our own labor – the thing that, according to Marx, makes us truly human – becomes a commodity that is bought and sold
- Our labor acquires an exchange value that is separate from us. Thus, commodities become source of alienation. Marx called this process the fetishism of commodities.

Definition of Reification:

- **Reification, in Marx's context, is the process of transforming abstract human labor and social relations into concrete, tangible, and external things, often in the form of commodities.** It involves treating social relations as if they are things with inherent value.
- **Reification occurs through the commodification of labor**, where labor, a fundamental human activity, is transformed into a commodity that is bought and sold in the market. The value of labor is reduced to a quantifiable, exchangeable entity.
- **Reification results in alienation, as individuals and their labor become alienated from the products they create**. Labor is objectified, and workers lose a sense of connection and control over the products of their labor, as these products take on a life of their own in the market.
- Reification plays a **crucial role in perpetuating capitalist exploitation.** Workers are alienated from the value they produce, and their labor is objectified into a commodity. Capitalists then appropriate the surplus value generated by this labor, further widening the class divide.

Dialectical Materialism summary:

1.Laws of Unity and conflict of opposites

- There are **internal sides, tendencies, forces, objects or phenomena** which are mutually exclusive but at the same time presuppose each other.
- Day & night, night has its existence: day is there.
- Rich and poor, +ve & -ve, etc
- Internal contradictions are present in society in terms of opposites. These **opposites are in a state of conflict** but at the same time presuppose each other for their existence.
- The whole process has to be changed for the resolution of these opposites

2. Law of Negation of Negation

- **Negation is overcoming of the old through internal contradiction** as a result of self-development and self-movement of objects & phenomenon.
- The successive modes of production have been negating each other due to internal contradiction which emerge in the course of evolution.
- **For eg** feudal society resolved the contradiction of slave society and in turn created new contradictions which in turn were resolved by capitalism
- The process will end only if the structure of society is such that there is no contradiction.

3. Law of transition of quantity into quality

- The process of change is not simple or gradual but it is a **process of quantitative advances which result in abstract qualitative changes at a particular moment when mature conditions are present**.
- Changes keep on occurring within each mode of production like changes in forces of production, exploitation, conflict, alienation, called as quantitative advances.
- **These changes are gradual**. These changes do not themselves will result in a change of society or will not result in revolution.
- The qualitative change for the transformation occurs only if mature conditions exist.

Contribution of MARX:

He not only introduced new perspectives but influenced many perspectives, concepts & new areas of research in sociology.

1. **Radical Sociological theory**: - Marx gave **new theory of materialism, alienation & class struggle** which strengthened the understanding of society.

2. **Introduction of new concepts**: - concepts **like FoP, RoP, MoP, alienation, communism, total man, class in itself, class for itself, dialectical materialism** etc enriched sociology & have been liberally used later on.

3. **Methodology**: - Marxian theories later on have been used as methods to study societies & their various processes. For e.g. Marxian conception of historical materialism has been used to study global stratification after world war 2. The most one being **word system theory by Wallenstein.**

4. **Marx motivated new fields in sociology which led to the expansion of new fields in sociology.** For e.g. sociology of whole industrial sociology, feminism, etc. owe their origin to Karl Marx. Apart from this Marx

highlighted the problems of capitalism there by initialing modifications which cannot afford to ignore the contribution of Marx.

5. **Strong emancipatory concerns** in sociological theories, as well as welfare state, speaks a lot about the contribution of Marx.

CRITICISMS OF MARX:

Marx as a Reductionist & a Determinist:

- **Determinist meaning**: - believes that they are powerless to change anything. **Reductionist**: - theory that all complete systems can be completely understood in terms of their components

Marx over-emphasized conflict

- Marx also has **over-emphasized conflict as a reaction to contradiction or exploitation**. Even his treatment of conflict is only at the level of class struggle or not at a conception level.
- Conflict is only on the basis of contradiction on economic infrastructure & he has ignored other basis of conflicts.

Marx's idea of a Generalised Theory

- **Post modernists reject the possibility of developing generalized theories.**
- According to them, Marxian theories have failed to take into account the qualitative transformation of capitalism in the present post-modern society.

Communist societies becoming Capitalist

- The failure of communist societies and their turn to a more capitalistically oriented economy raise questions about the role of Marxian theory.
- Many of those formerly Marxist states have become capitalist, and even those (except perhaps for Cuba) that still claim to be Marxist manifest nothing but a highly bureaucratized form of capitalism
- EG: Gulag **archipelago**

Marx's lack of a theory regarding state bureaucracy

- **Alvin Gouldner:** It seems clear that Marx's lack of a theory regarding the problems of state bureaucracy has contributed to the failures of actually existing communism
- Had he developed a complete theory of state bureaucracy, it is conceivable that Marx might have preferred the evils of capitalism

Missing dimension of Gender

- **Sayer** points out that the missing dimension of gender not only leaves a hole in Marx's analysis but also affects his primary argument that capitalism is defined by its growing dependence on wage labor, because **the growth of wage labor has been dependent on the unpaid labor of women.**

Ignored the role of Consumption

- Marx saw the **economy as driven almost solely by production and he ignored the role of consumption.**
- The focus on production led him to predict that concerns for efficiency and cost cutting would lead to proletarianization, increasing alienation, and deepening class conflict

Francis Fukuyama on End of USSR :

History has ended, liberal democracy only viable form of political organisation. Fukuyama hinting that Marx was wrong.

Francis Fukuyama on Liberal Democracies

Hegel's 'First Man' wanted to be recognized by other humans and indeed could take action that went against his instincts for survival, risking his life for battles for glory and not only resources.

Fukuyama's 'Last Man' is similar and also in contrast.

The Last Man is a modern person, whose life is so good in a material sense, he is not prepared to risk anything. Fukuyama writes that Humans are still not driven by the economy alone, but by a non-rational drive that Hegel called 'struggle for recognition'

VALUE ADDITION:

SAMUEL P HUNTINGTON

Samuel P. Huntington's **"The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order"** is a notable theory that suggests **the primary source of global conflicts will be cultural and civilizational rather than ideological or economic**

Civilization Defined:

- Huntington divides the world into different major civilizations based on cultural and religious identities, such as **Western, Islamic, Hindu, Sinic, etc.**

End of Ideological Conflict:

- He argues that **the ideological conflicts of the 20th century (e.g., communism vs. capitalism) have ended, and the new conflicts will be between civilizations.**

Cultural Identity and Beliefs:

- Huntington emphasizes the role of cultural identity, values, and beliefs in shaping global politics and conflicts, suggesting that people identify more with their cultural and civilizational roots.

Civilizational Differences are Fundamental:

- He contends that differences among civilizations are fundamental, and these differences will lead to conflicts due to incompatible values, beliefs, and traditions.

Conflict Hotspots at Civilizational Boundaries:

- Huntington predicts that **most conflicts will occur at the boundaries between civilizations, where different cultures and traditions interact and clash**.

Islam-West Conflict:

- He particularly highlights the potential for conflict between **the Islamic world and the Western world due to historical, religious, and cultural differences.**

Civilizational Solidarity:

- Huntington suggests that people within civilizations will tend to unite in solidarity against perceived external threats or challenges from other civilizations.

Fault Lines of Conflicts:

- He identifies specific **"fault lines" of potential conflict, including the Western-Islamic, Sinic-Islamic, and Hindu-Islamic boundaries,** where conflicts may arise.

Challenges to Nation-States:

- Huntington argues that as civilizations gain prominence, there may be challenges to the traditional dominance of nation-states and a shift toward a more civilizational-based approach to politics and governance.

Policy Implications:

- He **advises policymakers to consider civilizational differences in global affairs**, suggesting that understanding and managing these differences will be **critical for maintaining peace and stability in the world.**
- It's important to note that Huntington's theory has been criticized for oversimplifying complex cultural and political dynamics and for potentially perpetuating stereotypes and promoting division among different civilizations.

The Gulag Archipelago

GULAG is an acronym for the **Soviet bureaucratic institution, Glavnoe Upravlenie is pravitel'notrudovykh LA Gerei (Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps),** that operated the Soviet system of forced labor camps in the Stalin era.

- Isaiah Berlin commented: "Until Gulag, Communists and their allies had persuaded their followers that denunciations of the Soviet regime were largely bourgeois propaganda. It made it impossible for the USSR to claim moral superiority over capitalism and democracy."
- The philosophy of the Gulags was "**Correction through labour".**
- Just as the Spanish Inquisitors could justify all their actions in the name of God, everything Soviet security did could be attributed to Stalin's wishes and the glory of the proletariat
- All the evil of the twentieth century is possible everywhere on earth. The combination of average people and unlimited power has terrible consequences and it often happens in regimes with a universal standard or ideology that prevents free thinking.
- This is why educators, intellectuals, journalists and clergy became targets under Stalin: They were though to be too attached to values that were independent of the system.
- **Broadly speaking:** It highlighted that cruelty and injustice can't be avoided if ideology is combined with total state power

RICHARD WILKINSON and KATE PICKETT:

(The Spirit Level)

Greater the Inequality, Greater the Government

- Greater inequality actually increases the need for big government for more police, more prisons, more health and social services of every kind.
- In fact, **one of the best and most human ways of achieving small government is by reducing inequality.**

Frustrations and Hierarchy

- In very hierarchical and unequal societies, people take out their frustrations not on those above them, but on those below. "The captain kicks the cabin boy, and the cabin boy kicks the cat".
- It makes sense that in **more unequal societies, people's focus is on dominance**. In more equal ones, there is a greater concern for inclusiveness and empathy

Social Pain

- The experience of inequality, **social class and status differences is a form of "social pain".** This tells us why unequal societies are more socially dysfunctional, but it also suggests that striving for a more equal form of society is not utopian, but practical.

Cost of Relationships

- In a more unequal society, people spend more time chasing higher income, social status, material wealth, and possessions at the expense of relationships and family life, with concomitant effects on their mental well-being.
- They observe: Greater the inequality, the greater the extent of health and social problems turns out to be true not only across countries but within them too.

RESERVE ARMY OF LABOUR:

Reserve army of labour is a Marxist term used to describe the **ranks of the unemployed who through the absence of any meaningful choice are prepared to work for very low wages in temporary jobs.**
- The existence of a reserve army of labour **serves the interests of the bourgeoisie and exploits members of the proletariat.**
- The use of the word "army" refers to the workers being conscripted and regimented in the workplace in a hierarchy under the command or authority of the owners of capital.

According to Marx, reserve army of labour he is composed of three parts
1. **The floating reserve Army of labour** (used to have good jobs, but are now out of work)
2. **The stagnant reserve army of labour** (extremely irregular employment)
3. **The latent reserve army of labour** (not yet fully integrated into capitalist production)

Feminist View:

Christine Delphy and Diana Leonard see **the family as an economic system**. It involves a particular set of labour relations in which men benefit from and exploit the women and their work and sometimes that of their children. **Androcentric common-sense views see housework as unimportant.**

Because of globalisation, there has been a rise in percentage of women in the labour force in almost every region of the world, or in other words there has been feminisation of labour markets.
- This process of globalisation is **based on demand for low wage labour of women from Third World countries.**
- Jobs has have been created for women, but most of these jobs are **informal, part-time, casual and temporary,** with poor working conditions and lack of labour rights

Nirmala Banerjee and Maria Mies pointed out that **women are situated at the margins and for women as subsistence producers**, benefits the capitalist economy as the unorganised sector is composed of more women. **Eg- In India Self help Groups**

Margaret Benston - Capitalism benefits from women as they are **a reserve army which helps keep wages down plus are easily employed** in the category of secondary breadwinners.

Peter Custers in his book capital accumulation and women's labour in Asian economies talks about discourse on women's labour and analyse the patriarchal basis of working-class . He talks about **"theory of Housewifisation".**

Catherine Mackinnon marks **gender as core contradiction of the society**. It was argued that sexist operation is the primary contradiction in society and is the basis of all other forms of oppression.

Paul Samuelson argues that much Marxian literature assumes that the mere existence of the unemployed drives down wages, when in reality is dependent upon contingent factors such as are the unemployed easily available as replacements?

In recent years , there has been a growing use in Marxist and anarchist theory of the concept of **"the precariat"** to describe a growing reliance on temporary, part-time workers with precarious status who share aspects of the proletariat and the reserve army of labor.

- **Precarious workers do work part-time or full-time in temporary jobs, but they cannot really earn enough to live on and depend partly on friends or family, or on state benefits, to survive**.
- Typically, they do not become truly "unemployed", but they do not have a decent job to go to either.

Rosa Luxemburg:

Three features to keep in mind about Rosa Luxemburg's ideas that differentiate her analysis in The Accumulation of Capital from the perspectives of other prominent Marxists.

1. **Imperialism's and exploitation of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries**
- Luxemburg advances a controversial conceptualization of imperialism's relationship to the exploitation of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries. Because workers receive less value than what they create, they are unable to purchase and consume all that is produced.
- **This under-consumption means that capitalists must expand into non-capitalist areas**, seeking markets as well as raw materials and investment opportunities (particularly new sources of labor) outside of the capitalist economic sphere.
- **'Non-capitalist organizations provide a fertile soil for capitalism,' she noted**, which means that 'capital feeds on the ruins of such organizations

2) **Imperialism as the beginnings of capitalism:**

- Another distinctive quality of her conceptualization of imperialism is that it is **not restricted to 'the highest stage' or 'latest stage' of capitalism.**
- Rather**, imperialism is something that one finds at the earliest beginnings of capitalism – in the period of what Marx calls 'primitive capitalist accumulation'** – and which continues non-stop, with increasing and overwhelming reach and velocity, down to the present.
- Or as she puts it, 'capitalism in its full maturity also depends in all respects on non-capitalist strata and social organizations existing side by side with it,' and 'since the accumulation of capital becomes impossible in all points without non-capitalist surroundings, we cannot gain a true picture of it by assuming the exclusive and absolute domination of the capitalist mode of production'.

- **EG:** In imperialism, Force, fraud, oppression, looting are openly displayed without any attempt at concealment, and it requires an effort to discover within this tangle of political violence and contests of power the stern laws of the economic process'.

3) **Impact of capitalist expansion on the diversity of the world:**

- Each new colonial expansion is accompanied, as a matter of course, by a relentless battle of capital against the social and economic ties of the natives,' she wrote, 'who are also forcibly robbed of their means of production and labor power.'
- Their means of production and their labor power no less than their demand for surplus products is necessary to capitalism.
- Yet the latter is fully determined to undermine their independence as social units, in order to gain possession of their means of production and labor power and to convert them into commodity buyers.'
- But the destructive impact of all this on the cultures of the world's peoples was emphasized by Luxemburg as by no other Marxist theorist of her time

EMILE DURKHEIM

NATURE AND SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY ACCORDING TO DURKHEIM

Durkheim was explicitly concerned with outlining the nature and scope of Sociology. **Durkheim considered social sciences to be distinct from natural sciences because social sciences deal with human relationship.**

However the method used in the natural sciences could be used in the social sciences as well. **He was concerned with examining the nature of Sociology as a social science distinct from Philosophy.** Philosophy is concerned with ideas and conceptions whereas science is concerned with objective realities. Philosophy is the source from where all science has emerged. **Durkheim advocated for positivist method to study social phenomena.**

He is considered father of sociology for following reasons –

- I. He attempted to **develop a 'science' of society in form of sociology** by clarifying its subject matter as **'study of social facts'** and suggested scientific methods for its study.
- II. For the first time, he gave distinctively sociological explanations in **his 'causal functional theories'. For example – theory of suicide and theory of religion.**
- III. He developed methods specific to sociology and also demonstrated its use in its theories.
- IV. He also established first ever department of sociology in Europe and was first professor of sociology.

SOCIAL FACTS

To Durkheim society is a **'reality sui generis'**. Hence **society represents a specific reality which has its own characteristics**. This unique reality of society is separate from other realities individuals and is over and above them. **Thus 'this reality of society must be the subject matter of sociology'.**

- His study is based on **positivism**- means to study the society on the same principles and concepts as used in study of natural sciences.
- His major study is based on **moral issues of society**.
- He focused more on studying the causes and functions of social structures.

Book: "Montesquieu & Rousseau", 1892:

- **Physical world:** facts observed directly
- **Social world:** facts observed indirectly.
- **Aim:** To make generalized laws using scientific methods. Influence of August Comte.
- **Subject matter of Sociology:** To study social facts

He defined social facts as *'social facts are ways of acting, thinking and feeling which are external to the individual and are endowed with the 'power of coercion' by reason of which they control of him'*

- He considers social facts as those phenomena which exist outside the individual as a force which coerce the individual to think, act and feel in a particular manner. The task of sociology is to identify and study such social phenomenon or social facts.

Durkheim saw social facts as laying in a continuum.

- **First, on the one extreme are structural or morphological-social phenomena.** They make up the substratum of collective life. By this he meant the number and nature of elementary parts of which society is composed, the way in which the morphological constituents are arranged and the degree to which they are fused together. **In this category of social facts following are included: the distribution of population over the surface of the territory, the forms of dwellings, nature of communication system etc. All the above mentioned social facts form a continuum and constitute a social milieu of society.**
- Further Durkheim made an important distinction in terms of **NORMAL AND PATHOLOGICAL 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. Every deviation from this standard is a pathological fact. For example, 'some degree of crime' is inevitable and normal in any society. **Hence according to Durkheim crime to some extent is a normal fact**. However, an extraordinary increase in the rate of crime is pathological. Periodical price rise is normal social fact but economic crisis leading to anarchy in society are other examples of pathological facts

## Characteristics of Social Facts:

Externality –	Coercive	Generality	Independence
Social facts exist **outside the individual and must be seen apart from the individual**. These are 'sui-generis' (coming into existence on their own as a part of autonomous development of society). They are expressions of autonomous development of society	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.	These are in the **form of generalized perception** which is understood by all individuals in same manner. **Durkheim rejects the study of exceptions and focuses upon identification of 'general types'.** For example – he studies religion as a general type and not a particular religion	Social facts are **independent of the will of the individual**. Individuals cannot change the social facts, but rather opposite is true.

There are two related senses in which social facts are independent to the individual:

- **First, every individual is born into an ongoing society which already has a definite organisation or structure.** There are **values, norms beliefs and practices which the individual finds readymade at birth and which he learns through the process of socialization**. Since these phenomena exist prior of the individual and have an objective reality, They are external to the individual
- **Secondly, social facts are independent to the individual** in the sense that anyone individual is only a single element within the totality of relationship which constitutes of society. These relationships are not the creation of any single individual, but are constituted by multiple interactions between individuals.

Thus, **Durkheim kept social facts above individual**. According to him, social facts are not abstract phenomena and they can be visualized as objective reality. Durkheim conceded that social facts are difficult to study as they seem intangible and hence cannot be observed directly.

Social Facts – Types:
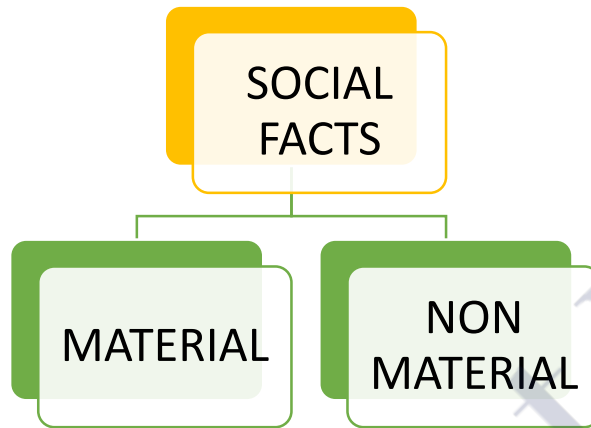
Material social facts: These are real, material entities and clearly define the externality of the social facts. **Architecture and law are two examples of material social facts.**

Durkheim listed social facts into the below mentioned categories in descending order of generality as follows:

1. Society
2. Structural components of society(for e.g. church and state)
3. Morphological components of society (for e.g. population distribution, channels of communication, and housing arrangements)

Non-material social facts: These are the **ones which do not exist as material entities and found only in the mind of actors for e.g. culture, norms etc.**

- These are **most important and crucial components of sociology** but it is a bit harder for them to qualify the condition of externality. EG: values, norms etc.
- These **social facts are internal** (in the mind of the individual) yet external to the individual.
- However, Durkheim cleared this condition by defining non-material social facts as the ones external to and coercive of another aspect of mental process -psychological facts.
- He used these social Facts to describe Social reality.

Types:

1**. Morality**

 2. **Collective conscience**

3. **Collective representation**

4. **Social currents**

He saw **social facts along a continuum of materiality**. The sociologist usually begins a study by focusing on material social facts, which are empirically accessible, in order to understand nonmaterial social facts which are abstract in nature and hence difficult to grasp and can be studied only indirectly with the help of material social facts.

For this, **Durkheim suggested that social acts should be studied in terms of their effects or consequences in society.** While doing so, scientific approach should be adopted and the researcher should be objective in approach without any bias or ideology.

There are two ways which can explain social facts –

I.   **Determining cause of social facts** – According to him, **cause of social fact lies in another social fact**. For example – cause of suicide doesn't lie in individual's will, but should be explored through various social facts like – population, integration, social order and so on.

II.   **Determining functions of social facts** – According to him, **social facts perform certain 'functional pre-requisites' of society. Most important of which maintenance of social order**. According to him, 'collective conscience' is that social fact that maintains social order. It has constraining effect individuals which affect their actions. Thus, society manifests itself in individual activities.

To visualize them as objective reality, he **suggested certain 'rules of studying the social facts' which were explained in his 'The Rules of Sociological Method, 1895'** as a part of Durkheim's bid to establish a distinct methodology of sociology. **The rules included –**

Rules of observation –

- **Social facts should be studied as 'things'.** Their reality can be observed objectively. Although, these may seem to be abstract, **every social fact has some representation which exists in the form of objective manifestation of the social facts.** It is through these manifestations that social facts can be observed as things.
- **Durkheim called representations as 'collective representations'** in the form of different types of 'symbols' which denote different types of social facts. Social facts must be observed as things in order to study them objectively.
- It will help us to view them as definite reality rather than as abstract phenomenon

Rules of classification –

- Durkheim says that every social fact is not unique, but part of a broad classification**. Different types of social facts can be identified as –**
  a. **Structural or Morphological Facts** – These are the facts which give a particular society its appearance.
  b. **Institutional Social Facts** – These are facts which are institutionalized and accepted by the people. These include – **religion, division of labor, rate of suicide etc.**
  c. **Non-Institutional Social Facts** – These are the facts which are not still accepted by the people, but have a potential of exerting constraints on individuals. They rise spontaneously and may or may not sustain. For example – **mob behavior, crowd behavior etc. They are also termed as 'socio-currents'.**

Rules of distinction –

- While studying social facts, a **distinction must be made between 'normal' and 'pathological' state**. Social facts remain in general in normal state, but sometimes in certain situation also display pathological characteristics.
- **Social facts are considered normal when they are present in their general form and fulfill some functions of for society.** They may become dysfunctional in their pathological state. For example – certain rate of crime is considered normal, when it increases beyond a certain level, it morphs into pathological.

Rules of Explanation –

In order to explain social facts, Durkheim prescribes certain rules, like –

- a. The investigator should observe complete objectivity and personal preoccupations and biases should be eradicated while studying the social facts.
- b. **Methods used by the natural sciences should be used to study social facts**. He himself demonstrated use of methods like – **concomitant variations, indirect experimentation, statistical techniques etc in his various explanations**. His theory of suicide is a classical exhibition of use of quantitative methods in sociology till date. Similarly, indirect experimentation has also in his theory of religion.
- c. Explanation of social facts must yield general theories. Durkheim **proposed formulation of causal-functional theory,** emphasizing on separation of cause and function in order to prevent illegitimate teleologies.

Criticism of Social Fact theory of Durkheim –

I.   **Heidleman c**onsiders that Durkheim is more concerned about making of society, rather than describing a methodology for it.

II.   II. **His emphasis on universalistic and general theories** didn't have much practical significance for their all encompassing nature. According to **Merton,** middle range theories are required.

III.   **Stephen Lukes** in his 'Power: A Radical View, 1974' contends that **Durkheim has glorified empiricism and moralism** and hence neglected emotions and individual subjectivity.

IV.   **Peter Berger** accuses him of doing an injustice to discipline by ignoring individual human behavior in his bid to objectivity. Further, objectivity is not possible in social observation.

V.   He couldn't explain why same social facts influences different individuals differently

Division of Labour

By the phrase of 'division of labour' we mean the s**plitting up of an activity into a number of parts or smaller processes**. These smaller processes are undertaken by different persons or groups of persons, thereby speeding up the performance of the activity.

- The **concept of division of labour was systematically discussed by the Scottish economist Adam Smith in his work Wealth of Nations (1776).**
- Smith felt that the division of labour was the primary source of economic progress.
- It was the vehicle through which economic development would advance.

Durkheim on Division of Labour

Durkheim considers it as material social fact because it is external in nature.

There are two types of society:

1. Primitive society (mechanical solidarity)

2. Modern society (organic solidarity)

Primitive Society:

- **Primitive society is 'segmentary' in nature** where people used to live in independent segments. Life is simple and all the individuals perform similar activities. **'Collective conscience' is very strong.**
- In Primitive society every person tends to be jack of all trades and hence people are generally the same, so they stay connected by choice
- **Durkheim calls this state as 'Mechanical Solidarity'**

MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY:

- Mechanical solidarity is **solidarity of resemblance**.
- People are **homogeneous, mentally and morally**; they feel the same emotions, cherish the same values, and hold the same things sacred.
- Communities are, therefore, **uniform and non-atomized**.
- Durkheim suggested that mechanical solidarity prevailed to the extent that "ideas and tendencies common to all members of the society are greater in number and intensity than those which pertain to each member."
- The laws in mechanical solidarity are repressive and penal in character; they aim at inflicting suffering or loss on the criminal and try to suppress recurrence of crime.

TRANSITION TO MODERN SOCIETIES:

Organic solidarity In Modern societies:

- In **modern societies collective conscience is weak and hence the binding force is also weak.** Supreme value is attached to the individual.
- **Durkheim calls such society as being based upon 'Organic Solidarity'** i.e. solidarity based on differences and dependency

- - A society having organic solidarity is **characterized by specialization, complex division of labor and individualism.** It is held together by the inter-dependence of parts, rather than by the homogeneity of elements.

WHY THIS TRANSITION:

Durkheim believed that the cause of the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity was **'dynamic density' which refers to the number of people in a society or moral density and the amount of interaction that occurs among them i.e. moral density**

- As societies become more voluminous and denser, more people come into contact with one another; they compete for scarce resources and there is rivalry everywhere.
- As the struggle for survival becomes acute, social differentiation develops as a peaceful solution to the problem. - When individuals learn to pursue different occupations, the chances of conflict diminish.
- Each man is no longer in competition with all; each man is in competition with only a few of his fellows who pursue the same object or vocation.
- The solder seeks military glory, the priest moral authority, the statesman power, the businessman riches and the scholar scientific renown.
- Since they pursue different objects or perform different services, they can exist without being obliged mutually to destroy one another. **The division of labor is thus, the result of the struggle for existence.**
- **D.O.L. maintains functional interdependence, binding society together.**

In absence of strong collective conscience, DOL integrates modern societies.

- The **society is secular, laws are reformative and restitutive.**
- In this context, he explains following functions of division of labor –

Integration of society –

- **Division of labor is the basis of organic character of the society in which people are different, but still live together because of functional interdependence upon each other.** The social life has become highly complex and existence of an individual is not possible without an indirect association with the others. Although at conscious level an individual may feel independent, but at unconscious level he is dependent upon so many people.

Individual autonomy for the individual

- **According to Durkheim modern society is based upon mass production of goods and services.** Needs of people are increasing and leading to further specialization. Individuals are now relatively free and hence have better freedom to innovate.

Thus, **division of labor grants autonomy to individual**. Durkheim finally states that, 'Individual while becomes autonomous comes to depend more heavily on society'. **Division of labor fulfills dual needs of both individual autonomy and integration of society.**

D.O.L as a Social Fact

It exists everywhere e.g. family, religion.

It is **sui–generis**, that is, it evolves with society

It integrates people.

Abnormal Forms of D.O.L

Study of abnormal forms is important, as it helps in understanding the importance of normal form.

Anomic division of labor

- Anomie is a state of normlessness in a situation in which people in general don't follow norms attached to their activities. **Unchecked division of labor and rapid expansion of industrial activity leads to anomie as social controls are weak**.
- In such a situation, **division of labor generates unhealthy competition and becomes dysfunctional**.
- It generally happens during transition phases, for example from shift to mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity as Durkheim noted towards end of 19th century.
- When economic pace is too fast and moral regulation is unable to keep pace with increasing differentiation, it leads to anomic pathological state of division of labor.
- Durkheim argued that the customary limits to what people want and expect from life are disrupted in times of rapid change.
- According to Durkheim, desires can be satisfied only when they are limited. **In industrial society, desires become unlimited and traditional ceiling on them disintegrates leading to anomie.** A new moral consensus on what men can reasonably expect from life is required.
- Not only rapid change, but the specialized division of labor itself also produces anomie as it promotes self-interest and individualism which is a threat to social unity.
- **Symptoms of anomie are reflected in high rates of suicide, marital breakup and industrial conflict** as desires become limitless and traditional ceiling on desires in disintegrated. Since a new economic consensus doesn't develop immediately, anomie is resulted.

Inadequate organization or poorly coordinated division of labor

If work is not organized properly, it creates imbalances and generates conflicts. In this abnormal form the very purpose of division of labor is destroyed.

Work is not well organized and coordinated. Workers are often engaged in doing meaningless tasks. There is no unity of action. Thus solidarity breaks down and disorder results.

Forced division of labor

- For division of labor to generate solidarity, it is not only sufficient that each individual have a specialized task, it is still necessary that this task is appropriate for him.
- Forced division of labor is a result of those structural conditions in which the distribution of tasks is not in correspondence of with the distribution of talent and will.

- **Such division of labor is based on inequality of opportunity, according to Durkheim, and fails to produce long-lasting solidarity**. Such an abnormal form results in individuals becoming frustrated and unhappy with their society. Thus tensions, rivalries and antagonism result.

Way Ahead:

This will resolve by forming "professional associations", which will Implement ethical & moral codes. **Book – "Professional Ethics and Civic Morals"**

SUMMARY:
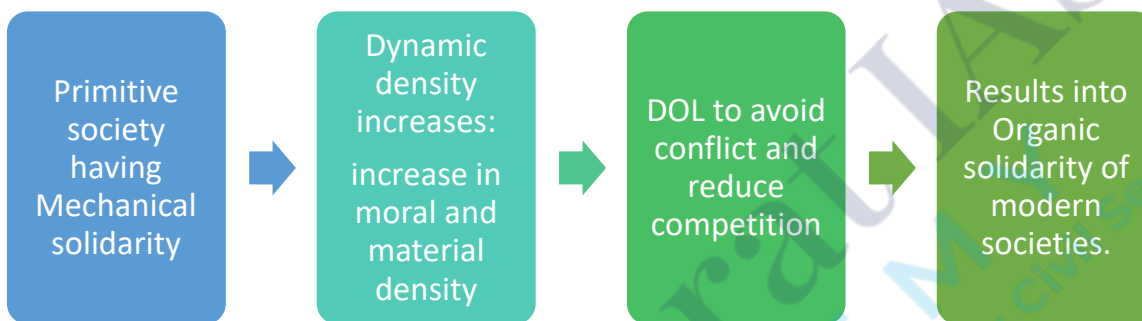
While solidarity is a non material social fact, there is a need to find its material manifestations to study it. Durkheim saw it in LAW.

Mechanical solidarity is characterized by repressive laws because:

- People are very similar in this type of society
- They tend to believe very strongly in a common morality
- Any offense against their shared value system is likely to be of significance to most individuals.
- Since everyone feels the offense and believes deeply in the common morality, a wrongdoer is likely to be punished severely for any action that offends the collective moral system.

Organic solidarity is characterized by restitutive law, which requires offenders to make restitution for their crimes.

- In such societies**, offenses are more likely to be seen as committed against a particular individual or segment of society than against the moral system itself.**
- Because there is a weak common morality, most people do not react emotionally to a breach of the law.
- The monitoring of repressive laws is largely in the hands of the masses.
- The monitoring of restitutive laws is largely in the hands of the specialized agencies (like police, courts).

We must not say that actions shock common conscience because It is criminal, but because it shocks collective conscience, it is criminal.

Mechanical solidarity	Organic solidarity
• It is the social incorporation developed out of the similarity of members of society.	• It is the social integration developed out of the interdependency of members in a society.
• Occur in primitive or pre-modern societies.	• Occur in modern societies.
• People are least dependent on others.	• More dependency of people over one another.
• Division of labour is minimum.	• Division of labour is highly complex.
• People work independently and specialized in a single task.	• People work together in coordination to complete one task.
• Centralization is observed and communication is much in written format.	• Decentralization is observed and verbal communication is majorly followed.
• Can be observed in societies having similar members.	• Can be observed in societies having different types of people.

DIVISION of LABOR – DURKHEIM and MARX

	DURKHEIM	MARX
Basic approach	Functional	Conflict
Causes of division of labor	Both, Durkheim and Marx make a very clear distinction between division of labor in simple societies and complex industrial societies and acknowledged that division of labor is inevitable.	
	Durkheim explains division of labor in industrial societies as a consequence of increased material and moral density. Specialization makes it possible for harmonious coexistence	Marx does not see it as a means of cooperation and coexistence. He views it as a process forced upon workers in order that the capitalist might extract profit.
Nature of division of labor	Durkheim sees Division of Labor as functional and leading to cooperation.	Marx sees division of labor as 'Unequal relationship' which legitimizes the relationship between the haves and the have not.
Consequence of division of labor	It leads to integration in society.	It leads to dehumanization of workers and alienation in industrial society.

Solution to the problems related to division of labor

- Anomie is abnormal and 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.**
- According to Marx, capitalism itself is the problem. Problems of alienation can be ended through revolution.

Collective Conscience

The totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society forms a determinate system which has its own life; one may call it the collective or common conscience.

- It is, thus, an entirely different thing from particular consciences, although it can be realized only through them.
- People in primitive society had a more powerful and shared collective conscience but it's weak in modern society, because people in modern society are held together by need.

volume: number of people

intensity: How deeply individuals feel it

Solidarity	Volume	Intensity	Rigidity	Content
Mechanical	Entire Society	High	High	Religious
Organic	Particular Groups	Low	Low	Moral Individualism

Collective Representation

- it is a **subset of collective conscience**.
- It is narrower than collective conscience but **broader than individual conscience**.
- It includes common beliefs and norms of society for individual components like **family, occupation, state, education, religion, etc.**
- They are not reducible to individual conscience and they transcend individuals and don't depend on them for their existence.

Social Currents

- **Social facts "which do not present themselves in this already crystallized form" are social currents.**
- For example "the great waves of enthusiasm, indignation, and pity" that are produced in public gatherings.
- Although social currents are less concrete than other social facts, they are nevertheless social facts because they cannot be reduced to the individual.
- We are swept along by such social currents, and this has a coercive power over us even if we become aware of it only when we struggle against the common feelings.

Suicide

Durkheim in his 'Le Suicide, 1897 defines "Any death caused directly/indirectly, by a positive/negative action of the victim himself which he knows will produce this result".

Durkheim used scientific methods, multivariate analysis, concomitant variables, surveys, etc.

Durkheim drew certain conclusions about Suicide Rate:

- It is **not a psychological phenomenon**
- There are wide range of variables impacting it
- Rate of suicide in different societies is fairly constant.

DURKHEIM REJECTED THE VARIOUS EXTRA-SOCIAL FACTORS SUCH AS **HEREDITY, CLIMATE, MENTAL ALIENATION, RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND IMITATION** AS THE CAUSE OF SUICIDE. He arrived at the conclusion that suicide which appears to be a phenomenon relating to the individual is actually explicit to individual and can be analysed logically with reference to the social structure and its ramifying function which may induce, perpetuate, or aggravate the suicide potential.

As a sociologist, Durkheim was not concerned with studying why any specific individual committed suicide, instead, he was interested in explaining differences in suicide rates among different groups.

- For the purpose of theory building he took data from police records from various regions of Europe at different time periods. With the help of this data, he **established that suicide is a social phenomenon and not an individual phenomenon.**
- He gave following arguments in his support –
- I. Firstly, he proved that suicide cannot be explained through **psychological, geographical, climatic, hereditary factors etc and hence rejected existing explanations**. He used data to show that there were no positive correlation between rate of suicide and different non-social factors like – temperature, insanity, race, alcoholism etc.
- II. He **explains sociological causes of suicide**.
- III. He proved that certain rate of suicide is normal for society with the help of statistical data

He rejects ideas:

- **Race:** suicide rates varied within the same race. Change in rates when the same race moves from one society to another
- **Rejected imitation theory**: people commit suicide as they are imitating the acts of others. If this would be true then nations bordering other nations with high suicide rates would have more suicide rates. But this is not the case

He, therefore, explored causes of suicide by using statistical techniques and **found concomitant relation between suicide rate and different social variables attached to the people who committed suicide.**

- Different 'social variables' that were taken by Durkheim were – **marital status, rural or urban, developed or under-developed, Protestant or Catholic, Jews or Christians, male or female.**
- He undertook the **multivariate analysis** to establish concomitant relation between rates of suicides and social factors. He concludes that –
- I. **Males have greater suicidal tendency**

- II. **Rate of suicide is found more among the bachelors** as marriage protects individuals against suicide by integrating individuals into stable social relations.
- III. Underdeveloped countries have **less rate of suicide than developed**
- IV. **On the basis of religion, Protestants commit more suicide than Catholic**. Durkheim reasoned that since Protestant religion gives its members more freedom of interpretation of religion and free inquiry, and as a result they are less integrated to Church than Catholics.
- V. Some categories of people who are men, Christians and unmarried commit more suicide than women, Jews and married group

His Study of Suicide

• Durkheim concluded that the changes in the collective sentiments lead to changes in social currents, which, in turn, lead to changes in suicide rates.

4 types of Suicide are caused in most of groups due to 2 major reasons i.e.

o **Integration- degree to which collective sentiments are shared.**

o **Regulation- degree of external constraint on people.**

Suicidogenic Forces: Suicidogenic forces exist in every society in forms of social currents.

- **Forces of Integration: o High : Altruistic   o Low : Egoistic**
- **Forces of Regulation: o High : Fatalistic   o Low : Anomic**
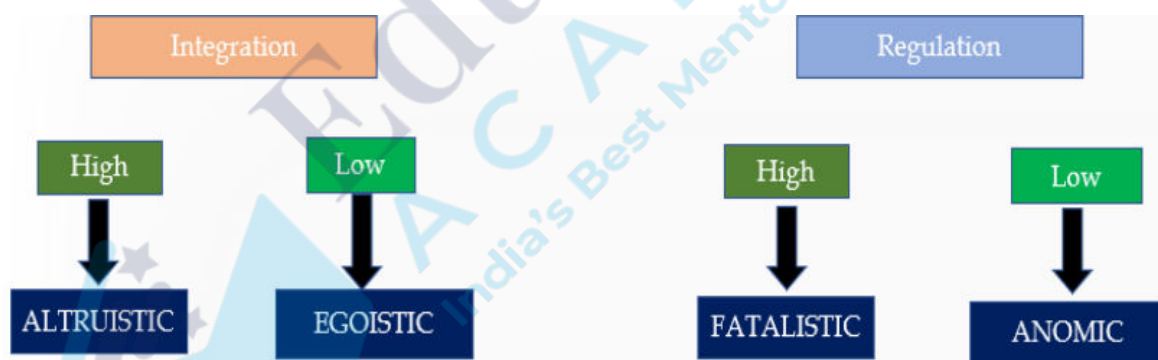
Egoistic Suicide

- When the social integration is too low the individual face his life as meaningless and ends it.
- **High rates of egoistic suicide are likely to be found in societies or groups in which the individual is not well integrated into the larger social unit**. This lack of integration leads to a feeling that the individual is not part of society, but this also means that society is not part of the individual.
- The lack of social integration produces distinctive social currents, and these currents cause differences in suicide rates- **social current of depression and disillusionment.**
- For example, Durkheim talked of societal disintegration leading to "currents of depression and disillusionment".

- **In contrast, strongly integrated groups discourage suicide**. The protective, enveloping social currents produced by integrated societies prevent the widespread occurrence of egoistic suicide by, among other things, providing people with a sense of the broader meaning of their lives.
- **Durkheim says "Religion protects man against the desire for self-destruction.**

Altruistic suicide:

- **when the social integration is too high the individual is forced to commit suicide for betterment or sake of all.**
- Whereas higher rates of egoistic suicide stem from "incurable weariness and sad depression," the increased likelihood of altruistic suicide "springs from hope, for it depends on the belief in beautiful perspectives beyond this life- social current of melancholy.
- **When integration is low, people will commit suicide because they have no greater good to sustain them.** When integration is high, they commit suicide in the name of that greater good.

Fatalistic suicide:

- when there are too many restrictions on individual.
- In the words of Durkheim: "Persons with futures pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline", in such conditions people commit suicide blaming the fate.
- **The classic example is the slave who takes his own life because of the hopelessness associated with the oppressive regulation of his every action.**

Anomic suicide:

- when there are fewer regulations and society is disrupted and individuals feel dissatisfied because they cannot pursue their passions in comfortable and secure manner.
- Changes put people in new situations in which the old norms no longer apply but new ones have yet to develop.
- **Rates of anomic suicide are likely to rise whether the nature of the disruption is positive** (for example, an economic boom) or **negative** (an economic depression).
- **Economic depression:** The closing of a factory because of a depression may lead to the loss of a job, with the result that the individual is cut adrift from the regulative effect that both the company and the job may have had.
- Being cut off from these structures or others (for example, **family, religion, and state) can leave an individual highly vulnerable to the effects of currents of anomie.**
- **Economic boom:** Somewhat more difficult to imagine is the effect of an economic boom. In this case, Durkheim argued that sudden success leads individuals away from the traditional structures in which they are embedded.

- It may lead individuals to quit their jobs, move to a new community, and perhaps even find a new spouse. All these changes disrupt the regulative effect of extant structures and leave the individual in boom periods vulnerable to anomic social currents.
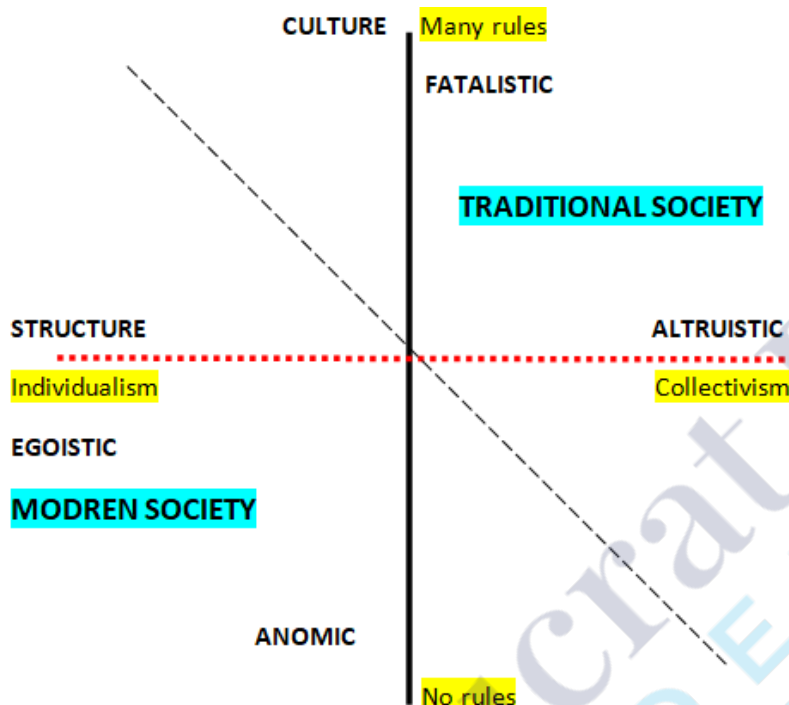
So, **suicide is a result of suicidogenic forces comprising of varying state of integration and regulation in society.** These forces are conceptualized in form of social currents in society. If an individual comes under influence of these currents, he has a tendency to commit suicide.

Suicide as a Social Fact

- Rate of suicide of various societies is fairly constant
- **Not psychological**- certain normal people committed it Certain ill people did not
- **Forces of integration & regulation as suicidogenic forces** originate from society
- Certain rate of suicide as normal

Analysing Farmer Suicides using Durkheim's theory of suicide

- **From farmer's view :** - Egoistic : that he's left alone

- **Govt's – Anomic** : failing to follow norms like risk, consumerisms, geography

- **Societal – Altruistic :** Upholding value that loan has to be paid

- **Lender's – Fatalistic :** Former sees himself as overtly regulated by straight laws

CRITICISMS:

- **J M Atkinson in his 'Discovering Suicide, 1978'** contends that **quality of statistics used by Durkheim is questionable.** For example, there is evidence to suggest that religious censure of suicide is Catholics than among Protestants. As a result, Catholics may go to a great length in disguising suicides. Similarly, higher rates of suicide in some countries over others may be due to different methods of investigations used in different countries.
- **His data has poor reliability as it is taken from police station which doesn't include unreported suicides.**
- He also didn't **include 'attempted suicides'.**
- **Study of MARIS: psychological autopsy.** He talked to individuals close to victims and found people have suicidal careers i.e. they possess such thoughts for a long time.
- **Jean Beachner**: followed case study method and found different reasons for suicide.
  - ➢ **Escapist suicide**: situation hard to bear
  - ➢ **Ludic suicide**: finding fun in risk
  - ➢ **Oblative suicide**: when people believe in other wolrd.
  - ➢ **Aggressive suicide**: to take revenge
- **David Philips**: role of mass media in suicide. **When celebrity commits suicide, suicide rate increases.**
- **Suggestibility:** leaders followed by followers.

Durkheim's multivariate analysis of suicide

Research Objective:

- Durkheim's primary objective was to understand the underlying social factors influencing suicide rates in societies. He **aimed to move beyond individualistic explanations and focus on societal influences.**

Data Collection:

- Durkheim gathered data on suicide rates, along with information on various social factors, such as **marital status, religious affiliation, occupational group, age, and gender**, across different societies and time periods.

Data Analysis:

- **Durkheim employed statistical techniques to analyze the data he collected**. He used multivariate analysis to examine the relationships between multiple variables simultaneously and determine their combined influence on suicide rates.

Variable Isolation:

- **He carefully isolated each variable, considering its potential effect on suicide rates, and compared these effects while controlling for other factors**. For instance, he studied how marital status impacted suicide rates while keeping other variables constant.

Comparative Analysis:

- Durkheim compared suicide rates and social factors across **different groups, regions, and cultures to identify patterns and variations.** He looked for consistent trends and deviations from these trends.

Correlation and Causation:

- Durkheim analyzed correlations between social factors and suicide rates to understand the strength and direction of their relationships. He also explored causation, seeking to establish if changes in social factors caused corresponding changes in suicide rates.

Conceptual Framework Development:

- Based on his analysis, Durkheim developed a conceptual framework that explained how social integration, religious beliefs, marital status, and other factors collectively influenced suicide rates. He theorized about the mechanisms through which these factors operated.

RELIGION

Durkheim's last major book, '**The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1912)',** is often regarded as the most profound and the most original of his works. **The book contains a description and a detailed analysis of the 'clan system' and of "totemism in the Arunta tribe" of Australian aborigines**, elaborates a general theory of religion derived from a study of the simplest and most "primitive" of religious institutions, and outlines a sociological interpretation of the forms of human thought which is at the heart of contemporary sociology of knowledge

Defining Religion:

"A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden -- beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them."

- Ultimate non-material social fact
- It has **"dynamogenic" quality** i.e. it has the capability not only to dominate the individuals but also to elevate them above their ordinary abilities and capabilities.
- Durkheim studied the Australian tribe Arunta for religion because as it was a primitive society, religion there could be studied in its most pristine form, it was easier to gain insights into essential nature of religion and religion had less ideological systems developed.
- **Society is conceptualised as divided into 2 halves, one sacred which deals with the supernatural & rest of the society, he calls as profane**.
- He **rejected the earlier psychological or intellectual explanations** to the origin of religion & instead proves that the real cause of religion is social.
- Both the worlds are mutually exclusive & a person can be a member of only one world at a time.
- While an individual is in touch with sacred he also becomes sacred.

Concept of sacred and profane

- **The aspects of society that are set apart and deemed forbidden are sacred aspects.** These form the essence of religion.
- The rest of the aspects i.e. **the everyday, the commonplace, the utilitarian, the mundane aspects of life are profane aspects.**
- Differentiation of sacred and profane and elevation of some aspects of social life to the sacred level are necessary but not sufficient conditions for the development of religion.
- **Three necessary conditions are:**
  - ➢ A set of religious beliefs
  - ➢ A set of religious rites
  - ➢ A church or single overarching moral community

- Durkheim also gave **a causal explanation of religion by** using method of **'indirect experimentation'.** Modern religion is complex and full of variations, so, establishing a causal linkage is difficult.
- But at the same time, the simple forms of religion exist if the cause of such simpler forms is established; the same will apply to the modern religions also.
- **Durkheim conducted an experiment on simplest form of religion i.e. 'totemism' in which totems are worshipped**. Durkheim argued that the totem is nothing but the representation of the clan itself**. He drew this analysis from the study of religious practices among 'Arunta' – the Australian aboriginals**. If cause of totem is established, same will be the cause of modern religion.

CAUSE OF RELIGION:

- Primitive men were wanderers and they kept on moving from one place to another.
- Occasionally when they came together for some purpose (for clan festivals etc) and interacted on such occasions, they felt different.
- This feeling disappeared, once they separated. Individuals who experience the heightened energy of social force in a gathering of the clan seek some explanation for this state.
- According to primitive logic, they explained this feeling in terms of presence of some supernatural force.
- But, according to Durkheim, the **gathering itself was the real cause and it was a showcase of social forces.**
- **Durkheim calls this feeling as 'state of exultation' or 'collective effervescence'** i.e. the heightened feeling of energy generated in collective gatherings.
- It takes individuals away from the concerns of profane social life to an elevated sphere which they feel as a contact with higher forces.
- **These higher forces are deemed as divine and attributed to certain 'totems' by the primitive tribes.**
- Once they are separated, they feel lonely and sad. They feel the need to re-experience that feeling.
- Primitive people create a 'totem' to represent and regain that feeling. When people assemble near the totem, they relive that feeling again.
- They fail to explain this phenomenon and by their primitive logic, they give it **'sacred' status.**
- The clan member mistakenly attributes the energy he or she feels to the symbols of the clan.
- **The totems are the material representations of the nonmaterial force that is at their base, and that nonmaterial force is none other than society**. This feeling which was due to feeling of being together was, instead, interpreted as the sacred
- According to Durkheim, there is nothing particular about totems which make them sacred, so, totems or sacred things must represent something.

- So, **totem is a symbol of collectivity or the symbol of society itself as it represents those social forces which are felt by individuals at the social gatherings**. As society evolves, religion also evolves.
- He states that – 'If it is at once symbol of God and society, is it not because God and society are one and same?'.
- Ultimately, he suggests that **we worship society and religion is an example of self-creation and autonomous development of society**. Religious experiences are real experiences of social forces, forces that unite us.
- Social obligations are represented in sacred terms and hence transformed into religious duties. For example – marriage becomes a sacrament, to work become a symbol of pleasing of gods, and death in battle becomes a gateway to heaven.

Why worship totems?

- According to Durkheim, it is easier for man to visualize and direct his feelings of awe towards a symbol like totem, idol etc rather than towards a complex thing like a society.

His theory of religion is significant because it demonstrates that any subject can be approached from a sociological perspective. He demystified the subject of religion and encouraged its empirical study.

Totemism

- It is a **religious system in which certain things, particularly animals and plants, come to be regarded as sacred** and as emblems of the clan.
- The totems are the **material representations of the non-material force** that is at their base, and that non-material force is none other than society.
- Totemism, and more generally religion, are **derived from the collective morality** and become impersonal forces.
- They are not simply a series of mythical animals, plants, personalities, spirits, or gods.
- Individuals die, generations pass but totem of any religion is a force which remains actual, living and the same.
- It is the **permanent identity of religion and also the binding force**.
- For example, a religious symbol like a cross for Christianity is a totem representing the presence of religion with its own presence

Collective Effervescence

- It can be considered as the main component from which religion arises.
- Basic definition says "the great moments in the history when a collectivity is able to achieve a new and heightened level of collective exaltation that in turn can lead to great changes in the structure of society. "
- **For e.g. Renaissance.**
- Similarly, the collective presence in religious congregations, brought people close to each other, they interacted and felt good.

- In sum, **totemism is the symbolic representation of the collective conscience, and collective conscience in turn is derived from society**. Therefore, society is the source of collective conscience, religion, the concept of God, and ultimately everything that is sacred (as opposed to profane).
- In a very real sense, then, we can argue that the **sacred, God, and society are one and the same**.
- Durkheim believed that this is fairly clear-cut in primitive society and that it remains true today, even though the relationship is greatly obscured by the complexities of modern society

Durkheim's theory of religion was criticized on following grounds –

I. The **dichotomy of profane and sacred is not absolute and there can be things which are mundane also as per Weh Stanner.**
II. Durkheim also didn't explain why a particular totem is chosen. Even a tribe may have more than one religion.
III. His **theory is termed as an armchair theory by Malinowski –** he didn't visit the Arunta tribes even for one time
IV. **Narrow basis** – generalization of a primitive religion to modern sophisticated religions is a bit far fetched
V. According to Edmund Leach, **profanity and sacred are two extreme**, all social actions fall in between.
VI. Scholars argue that it is not religion, but secularism which is binding societies together in modern industrialized societies and his ideas are applicable only to simple societies
VII. His theory fails to **explain the cause of solidarity in multicultural polytheistic societies like India**.
VIII. Durkheim ignored the conflict caused by it and focused only on its functional aspect.

Durkheim gave the much needed subject matter to the nascent discipline. He, hence, defined its scope as study of social facts. His sociological theories and vocabulary is still undisputable as being distinctively sociological. His concepts of religion, suicide and anomie are even used in inter-disciplinary studies as well. His contribution to perspectives in sociology is also immense as he was one of the early founder of structural functionalist perspective.

DURKHEIM AND WEBER ON RELIGION:

	DURKHEIM	WEBER
Basic approach	Durkheim stresses the exteriority of social facts, which he regards as 'things'.	Weber focused on meanings that individual generates.
View of society	Society is '**sui-generis**'	Individuals are '**actors**' in society
Unit of analysis	Emile Durkheim studies religion in what he believes is its most elementary form. He generalized it.	Weber studies the major features of the great world religions.
Role of religion	Durkheim emphasizes the role of religion as a collective phenomenon which serves to strengthen social bonds. Durkheim views **religion as the reflection of society itself**	He **saw religion as a force behind new ways of thinking** – Protestants lead to rise of capitalism, Buddhism in India opposed caste system, Judaism was the religion of oppressed Palestinian peasantry **Weber sees religion as part and parcel of a larger historical trend, namely, t**he move towards capitalism, industrialization and rationality
Supernatural	Durkheim denies **that religion is concerned with the mysterious, with gods and spirits**. He calls religion as society itself.	Weber does not hesitate to use the idea of gods and spirits. Weber, unlike Durkheim, attaches great importance to prophets in propagating religious beliefs.
Science and religion	Durkheim views both religion and science as providing society with its collective representations. So he doesn't see any conflict in the two.	Weber's comparative studies showed that how religions across world advocate values that differ and are invariably in opposition to rationality. Science on the other hand is empirical. So, he sees an opposition between the two.

WEBER

Syllabus

- Social action

- Ideal types

- Authority

- Bureaucracy

- Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism

Weber- Quick Idea

SOCIAL ACTION

Any action is social if Meaning attached to it by the actor

TYPES:

1. Traditional

2. Affective

3. Wert

4. Zweck

Verstehen- Weber used this tool to understand the social action.

Ideal types

- "abstractions employed to understand complexity of social world"

- Used to comprehend reality, whether natural or social

Types of Ideal Types

1. Historical ideal types

2. General sociological

3. Action ideal types

4. Structural ideal types

Introduction

- Founding father **bridged gap** between positivists & anti–positivists.

- **Sociology**: A science which attempts at **interpretative understanding of social action** (in orderto arrive at an explanation of cause & its effect).

- **Subject matter** drawn from **idealists** (i.e., interpretive understanding of social action).

- **Methodology** drawn from **positivists** (i.e., trying to ascertain cause & effect)

- **Like Durkheim**, Max Weber is also opposed to pure abstract theorizing and **supports empiricalresearch** to study sociology.

- **His empirical research** is based mostly on deriving sociology from **historical research**.

- **Weber's methodology** of research is based on the **combination of both history and sociology**.

- Weber **focused more on individual** rather than society (as opposed to Durkheim).

- Weber also **differentiates sociology from psychology** by defining sociology as study of mentalprocesses and psychology as study of mind and personality.

Why such a choice for subject matter?

- Influenced by **Kantian epistemology.**
  What is Kantian epistemology?
- That **individual has consciousness** & cannot be treated like matter.

- Actors have individual consciousness, **voluntary will**

- Sociology shall try to understand this

And then Why such a Methodology?

- 19th century Europe obsessed with scientific methods (focusing on observations, objectivity,testability)

- For him, **science was a vocation** & scientific methods its core.

- **Weber rejected methods of natural sciences.**

- **Proposed his own** scientific methods (which conformed to ideals of science).

  For instance:

- Ideal Types

- Causal Pluralism

- Comparative Analysis

SOCIAL ACTION

Book: *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*

- **Any action is social** if *meaning attached to it by the actor* (consciously performed, some motivation).

- **Orientation towards others** (physically or mentally present).

- **Weber even wrote that the scope of Sociology** is to **interpret meaning** attached to the action by the actor.

Why study social Action

- To establish cause & effect

How to Study

- Using **Verstehen** (literally means comprehending or understanding)

Social Action vs Behaviour

Weber defines social action by differentiating it from **behavior**.

- To an individual when a stimulus is presented it gives a response; when the individual responds with little intervening or say **without thinking it is called behavior.**

When the individual responds after involving some thought process leading to a meaningful action, it is termed as social action.

Social Action – Necessary Conditions

- So social action is said to occur when **individuals attached subjective meanings** to their actions.

- Another necessary condition for social action is its **orientation towards others.**

- Weber quotes the **example of economic action** which he defined as "*a conscious, primary orientation to economic consideration, for what matters is not the objective necessity of making economic provision, but the belief that it is necessary."*

- Weber said that social action is **best studied with individual as a subject** or using **collectivities as individual identities.**

Social Actions - 4 Types

- **Traditional** action

- **Affective** action

- **Value rational** action

- **Means-ends rational** action

Social Actions - Traditional Action

- Actor's **habitual and customary** way of behaving.

- Traditional meanings are drawn by the actor from the **beliefs or traditions** in the society.

- Means and ends are determined by customs

- For e.g. Greeting a priest, removing slippers when entering a temple.

Social Actions – Affective Action

- Determined by the **emotional state** of the actor.

- Affective meaning comes from emotions, in a particular situation Individual consciousness is least (Fear, hatred, love, anger).

- For e.g. Affection of a mother, crying at a funeral.

Social Actions - Value Rational Action (Wert Rational Action)

- Determined by **a conscious belief** in the value for its sake of some **ethical, aesthetic, religious,** or other forms of behavior, **independent of its prospects** for success.

- In Wert Rational (or value Rational) action **ends are "value" driven**, i.e., valued by society.

- Thus, here means are rational but the end is a value.

- Example: Helping a poor with money, saving a drowning man, captain going down with the ship.

Social Actions - Means-ends Rational Action (Zweck rational action)

- Determined by expectations as to the behavior of objects in the environment and of the other human beings, these expectations are used as 'conditions' or 'means for the **attainment of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends.**

- In Zweck Rational (or End Rational) action, **ends are rational as well** (Means too).

- It is based on **individual's own needs & motivations**.

- Example: preparing hard for an exam, taking vaccinations to avoid infections

Concluding Social Action

- Weber mentioned that **although there exist 4 types** of social action but the sociologist have a better chance of understanding only value driven social actions i.e. value rational action and means-ends rational action.

- Also, that Social Actions do not strictly appear in the world as isolated actions but as a **rainbow of social actions.** That is, where these 4 types of Social Actions combine together to form a real- world social action.

- **Or, the actual action is a mix of all these (like color is a mix of basic colors R G B).**

Criticism:

- IN THE CONTEXT OF **"EMPATHETIC LIAISON" THEODRE OBEL** criticizes Weber that Verstehen is not easy to be followed because it is **highly based on subjectivity** and in that way. Subjective

perception may come in frequently. And it will be difficult for the investigator to considers the action properly.

- **IN CONTEXT OF RATIONAL ACTION IN RELATION TO A GOAL**: Since everything is rational and is not based on one's emotion or sentiment. Then why not all bureaucrats successfully accomplish their task. Only few achieve Excellence.

- **RATIONAL ACTION RELATED WITH VALUES AND IN RELATION TO TRADITION, BECOMES VERY MUCH SITUATIONAL FOR OBSERVER**. If the observer belongs to some traditions and value he can empathies it to some extent. But if he does not belong to the same tradition and value it would be quite difficult for him to empathies.

- **AFFECTIVE ACTION ARE VERY SENSITIVE** because they attached emotions, impulses and so the outburst and therefore they cannot be followed easily.

- **In the context of Value Neutrality, it is tough for an observer to empathies the action done before.** And in this way values of the observer come in his studies. But even though, he is successful in this part he cannot stop the values of the actor to come in. Weber himself was very much conscious of this situation**. He wanted to establish sociology as value neutral**. For this he suggested one thing that the **observer should not orient himself to the end but rather focus heavily in the means use by the actor.** And if to gets the same result it will show that he has not taken actors values come in the studies. And in this way his studies would be value neutral.

- **IN THE CONTEXT OF DIFFERENT SITUATION**, Weber did not talk about one thing that how should an actor decide to act in a particular situation. In case of dilemma between two actions, how would he resolve the problem? Talcott Parson in his concept of pattern variables talked about this situation and explains it very systematically

Verstehen – What is It

- German word verstehen means **ability to understand** the social phenomena.

- This method literally means '**comprehending or understanding'** at the level of actor. It is one of the tools for interpretative understanding

- Here, the observer identifies himself with the actor by **imaginatively placing himself in the actor's situation and then tries to interpret the likely meanings** which the actor might have had given to the situation and the consequent motives which would have given rise to the action. Weber argues further that application of this method is not confined to the study of present social behavior; it can be applied equally to understand historical events. In Weber's words, "one need not be a Caesar in order to understand Caesar."

- Weber used this tool **to understand the social action**.

- Weber associated verstehen to the field of *hermeneutics*, which is a special approach tounderstand and interpret the public writings.

- Weber sought to **use the tools of hermeneutics to understand actors**, **interactions**, and indeed **all human history**.

Verstehen – Uses in Theory Building

- **Cultural-level interpretation of verstehen is consistent with large scale theories**, for e.g.structural functionalism.

- Whereas an **individual-level view is appropriate for small-scale theories**, for e.g. symbolicinteractionism.

Verstehen – How to Do it

Highly influenced by methods used by **Karl Jaspers.**

First step involved in this method is 'Direct Observational Understanding' of the obvious subjective meanings of actor's behavior. Second step involves, establishing an empathetic liaison with the actor.

Involves certain steps in which investigator should:

- Investigator should reconstruct the situational choices and constraints of the actor. It **involves developing the description of an actor by using secondary resources.**

- The investigator should be at the same wavelength of actor. It involves developing communication abilities which help the investigator to effectively interact with the actor**. For** example – medium of instruction, mode etc.

- **The investigator should not have any sympathy with the actor or the situation** i.e. there should be indifference and interest should be confined to establishment of meanings alone. This will **help in ensuring objectivity** in the analysis.

- Finally, the investigator can enter into conversation with the actor and **use primary sources of data** collection to establish meanings

It Verstehen the only method?

No.

- There **could be other methods** (like ideal types)

- **Establishing plurality** of causes

- **Not** a new method

- Used to comprehend reality, whether natural or social

CAUSAL PLURALISM:

- Weber **rejected the mono-causal explanations,** the causes can be multiple or plural. This approach is also termed as '**probabilistic approach'**. He favored identification of probable factors, rather than emphasizing upon the singularity of the causes.

- **Weber's thesis on "the Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism"** is a very good example of the application of this methodology. Besides contributing directly to the development of sociology by suggesting the 'Verstehen' approach and 'ideal types'

- **Causality:** probability that an event will be followed by another event.

- Important to look for causes, but through a **multicausal lens** i.e. a hosts of interactive influences are very often the causal factors.

- **2 views**

NOMOTHETIC CAUSALITY: focuses on identifying general laws, principles, or patterns that apply universally across individuals or cases. It seeks to establish causal relationships that can be generalized to a broader population or set of circumstances.

Idiographic Causality: Idiographic causality, on the other hand, emphasizes understanding specific, unique causes and circumstances that are particular to an individual, event, or case. It aims to provide a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the causal factors at play in a specific situation.

ADEQUATE CAUSALITY OF WEBER: make probablistic statements about relationship between various social phenomenon.

IDEAL TYPES:

Weber

- In sociology, **social realities can be understood through ideal types.**

Ideal Types - What are they?

- *"abstractions employed to understand complexity of social world"*

- It involves **identifying abstract elements.**

- The **elements can be indefinite** but have to be found by a trained investigator.

- To Weber, ideal type is a **mental construct,** like a model, for the scrutiny and systematic characterization of a concrete situation. Indeed, he used ideal type as a methodological tool to understand analyse social reality.

- Ideal types act as **fixed point of reference**. According to Weber himself, 'Its function is the comparison with empirical reality in order to establish its divergences or similarities, to **describe them with the most unambiguously intelligible concepts, and to understand and explain them causally'**. Ideal type is not a conception of a perfect or desirable, but it is a pure or typical form of certain phenomenon.

Ideal types – Characteristics

- Ideal type is a concept **constructed by a social scientist**, on the **basis of his or her interests and theoretical orientation**, to capture the essential features of some social phenomenon.

- Like social action **it is also a heuristic device**, which is used to study any social action as compared to a set of already defined norms.

- **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 traits which are essential to the construction of an ideal type concept.

- **Elements of ideal types are based on compatibility** rather than thrown together arbitrarily

- **They have to be derived from the real world and must be empirically adequate.** The researcher must immerse himself in historical reality, then derive types from that.

- Types must not be too abstract or too specific, study **intermediate phenomenon.**

- **Ideal types are not a presentation of total reality** or they do not explain everything. They exhibit partial conception of the whole.

- Although ideal types are to be derived from the real world, they are not to be mirror images of that world. Rather, they are to be **one-sided exaggerations** (based on the researcher's interests) of the essence of what goes on in the real world.

- Ideal types do not mean the best of all possible worlds. It can be **negative or even morally repugnant.** Eg: ideal type of war

- Traits **may not be visible** (but identified analytically)

- They can be used to describe **static (**bureaucracy) or **dynamic** (bureaucratization) reality.

- It is not developed once and for all. Society changes and hence ideal types can change too. **No timeless concepts.**

- **To be used to study society, not part of reality.**

Ideal Types – How to Construct Them

- Ideal type need **not be positive or correct;** it can just as **easily be negative** or even morallyrepugnant.

- These should be **constantly changing and develop new typologies** to fit in the changing reality.

- The elements must be found by trained investigator in the form of abstractions drawn from subjective meanings of the individual. Investigator must be capable of looking at the phenomenon from the eyes of an individual actor. These elements are thus based upon **interpretation of investigator,** but are definitive specific traits which constitute the reality

Ideal Types – Example

- In **Bureaucracy**, one studies the actual bureaucracy and then **compares it with ideal bureaucracy** and then **study the deviation** of actual from ideal and the reasons of those deviation.

- For e.g. few reasons of divergences could be:

    o **Actions of bureaucrats** that are motivated by misinformation.

    o **Strategic errors**, by bureaucratic leaders.

    o **Logical fallacies** undergirding the actions of bureaucrats.

    o **Decisions made** in bureaucracy on the **basis of emotion.**

    o **Any irrationality in the actions** of bureaucrats.

Ideal Type – Broader Categories

- **Abstract Elements**

    o like social action, authority, etc.

- **Particular type of behavior**

    o Economics, Political, Religious

- **Historical Phenomena**

    o Protestant ethics, Historical cities

Ideal Type - 4 Types

- **Historical ideal types**: Related to phenomena found in particular **historical epoch.** For e.g. the modern capitalistic marketplace.

- **General Sociological ideal types**: Related to phenomena that cut across a number of historical periods and societies. For e.g. bureaucracy.

- **Action ideal types:** these are pure types of **action based on the motivations** of the actor. For e.g. affectual action.

- **Structural ideal types:** These are forms taken by the **causes and consequences of social action.** For e.g. traditional domination.

Purpose of Ideal Type:

- **IDEAL TYPES ARE CONSTRUCTED TO FACILITATE THE ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL QUESTION.** Most researchers are not fully aware of the concepts they use. As a result their formulations often tend to be imprecise and ambiguous.

- Ideal types are not formed out of a nexus of purely conceptual thought, but **ARE CREATED, MODIFIED AND SHARPENED THROUGH THE EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF CONCRETE PROBLEMS.** This, in turn, increases the precision of that analysis.

- They act as measuring rod for a social process.

- They act as ready reference and save the researcher from hassles of studying a phenomenon afresh. For example – ideal type of capitalism can be used as a ready reference for a host of commercial activities of 17th century.

- It makes prediction possible. Situations which approximate an ideal type will have similar outcome. Ideal type of bureaucracy has made it possible for sociologists to predict many of its consequences in organizations.

- It also helps in establishing linkages between multiple social phenomenon as demonstrated by Weber in his Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism.

His ideal type methodology is criticized for following reasons –

I. Weber has not suggested any specific method to identify elements of ideal type and it is totally left on investigator.

II. Despite his claim of objectivity, ideal type is highly susceptible to subjectivity of investigator, especially in selection of elements of ideal type.

POWER AND AUTHORITY

Weber's Political Inclinations

- Weber had political interests and **he was a critic of capitalism** like Karl Marx but he **neveradvocated any revolution** to overthrow it.

- He **wanted the society to change gradually under good political leaders** because he had **littlehope in the masses**.

- Weber said "*the vital interests of the nation stand, of course, above democracy and parliamentarianism.*"

- He **preferred democracy** as a political form not because he believed in masses but because it **offered maximum dynamism** and the best milieu to **generate political leaders.**

Authority - Definition

- Weber defines *authority as legitimate form of domination.*

- Domination in Weber's words is "*probability that certain specific commands will be obeyedby a given group of persons.*"

Authority in Weber's Words
Weber

- "Legitimate power is authority"

- "It is the capacity to implement one's decision irrespective of the will of others"

- Its ideal type contains 3 elements, based on 3 sources of legitimate power.

  - **Traditional Authority**
  - **Charismatic Authority**
  - **Rational Legal Authority**

Traditional Authority

- Derived from **beliefs & traditions & values** (E.g. Authority of a priest, elderly)

- Traditional authority is based on **"an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority** under them."

- 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. Often, they abuse their power. The persons who obey them are 'subjects' in the fullest sense of the term. They obey their master out of personal loyalty or a pious regard for his time honoured status.

- Traditional authority **does not function through written rules of laws**. It is transmitted by inheritance down the generations. Traditional authority is carried out with the help of relatives and personal favorites.

Charismatic Authority

- From **some quality of individual** (E.g.: intelligence, beauty, communication skills, etc.)

- Charismatic authority rests on the **devotion of followers** to the exceptional sanctity, **exemplary character, heroism, or special powers** (the ability to work miracles) of leaders, as well as on the normative order sanctioned by them.

- An organization based on charismatic authority has no formal rules, no established administrative organs, and no precedents to guide new judgments

- The legitimacy of such authority rests upon the belief in supernatural or magical powers of the 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 yes of their disciples, their authority stays intact, type of social action that charismatic authority is related to is affective action**

- Based, as it is, on the personal qualities of an individual, the problem of succession arises with the death of disappearance of the leader. In order to transmit the original message of the leader, some sort of organization develops. The original charisma gets transformed either into traditional authority or rational legal-authority. Weber calls this **ROUTINISATION OF CHARISMA.**

- If the charismatic figure is succeeded by a son/daughter or some close relative. Traditional authority results. (**TRADITIONALISATION OF CHARISMA**) If on the other hand, charismatic qualities are identified and written down, then it changes into rational legal authority, where anyone acquiring these qualities can become a leader. (**RATIONALISATION OF CHARISMA**)

- Charismatic authority can thus be described **as unstable and temporary.** - Saints, prophets and some political leaders are examples of such authority, **Kabir, Nanak, Jesus, Mohammed, Lenin and Mahatma Gandhi, to name a few were charismatic leaders**. They were revered by people for their personal qualities and the message they preached, not because they represented traditional or rational-legal authority

- It is a revolutionary force, can be threat to a system. It leads to subjective changes in mind of the actors- subjective reorientation which can lead to radical alteration of central attitudes and direction of action.

Rational Legal

- From some **rational means** generally has **authority of law** (E.g.: Bureaucrats, politicians, ministers)

- Rational/legal authority rests on a **belief in the legality of enacted rules** and the **rights of thoseelevated to authority** under such rules to issue commands.

- Rational-legal authority is a **typical feature of modern society**. It is the reflection of the process of rationalization. Remember, **Weber consider "rationalization as the key feature of western civilization".** It is, according to Weber, a specific product of human thought and deliberation. Example of rational-legal authority- We obey the tax collector because we believe in the legality of the ordinances he enforces.

Legitimate Power in Reality

- It is a mix of all.

RELEVANCE:

- Max Weber's Concept and Types of Power and authority is relevant in modern era in following ways:

- **Bureaucratic authority** is unusually accepted phenomenon and mostly its works on the basis on of the model of Max Weber. It **works as a controlling and regulating mechanism** for human being.

- **Charismatic authority** also functions worldwide even today. Political leaders, religious leaders, sports person put a charismatic impact on the mind of the people. **Pope, Shankaryacharya, Dalai Lama** are a few examples to quote here. There are some new emerging ones like Nirmal Baba etc.

- **Traditional Authority** is seen in families. In India the situation is seen in the form of caste politics for which **Andre Beteille has given the term Caste Arithmetic**, Whereas **Dipankar Gupta has described it in the form of Caste Chemistry**. Apart from it, caste Associations and parties based on caste are also prevalent in India

   All 3 authorities can coincide:

FUTURE:

- All tensions in 3 forms will be eliminated: domination of rational legal authority leading to **"iron cage of rationality"**

- **Only hope lies with the charismatic leaders.**

CRITICISMS:

- Weber's conception of authority is primarily criticized for anomaly in ideal type of social action and ideal type of authority. He **mentions four types of social action, but mentions only three types of authority**.

- **Michel Foucault** has argued that authority and power don't lie with particular institutions and persons as Weber suggested. **Power is highly dispersed in society** and operates at all levels in different situations.

- According to **Robert Dahl**, **authority is situational** and one may hold different kinds of authority. It is also relative. One may be in controlling position in one instance and may be controlled by others in other instance.

- **Habermas**: it is not possible for traditional and rational legal authority to co exist. Weber himself creates a crisis of legitimacy.

Bureaucracy

Weber defines bureaucracy as *"the purest type of exercise of legal authority."*

- Weber **distinguished** the **ideal-typical bureaucracy** from the **ideal-typical bureaucrat.**

- He conceived of **bureaucracies as structures** and of **bureaucrats as positions** within those structures.

Ideal type of Bureaucracy by Weber

- "From a purely technical point of view, a bureaucracy is capable of attaining the **highest degree of efficiency**, and is in this sense formally the **most rational known means of exercising authority** over human beings. It is superior to any other form in precision, in **stability**, in the **stringency** of its discipline, and in its **reliability**.

- It thus makes possible a particularly **high degree of calculability of results** for the heads of the organization and for those acting in relation to it. It is finally **superior both in intensive efficiency** and in the scope of its operation and is formally capable of application to all kinds of administrative tasks."

Characteristics of Ideal-typical Bureaucracy

1. It consists of a **continuous organization of official functions** (offices) **bound by rules**.

2. Each office has a **specified sphere of competence**. The office carries with it a set of **obligations** to perform various functions, the **authority** to carry out these functions, and the **means** of compulsion required to do the job.

3. The offices are organized into a **hierarchical** system.

4. The offices may carry with them **technical qualifications** that require that the participants obtain suitable training.

5. The **staff** that fills these offices **does not own the means of production** associated with them; staff members are provided with the use of those things that they need to do the job.

6. The **incumbent is not allowed to appropriate the position**; it always remains part of the organization.

7. Administrative **acts, decisions, and rules** are formulated and **recorded in writing.**

Causes of development of Bureaucracy

- **MONEY ECONOMY**: Weber maintains that **a developed money economy is necessary before a bureaucratic administrative** can come into being. A BUREAUCRATIC ADMINISTRATION REQUIRES A **STABLE SYSTEM OF TAXATION**; THE LATER IN TURN REQUIRES A MONEY ECONOMY. No proper bureaucratic administration could develop in olden days due to the prevalence of barter system and the absence of a money economy.

- **INCREASE IN ORGANIZATIONAL SIZE**: The large size of the **MODERN NATION STATE, THE JOINT STOCK COMPANY AND THE INDUSTRIALIZED FACTORY** GAVE RISE TO BUREAUCRATIC ADMINISTRATION. A LARGE SIZE NECESSARILY REQUIRES DIVISION OF LABOUR. TECHNICAL EFFICIENCY REQUIRES EXPERTISE. COORDINATION REQUIRES HIERARCHY AND RULES. Hence bureaucratic administration tends to grow up in every large-scale

organization.

- **NATURE OF ADMINISTRATIVE TASKS**: The increasing complexity of civilization and the consequent demands upon administration also led to bureaucratization. THUS THE GROWING WEALTH OF THE INFLUENTIAL STRATA AND THE DESIRE FOR THE POSSESSION AND CONSUMPTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES OF VARIOUS KINDS LED TO THE PERFORMANCE OF NEW FUNCTION REQUIRING NEW EXPERTISE AND WIDESPREAD NETWORKS.

- The increased emphasis on **law and order and the demand for functions of social welfare** give rise to new agencies and development of old ones. Modern means of transport and communication, such as highways, railways, telegraph and telephone, facilitate the functioning of bureaucracies and help bureaucratization.

- **REQUIREMENT OF EFFICIENCY**: Capitalist market economy is based upon competition and competition compels increasing efficiency among all competitions. Since efficiency requires bureaucratization, modern capitalist enterprises are unequalled models of strict bureaucratic organisation.

- **MARKET ECONOMY**: A market functions without regard for person. Hence a market economy necessarily leads to impersonality, which in turn helps bureaucratization.

- **RULE OF LAW:** The emergence of the conception of the rule of law in modern times has also led to bureaucratization. The **rule of law means equality before the law, or lack of arbitrariness**, which is ensured by bureaucratization to some extent.

- **CONCENTRATION OF THE MEANS OF ADMINISTRATION:** The rise of the bureaucratic structure has been associated with the concentration of the means of management in the hands of the master. Thus the bureaucratization of the army took place after the transfer of army service from the propertied to the property less.

- **LEVELLING OF SOCIAL DIFFERENCES**: Bureaucracy has mainly resulted from **modern mass democracy, which has involved the leveling of economic and social difference**. Mass democracy makes a clean sweep of feudal privileges in administration, and replaces these with equality before the law.

- **Permanent Character of the Bureaucratic Machine**: Weber points out that once it is fully established, bureaucracy is among those social structures which are hardest to destroy. It is powerful instrument of the first order, and hence is used to fulfill societal objectives and the objectives of those who happen to capture power.

Weber's Criticism of Bureaucracy

Despite his discussion of the positive characteristics of bureaucracies, here and elsewhere in his work, there is a **fundamental ambivalence in his attitude** toward them.

- He **criticized the red tapism** that often makes dealing with bureaucracy difficult and tiresome.

- He says "No machinery in the world functions so precisely as this apparatus of men and, moreover, so cheaply. ..Rational calculation . . . **reduces every worker to a cog in this bureaucratic machine** and, seeing himself in this light, he will **merely ask how to transform himself into a somewhat bigger cog**. . . . The passion for **bureaucratization drives us to despair**."

- "If **socialism were to achieve a level of efficiency** comparable to capitalism, "it would mean a **tremendous increase in the importance of professional bureaucrats".**

- **In capitalism**, at least the **owners are not bureaucrats** and therefore would be **able to restrain the bureaucrats**, but **in socialism**, **even the top-level leaders would be bureaucrats.**

- Weber, thus, believed that **even with its problems "capitalism presented the best chances** for the **preservation of individual freedom** and **creative leadership** in a bureaucratic world."

More Criticisms

- This is **an ideal model** represented by Weber and many bureaucracies of the world resemble some of the features with Weberian Model.

- Though this model is suitable for normal times, it **fails to perform in the times of crisis.**

- In the **absence of rules, there exists a** *trained incapacity* among bureaucrats and they become inefficient.

- **Sticking too much to the rules** and regulations also hampers the development of the weaker sections of the society.

- Though rules must be followed but that **must not become obstacle in achieving the goals** of policy makers.

- **Merton** calls bureaucrats as **Ritualists**, where they often forget the goal in order to keep up with the means.

Any alternative or hope?

- Weber says that **there is no alternative** of bureaucracy in the present scenario as it is **an indispensable part of society** and is needed to maintain the proper execution of functions of state but against its excesses, it can be controlled.

- He says that although **there is just a small hope** but professionals such as **politicians, scientists, intellectuals, and even capitalists who stand outside the bureaucratic system can control it**.

- In his **essay "***politics as a vocation***"** he supports the development of **political leaders with a calling to oppose the rule of bureaucracies** and the bureaucrats.

Weber's Observation

- In modern Europe, **majority capitalists were protestant**.

- Is there any correlation?

- He checked it using the **technique of ideal types.**

The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism

- In Max Weber's best-known work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, he traced the **impact of ascetic Protestantism**—primarily Calvinism—**on the rise of the spirit of capitalism**.

- Weber **did not directly link the idea system** of the Protestant ethic to the structures of the capitalist system; instead, he was content to link the Protestant ethic to another system of ideas, the "spirit of capitalism."

- Evidence for Weber's views on the significance of Protestantism was found in an **examination of countries with mixed religious systems**.

- In looking at these countries, **he discovered that the leaders of the economic system**—business leaders, owners of capital, high-grade skilled labor, and more advanced technically and commercially trained personnel—**were all overwhelmingly Protestant**.

- This suggested that Protestantism was a significant cause in the choice of these occupations and, conversely, that **other religions** (for example, Roman Catholicism) **failed to produce idea systems** that impelled individuals into these vocations.

- In **Weber's view**, the **spirit of capitalism is a moral and ethical system, an ethos**, that among other things **stresses economic success**.

- It was the **backing of the moral system** that led to the **unprecedented expansion** of **profit seeking** and, ultimately, to the capitalist system.

- Weber thought that **Protestantism**, particularly **Calvinism**, was **crucial to the rise of the spirit of capitalism**.

- Or capitalism was an *unanticipated consequence* of the Protestant ethic.

   Unanticipated consequence: when individuals and groups intend by their actions often leads to a set of consequences that are at variance with their intentions.

- But after **initially supported by Protestantism**, **capitalism grew to a social structure that is one of a kind**. And **disassociated itself from Protestantism**, although not completely but functioned independently.

- This gave rise to the **sociology of reification** which allows **social structures to move freely in unanticipated directions.**

Ideal Type of Protestant Ethics

It is called **Calvinism**.

- Given by **John Calvin.**

Its tenets are:

Own Glory

- God created world for own glory, no priest can mediate.

Doctrine of Predestination

- People already chosen for heaven.

Asceticism

- This worldly asceticism
- Self-discipline to receive the glory of god

Notion of Calling

- All work sacred
- To be done with devotion

Ideal Type of Capitalism

Differentiated between modern & traditional capitalism. **Modern is Rationally organized**.

Wealth

- Not for enjoyment but for creating more wealth

Individualism

- Leads to hard work & innovation

Profit

- Unlimited accumulation of profits by rational organisation of work.

Ethics

- Time is money.
- Work is worship.
- Worker means to an end.

Comparing the two Ideal Types

Weber found Elective affinity

- Elements of P.E. had strong tendency to support capitalism.

Predestination

- Led to tension

Asceticism

- Re-investment
- Individualism

Notion of Calling

- Work is worship

Greater Profit &Wealth

- Meant chosen

Thus, Calvinism led to spirit of capitalism?

1. **Calvinism advocated** that only a particular number of **chosen people will achieve salvation**, which is **predestined**, but when the people will work hard and **earn more wealth they could have a chance** of getting into the group of those chosen people. People via being "**man of vocation**".

2. **Calvinism legitimized** the **ethos of profit-making** as not economic greed but a **spiritual gain**.

3. It represented **economic interests as ethical duty** which made **men more sober, conscientious and industrious.**

4. **Calvinism legitimized** an **unequal stratification system** by giving the capitalist the "comforting assurances that the unequal distribution of the goods of this world was a special dispensation of **Divine Providence**".

Weber's Reservation for Capitalism

Weber had **reservations (negative views) for capitalism** because he thought it **would produce:**

- **Specialists without spirits**

- **Sensualists without heart** and will lead to **a level of civilization never achieved** before.

Criticism of PESC

- Weber was **influenced by the writings of Benjamin Franklin**, in which he saw early indications of the spirit of capitalism before there was a capitalistic order in the American colonies.

- **Tony Dickson and Hugh McLachlan** disagree with Weber when he quotes Franklin.

- They assert, "**what Franklin is offering is prudential advice, rather than insisting on a moral imperative**".

- **H. M. Robertson**, a historian at the University of Cape Town, asserted in "*A Criticism of Max Weber and His School*" that the **Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches stressed the same precepts in the 16th and 17th centuries.**

- **Amintore Fanfani**, an **economic historian** in Rome suggests that **Europe was acquainted with capitalism before the Protestant revolt**.

- **R. H. Tawney** in his **1926 work,** *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, states that **Protestantism adopted the risk-taking, profit-making ethic of capitalism, not the other way around.**

Summary

- Weber studied individuals rather than society as a whole.

- His **main study area was social action** which is a **response to a stimulus** but with **meaning attached** to it.

- Further he said that **for every social structure or process, there exists an ideal type** which acts as a measuring rod.

- Then he viewed **legitimate domination as the authority** required to control the **society to make it function smoothly**.

- In authority he **studied bureaucracy**, which has its own pros and cons.

- And then he tells us about the **role of protestant ethics, Calvinism, in the spirit of capitalism**.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF OTHER RELIGION

Now having established the essential harmony between Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, Weber turned to other religions to see if there is in them a discernible cluster of values comparable to Protestant ethic that is favorable to the rise of capitalism.

- HE FOUND A VARIETY OF NON-RELIGIOUS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN CHINA AND INDIA BUT THE **ETHICAL SYSTEM OF CONFUCIANISM AND THE DOCTRINE OF KARMA IN HINDUISM** WERE NOT PARTICULARLY FAVORABLE.

- Moreover, the combination of religious values that constituted the Protestant ethic was unique: an unusual blend of two apparently inconsistent notions;

- NAMELY LIMITLESS ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH AND ABSTENTION FROM ENJOYMENT. THE FOLLOWERS OF HINDUISM DID NOT HAVE ANY INTEREST IN MATERIAL AND WORLDLY SUCCESS.

- FOR THE SAME REASON, THE FOLLOWERS OF HINDU RELIGION STOOD FIRST IN THE WORLD FOR SPIRITUAL PROGRESS, INSTEAD OF WORLDLY PROGRESS. **Hindu religion is based on the doctrine of (Dharma Karma and Punarjanama).**

- The principle of Karma says that man gets the fruit of sin and piety in the next birth. But to get rid of cycle of birth and rebirth he will have to devote to religion and to God at maximum. In this way, Hinduism stresses on other worldly asceticism.

- Similarly Islam, has been **emphasized proper use of wealth** in that no single people can have the disproportion to property.

- In Confucianism or Buddhism there is **a focus on right knowledge through right action and right mediation**. It says that only right knowledge will solve all kinds of problems and related with life and not the wealth which will do so.

- In Catholicism people are discipline in the way that they couldn't think about change and self constructions. These values have been obstructions in the development of capitalism.

- The followers of Judaism have always migrated from one place to another with the desire of getting lot of money and everywhere they work hard and but were highly greedy so were left isolated from the system. Therefore, they couldn't become capitalists

George Herbert Mead

Mead was one of the most important scholars that were associated with Chicago School and he **rejected a behavioristic view of human beings**, the view that people blindly and unconsciously respond to external stimuli.

He believed that people had consciousness, a self, and that it was the responsibility of the sociologist to study this aspect of social reality.

He was highly influenced by **psychological behaviorism** and included many of its principles in his works.

Mead offered sociology a social-psychological theory that stood in stark contrast to the primarily societal theories offered by most of the major European theorists**. His works were also central towards evolution of symbolic interactionism**

His Approach

- Mead is known for developing an **evolutionary theory** combining **body, mind, self & society.** He considers them as a part of single evolutionary process. This approach came to be known as **cosmological evolutionary theory or even a pragmatist approach.**
- He developed a **non – dualistic approach combining**:
  Subjective & objective
  Body & mind
  Micro & macro.
  He considers them as in an evolutionary process rather than dualistic social realities.
- His main concern was not only to develop theory but also **finding solutions to social problems.**
- He was actively involved in the development of government plans and policies besides being an **eminent educationist.**
- He is considered as the **father of symbolic interactionism** which was the **basis of his pragmatic approach**. He understood social reality in terms of interactions b/w individuals mediated by symbols. For e.g. the behavior of an individual.
- Mead believed in the use of **scientific methods similar to natural sciences**. Being an ardent supporter of natural science, he considered it as superior.

Theory of Self

In totality Mead's "Theory of Self" is known as:

- Empirical
- Pragmatist
- Cosmological
- Evolutionary

These 4 are Mead's dimensions of methodology.

Theory of Self –

Biological Aspect

- Mead starts with understanding in detail the biological capacities of the organisms.
- For him **body is physiological** and **brain is nothing but a network of neural nerves**.
- Body keeps on evolving and this process of evolution is not same for all organisms.
- The biological capacity imposes a limitation on the movements, reflexes, vision etc.
- **Mead highlights the importance of biological capacity on gestures**.

Gestures are of 2 types:

- **Verbal** include different signs ranging from elementary to most developed sounds.
- **Non–verbal** include hand movements, body language etc.

The biological capacities also impose restrictions on the performance of acts.

- The **act is either organic** - which involves the biological aspect
- Or **The act is social**.

Organic Act:

Organic act involves 4 stages

Internal	External
Impulse	Manipulation
Perception	Consummation
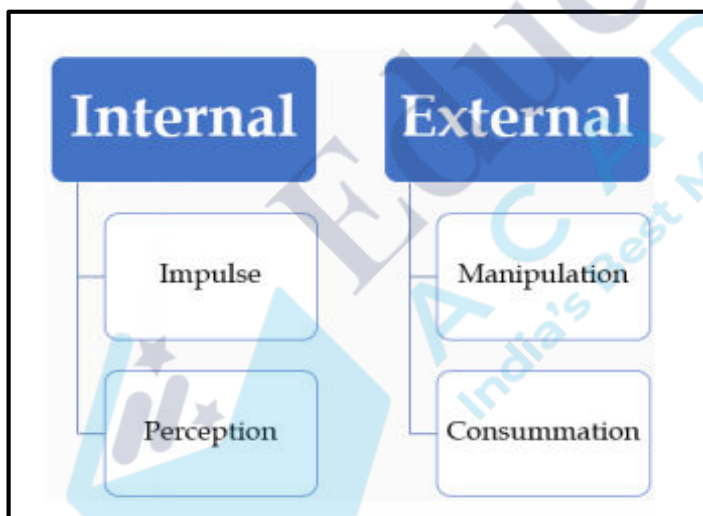
Social Act

- The social act is **a collective act involving the participation of 2 or more individuals and involves a process of interaction**.
- Social acts are of many types ranging from simple to complex acts depending upon the nature of the interaction.
- **Society constitutes the aggregate of such social acts**.
- The process of interaction involves the **use of gestures and the acts**.
- The interaction is **mediated by gestures or symbols** which have a common meaning for all.
- Mead calls this as significant gestures or significant symbols.

The **'gesture' is in Mead's view the basic mechanism in the social act and in the social process**. More generally it can be physical or vocal. What distinguishes humans is their ability to employ '**significant gestures'**, or those that require thought on the part of the actor before a reaction. The **'vocal gesture'** is particularly important in the development of significant gestures. Not all vocal gestures are significant, for example – a grunt. However, it is the development of vocal gestures, especially in the form of language that is the most important factor in making possible the distinctive development of human life.

A '**significant symbol'** is a kind of gesture, one which only humans can make.

- Gestures become **significant symbols when they arouse in the individual who is making them the same kind of response** they are supposed to elicit from those to whom the gestures are addressed.
- Only when we have significant symbols can we truly have communication.
- Communication in the full sense of the term is not possible among ants, bees, and so on.
- **Physical gestures can be significant symbols**, but they are not ideally suited to be significant symbols because people cannot easily see or hear their own physical gestures.
- Thus, it is vocal utterances that are most likely to become significant symbols, although not all vocalizations are such symbols. **The set of vocal gestures most likely to become significant symbols is 'language'.**

Development of mind:

Of crucial importance in **Mead's theory is another function of significant symbols — that they make the 'mind', mental processes**, and so on, possible.

- It is only through significant symbols, especially language, that human 'thinking' is possible.
- Mead defines thinking as '**simply an internalized or implicit conversation of the individual with himself by means of such gestures' or it is a conversation between 'I' and 'Me'.**
- Mind is defined by Mead as a process and not as a thing. **It is as an inner conversation** with one's self, is not found within the individual; it is not intracranial but is a social phenomenon.
- It arises and develops within the social process and is an integral part of that process
- The **social process precedes the mind**; it is not, as many believe, a product of the mind.

Development of self

It involves 2 Parts

Inner Conversation: The process of inner conversation is nothing but mind.

Outer Conversation

- Verbal/non–verbal conversation with the outside world.
- **Self is the peculiar ability to be both subject and object**.
- As is true of all Mead's major concepts, the self presupposes a social process – communication among humans.
- Lower animals do not have selves, nor do human infants at birth.
- The **self arises with development and through social activity** and social relationships.
- To Mead, it is impossible to imagine a self arising in the absence of social experiences.

- However, once a self has developed, it is possible for it to continue to exist without social contact

MIND AND SELF

The self is dialectically related to the mind. That is, on the one hand, the body is not a self and becomes a self only when a mind has developed. On the other hand, the self, along with its reflexiveness, is essential to the development of the mind.

- The general mechanism for the development of the **self is reflexivity, or the ability to put ourselves unconsciously into others' places and to act as they act.**
- As a result, people are able to examine themselves as others would examine them.
- The self also allows people to take part in their conversations with others. That is, one is aware of what one is saying and as a result is able to monitor what is being said and to determine what is going to be said next.
- In order to have selves, individuals must be able to **get 'outside themselves'** so that they can evaluate themselves, so that they can become objects to themselves.
- To do this, **people basically put themselves in the same experiential field** as they put everyone else.
- However, people cannot experience themselves directly. They can do so only indirectly by putting themselves in the position of others and viewing themselves from that standpoint.
- The standpoint from which one views one's self can be that of a particular individual or that of the social group as a whole.

In Mead's analysis, '**Self' is greatly dynamic because –**

I. It carries the capability to read the self of others.
II. It has capability to go for **internal interaction between 'I' and 'Me'**
III. It has capability to communicate with 'mind'

3 Stages of Development of Self:

Mead visualizes 3 stages in the process of development of self:

1. Early Phase (0 – 2 years)

2. Play Stage (2 – 7 years)

3. Game Stage (After 7 Years)

1. Early Phase (0 – 2 years)

- In which the **biological capacity of the child evolves.**
- Child learns to use gestures but the **process of inner conversation is minimum.**
- They are **more of reflexes**.
- Child is more **involved with imitation**.

2. Play Stage –

- It is during this stage that children learn to take the attitude of '**particular/discrete others'** to themselves.

- Although lower animals also play, **only human beings 'play at being someone else'.**
- Children play various roles in which they learn to take roles of others who are around them. As a result of such play, **the child learns to become both subject and object and begins to become able to build a self.**
- However, it is a '**limited self**' because the child can take only the roles of '**distinct and separate others'.**
- For example, children may play at being 'mommy' and 'daddy' and in the process develop the ability to evaluate themselves as their parents, and other specific individuals, do. However, they lack a more general and organized sense of themselves.

3. **Game Stage –**

- It is the next stage, the game stage, that is required if a person is to develop a self in the full sense of the term.
- Whereas in the 'play stage' **the child takes the role of 'discrete/particular others', in the game stage** the child must take the role of everyone else involved in the game i.e. take the roles of '**generalized other'.**
- In the play stage, **children are not organized wholes** because they play at a series of discrete roles. As a result, in Mead's view they **lack definite personalities.**
- However, in the game stage, such organization begins and a definite personality starts to emerge.
- Children begin to become able to **function in organized groups** and, most important, to determine what they will do within a specific group.
- In other words, to have a self, one must be a member of a community and be directed by the attitudes common to the community. While play requires only pieces of selves, the game requires a coherent self

'Generalized Other' is one of the central concept in Mead's theory of 'self'. The generalized other is the attitude of the entire community. The ability to take the role of the generalized other is essential to the self.

- Taking **the role of the generalized other, rather than that of discrete others, allows for the possibility of abstract thinking and objectivity**. Not only is taking the role of the generalized other essential to the self, it also is crucial for the development of organized group activities.
- **The generalized other also represents Mead's familiar propensity to give priority to the social**, because it is through the generalized other that the group influences the behavior of individuals
- But Mead is clear that each self is different from all the others.
- **There is not simply one grand generalized other but that there are many generalized others in society, because there are many groups in society**. People therefore have multiple generalized others and, as a result, multiple selves.
- Each person's unique set of selves makes him or her different from everyone else. Furthermore, people need not accept the community as it is; they can reform things and seek to make them better.
- In other words, to stand up to the generalized other, the individual must construct a still larger generalized other, composed not only from the present but also from the past and the future, and then respond to it

"I" & "Me":

The 'I' is the immediate response of an individual to others. It is the incalculable, unpredictable, and creative aspect of the self.

- People do not know in advance what the action of the 'I' will be.
- We are never totally aware of the 'I' and through it we surprise ourselves with our actions. We know the 'I' only after the act has been carried out.
- Thus, we know **the 'I' only in our memories.**

Mead lays great stress on the 'I' for four reasons –

I. First, it is a key **source of novelty** in the social process.
II. Second, Mead believes that it is in the **'I' that our most important values are located.**
III. Third, the 'I' constitutes something that we all seek — **the realization of the self.** It is the 'I' that permits us to develop a 'definite personality.'
IV. Finally, **Mead sees an evolutionary process in history in which people in primitive societies are dominated more by the 'Me'** while in modern societies there is a greater component of the 'I'

The 'I' reacts against the 'Me,' which is the 'organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes'.

- In other words, the '**Me' is the adoption of the generalized other** and Mead calls it **'Social Self'.**
- In contrast to **the 'I,' people are conscious of the 'Me';** the 'Me' involves conscious responsibility.
- As Mead says, **'The 'Me' is a conventional, habitual individual'.**
- Conformists are dominated by the 'Me,' although everyone – whatever his or her degree of conformity – has, and must have, a substantial 'Me.'
- It is through the **'Me' that society dominates the individual.**
- Indeed, Mead defines the idea of social control as the dominance of the expression of the 'Me' over the expression of the 'I'.

The 'Me' allows the individual to live comfortably in the social world, while the 'I' makes change in society possible. Society gets enough conformity to allow it to function, and it gets a steady infusion of new developments to prevent it from stagnating. **The 'I' and the 'Me' are thus part of the whole social process and allow both individuals and society to function** more effectively. We achieve self-awareness when we learn to distinguish between 'Me' and 'I'.

The **'I' is the immediate response of an individual to others.**	Me' is the adoption of the generalized other and also called 'social self'
It is the **incalculable, unpredictable**, and creative aspect of the self.	**'Me' is a conventional, habitual individual**
We are never totally aware of the 'I' and we know the 'I' only after the act has been carried out.	We are **conscious of the 'Me'**
It initiates change	It promotes **status quo**
It is the **storehouse of novelty and creativity**	It is a **storehouse of conformity**

CRITICISM:

- While symbolic interactionism provides a corrective to the excesses of societal determinism, many critics have argued that it has gone too far in this direction. Though they claim that action is not determined by structural norms, interactionists do admit the presence of such norms. However, they tend to take them as given rather than explaining their origin.
- As William Skidmore comments, the interactionists largely fail to explain 'why people consistently choose to act in given ways in certain situations, instead of in all the other ways they might possibly have acted'.
- In stressing the flexibility and freedom of human action the interactionists tend to downplay the constraints on action. In **Skidmore's view this is due to the fact that 'interactionism consistently fails to give an account of social structure'.** In other words it fails to adequately explain how standardized normative behavior comes about and why members of society are motivated to act in terms of social norms.
- Similar criticism has been made with reference to what many see as the failure of interactionists to explain the source of the meanings to which they attach such importance.
- Critics argue that such meanings are not spontaneously created in interaction situations. Instead they are systematically generated by the social structure. Thus Marxists have argued that the meanings which operate in face to face interaction situations are largely the product of class relationships.
- From this viewpoint, interactionists have failed to explain the most significant thing about meanings: **the source of their origin.**

SUMMARY:

Biological aspect puts limitation on individual

Humans use gestures and significant symbols

Leads to development of acts: acts may be social or organic

Social acts aggregate to form society

society leads to development of mind and self

R. K. MERTON

Merton, like Parsons, is a prominent American sociologist known for his various path breaking concepts like – **Middle Range Theories, latent and Manifest Functions, Anomie etc**. Merton was one of the biggest doyens of structural functionalism along with Parsons.

- Due to his modified functionalism, he is **also known as 'neo-functionalist'.** Functionalism as dealt with by Merton is located in time and space. It **deals with empirical reality**.
- He particularly draws our attention to the reasons why functional theories of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski which were formulated to deal with the realities of a simpler tribal society, isolated from rest of the world, could not be applied to contemporary societies of our own time which are complex and where historical traditions have overlapped on social institutions over several centuries.

Robert Merton Summarized & Modified all earlier functional approaches into **3 postulates Postulates of:**

1. **Functional Unity:** the unity of constituents needed for smooth functioning.
- **Merton Added**: Some constituents may be **non-functional or dysfunctional.**
- **E.g.–** Certain elements of Religion can be divisive.

2. **Functional Indispensability**
- **Two ways:**
- **Indispensability of certain functions:** Radcliffe Brown's "necessary conditions"; Parson's functional requisite (AGIL)
- **Indispensability of existing social Institutions :** Malinowski's Theory of needs ; Durkheim's DoL: Religion indispensable for society
- **Merton Added:** Functional Alternatives • E.g.- Creche – Socialization of children (alternative of family)

3. **Universal Functionalism** • Existing social forms, inevitably functional
- Comte's emphasis on **consensus**
- Malinowski's emphasis on vital functions
  Merton Added:
- Items may be **dysfunctional or non– functional**
- Task of an investigator to identify net balance

Robert Merton's Functional Paradigm:

- Robert K. Merton was extremely particular about the **necessity of a paradigm as the paradigm contains the minimum set of concepts** without which the sociologist cannot adequately carry out a functional analysis.
- The paradigm, says Merton, is intended to lead directly to the postulates and often to the tacit assumptions underlying functional analysis.
- Finally, the **paradigm seeks to sensitize the sociologist to the political and ideological implications of functional analysis**.
- In other words, without a paradigm, it is **difficult to properly codify a theory.**

- 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.
- Methodological push to functional analysis

Steps to be followed by the investigator (to develop functional theories)

1. Social item under study = standardized pattern
2. Social context, meanings, boundaries of study to be specified.
3. Using both primary + Secondary techniques & sources
4. Identify Manifest function

Steps to be followed by the investigator (to develop functional theories)

5. Identify Latent functions (motives not identified by individuals)
6. Study dysfunction of both L & M
7. Functional Alternatives 8. Net Balance.

LATENT AND MANIFEST FUNCTIONS:

Function and Dysfunction

- Functions are those observed consequences, which make for **the adaptation or adjustment** of a given system.
- But then, not everything is functional. Not everything helps to make for the adaptation of a system.
- So, Merton uses another concept called dysfunction. **Dysfunctions, according to Merton, are those observed consequences, which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system**.

Manifest (Inspired from Weber) (Parsons – Motivational orientation)

- Intended meanings of the actor.
- Subjective to Individual.
- Psychological dimension to understanding reality.
- To **understand Micro–perspective.**
- Merton favored non–positivist techniques for identifying manifest

Latent (Inspired from Durkheim & Radcliffe Brown) (Hopi tribe dancing, religion etc.)

- Hidden to actor
- Unintended consequence
- Actor unaware
- Structural dimension to understand social reality

Merton recommended using Quantitative & Qualitative methods to identify both these functions.

```
                    OUTCOMES OF
                       ACTIONS
                    /            \
          UNANTICIPATED         ANTICIPATED
          /     |     \              |
     LATENT  DYSFUNCTION  NON FUNCTION   MANIFEST
```
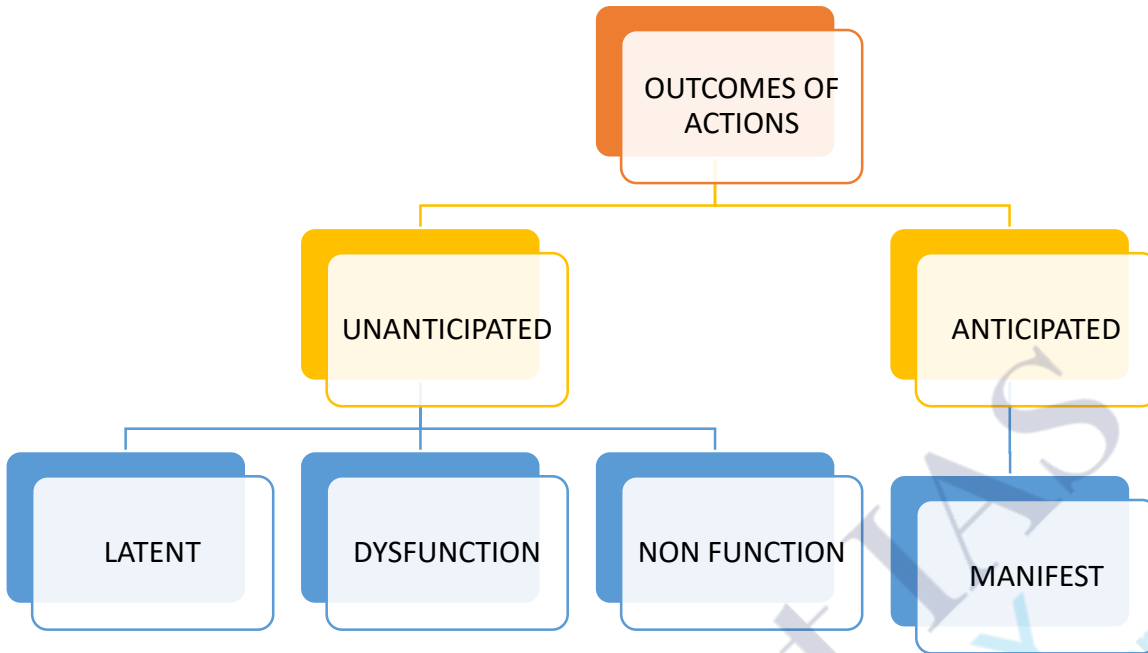
For Merton, the difference between Manifest and Latent function is so important that it reveals so many hidden elements in the system. Merton has presented the difference in the following way:

- *FUNCTIONAL ACTIVITIES BECOME RATIONAL:* To explain it Merton has presented an example of rain ceremony among American Hopi Indian. In this ceremony, people gather around one place and sprinkle water on the ground with the hope that clouds would imitate such activity and rain will occur. This seems to be an irrational act at the first glance, but Merton's presents its another picture that the gathered, people at one place, enhance their group identity, unity and solidarity. This analysis shows that, an irrational activity his become rational and meaningful.

- *ENHANCES SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE:* To explain it Veblen's theory of leisure class can be presented here. In which he has talked about conspicuous consumption people purchase commodities further comfortable life but in a single household, the presence of plenty of such commodities, shows conspicuous consumption. Through which show off their status in society. Apart from it, the rate of inflation is affected with such activities, which is harmful for the economy of the country. Interestingly, a sociologist can provide such kind of knowledge, which can be used by the government. For e.g. Singapore government has provided, very nice facility for transportation. But despite, if someone wants to purchase a car, then, he will have to pay the double price.

- *OPEN NEW VISTAS FOR RESEARCH:* A sociologist searches hidden consequences in any manifest functions and in this way provides new ways for researches, not only to himself, but also is others which could be definitely, functional and effective for society, in future.

- *REVEALS THE INSTITUTIONAL FAULTS BY SOMETHING ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES:* Merton has explained it with example of American political system. America is a democratic country in which people are given equal opportunity, but there are many, **deprived from such opportunities** and **so they get a low level of lifestyle**; but there is one more group which Merton calls **political machine** which works illegally i.e.-they pilferage smuggle etc and distribute the accumulated money in the group, through which basic needs of those people are fulfilled. *In this way, people become capable to achieve opportunities.*

- Merton says that where American democracy failed to perform, political machine accomplishes it. The real consequences of such activity are that the democratic government should take a lesson from them and work for the development of the deprived people. This would be highly functional for the society.

MIDDLE RANGE THEORIES:

Merton proposed middle range theories in wake of apparent failure of Grand Functional Theories to help in study of society. Middle range theories are a middle path between the macro theories, which were too ambitious, and micro theories, which had little consequence

Triple Alliance

- Theory
- Method – functional Paradigm
- Data – 1) Primary 2) Secondary

TENETS:

- Middle range theories focus on **limited set of assumptions** from which specific hypothesis can be derived and empirical testing is possible
- **Focus on Specific Social Problems**: Merton believed that **middle-range theories should address specific social problems or issues,** rather than attempting to explain all aspects of society. These theories are designed to be more practical and applicable.
- **Testable Hypotheses**: Middle-range theories should generate testable hypotheses that can be confirmed or refuted through empirical research. This emphasis on empirical validation distinguishes middle-range theories from purely abstract or speculative ideas.
- The middle range theories will take specific aspects of social reality which can be theorized and tested empirically.
- **Measure concepts that can be operationalised.**
- Middle range theories must be supported by **quantitative as well as qualitative** method and should use both primary and secondary sources of data.
- These theories are small **understandable, on controversial universally acceptable** conceptual devices coming out of a given empirical situation having capacity to explain same or different types of situations without any possible ambiguities or controversies.

Advantages of MRTs

- **More scientific** – Testable, based on data
- Practically Applicable
- Shorter / Smaller sample
- Less time + cost

Disadvantages

- Limited scope of forming universal Theory (of less abstractions)
- Hard to see what is M.R. phenomenon (subjectivity will creep in)
- Over–emphasizes data (over–empiricism)

CONFORMITY and DEVIANCE or MERTON's STRAIN THEORY

Social Structure and Anomie (1938 book)

- **Robert K. Merton used Durkheim's concept of anomie to construct an influential theory that found the sources of crime within the social structure**. Merton used the concept of 'anomie' to describe the strain put on individuals' behaviour when widely accepted cultural values conflict with their lived social reality.
- In industrial societies - there is great pressure to try to get ahead by any means, legitimate or illegitimate

Conformity is that action which is **oriented to social norms or expectations and which falls within the toleration prescribed by society**. Cause of conformity lies in socialization, hierarchy in society, laws and rules, ideology, religion, vested interests etc.

Deviance on the other hand is **non-conformity or deviating from the accepted path**. Deviance may be positively sanctioned by rewarding it – for example, Nobel Prize for 'deviant' activities – or negatively sanctioned by punishment etc or simply accepted without any reward or punishment. Deviant in one society may be normal in other societies.

Analysis of Deviance before Merton:

Biological Theorist :

- Among the earliest attempt to account for deviance was in the field of **Biology. Dr. Lombroso (an Italian) in the late 19th century tried to account for deviance in terms of biological factors**. Size of jaw, limbs, body built etc. were the parameters to explain deviance.
- **Sheldon & Eleanor Gleuck:** They **identify mesomorphs, a particular body-build as deviance**. A research in Britain among criminals lodged in prison saw an extra Y- Chromosome. Percentage of extra Y- Chromosome was high security prison. They concluded that biological factors lead to deviance.

According to Psychological Theories deviance is the result of:

- inherited psychic abnormality,
- acquired as result of inadequate socialization or
- Undesirable experience in social life.
- **British psychologist Hans Eysenck identified a personality type i.e. extra-version**. It is an inherited tendency. Such individuals have a craving for excitement. They do unusual things and end up as deviants.
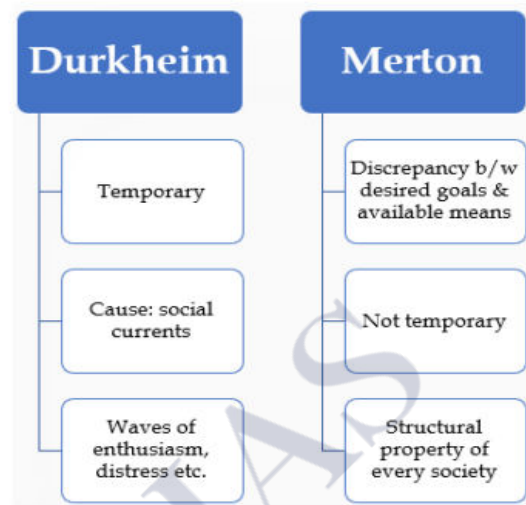
Other Theories on Anomie/Deviance

- **Sociological Theories** -> Function – Durkheim Anomie, Merton Anomie, Albert K Cohen Marxist theory
- **Ecological theory** – Chicago School (Shaw & Mckay)
- **Interactionist theory** – Howard Becker – Labelling theory

Merton explains his idea of deviance in his 'Social Structure and Anomie, 1938'.

It is an analysis of the relationship between culture (according to Merton, culture is the organized set of normative values governing behavior), structure, and anomie. **Merton's theory of Deviance is based on his own conception of 'Anomie' which was drawn in backdrop of 'The Great Economic Depression'.**

His idea of Anomie is different from Durkheim's idea of Anomie. Durkheim defines Anomie as a form of normlessness and defines it as a pathological state due to pathological division of labor.

Durkheim	Merton
Temporary	Discrepancy b/w desired goals & available means
Cause: social currents	Not temporary
Waves of enthusiasm, distress etc.	Structural property of every society

- According to Durkheim it always has negative consequences and is only **transitory in nature**.
- **Merton on the other hand views Anomie as a part of system** and a general feature of society which is always there. **He sees it in terms of goals and means** and it can lead to positive deviance also.
- He defined anomie as 'A situation in which there is a discrepancy between culturally defined goals and structural means available to achieve them'. The culture calls for some type of behavior that the social structure prevents from occurring. **Deviance is considered as a result of anomie**

Merton states that a state of ANOMIE MAY EXIST IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

- One form of anomie is that there might be lack of co-ordination between culturally approved goals and structurally permitted means to attain these goals. The members of the society placed variously in the social structure may adapt differently to this anomic situation.
- **FOR EXAMPLE**, the Americans variously share the goal of success in American society which is equated with wealth and material position. The 'American Dream' states that all members of society have an equal opportunity of achieving success, of owning a Cadillac, a Beverly Hills mansion and a substantial bank balance. In all societies, there are institutionalized means or reaching culturally defined goals. In America, the accepted way of achieving success is through educational qualification, talent, hard work, determination and ambition.
- **IN A BALANCED SOCIETY AN EQUAL EMPHASIS IS PLACE UPON BOTH CULTURAL GOALS AND INSTITUTIONAL MEANS AND MEMBERS ARE SATISFIED WITH BOTH**.
- **BUT IN AN ANOMIC SITUATION SUCH EQUAL EMPHASIS MAY NOT EXIST.**
- INDIVIDUALS WOULD ADAPT TO THE ANOMIC SITUATION IN VARIOUS WAYS.
- The anomie lies in the fact that simply by hard work, education and determination alone an average American member cannot attain the success goal.

Merton outlines five possible responses to this state anomie.

1) **Conformists** accept both generally held values and the conventional means of realizing them, whether or not they meet with success. A majority of the population fall into this category.
2) **Innovators** also accept socially approved values but turn to illegitimate or illegal means to follow them. Criminals who acquire wealth through illegal **activities exemplify this type.**

3) **Ritualists conform to social values**, though they have lost sight of the values behind these standards. **Rules are followed for their own sake without a wider end in view, in a compulsive way. A ritualist would be someone who dedicates herself to a boring job, even though it has no career prospects and provides few rewards.**

4) **Retreatists** have **abandoned the values and the legitimate means, effectively 'dropping out' of mainstream society.** Examples would be the members of self supporting communes or people with addictions who play no part in the functioning of society.

5) **Rebels** reject both the existing values and the legitimate means, but instead of dropping out , work actively to substitute new values and reconstruct the social system. Members of radical political groups fall into this category.

Out of these five responses, except for the first one, other responses are '**anomic responses'.** According to Merton, majority of people remain conformists, even if there is a discrepancy between means and goals.
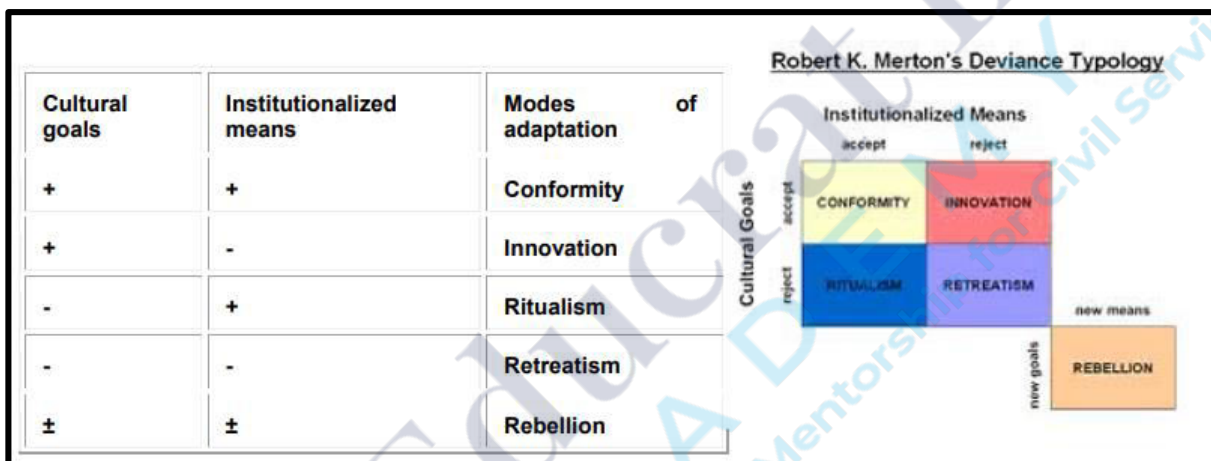
His theory of deviance is important for following terms –

I. Deviance represents a middle range phenomenon which is an **exemplification of Merton's idea of middle range.**

II. He highlighted unintended consequences of culturally defined goals and means in terms of dysfunctions also and thus, he modified existing functional approach.

According to Merton, conformists are conformists not because they stand opposite to deviants, but due to following reasons –

I. Those who are conformists at one point are deviants at another point of time.

II. Further, even a deviant also confirm to either means or goals (except a Retreatist)

III. Many cultures diverge from each other, such that **deviance in one culture is conformance in another.** For example – Homosexuality in India vs Germany.

Criticism of theory of anomie –

I. According to interactionists like Howard Becker in his **article 'Labeling Theory Reconsidered, 1974',** Deviance is not the intrinsic quality of behavior itself. **One is 'labeled' as a deviant and one**

'is' not deviant. Same person may not be labeled as deviant by one group, but can be by another group.

II. Lemert in his **'Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control, 1972' as well as Laurie Taylor in his 'Deviance and Society, 1971'** argue that those who wield power also decide who will be deviant. Definitions of deviance don't reflect consensus of society, but views of the powerful.

III. Merton refers to only goals and means, there may be other aspects of social structure which may cause anomie.

IV. Albert Cohen in his 'Deviance and Control, 1966' argues that **deviance is due to a specific subculture that members of particular subgroups develo**p. Hence, it is collective in nature and not at individual level as Merton has tried to prove.

V. Albert Cohen further argues that **Merton has failed to take into account 'non-utilitarian crimes' such as vandalism** which don't produce any rewards which can be explained by idea of a subculture.

VI. Chicago School also develops a distinctive explanation of deviance in form of an 'ecological approach' according to which, in **a given city or town etc, deviance levels vary from area to area depending upon relative economic prosperity and other factors**.

VII. A person at different times may respond to same type of social impetus differently. It shows that anomic behavior depends on individual as well.

Albert Cohen's subcultural theories of deviance:

1. **Status Frustration**: Cohen proposed that **deviant subcultures can develop as a result of "status frustration."** This occurs when individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds fail to achieve success and recognition within the conventional social structure, such as in **education or work**. This frustration can lead them to **develop alternative value systems.**

2. **Delinquent Subcultures**: Cohen argued that **when individuals who experience status frustration come together, they may form delinquent subcultures.** These subcultures develop their own set of values, norms, and expectations that may differ significantly from mainstream societal values.

3. **Reaction Formation**: In response to their perceived failure within the dominant culture, individuals in delinquent subcultures may engage in behavior that is seen as deviant by mainstream society. This deviant behavior can be a reaction formation, a way for them to assert their own values and gain status within their subculture.

4. **Collective Response**: Cohen's theory highlights that **deviant behavior in these subcultures is a collective response to the frustration experienced by group members**. By engaging in acts of deviance, individuals in the subculture gain recognition and status within their own social circle.

5. **Labeling and Self-Fulfilling Prophecy**: The **deviant behavior of subculture members can lead to their labeling as "deviants" by mainstream society. This labeling may, in turn, reinforce and perpetuate their deviant behavior, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy**. As these individuals are stigmatized as deviants, they may feel little incentive to conform to societal norms, further strengthening their attachment to the subculture.

Cohen's subcultural theories emphasize the role of social and economic factors in the emergence of deviant subcultures and how these subcultures develop their own norms and values in response to perceived failures in the mainstream society. This perspective helps us understand how some individuals and groups come to embrace and perpetuate deviant behavior within specific subcultural contexts.

REFERENCE GROUP

Reference group as a concept first appeared in – 'Archives of Psychology' of Herbert Hayman, but it was Merton who added a functional dimension in his **'Contribution to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior, 1950'.**

- It is **defined as a group to which one always makes comparison to in order to evaluate one's achievement, aspirations, role performance and ambitio**n. They act as normative standards for the individual.
- Merton later on distinguished between '**Reference Group' and 'Interaction Group'.** Interaction groups are a more general part of the individual's social environment – but may neither set 'normative standards' for individual nor secure as a standard of comparison.
- On the other hand reference group is the aspirational group and is defined in normative terms as a standard of comparison. It implies that relative deprivation is also akin to reference group behavior.

> **American Soldier Study**
>
> 1. Merton's understanding of relative deprivation is closely tied to his treatment of reference group and reference group behaviour.
>
> 2. American soldiers looked at themselves and evaluated their role-performance, career achievements, etc. w.r.t their civilian married American counterparts.
>
> 3. The married soldier is not asking, what he gets and what other married soldiers like him get.
>
> 4. Instead, he is asking what he is deprived of.
>
> 5. Now his unmarried associates in the army are relatively free.
>
> 6. They don't have wives and children, so they are free from the responsibility from which married soldiers cannot escape.
>
> 7. In other words, married soldiers are deprived of the kind of freedom that their unmarried associates are enjoying.

Concept of Group & Group Membership

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

1. **Objective criterion**, viz., the frequency of interaction- In other words, the sociological concept of a group refers to a number of people frequently interacting with one another.

2**. 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.

3. The persons in interaction are defined by others as **'belonging to the group'**. These others include fellow members as well as non-members.

Groups differ from collectivities and social categories. There is no doubt that all groups are collectivities, but all collectivities are not groups.

- Nation, for example, is a collectivity, not a group, because all those who belong to a nation do not interact with one another.

Concept of Non – Membership

Broadly speaking, non-members can be divided into three categories –

1. Some may aspire to membership in the group

2. Others may be indifferent toward such affiliation

3. Still others may be motivated to remain unaffiliated with the group.

Anticipatory Socialization:

Merton speaks of anticipatory socialization 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 socialization *'may serve the twin functions of aiding his rise into that group and of easing his adjustment after he has become part of it'.*

Suppose a village boy born in a lower middle class household accepts Indus world School boys as his reference group. As a process of anticipatory socialization he begins to emulate the 'smartness' of Indus World School boys. Now if this village boy really succeeds in getting an entry into Indus World School, his anticipatory socialization would indeed be functional, it would be easier for him to adjust himself to his new role.

While Merton speaks of the possibility of functional consequences of anticipatory socialization, he, however, does not fail to see its dysfunctional consequences. If the system is much closed then this lower middle class village boy would never get an entry into Doon School. **In that case, anticipatory socialization would be dysfunctional for him.** There are two reasons

First, he would not be able to become a member of the group to which he aspires..........And ***secondly,*** because of anticipatory socialization-imitation of the values of a non-membership group-he would be disliked by the members of his own group. As Merton says, he would be reduced to being a *'marginal man'!* That is why, **anticipatory socialization is functional for the individual only 'within a relatively open social structure providing for mobility'. By the same token it would be dysfunctional, in a 'relatively closed social structure'.**

Merton makes another interesting point. *In a closed system the individual is unlikely to choose a non-membership group as a reference group. That is why, in a closed system where the rights, prerequisites and obligations of each stratum are generally held to be morally right-an individual, even if his objective conditions are not good, would feel less deprived i.e. untouchables, schedule castes, tribes in India. ....But in an open system in which the individual always compares his lot with relatively better off and the more privileged non-membership reference groups he remains perpetually unhappy and discontented.*

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 behavior** 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.**

As Merton says, "the positive type involves motivated assimilation of the norms of the group or the standards of the group as a basis for self-appraisal; the negative type involves motivated rejection, i.e. not merely non-acceptance of norms but the formation of counter- norms"

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF REFERENCE GROUP:

Not to know the structural elements of reference groups is to miss a great deal. Without this awareness you would not be able to appreciate the fullness of Robert Merton's contribution to the study of reference groups.

- He questions how, for example, the **structure of a group allows its authorities and members to have knowledge, partial or complete of the norms, values and role-performance**.
- Merton demonstrates how non-conformity to the group (which is not the same as deviant behaviour) shows the possibility of non-membership groups serving as reference groups.
- Moreover, Merton clarifies how one minimises the degree of conflict resulting from the structural consequences of role-sets and status-sets.

Observability and Visibility Norms, Values and Role performance

- As Merton says, the theory of reference group behaviour must include **some treatment of channels of communication through which knowledge of a situation is gained.**
- Suppose as a student you belong to an institution having its own norms and values. Naturally, you would like to behave and orient yourself according to the norms and values of that institution.
- But it is really difficult to have complete knowledge of these norms and of actual roleperformances.
- Generally those in authority have substantial knowledge of these norms, far greater than those held by other individual members of the group.
- Merton believes this happens because both norms and role-performance have to be visible if the structure of authority is to operate effectively.
- Yet, Merton says, there is a limit to the degree of visibility and observability. There is **also the "need for privacy".**
- The impossibility of complete visibility is likely to make you somewhat skeptical or uncertain about the norms and values of the membership group.

Non-Conformity as Type of Reference Group Behaviour

- **Nonconformity to the norms of an in-group is equivalent to conformity to the norms of an outgroup.**

- Unlike the criminal, the non-conformist announces his dissent.
- **The non-conformist is not an opportunist.** They challenge the legitimacy of the norms and expectations and reject them.
- The non-conformists believe that they **are gifted with a 'higher morality' and want to alter the norms of the group accordingly.**
- In Merton's view, the **non-conformists are often considered to be 'masters'.** They are felt to have courage and have demonstrated the capacity to run large risks.
- The non-conformists conformity to the non-membership group is the beginning of conflict and tension in the membership group.
- It is in this regard that one can say that the nonconformists with their conformity to the non-membership reference group begin to initiate the possibility of change and conflict in their own membership group.

Role–sets, Status–sets and Status Sequences

1. Suppose, for example, the soldiers as a reference group attracts you,--> you should try to understand what the status of a soldier implies, the kind of people he or she has to continually interact with, the difficulties involved in the process of fulfilling his or her responsibility.

2. Merton says that a **particular social status involves not a single associated role, but an array of associated roles. This is called role-set.**

3. For example, the single status of a soldier entails not only the role of a soldier in relation to the state, but also an array of other roles relating the occupant of that status to other soldiers, the authorities, the occupants of the state, etc. An understanding of role-sets is important.

4. It makes you realise how difficult it is to satisfy everyone in the role-set.

5. It is in this context that **Merton speaks of, 'structural sources of instability in the role-set'.**

6. The basic source of disturbance in the **role-set is the structural circumstance that anyone occupying a particular status has role-partners who are 'differently located in the social structure'.**

7. A soldier's role-set, for example includes not solely his or her colleagues, but also the influential members of the military. Now what the influential members of the military expect from the soldier need not coincide with what the professional colleagues expect from the soldier. And this is the source of conflict.

8. But Merton says that there are ways to minimise the degree of conflict.

i. Not all role-partners are equally concerned with the behavior of those in a particular social status, so the occupant of a particular status need not bother much about the expectations of those who are not directly involved. (authorities might be less concerned than other soldiers - so care less about them).

ii. **Occupant of a status does not engage in continuous interaction with all those in his or her role-set**. For instance, while protecting the borders the soldier is engaged only with a few colleagues, not with other members of the role-set. This 'exemption from observability', as Merton would argue, helps the soldier to avoid a conflict that may emerge because of divergent expectations from role-partners.

iii. Thirdly, the occupant of a social status is not alone, there are many like him or her. And as **Merton says, occupational and professional associates constitute a structural response to the problems of coping with the power structure and with the conflicting demands made by those in the role-set of the status.**

Status–sets

- Not solely role-sets, even status-sets constitute a problem that needs to be understood in the context of reference group theory.
- The **same individual may find himself or herself in different statuses**: soldier, husband, mother, father, brother, sister, citizen etc.
- Each of the statuses in turn has its **distinctive role-set**.
- Not always possible to reconcile the demands of all the statuses one is occupying. For instance, a politician, because of his commitment to a larger public cause may not do Justice to his other statuses, the status of a husband or the status of a father.
- Therefore if for instance, the politicians become your reference group, then you must know of the conflict inherent in the status-set of a politician and the possible ways by which such conflict could be resolved

VALUE ADDITION:

SELF FULFILLING PROPHECY

Albert K. Merton's concept of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" is a sociological idea that explains how a belief or expectation can lead to behaviors that make the belief or expectation come true.

1. **Definition:** The self-fulfilling prophecy refers to a situation in **which a belief or expectation, either accurate or inaccurate, leads to behaviors or actions that cause the belief or expectation to become true**. It's a process where a false belief influences behavior in such a way that it becomes a reality.

2. **Role of Belief and Expectation:** The self-fulfilling prophecy begins with a belief or expectation held by one or more individuals. These beliefs can be based on **stereotypes, assumptions, or prejudices** about a particular person, group, or situation.

3. **Behavioral Consequences:** The individuals who hold the belief or expectation may behave in ways that align with their initial belief. This behavior can influence the target of the belief, causing them to respond in a manner consistent with the expectation.

4. **Confirmation and Reinforcement:** As the behavior influenced by the belief unfolds, it can confirm and reinforce the initial belief or expectation. This can create a self-perpetuating cycle where the expectation becomes reality through the actions of those involved.

5. **Social Consequences:** The self-fulfilling prophecy can have significant social consequences. It can affect relationships, opportunities, and outcomes, and can perpetuate stereotypes, discrimination, and inequality. Alternatively, it can also lead to positive outcomes if positive expectations are reinforced.

Merton's concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy highlights the power of beliefs and expectations in shaping individual and collective behaviors and outcomes. It underscores the importance of being aware of and challenging negative or unfounded beliefs to prevent the perpetuation of stereotypes and unjust outcomes in society.

TELEOLOGY AND TAUTOLOGY

Percy Cohen (1968) and Jonathan Turner see teleology and tautology as the two most important logical problems confronting structural functionalism.

i. In this context**, teleology is defined as the view that society (or other social structures) has purposes or goals.**

- In order to achieve these goals, society creates, or causes to be created, specific social structures and social institutions. The problem, is the extension of teleology to unacceptable lengths.

   An illegitimate teleology is one that implies "that purpose or end states guide human affairs when such is not the case". For example, it is illegitimate to assume that because society needs procreation and socialization it will create the family institution.

A variety of alternative structures could meet these needs; society does not "need" to create the family. **A legitimate teleology would be able to define and demonstrate empirically and theoretically the links between society's goals and the various substructures that exist within society.** An illegitimate teleology would be satisfied with a blind assertion that a link between a societal end and a specific substructure must exist.

The other major criticism of the logic of structural functionalism is that it is tautological.

i.   A tautological argument is one in which the conclusion merely makes explicit what is implicit in the premise or is simply a restatement of the premise.

ii.   **In structural functionalism, this circular reasoning often takes the form of defining the whole in terms of its parts and then defining the parts in terms of the whole.** Thus, it would be argued that a social system is defined by the relationship among its component parts and that the component parts of the system are defined by their place in the larger social system. Because each is defined in terms of the other, neither the social system nor its parts are in fact defined at all. We really learn nothing about either the system or its parts

Criticisms:

1. Structural functionalism does not deal adequately with history—that it is **inherently ahistorical**. But in fact, Parsons' work on social change, reflects the ability of structural functionalists to deal with change if they so wish.

2. Structural functionalists also are attacked for being **unable to deal effectively with the process of social change, that is, problem as lying in structural-functional theory.**

3. Perhaps the most often voiced criticism of structural functionalism is that it is unable to deal effectively with conflict- (Gouldner),

4. Structural functionalism has a **conservative bias**.

5. A related criticism is that although no single grand scheme ever can be used to analyze all societies throughout history, structural functionalists have been motivated by the belief that there is a single theory or at least a set of conceptual categories that could be used to do this

6. Structural functionalism makes comparative analysis difficult. If the assumption is that a part of a system makes sense only in the context of the social system in which it exists, how can we compare it with a similar part in another system? Cohen asks, for example: If the English family makes sense only in the context of English society, how can we compare it to the French family?

TALCOTT PARSONS

Parsons is said to be **pioneer of structural functionalism** in sociology which sees society as a system and every part of this structure performing some functions.

- **His theory of Social Action borrows** ideas from **economic sociology, culturology and psychology** and combined them he developed a grand theory of social action that claims to capture every possible human behavior in time and space.
- He **integrated French Positivism with German Idealism and British Utilitarianism** to develop his own **synthetic approach**. He synthesized micro and macro view which is evident in his theory of social action and social system respectively.
- He took a **systemic view of society** and problems of order and integration were his central concerns.
- He **rejected the Hobbesian view** that man is a rational and calculating man and order in society exists because members of society fear the consequence of punishment from state if they didn't behave properly.
- According to Parsons, fear is insufficient to motivate men to obey rules and a moral commitment is essential which is due to shared values.
- According to him, '**Value Consensus' is the integrating force in society**. Value consensus is a result of role performance which are institutionalized in society. **By the process of socialization, role expectations, values and goals of society are inculcated in individual actors.**
- According to him, the main task of sociology is to analyze the '**institutionalized pattern of values'.**
- Second problem, apart from value consensus, is the apparent incompatibility between the needs of society or social system and individual needs. This is referred by Parsons as 'motivational problem' and is dealt by the respective systems by meeting individual needs.

SOCIAL ACTION:

Book: '**The Structure of Social Action' (1937)**

- Parsons aimed at combining Micro & Macro
- He rejected Exclusivism of either.

Conditions of Social Action

- Social situation (social aspect)
- Oriented towards goals (motivational aspect)
- Regulated by norms & values (value aspect)
- Involves investment of energy (biological aspect) Parsons agreed that the actor possesses alternative means

Orientations of Social Action

1. **Motivational Orientation**
- Motivational orientation refers to a situation in which action takes place taking into account needs, external appearances and plans.
- **Influence of Weber**

- Influenced by individual's own needs, Personal needs, interests & plans about knowing the phenomenon.

Range of Motivational Orientation The range of motivational orientations are three. These are the **cognitive, the cathectic and the evaluative orientations.**

- **Cognitive** (observation, according to one's needs): It makes actors see their environment or object in relation to their need dispositions as a mental object.
- **Cathectic** (Affective\Emotional): It involves emotional attitude of actors towards their object.
- **Evaluate** (How best to use your energies to satisfy the need): It leads the actors to organise their effort in realisation of their object with optimum efficiency.

Example of Motivational Orientation

The 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 she likes more than the others.
- The evaluative orientation would make it possible for her to make a choice of a vegetable which gives her maximum satisfaction.
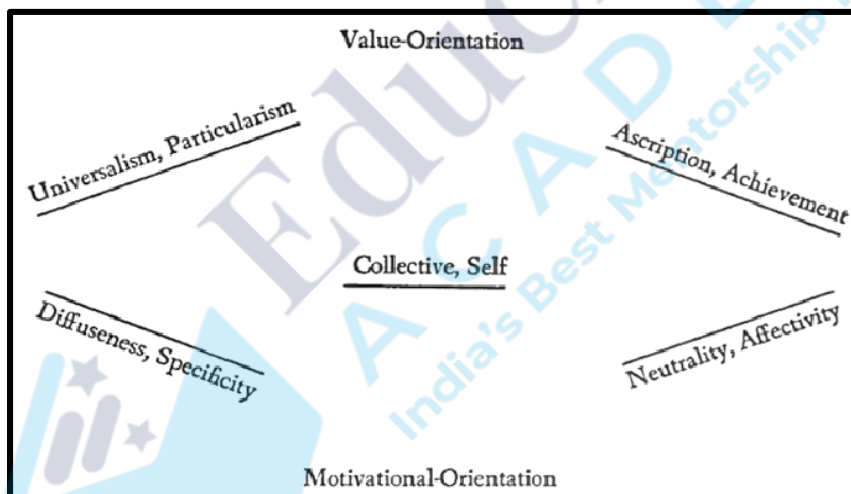
2. Value Orientation
- The second form of orientation is value orientation, which is **based on considerations of standards of values, aesthetics, morality and of thinking.**
- **Emile Durkheim's influence:** Considering norms & values Range of Value Orientation The range of value orientations also comprises three parts. These are the **cognitive, the appreciative and the moral**.
- **Cognitive (**societal values altering observation): It relates to the issue of validity of judgement.
- **Appreciative** (societal values altering emotions): It makes it possible for actors to judge their emotional response to object, its appropriateness or consistency.
- **Moral** (what is the right thing to do): It refers to value commitment of an actor towards his or her objects.

The example of a housewife buying vegetables reveals only the motivational orientation of the housewife.

- But in value orientation it is the **value system and the cultural pattern of the society which is involved.**
- The individual actors act in the **context of this cultural-pattern**.
- Here, the housewife would assess buying those vegetables that she believes give her the maximum utility according to the norms of the society (for instance buying those vegetables that might make her look fitter).
- Then, she would weigh-in the emotions that are attached with eating certain vegetables. For instance, though she might want to eat a particular vegetable, she might not pick it up if her family disapproves of eating that vegetable.
- Finally, she would pick up those vegetables that will make her look moral in the society. For instance, though she might love eating onions, she might avoid them owing to certain religious practices or days.
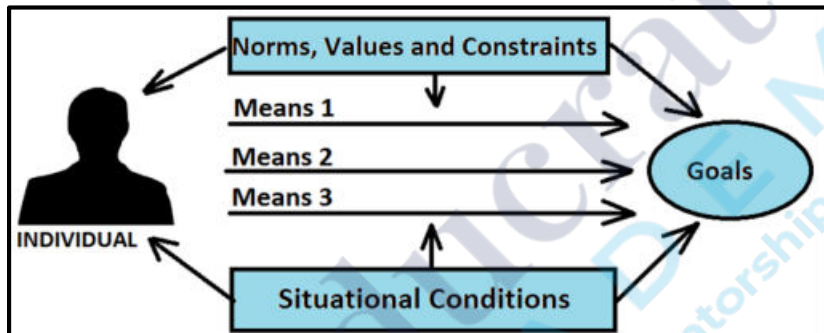
Like Weber, he also classified actions as 3 types –

I. **Instrumental Action (similar to Zweckrational Action of Weber)** – In this, evaluative component is most dominant. Both means and ends are logically decided.
II. **Expressive Action (similar to Affective Action of Weber) –** In this appreciative component is dominant.
III. **Moral Action (similar to Traditional and Wertrational Action)** – Here, the actor's own motivation is subordinate to values of society.

Further, actions don't occur in isolation, but in constellation. Such constellation in form of institutionalized social interactions is called 'Social System'.

Conflict between Motivational & Value orientations

- In order to develop concepts, which could reflect the properties of all action systems, Parsons was led to a set of concepts, which could bring out the variable properties of these systems.
- These concepts are termed **pattern variables**.
- The role expectations in a social system serve as patterns of evaluation.
- **Every actor who performs a role has a dual capacity, because role implies interaction with other person or persons**.

Pattern Variables:

In more general terms it is referred as '**types of orientation'**. He defines these as the fundamental dilemmas that actors face in any situation**. Pattern Variables are to simply put are choices between alternative variables while performing 'roles.'** (According to him, 'Action Systems' in society exist in form of 'Roles'. Society develops such roles in order to achieve certain goals. Roles are vital link between individual and society).

- 'Pattern Variables' is the connecting link between the Parsonian idea of social action and social system, while **pattern variables are dilemmas, social system is the solution.**
- These dilemmas emanate from strains in an individual's choice of or preference within a range of orientations both related to needs and to values.
- But for reasons of simplicity let us proceed as if these dilemmas were dichotomous in character.
- The actor must choose between the options, before she or he can act with respect to the situation.

AFFECTIVITY VERSUS AFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY:

- The dilemma here is in deciding whether one expresses their orientation in terms of immediate gratification (affectivity) or whether they renounce immediate gratification in favor of moral interests (affective-neutrality).
- parsons says, ''no actor can subsist without gratifications, while at the same time no action system can be organized or integrated without the renunciation of some gratifications which are available in the given situation''

SELF-ORIENTATION VERSUS COLLECTIVITY ORIENTATION:

- The main issue is that of **moral standard in the procedure of evaluation.**
- The moral standard arises from the fact that actor has to make a choice between his or her own gratification and its determent for the good of a larger number of people, a collectivity.
- Some form of **altruism and self-sacrifice is involved**. The dilemma of this pattern variable has always been present in human life from primitive mode of economy and society to modern civilization.
- **The notion of socialist society offers us a good example where a whole social system and patterns of its institutions are based on the dominant choice in favour of collectivity orientation**. But as Parsons has rightly pointed out, institutionalization of such values is always fragile.

UNIVERSALISM VERSUS PARTICULARISM:

- Defines the role situation **where** the actor's dilemma is between the **cognitive versus the cathetic** (or emotional standards) evaluation.
- Examples of roles adhering to universalistic standards of human behaviour are role performance which goes strictly- be legal norms and legal sanctions.
- If 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 one violates legal norms only because the person involved is a kin or a friend, then particularistic considerations would be said to be operating.

- Parsons says that in societies where the **role of the bureaucracy of the formal organisations and modern institutions has become widespread there the dilemmas of universalisms and Particularism** have become a matter of choice in everyday life

ASCRIPTION VERSUS ACHIEVEMENT:

- 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.** 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.

SPECIFICITY VERSUS DIFFUSENESS:

- The specificity versus diffuseness pattern variable concerns the scope of the object of role performance. Scope, in this case, is to be understood in terms of the nature of social interaction.
- Some social interaction, such as between doctors and patients, or between buyers and sellers of goods in the market, has a very specific scope.
- The nature of these interactions is defined in terms of very precise context of interaction. 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 relationship are friendship, conjugal relationship between husband and wife, relationship between kin of various degrees. The scope of interaction is **flexible, open and encompassing in nature.**

Utility of Pattern Variables

- 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 fuller of strain than we find in the examples we have mentioned.

Why this Dilemma?

Parsons says the individual faces the dilemma to choose either one form over the other because of:

- **Problems of Internalization (fault in socialization)**

- **Problems of Institutionalization** (lack of clarity generated by society wrt expectations of a pattern) At times, both co–exist (Twin Problems).

At broadest level, **Pattern Variables also represent two dichotomies which stand for traditional and modern society.** Traditional society/system emphasize upon Ascription, Diffuseness, Particularism, Affectivity, Self-Orientation.

Further on the basis of his idea of pattern variables, **he further identified 4 types of structures of social systems –**

I. **Universalistic Achievement Pattern** – Its nearest example is modern American Society
II. **Universalistic Ascription Pattern** – Nazi Germany is its example as organization was rational
III. **Particularistic Achievement Pattern** – Classical Chinese family one of the examples
IV. **Particularistic Ascription Pattern** – Traditional Indian Caste system is one of its examples

Talcott Parsons Action Systems

Parsons gave his structural functionalist theory as a master framework for working of all social institutions, including society. His idea of social system is explained in his **'Structure of Social Action, 1937', and 'The Social System, 1951'.**

- Social actions don't occur in isolation, but in constellations which are various social systems.
- Parsons developed his idea of Social System from the works of **Tonnies, Durkheim** etc.
- He also took the idea of '**Cultural System' from Malinowski, W H R Rivers etc and idea of 'Personality System' from G H Mead, C H Cooley etc.** 'Social System' is just one of the four highest abstractions in his grand structural functional framework and it is made up of a constellation of social actions and it fulfills some functional pre-requisite.

4 types of Action Systems that comprise the reality

Cultural system: Contains Norms & Values. It contains the basic guidelines for the system.

Social system: It involves interaction between units of the system.

Personality system: It highlights hidden or internal aspect of a system. Such as emotions, tensions, stress, aspirations etc.

Organismic system: It contains biological or physical aspect. It makes available energy for the system

As mentioned earlier, action according to Parsons does not occur in isolation but occurs in constellations: **THESE CONSTELLATIONS OF ACTION CONSTITUTE SYSTEM.** These systems of action have three modes of organization which Parsons describes **as THE PERSONALITY SYSTEM, THE CULTURAL SYSTEM AND THE SOCIAL SYSTEM.** He proposed that the actual operating life of a society is made up of the following elements:

 1. **THE ABSTRACT PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOUR (CULTURAL SYSTEM)** which **prescribe what individuals should properly or appropriately do in particular cases**. FOR EXAMPLE, the highway code prescribes how fast drivers should drive under what conditions and how they should co-ordinate with fellow motorists;

2. **THE PATTERN OF ONGOING ACTIVITY, (SOCIAL SYSTEM) i.**e. **how actual people in actual situations behave in ways, which (roughly, more or less) accord with the abstract patterns**. FOR EXAMPLE, in traffic on the road, drivers are busy looking out for what others are doing, and tactically adjusting their driving to accommodate and avoid one another, such action depending in various ways upon the conventions of the highway code being respected by most, if not all, drivers;

3. **THE PERSONALITIES, OR CHARACTERISTIC PATTERNS OF PREFERENCE**, OF REACTION AND SO FORTH OF THE INDIVIDUALS CARRYING OUT THESE PATTERNS (PERSONALITY SYSTEM). For EXAMPLE, in traffic they act as drivers, and they interact with one another in terms of their characters: some drive much more quickly than others, some are more respectful of others' rights on the road, some get angry with traffic conditions, and others remain calm

The four action systems do not exist in the real world but are, rather, analytical tools for analyzing the real world.

- Though, he viewed the social system as a system of interaction, he did not take interaction as his fundamental unit in the study of the social system.

- Rather, he used the **'status-role' complex as the basic unit of the system** which is defined by the structure and not individual who performs them.
- **Status refers to a structural position within the social system, and role is what the actor does in such a position, seen in the context of its functional significance for the larger system**. Thus, he gives primacy to structure over individual.

According to him, every action system has following characteristics –

I. **System is a unified whole made up of interdependent parts called subsystems**, and each such sub-system can be treated as a system itself.
II. Each system has a boundary that separates it from other systems and environment.
III. **Systems or subsystems are organized in a relatively stable manner**, so that definite patterns of inter-relations come to exist between subsystems.
IV. Systems are dynamic in nature
V. There are certain functional pre-requisites which needs to be fulfilled for the existence of a system

However, Parsons did not completely ignore the issue of the relationship between actors and social structures in his discussion of the social system. Parsons was interested in the ways in which the norms and values of a system are transferred to the actors within the system

SOCIAL SYSTEMS:

Social interaction is a pre-requisite for Social System to emerge. Social system is defined as – *'Consisting of plurality of individuals actors interacting with each other in a situation which has an environment with actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the optimization of gratification'*

It is clear from this definition that a system has two parts –

- structure (actors, environment, relation etc) and
- functions (performance of which leads to gratification).

Structure has various parts like – institutions, organizations, kinships, stratification, power relations, religion and moral values etc.

As Parsons was not simply a structuralist but also a functionalist, he delineated a number of **functional prerequisites of a social system –**

I. First, social systems must be structured so that they operate compatibly with other systems.
II. Second, to survive, the social system must have the requisite support from other systems.
III. Third, the system must meet a significant proportion of the needs of its actors.
IV. Fourth, the system must elicit adequate participation from its members.
V. Fifth, it must have at least a minimum of control over potentially disruptive behavior.
VI. Sixth, if conflict becomes sufficiently disruptive, it must be controlled.
VII. Finally, a social system requires a language in order to survive

Functional Analysis of Social System Answering 2 questions:

Q. How the system survives?

Q. What are the functions fulfilled by a particular system?

Mechanical equilibrium phase

- **Book:** The Structure of Social Action, 1937
- Every system tends to attain a new equilibrium.
- **E.g.:** • Rise of internet -> Rise of Cybercrime -> Leads to rise of Cyber Laws – New equilibrium is attained

Requisite Functionalism Phase

- ("The Social System, 1951")
- 4 set of universal functional requisites (must for survival of system)
- AGIL MODEL

Cybernetic Hierarchy of Control Systems and subsystems are organized into a cybernetic hierarchy:
Those systems which have:

- a **high level of information** (such as the cultural system, including norms and values)
- controlling systems which have a high level of energy (such as the human biological system).
- **Interaction of action systems:**
  1) Energy flows up
  2) Information flows down
- A balance between Energy & Info Flow.
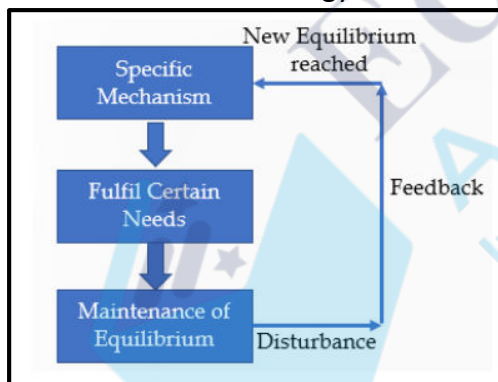
Social Change occurs when there is change in the energy flow or the information control as equilibrium stage is disturbed.

This is restored by –

I.   **Socialization** – shared values are transmitted from one generation to another by various institutions like family, education etc.
II.   **Social Control** – it discourage deviance and various institutions enforcing it are law, police etc.

High information
(controls)

↑

Hierarchy of
conditioning
factors

⇓

High energy
(conditions)

1. Environment of action:
   ultimate reality
2. Cultural system
3. Social system
4. Personality system
5. Behavioral organism
6. Environment of action:
   physical-organic environment

High information
(controls)

↓

Hierarchy of
conditioning
factors

⇓

High energy
(conditions)
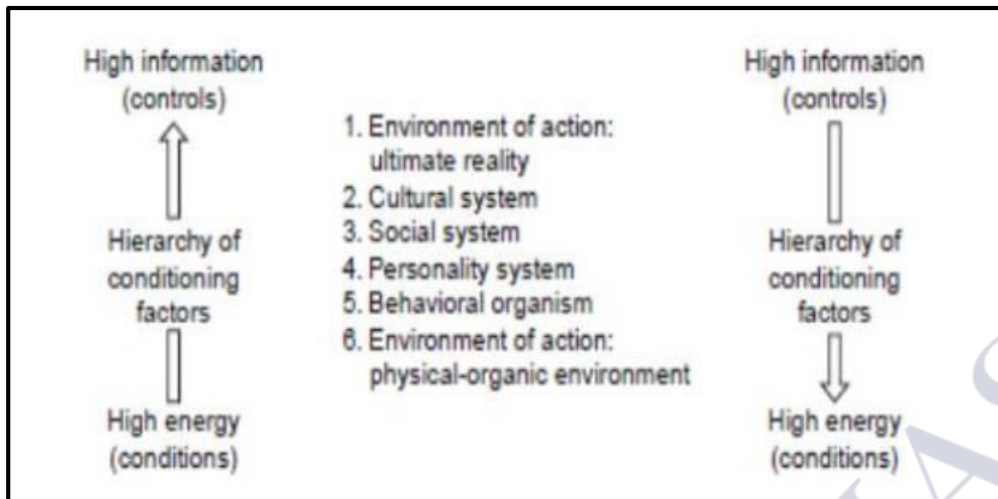
Functional Pre-requisites

- Social systems, Parsons argues, also have a **self-adjustive and self-maintaining quality**.
- 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.
- 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.

 i)   Adaptation ii) Goal Attainment iii) Integration iv) Latency

       This is also known as AGIL model

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 utilization, production and distribution in the society.
- **Adaptation is oriented to factors external to the system and it has an instrumental character.**

Goal-Attainment:

Involves;

- Firstly, the determination of goals, secondly, the motivating of members of the system of attain these goals, and thirdly, the mobilizing of the members and of their energies for the achievement of these goals.
- The organization of the power and authority structure in a social system is an example of an institution where goal attainment is the primary thrust.
- The political processes are its examples. It needs to be goal attainment is related to the ideological and organisation set up of the social system.

Integration:

- 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**.
- **Integration ensures continuity, coordination and solidarity** within the system; it also helps in safeguarding the system from breakdown or disruption.

Latency:

- Functional prerequisite of the social system which stores organizes and maintains the motivational energy of elements in the social system. Its main functional are **pattern maintenance and tension management within the system.**
- This function is performed by the socialisation process of the members of the social system. Its main functions are pattern maintenance and tension management within the system. Parsons's view the function of tension management must take place internally in all institutions

Of course, within a complex system not all parties will be involved to the same extent in all phases, and different parts of the system will specialise predominantly in one or other of these activities on behalf of the rest of the system.

- We can structurally dismember a system in terms of the priorities that the different parts give to the functional phases of the system as a whole. It is **important to note that for Parsons it is systems all the way down, i.e. the question of 'what is the system?' is relative**, depending upon the purposes of analysis.
- FOR EXAMPLE, the family can be treated as a part, i.e. a subsystem, of the society's social system; or it can be treated as the system itself, so that the relation of husband and wife, of father to daughters, of mother to daughters, and so on, are seen as sub-systems of the family system. Thus Parsons's categories apply to systems and their sub-systems and their sub-subsystems. Of course, any sub-system will not engage purely in one of the four functions, for each subsystem will have to satisfy its own functional requirement.

Functional Prerequisites of a Social System

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

Parsons' idea of order in a system

While studying Parsons' action, we encounter the problem of order but Parsons has a following set of assumptions to answer this problem:

1. Systems have the property of order and interdependence of parts.
2. Systems tend toward **self-maintaining order, or equilibrium.**
3. The system may be static or involved in an ordered process of change.
4. The nature of one part of the system has an impact on the form that the other parts can take.
5. Systems maintain boundaries with their environments.
6. **Allocation and integration are two fundamental processes** necessary for a given state of equilibrium of a system.
7. Systems tend toward self-maintenance involving the maintenance of boundaries and of the relationships of parts to the whole, control of environment variations, and control of tendencies to change the system from within.

Parsons' idea of Society Is defined as "a relatively self-sufficient collectivity the members of which are able to satisfy all their individual and collective needs and to live entirely within its framework."

Action System

- The **behavioral organism** is the action system that handles the adaptation function by adjusting to and transforming the external world.
- The **personality system** performs the **goal-attainment function** by defining system goals and mobilizing resources to attain them.
- The **fiduciary system** or institutions of socialization (for example, the schools, the family, religion etc) handle the **latency or pattern maintenance function by transmitting culture (norms and values) to actors** and allowing it to be internalized by them. It helps in maintaining the basic patterns of values in society.
- Finally, the **integration function** is performed by the **societal community** or institutions of social control (for example, the law), which coordinates the various components of society.

These four action tools do not exist in real world but are analytical tools for analyzing the real world

Cultural system

- Parsons conceived culture as the major force binding the various elements of the social world, or, in his terms, the action system.
- Culture mediates **interaction among actors and integrates the personality and the social systems.**
- Culture has the peculiar capacity to become a component of the other systems.
- Social system culture is embodied in norms and values, and in the personality system it is **internalized by the actor.**
- Cultural system has a separate existence in the form of the social stock **of knowledge, symbols, and ideas.**
- Culture is seen as a patterned, ordered system of symbols that are objects of orientation to actors, internalized aspects of the personality system, and **institutionalized patterns in the social system.**

- Because it is largely symbolic and subjective, **culture is transmitted readily from one system to another.**
- Culture can move from one social system to another through diffusion and from one personality system to another through learning and socialization.

Personality system

Parsons says "while the main content of the structure of the personality is derived from social systems and culture through socialization, the personality becomes an independent system through its relations to its own organism and through the uniqueness of its own life experience; it is not a mere epiphenomenon".

- The personality is defined as the **organized system of orientation and motivation of action of the individual actor.**
- The basic component of the personality is the "**need disposition**." Need dispositions are drives that are shaped by the social settings.
- Need-dispositions impel actors to accept or reject objects presented in the environment or to seek out new objects if the ones that are available do not adequately satisfy need-dispositions.

Parsons differentiated among three basic types of need dispositions:

- The first type impels **actors to seek love, approval**, and so forth, from their social relationships.
- The second type includes **internalized values** that lead actors to observe various cultural standards.
- Finally, there are the **role expectations** that lead actors to give and get appropriate responses.
- This gives a very **passive image of** actors because they are either impelled by drives or dominated by cultures.
- To nullify this aspect Parsons tries to endow personality with some creativity as he says that the person makes creative modifications as he internalizes culture.

Parsons concept of social system is criticized on various grounds, some of which are –

I. Grand functional theory with little practical utility and low on empirical testability. His ideas are too abstract with little empirical verifiability. **Dahrendorf called his conception as utopian**.

II. He takes an **over-socialized view of man** in which man is influenced by the values and norms alone like a cog in machine.

III. Merton takes much realistic view and he included latent functions, dysfunctions as well in his analysis. Merton termed such a grand conception as both futile and sterile.

IV. According to Jonathan Turner, **structure functionalism of Parsons suffers from illegitimate teleologies and tautologies which are the two most important logical problems confronting structural functionalism.** They often take cause and effect and vice-versa

V. The emphasis in the writings of Parsons and Merton on the scientific character of sociology has been criticized by many later sociologists as 'positivism'.

VI. **Marxist sociologists criticize functionalism for its neglect of class conflict or class antagonism that exist in society**. Political sociologists have criticized it for neglecting the role of power and domination in the structure and function of social institutions.

VII.   He ignored conflict. According to Turner he was obsessed with integration

However, despite its limitations, the social system framework can be used as a framework to understand various social sub-systems and their problems or functional pre-requisites. **Social problems like insurgencies in tribal areas can be understood from systems view as –**

I.   **Poverty** (Adaptation – Economic System)
II.   **Vested Interests** (Goal Attainment – Political System)
III.   **Alienation** (Integration – Cultural System)
IV.   **Stress and Lack of Motivation** (Latency – Family)

ASSESSMENT OF PARSONS:

- Parsons has powerful influences on American sociology for more than two decades and shaped a whole generation of sociologists. Some of his important students included **Robert Merton, Kingsley Davis, Wilbert Moore, Marion J. Levy, Neil Smelser, Harold Garfinkel etc.**
- Parsons achievements lie in the fact that he made a successful break with the empiricist tradition of American sociology which was bogged down into minute. He started with the ambitious objective of synthesizing diverse element into a single conceptual structure for the whole of sociology which also serve to integrate all other social sciences. **Constituent elements of his theoretical system were drawn from British utilitarian economics, French positivism and German historicism**. While such an enterprise provided a corrective to over empiricism of American sociology, his theoretical model became too grand to be of any empirical value.
- **Parsons attempted to blend action theory with functionalism by using the concepts of 'pattern variables' and 'systemic analyses**. However, due to these very concepts, he ended up in subordinating action theory of system. His whole analysis is based upon an over-socialized conception of man
- He has shown too much of a preoccupation with order and equilibrium. This has **rendered his theory status-quo oriented.** Social conflict and social change have not been given adequate importance in his scheme.
- His concept of power is also characterized by a functionalist bias and his functionalism is teleological. Too much of importance has been attached to values and norms.
- Parsons was much criticised, more so than any other figure in modern sociology, even his inability to write plain, concise English being held against him. Much of this criticism is superficial as well as repetitive and can be placed aside without too much difficulty

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND EQUALITY

Syllabus:

☐ **Concepts** – equality, inequality, hierarchy, exclusion, poverty and deprivation.

☐ **Theories of social stratification** – Structural functionalist theory, Marxist theory, Weberian theory.

☐ **Dimensions** –class, status groups, gender, ethnicity and race.

☐ **Social mobility** – open and closed systems, types of mobility, sources and causes of mobility

Men have long dreamed of an **egalitarian society**, **a society in which all members are equal**. No one will be placed in a position that will be higher or lower, superior or inferior in relation to other. No one will suffer the indignity of being related to a position which commands little respect. Wealth will be distributed equally among the population. The rich and poor, have and have-not's will be a thing of the past

CONCEPT of EQUALITY:

Broadly the tern equality refers to "**the state of being equal in some respect.** Equality or social equality refers to a condition in which members of a group or society have equal access to, wealth, prestige, or power. **Social equality exists when all people have equal access to, or share power, wealth or prestige.**

- Though the term **'equality' has political, legal and philosophical overtones**, most of the sociological discussions have focused on equality as an aspect of social context.
- Ever since the time of the French Revolution and the growth of liberal democracies in Europe, equality has usually been interpreted mostly as political equality.
- For example**, liberal democracy assumes that equality means equality between individuals as citizens.** Here, equality includes constitutional rights, that is, the fundamental Rights, the right to hold political office, the right to exercise all civic rights, etc

Peter Saunders distinguishes between three types of equality:

- **Formal equality** (all members of society are subjected to same laws and rules but that does not imply that everybody ends up in the same position)
- **Equality of opportunity** (people have equal chance to become unequal i.e. meritocracy)
- **Equality of outcome** (Marxist idea- equal reward for any work. E.g. affirmative action)

Ontological Equality John Locke

- "All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights.

Louis Dumont –

- In India – **Homo Hierarchicus**
- West – **Homo Equillus**

Karl Marx –

- Capitalism brings inequality.
- Communism will have equality

SOCIAL INEQUALITY

- Inequality is found in all societies irrespective of time or place. Personal characteristics such as beauty, skill, physical strength and personality may all play a role in the perpetuation of inequality.
- However, there are also patterns of inequality associated with the social positions people occupy.
- We can say that there are **two types of inequality:**
  Natural and Man Made

Aristotle was clearly concerned with the consequences of inequality in birth, strength and wealth. He talked about three classes: (i) Very Rich, (ii) Very Poor, and (iii) Moderate**. St. Thomas and St. Augustine made distinction based on power, property and prestige.**

Machiavelli asked who is fit to rule and what form of rule will produce order, happiness, prosperity and strength. He saw tension between elite and the masses. He preferred democratic rule. About the selection for ruling positions he advocated inequality in situation is legitimate so long as there has been equality of opportunity to become unequal.

Thomas Hobbes saw all men equally interested in acquiring power and privileges, which leads to chaotic conditions, unless there is a set of rules by which they agree to abide. **These rules constitute "Social Contract", under which people give the right to one man to rule, who has collective desire and will**. The sovereign can be removed if he fails to come up to the maintenance of equality for safety of all men

Some Salient Aspects of Social Inequality:

- **Social Inequality is the Result of Differentiation**: Every society for that matter differentiates between the old and the young and between males and females. Society treats its members in different ways on various grounds such as skin colour, religion, physical strength, or educational achievement. The result of this differentiation is nothing but inequality.
- **Social Inequality is Universal**: In no society of the world all people have equal recognition. It is in this simple sense; inequality is universal in human societies. Social inequality is apparent when a society values males over females, the rich over the poor, Christians over Muslims, or Brahmins over the Dalits or Whites over Blacks, and so on.
- **Social Inequality is Normally Built into the Social Structure:** In all the modern societies, social inequality takes a much elaborate and structured form in which different categories of people have different statuses.
- **Social Inequality is a Source of Social Conflict and Social Change**: Inequality Is one of the most pressing social problems of the present day society. Throughout history, **social inequality has been a source of tensions, revolutions and social change**. It has generated bloody conflict between slave and master, peasant and noble, worker and capitalist, poor and rich.
- **Social Inequalities are Normally Sustained by the Power of Ideas**: It is significant to note that "social inequalities are rarely maintained primarily through force. Instead, they **are sustained by the power of ideas**. Members of both the dominant and sub-ordinate groups are inclined to accept unquestionably the ideologies, or sets of ideas that justify the inequalities and make them seem "natural" and even moral.
- **Social Inequalities are not Necessarily based on Natural or Biological Inequalities**: Many stratification systems are accompanied by beliefs which state social inequalities are biologically based. For example, **Whites claim biological superiority over Blacks, and see 'this as the basis for their dominance**

Every society has differences which can be natural/ biological (race, colour, height, sex) or social (occupation, education, recognition)

- **Differences** → value attachment (superiority/desirability/preferability) → Inequalities
- Inequalities can be present at level of individuals/ groups or at whole society (For e.g. fairness)
- **Understanding pattern of inequalities in terms of strata is known as social stratification. It is a mental construct.**
- Inequality is not a problem in itself but when certain rewards and punishments (discrimination/ exploitation) are attached to it, perpetuation of strata starts.

Process of social stratification involves four stages: (journey from natural differences to patterned inequalities)

1. **Differentiation** (existence of differences which can be perceived by people)

2. **Ranking** (elementary ranking through comparison)

3. **Evaluation** (attaching values to a stratum at collective level)

4. **Rewarding** (rewards like discrimination and after that system becomes self-perpetuating)

Andre Beteille: Inequality of stratification can exist in two ways –

- **Cumulative** (when 3 types of rewards overlap i.e. one group enjoys wealth, prestige, and power)
- **Dispersed** (e.g. Rajputs have power but Brahmins have higher status)

Gerhard Lenski:

- **Status inconsistency**: Individual or a group has high status in one criterion but low on other.
- **Status crystallisation**: Similarly placed on all axis. For e.g. Dalits are low in all. Status inconsistencies lead to conflicts not status crystallisation.

Feminists – Major source of inequality is Patriarchy.

Multicultural nations thrive when views of one community are not considered superior over views of another.

Durkheim – Uniformity is not equality.

CONCEPT OF HIERARCHY:

The literal meaning of term "hierarchy" is gradation or a ranking system. This term is very commonly used in the discussions of social stratification. **It signifies that individuals and groups in any society are not socially treated equally but graded differently**. The concept of hierarchy denotes that people in a society are graded or ranked differently depending upon the type of the statuses that they occupy

Usage of the Concept of Hierarchy in the Analysis of Social Stratification:

- Any system, social or otherwise, is said to be hierarchical or gradational in nature if it consists of different strata or layers one on top of another. The more hierarchical a system is, the greater the number of layers and, generally, the greater the distance between the top and bottom are found. In a system for say **Caste system hierarchy help us understand social Inequality** and Social distance among Castes.
- Hierarchy is an important concept because, by making use of the hierarchical principle it is comparatively easier to **trace out the relative status or position of an individual or group** in a particular society.
- Similarly**, class system, is also hierarchical in which the capitalists and the rich occupy the top position in the hierarchy while the workers and the poor occupy the bottom most position**. The

position in between these two is occupied by the middle class. **Sociologists have also spoken of a six-fold division of class hierarchy.**

CONCEPT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION:

Social exclusion refers to "A process by which individuals or households experience deprivation, either of resources such as income or of social links to the wider community or society". "Social exclusion refers to the ways in which individuals may become cut off from full involvement in the wider community."

Nature of Social Exclusion:

- **Social exclusion is systematic** –it is **result of structural features of society**. Exclusion is practiced regardless of the wishes of those who are excluded. For example rich people are never found sleeping on the pavements or under bridges like thousands of homeless poor people in cities and towns. This does not mean that the rich are being excluded from access to pavements and park benches because they could certainly gain access if they wanted to but they choose not to

- **Social Exclusion Indicates Deprivation of Opportunities**: It indicates that some are denied of having access to essential goods and services such as education, health, transportation, insurance, social security, banking and even access to the police or judiciary. It is not enough if individuals are just provided with food, clothing and shelter.

- **Social Exclusion is Not Accidental**: Social exclusion in most of the cases is found to be an in-built mechanism to deprive a few of their social rights. It is the **result of the structural features of society**. The 'untouchables' in India, were excluded from doing many things

- **Social Exclusion is Involuntary:** Social exclusion is practiced regardless of the wishes of those who are excluded. In the case of the untouchables of India, for example, it is trusted upon them.

- **Prolonged Exclusion Leading to a Reaction Against Inclusion:** Prolonged experience of discrimination and insult underwent by an excluded group often compels it to develop a reaction against inclusion. As a result, it may stop making attempts for inclusion. **For example, the denial of temple entry for the dalits in India for decades together by the upper castes may ultimately compel the dalits to build their own temple, or to convert to another religion like Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam**

Exclusion in modern times –

- **Economic** (Modern: rural urban divide, unequal wages, proper housing, slums, absolute poverty, market unaffordability)
- **Political** (lack of accountability, lack of voice, dynastic polity)
- **Social** (gender bias, transgender, educational inequality, old age)
- **Digital**

Karl Marx- Alienation is exclusion. **At 4 levels: o Peers o Product o Process o Self**

Deliberate Exclusion:

- **Herbert Marcuse – One Dimensional Man (Book and Idea).** He argues that "advanced industrial society" created false needs, which integrated individuals into the existing system of production and consumption via **mass media, advertising, industrial management**, and contemporary modes of thought.

- This **results in a "one-dimensional" universe of thought and behavior**, in which aptitude and ability for critical thought and oppositional behavior wither away.
- Against this prevailing climate, **Marcuse promotes the "great refusal"** as the only adequate opposition to all-encompassing methods of control.
- Celebrities
- **Merton** – For becoming part of some reference group.
- **GS Ghurye – Sadhus.**

Collective vs Individual Exclusion: International Angle

- **Deliberate** - Countries like North Korea or Countries with Sanctions (like Iran, Russia)
- **Structural** – Poor African Nations,
- **Institutional** - Non-Permanent members of UN.

Amartya Sen: Active or Passive Exclusion

- **Active** - Their rights are deliberately denied by states. **Example- Caste System, Migrants, Refugees**.
- **Passive** – No deliberate attempt is made to exclude from society but because of the structure of the society it happens. **Example – Poverty**.

Often one kind of exclusion leads to many others. So various types of isolations → Mutually Reinforcing in nature.

Walker & Walker: Call it a denial of citizenship as meaning denial of civil, political & social rights. Not an absolute state but has gradations.

Ruth Levitas – The Inclusive Society Social exclusion is a

- Complex & multi- dimensional process
- Denial or lack of resources, goods, services, rights.
- Inability to participate in social, cultural, political areas.
- Affects quality of individual's life.

Identifies three discourses of Social exclusion:

1. Moral Underclass discourse

2. Social integrationist discourse

3. Redistributionist discourse

The three constructs basically offer only a framework and have a heuristic value in the understanding of the concept. The reality is much more complicated and the reasons in a particular society are usually more than one.

Discourse	Cause	Solution	Criticism
Moral underclass discourse	Deviant norms of the underclass passed on from one generation to next	Since individual immorality is seen the cause, solution lies in the cultural change of group.	-The significance of the material conditions are ignored -Cultures never develop in vaccum but in response to conditions in wider society. -diverts attention away from social divisions such as 'race' and 'class'
Social inegrationist discourse	-Exclusion from paid labour market	Exposure to paid labour market will make citizen responsible and bring discipline into their lives as they earn income and a restricted power to consume in society. Indian examples- Food for work MGNREGA	-Pay gap -divisions within the labour market -Infromalisation of labour -working poor -Unpaid labour by women
Redistributionist Discourse	-Poverty and structural inequality -Capitalism is the evil behind poverty.	-De-industrialisation -Structural economic changes of global level -Setting up welfare state,eg gradation in taxes.	-To what extent can a particular change affect the entire structure? -Some structures of society are hard to break down as no viable altenatives

Christine Bradley: Gives 5 mechanisms through which Social exclusion is practiced:

1. **Geographical Segregation** – exclusion is practiced at the spatial level through cultural impositions or as a result of different ways of life.
- **Examples**: • Outcastes & Shudras living on outskirts of villages-Helps customs like untouchability survive
2. **Intimidation** - Used to **reinforce social stereotypes & control of power**. Instruments like verbal abuse or 'Threat to harm' are used to continue practices that propagated exclusion.
- **Examples** o Calling of names to remind one of the inferiority associated with his/her caste/race
3. **Physical violence**- use of actual violence is also observed where the intimidation fails to do the work.
- **Examples** o Women (domestic violence) o Dalits (mob lynching cases) o Justice Verma Committee observes that Rape -> also an expression of patriarchal power other than sexual desire.
4. **Barriers to entry** – physical barriers may be created in the social structures and institutions to limit access.
- **Examples** o Cultural beliefs (eg. Temple entry) o Transaction costs (so poor can't afford) [cost other than actual price] o Documentation Requirement (the mechanism by misusing Bureaucratic procedures).
5. **Corruption** o It overrides the provisions of constitution and laws made to overcome exclusion. o The corruption ensures that equal & just access is denied.
- **Examples** o Inefficiency in Public Distribution System

CONCEPT OF POVERTY:

In writings of **Sir John Sinclair and FM Eden** – Poverty is a social problem.

- 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.
- **Multi Dimensional Poverty** - The social aspects of poverty may include lack of access to information, education, health care, social capital or political power

Various Perspectives

- **Max Weber** - cultural values could affect economic success.
- **Great Smoky Mountains Study (a ten-year Longitudinal study)** – Counter evidence - changing economic opportunities explain most of the movement into and out of poverty, as opposed to shifts in values.
- **Merton** - In modern societies, poverty is generally relational of which he talks about in his reference group theory.
- **Marx** - 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.

THEORIES OF POVERTY:

The culture of poverty: Oscar Lewis

- Many researchers have noted that the life style of the poor differs in certain respects from that of other members of society. They have also noted that **poverty life styles in different societies share common characteristics.** The circumstances of poverty are similar, in many respects, in different societies.
- Similar circumstances and problems tend to produce similar response, and these responses can develop into a culture, that is the **learned, shared, and socially transmitted behaviour of a social group**. This **line of reasoning has led to the concept of a 'culture of poverty'** (or, more correctly, a subculture of poverty), a relatively distinct subculture of the poor with its own norms and values. **Oscar Lewis developed the concept from his fieldwork among the urban poor in Mexico and Puerto Rico.** Lewis argues that the culture of poverty is a 'design for living' which transmitted from one generation to the next

Situational Constraints Theory – an alternative to a culture of poverty

- Rather than seeing the behaviour of the poor as a response to established and internalized cultural patterns, **many researchers view it as a reaction to 'situational constraints'.**
- In other words the poor are constrained by the facts of their situation, by low income, unemployment and the like, to act the way they do, rather than being directed by a culture of poverty. The situational constraints argument suggests that the poor would readily change their behaviour in response to new set of circumstances once the constraints of poverty were removed.

Poverty as a positive feedback system or vicious circle

- It is **also called vicious circle of poverty** and this theory argues that various factors which cause poverty work in such a way that a poor person can never get out of those. For example – unemployment leads to poverty, poor people cannot have good education, without good education there is no employment.

Dialectical approach

- Marxists argue that poverty in society can only be understood in terms of the effects of a capitalist economy. According to them, the question **'Why Poverty?' is same as asking 'Why Wealth?'.**

Poverty and power thesis

- Ralph Miliband in his **'Politics and Poverty, 1974'** argues that **the poor are the weakest groups in power struggle for the scarce resources**. Poor often have no bargaining powers, low trade union support which is exploited by the employers.

Dependency theory

- **Andre Gunder Frank argues that poverty in East is a result of prosperity in West**. Western countries' exploitative colonial rule impoverished these countries. Similarly, **Wallerstein conceptualized this argument in form of World Systems Theory in current context too.**

Feminisation of Poverty – Diane Pearce

- Women represent disproportionate percentages of the world poor.
- Not a consequence of lack of income. But deprivation of capabilities and gender biases.

Reasons of Feminisation of Poverty:

- Labour Market inequalities • Lack of Income • Gap of Income • Men migrate, leaving single women household behind • Inequality in the access to public services or in their quality • Lack of education, skills, healthcare services • Lack of political decision making power

Femonomics –by Reeta Wolfsohn

- Women have unique healthcare problems leading to higher costs of health
- Shoulder fiscal and physical responsibilities of children
- Lack of education means lack of money managing capabilities
- **Increased Widowhood-** Increased life expectancy of women vis-à-vis men
- **Environmental Degradation- Eco-Feminisation**
- Socialisation Challenge

MARXIAN PERSPECTIVE ON POVERTY

- From a Marxian perspective, poverty in capitalist society can only be understood **in terms of the system of inequality generated by a capitalist economy.**
- **Wealth is concentrated in the hands of a minority:** those who own the forces of production. Members of the subject class own only their labour which they must sell in return for wages on the open market.
- Capitalism requires a **highly motivated workforce**. Since the motivation to work is based primarily on monetary return, those whose services are not require by the economy, such as the aged and the unemployed, must receive a lower income than wage earners.
- If this were not the case, there would be little incentive to work. The motivation of the workforce is also maintained by unequal reward for work.
- Workers compete as individuals and groups with each other for income in a highly competitive society. In this respect, the low wage sector forms the base of a competitive wage structure.
- Low wages help to reduce the wage demands of the workforce as a whole, since workers tend to assess their income in terms of the baseline provided by the low paid.
- Since, **from a Marxian perspective, the state in capitalist society reflects the interests of the ruling class, government measures can be expected to do little except reduce the harsher effect of poverty.**
- Thus Kincaid argues that, 'It is not to be expected that any Government whose main concern is with the efficiency of a capitalist economy is going to take effective steps to abolish the low-wage sector'

WEBERIAN PERSPECTIVE ON POVERTY:

- Weber argues that an **individual's 'class situation' is dependent upon his 'market situation'**, on the favour and on the rewards his skills and expertise can command in a competitive market.
- From this perspective groups such as the aged, the chronically sick and single parent families have little power in the market and therefore receive little reward. Indeed, their circumstances largely prevent them from competing in the market.
- However, not all members of these groups are poor, and this is referable to their market situation prior to their present circumstances.
- The poverty of the old, sick, handicapped and single parent families is largely working-class poverty. Members of other social classes have sufficient income to save, invest in pension schemes, insurance policies and in shareholdings for themselves and their dependents and so guard against the threat of poverty due to the death of the breadwinner, sickness or old age.
- In this sense, **social class rather than personal disability, inadequacy, or misfortune accounts for poverty.**

FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON POVERTY:

- **Herbert J. Gans** argues that 'poverty survives in part because it is useful to a number of groups in society'. **Poverty benefits the non-poor in general and the rich and powerful in particular.** They there fore have a vested interest in maintaining poverty. From this perspective, **Gans outlines the following 'functions of poverty' for the non-poor. –**
- **Firstly**, every economy has a number of temporary, dead-end, dirty, dangerous and menial jobs. The existence of poverty ensures that such work is done. **Gans argues that 'poverty functions to provide a low-wage labour pool that is willing – or rather, unable to be unwilling – to perform dirty work at low cost'.** Without the low paid, many industries would be unable to continue in their present form.

- **Secondly**, poverty directly provides employment financial security for a fast growing section of the labour force. In **Gans's words, 'Poverty creates jobs for a number of occupations and professions that serve the poor, or shield the rest of the population from them'.** Police, probation officers, social workers psychiatrists, doctor and the administrators who over see the 'poverty industry'.
- **Thirdly**, Gans argues that the presence of the poor provides reassurance and support for the rest of society. They provide a baseline of failure which resources the non-poor of their worth. **Gans claims that 'poverty helps to guarantee the status of those who are not poor'.** It does this by providing 'a reliable and relatively permanent measuring rod for status comparison

Way out of Poverty

- Food • Employment • Education
- Removing constraints on government services- Political corruption, Tax havens, Transfer mispricing, Developing countries' debt, and Conditionality
- Reversing brain drain
- Controlling overpopulation
- Guaranteed minimum income, Social security, and Welfare
- The business of poverty – Idea of business serving the world's poorest four billion or so people has been popular since **CK Prahalad** introduced the idea through his book '**The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid'.**

Voluntary Poverty

Among some individuals**, poverty is considered a necessary or desirable condition, which must be embraced to reach certain spiritual, moral, or intellectual states**.

Poverty is often understood to be an essential element of renunciation in religions such as Buddhism (only for monks, not for lay persons) and Jainism, whilst in Roman Catholicism it is one of the evangelical counsels.

The main aim of giving up things of the materialistic world is to withdraw oneself from sensual pleasures (as they are fake and temporary in some religions).

This self-invited poverty (or giving up pleasures) is different from the one caused by economic imbalance.

Benedict XVI distinguished "poverty chosen" (the poverty of spirit proposed by Jesus), and "poverty to be fought" (unjust and imposed poverty). He considered that the moderation implied in the former favors solidarity, and is a necessary condition so as to fight effectively to eradicate the abuse of the latter.

DEPRIVATION:

"Deprivation" is one of the concepts closely associated with the discussions of social inequality. Sociological analysis defines deprivation broadly as inequality of access to social goods. It includes poverty and wider forms of disadvantage

Absolute deprivation refers to the lack of life necessities i.e. food, water, shelter and fuel. It means the loss or absence of the means to satisfy the basic needs for survival - food, clothing and shelter.

Relative deprivation refers to deprivations experienced when individuals compare themselves with others. In this case, individuals who lack something compare themselves with those who have it, and in so doing feel a sense of deprivation. Consequently, relative deprivation not only involves comparison, it is also usually defined in subjective terms. **The concept is intimately linked with that of "reference group" - the group with whom the individual or set of individuals compare themselves**

Robert Merton also mentions 'relative deprivation' as another form of deprivation. Despite absolute progress in society, due to presence of inequalities, relative deprivation always remains there. Marxists attribute deprivation to unequal nature of society which is marked by unequal control over forces of productions.

Hierarchy VS Stratification:

Dipankar Gupta - 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 are not.
- Differences rather than hierarchy(ranked-order) are dominant in some stratification systems.
- the layers in some cases are not arranged vertically or hierarchically, but horizontally or even separately.
- For example, it would be futile, and indeed capricious, to hierarchize languages or religions or nationalities

VALUE ADDITION:

Gentrification

Sociologist **Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964**, defining it as a process by which neighbourhood's "original working-class occupiers are displaced" by influx of higher income newcomers.

- More broadly, **gentrification refers to a process of neighbourhood change involving the migration of wealthier residents into poorer neighbourhoods and increased economic investment.**

Features:

Although the key features of gentrification are: **displacement, both physical and symbolic and change in social and urban character**, we can consider it to have three dimensions:-

1. The displacement of lower income residents;

2. The physical transformation of the neighbourhood—mostly through the upgrading of its housing stock and commercial spaces; and

3. The changing cultural character of the neighbourhood.

PROCESS:

- The gentrification of a neighbourhood increases economic opportunity it represents.
- Movement of more people into the area to take advantage of those opportunities increases the desirability of that area even further.
- More people move into the area forcing the desirability of that area to increase even more.
- Developers begin to tear down old housing to build new. Old shops, restaurants, and other neighbourhood features may be changed to cater to new residents. Perhaps worst of all, the old residents themselves may be forced to leave.
- Rising costs of living and a changing landscape for jobs mean that the benefits gentrification brings to an area are often distributed unequally.
- **Gentrification can occur on a small or large scale**. For example, individual newcomers can slowly populate an area because of renovations.
- Conversely, large-scale redevelopment and the accompanying regeneration can cause an immediate shift in neighborhood residents.
- There is also a debate around whether the new development that does not directly displace existing residents is part of the gentrification process or instead is a form of "re-urbanization" that should be viewed more positively.

Consequences:

Negative:

- It is often a **productive byproduct of revitalizing city neighborhoods,** but it can impose great costs on certain individual families and businesses, often those least able to afford them.
- Increasing real estate values and equity for owners, and increasing rents for renters and business owners
- Conflicts between old and new residents
- **Forced Displacement**, which means that in some of these communities, **long-term residents are not able to stay to benefit from new investments in housing, healthy food access, or transit infrastructure**
- **Another impact of displacement to consider is cultural displacement**: • Even for long-time residents who are able to stay in newly gentrified areas, changes in the make-up and character of a neighborhood can lead to a reduced sense of belonging, or feeling out of place in one's own home.
- Increase in discriminatory behavior of people in power

Positive:

- Increasing tax revenue;
- It can lead to the loss of affordable housing
- Greater income mix and deconcentration of poverty

EMOTIONAL CAPITAL:

- Bourdieu argues against a purely economistic explanation of social inequality.
- He claims that any examination of class inequality needs to consider the reproduction of cultural and social capital in addition to economic capital.

- **Bourdieu's theory of non-economic forms of capital has been extended by feminist scholars to include emotional capital** which is usually created and deployed by women in the private sphere.
- **Emotional capital, according to Reay, who first used it in an educational context**, includes the ability to manage one's own and others' emotions.
- **Reay used emotional capital in conjunction with Bourdieu's theory to explain mothers' involvement in children's schooling**. Scolding, cajoling and encouraging academic and non-academic activities, supporting them through the ups and downs of school life, has lasting impact on educational achievements and therefore on life-chances.
- **Arlie Hochschild (1983) uses the term "emotional labour"** to describe the work female flight attendants do to manage the feelings and behaviour of airline passengers during long flights.
- Masking their own feelings (exhaustion, anxiety, irritation) female flight attendants attempt to appear "nicer than normal" to increase passengers' enjoyment of the journey.
- **Emotional labour "is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value" as opposed to emotional work which refers to "the same acts done in private where they have use value".**
- While the concepts of emotional capital and emotional labour have separate origins in feminist literature, it help us to describe how women exchange emotional labour to acquire social and emotional capital.
- It gives them access to paid employment (and thereby to economic capital) and enables them to manage their professional lives and personal well-being.
- **Reay suggests, unlike cultural and social capital, emotional capital cannot be easily exchanged for economic capital**, but women attempt to deploy it to mitigate the absence of the latter.
- The analysis suggests that **emotional capital can be created by engaging in regular emotional work on the self** (prayer, positive self-talk, constructing teaching as nation building) or by engaging in emotional labour with students, colleagues and management.
- Thus, creating emotional capital requires a certain amount of emotional labour.
- However, whether an individual's emotional labour can be realised as emotional capital depends to a great extent on the willingness of others to recognise and reward it, thus making this form of capital more tenuous than economic or cultural capital

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION:

By stratification we mean that arrangement of any social group or society by which positions are hierarchically divided. The positions are unequal with regard to power, property, evaluation and psychic gratification. We add social, because positions consist of socially defined statuses.

PLATO - three classes based on natural quality of people o **Guardians-soldiers o Auxiliaries- philosophers o Servants- craftsmen**

Aristotle thought that men by nature are unequal and there is natural rank among them.

Saint Augustine a prominent enlightenment thinker, understood inequality in terms of power, prestige, and property.

Characteristics of Stratification:

Melvin M. Tumin has mentioned the following characteristics of social stratification:

- **It is Social:** Stratification is social in the sense that it does not represent inequality which are biologically based. For example, manager of an industry attains a dominant position not by physical strength, nor by his age, but by having socially defined traits. His education, training skills, experience, personality, character etc
- **It is Ancient**: The stratification system is very old. Stratification was present even in the small wandering bands. Age and sex wear the main criteria of stratification
- **It is Universal**: Social stratification is universal. Difference between rich and poor, the 'haves' or 'have notes' is evident everywhere
- **It is in diverse Forms**: Social stratification has never been uniform in all societies. **The ancient Roman society was stratified into two strata: the Patricians and the Plebians** .The Aryan society was divided into four Varnas:
- **The stratification system has its own consequences**. **The system leads to two kind of consequences: (i) Life chances and (ii) Life style.**
- Life chances refer to such things as infant mortality, longevity, physical and mental illness, marital conflict, separation and divorce.
- Life styles include the mode of housing, residential area, education, means of recreation, relation between parent and children, modes of conveyance and so on.

BASIS OR FORMS OF STRATIFICATION:

Free and unfree: The **population of a society may be divided into freemen and slaves**. In certain communities the slaves do not enjoy rights and privileges. The slave is practically at the disposal of his master.

Class: A structure of social class involves (1) a hierarchy status groups, (2) the recognition of the superior – inferior positions and (3) some degree of permanency of the structure. Where a society is composed of social classes, the social structure looks like a truncated pyramid

Caste: Social stratification is also based on caste. In open society individuals can move from one class or status level to another, that is to say equality of opportunity exists. The class structure is 'closed' when such opportunity is virtually absent. **The Indian caste system provides a classic example**

Estate and Status:

- Under the system, the land was taken to be the gift of God to King, who in the absence of any local administrative systems made grants of it, called Estates or fiefs, to nobles, called lords temporal, for military service; they in turn made similar grants to the inferior class on oath of loyalty and military support.
- **The holder of the land was called vassal**; the multitudes who cultivated were the serfs and the people still lower to the serfs were slaves. These grants with the privileges attached to them in the beginning, were personal in character.
- Latter with the weakening of the central authority, the estate and the privileges attached to it became hereditary. The church followed suit. Over the time there developed the three estates – **the lords temporal, lord spiritual and the commons**

Race and Ethnicity:

- Over the time, and at some places even now, race and ethnicity was and is taken to be the basis of inequality and stratification.
- The Western people, wherever they went, claimed racial superiority and attributed their success to it. They took the 'natives' to be of inferior racial origin.
- The race conflict in Africa, the U.S.A. and in some of the European countries remains a dominant factor in stratification and inequality.
- In South Africa, the whites constitute a status- group; membership of which cannot be acquired by Africans; no matter how wealthy or skilled they may be

Theories of stratification can be divided into

1. Earlier theories (Marxian/ functionalist and Weberian)   2. Recent theories

Comparison between functionalist and conflict

FUNCTIONALIST (Durkheim, Parsons, Davis and Moore)	CONFLICT (Marx, Dahrendorf, CW Mills, Gerhard Lenski)
Social stratification is due to need of society Ex DOL of Durkheim	Due to need of certain groups ex DOL benefits capitalism
Justifies SS	Condemn SS
SS brings stability to the society ex HH Risley and Ghurye saw caste system bringing stability	Inherent instability of society EX Dahrendorf authority structure based in coercion make people high and low
Highlight common goals of society which brings social cohesion. EX Parsons theory of role performance integrates individual to society	Highlight different divisive factors. Ex CW Mills division among power elites and between power elites and masses

THE MARXIST PERSPECTIVE:

- In the beginning there were no classes or stratification (Primitive communism) but later on production of surplus in agriculture/ private property came which led to inequality and classes.

a) **Basis of stratification**: Economic inequality

b) **Structure of Stratification:**

- **Ancient** (master/slave)
- **Feudal** (feudal lord/ serf)
- **Capitalism** (Bourgeoisie/ proletariat)

Currently there are a number of classes in Germany but gradual polarization.

c) **Consequence of stratification**: Class struggle, socialism, and communism

d) **Universality**: Present everywhere but future is free of stratification.

Criticism by Weber: Inequality will increase in the future as more capitalism will mean more bureaucracy. He also says that conflict will be there but "revolution is a distant possibility"

Criticism by Ralf Dahrendorf:

- Ralf Dahrendorf says that revolution is impossibility as:
- Capital will decompose, Labour will decompose, Welfare state, Middle class will emerge
- There will be high social mobility in future.
- **Ralf Dahrendorf says that stratification is based on: Authority (subordination and super ordination)**

THE WEBERIAN PERSPECTIVE:

What is Social Class – Marx & Weber

There is no agreed definition of social class and sociologists view it in different ways.

KARL MARX:

- Saw Capitalist society as a highly stratified system (society divided with privileged at top & poor at bottom.)
- Identified two classes i) bourgeoisie (ruling class) & proletariat (the working class)
- Membership of these classes was determined by economic factors.
- Bourgeoisie – owned property, businesses and land. Aimed for increasing profits.
- Proletariat – did not own property and had to sell their labour to bourgeoisie. Aimed for higher wages.
- Marx saw the bourgeoisie as exploiting the proletariat.

Max Weber:

- Argued that classes were formed in marketplaces such as the labour market. One class of people hired labour & another class sold their labour.
- Weber deified a class is a group of people with similar life chances.
- He identified 4 main classes i) property owners ii) professionals iii)petty bourgeoisie (shop owners_ iv) the working class
- Different classes reflect different life chances, for example, the working class shared similar life chances in the labour market but had different life chances from property owners.
- Like Marx, saw class as being based on economic factors but also on status and power.
- Weber saw class & status as separate, for example, i) a member of the aristocracy may have no savings but their title gives them status ii) nurses may lack wealth but have high status iii) lottery inners may have wealth but lack status

Basis of stratification

- Class (people sharing same place in market)
- Status
- Party (Political Power)

Structure of stratification: Rejects Marx's idea of polarisation and says Europe has 4 classes:

- Bourgeoisie
- White collared property less (will increase due to bureaucratization)
- Petty Bourgeoisie
- Manual workers (will shrink due to automation)

Consequence: Inequality will persist but revolution "a distant possibility"

Universality: Stratification will remain

Functional theories

- Understanding any phenomenon or object in terms of function it serves.
- That stratification is inevitable and exists for the benefit for all.
- Stratification is necessary for the proper functioning of society

Talcott Parsons Basis of Stratification

- According to Parsons, **every society has some consensus on norms and values (value consensus).**
- Conformity to norms is considered desirable and society rewards those who conform to these norms. **Strata are made according to rewards i.e. conformity**. This inequality of rewards leads to stratification (high position = high conformity).
- Parsons says that people have different capabilities so people evaluate themselves in terms of their ability to conform to the norms.
- Thereby assuring themselves that they have been given a position according to their ability.
- Consequence of Stratification Parsons says that social stratification is
- **Inevitable**: society needs people with different abilities to perform different tasks
- **Functional**: because it serves to integrate an individual with society
- **Universality**: Stratification will remain

Criticisms:

- Parsons theory is applicable only to societies where opportunities are equal and stratification is open (achievement based).
- It does not apply to caste-based society of India.
- **Stratification is not always functional but divisive as well.**
- Parsons does not explore what will happen when people will challenge existing values (Naxalites challenging value of state) or when society will itself change (modernization of Indian tradition)

KINSLEY DAVIS AND WILBERT MOOR:

- In the article '**Some principles of Stratification',** they extended that **differential distribution of awards attached with different positions results in social stratification and no society is unstratified**.
- Society is made up of positions. Some are more important than others
- Talent is scarce in society, in order to attract talented people, Positions with high importance have higher rewards.
- Functionally more important positions require skills and training i.e. sacrifices to undergo training.
- Those who sacrifice need to be compensated.
- **Social stratification is the mechanism of role allocation so roles are performed properly** (more qualified do most important functions). Ensure people that positions are given as per their talent.

Melvin Tumin Critisises the functional proposition of Davis and Moore.

- He argues that at the outset it is not proper to treat certain positions as functionally more important than others, e.g. it is not appropriate to judge that the engineers in a factory are functionally more important because of special skills than unskilled workmen.
- The other criticism is regarding ranges of talent and the presence of limited number of individuals with talents. This proposition is contested by Tumin on the ground that in any society there is no adequate knowledge to determine and judge that amount of talent present in society.
- If the differential rewards and opportunities are socially inherited by the subsequent generation, then the discovery of talents in the next generation becomes particularly difficult.
- The **other proposition of Davis and Moore introduce the concept of sacrifice which Tumin States**. He challenges the prevalence of sacrifice by talented people undergoing training since it involves losses that arise out of surrender of earning power and cost of the training. One of the basis issues here is the presumption that the training period in a system is essentially sacrificed. This is not always true because the costs involved in training people may be born by the society at large. If this happens, the need to compensate someone in terms of differential rewards when the skilled positions are staffed makes no sense.
- Tumin argues that even if the training programme is sacrificed and the talent in society is rare, the other proposition of Davis and Moore suggesting differential access to desired rewards does not hold.

Davis and Moore, however tried to dispel the notions of Tumin and argued that functional importance of a position can be judged by the uniqueness of such positions and degree to which other positions depend on the particular position. Differential rewards are necessary as loss of trainees is not only in terms of money, but also in terms of time and energy. Stratification may be dysfunctional in some instances, but its very existence in society proves its functional nature.

Other Criticisms of Davis And Moore's Theory

Apart from Tumin, Dahrendorf was also one of the major critics of Functional theory.

- Ralf Dahrendorf observes that **stratification originates from the 'closely related trinity of norms, sanction and power'.**
- Similarly, rigidity of caste system cannot be explained through functional theories of Davis and Moore and others.
- Further, **'elite recruitment' theory** proves that elite gobble up all the rewards and perpetuate elite rule.
- Beck and Baudrillard also visualize that such functional stratification is no longer valid as inequalities are now individualized and no clear strata exist today.

- According to Alvin Gouldner, stratification is not inevitable as Davis and Moore predicted and criticizes them for providing a justification for social inequalities.
- **According to Jonathan Turner, structure functionalist theories suffer from illegitimate teleologies** as a big logical problem. They often take cause and effect and vice-versa.

Recent Perspectives

Ulrich Beck's 'RISK SOCIETY'

- He defines risk society as a **systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernisation.**
- **For e.g.** Nuclear radiation, terrorism, and environmental pollution.
- Beck argues that older forms of class structure - based mainly on the accumulation of wealth – will go away in a modern, risk society, in which people occupy social risk positions that are achieved through risk aversion.
- People will have the knowledge of risk associated and their lifestyle will be varied depending on nature/understanding/evasion of risk.

Similarly, Anthony Giddens defines a risk society as a society increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety), which generates the notion of risk.

W.L. Warner- 'reputational approach'

- In his book '**Yankee City**,' Warner used reputational approach to understand about nature of class in America.
- **This approach has a third person, called informant**, judging one's class based on judgement of lifestyle.
- Warner delineated six class on basis of lifestyle.
- He says that **presence of classes give stability to society as each class has a distinct culture reducing the chances of inter-strata conflict.**

Criticisms

- Multiple informants can have different opinions about one's class (whom to believe)
- Increasing individuality means that people might not be aware of reputational standards.
- Moreover, one's notion of class can be dependent on his culture/upbringing/environment.
- Can't be applied to larger communities and at the national level

ERIC OLIN WRIGHT has combined Weberian and Marxian theory in his work 'contradictory class location'.

- He says that managers (which are neither owners nor labourers) are placed uniquely in capital system.
- Due to their specific skills, capitalists have to pay them well, give some autonomy in decision making and even go to extent of giving them some share to buy their loyalties

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF CLASS:

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 Saint 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 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.
- **Weber also sees class, as Marx, an economic interest group** and as a function of market place but defying Marx, he sees class as a group lacking in self-consciousness.
- Like Marx, **Weber also talks of classes- propertied and property less**.
- 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.

Pierre Bourdieu suggests horizontal stratification in form of different capitals in society.

- Those who hold economic capital are industrial capitalists.
- Those who hold cultural capital are knowledge capitalists.
- Those who hold symbolic capital are power capitalists

Frank Parkin was another scholar who classified Social Stratification 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.**

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 redistribute wealth, income through progressive taxation, estate duties, and taxes on capital gains.
- Therefore, there is equality of living standard, growth of the middle class

Post modernists also argue that c**lass stratification is no longer segmentry**, but is along a continuum of individualized inequalities as a result of almost infinite division of labor, skill sets, consumption patterns and so on.

Goldthorpe in his empirical study of Europe indicates that in even European countries, mobility is limited to only among immediate classes and mobility from a class significantly distanced in hierarchy from another is lower i.e. long range mobility is difficult.

According to Ralf Dahrendorf, class stratification is not in so much antagonistic terms as Marx has visualized. New techniques and methods of directing the class struggle have been developed both in industrial and political sphere.

Pakulski and Waters in their 'Death of Class, 1996' argue that status dimension is becoming more important in post-industrial societies. Consumption is now based on status and not on basis of occupation or economic well being. Rising consumerism has promoted status and eclipsed class

Underclass:

- Underclass refers to the group of people who due to **lack of employment, skills, income, wealth or property appear to stand outside ordinary society.**
- The **term underclass was used by Charles Murray in 1984** to describe a permanent or persistent poverty population whose lower-income status passes from one generation to the next because of intrinsically dysfunctional behaviors.

Murray said:

- "the underclass are defined by their **behavior**. Their homes are littered and unkempt.
- The men in the family are unable to hold down a job. Drunkenness is common.
- The children grew up ill-schooled and ill-behaved and contribute to a disproportionate share of juvenile delinquents."

Erol Ricketts and Isabel Sawhill

- Produced an empirically operational definition of an underclass area where a census tract has: o Rates of high school dropouts
- Male labor-force nonattachment
- Welfare recipiency
- Female-family headship o one standard deviation above the mean for the country as a whole.
- A person who lives in such a census tract and who engages in socially deviant behavior is considered by **Ricketts and Sawhill** to be in the underclass.
- These definitions of the underclass share many of the features of earlier conceptualizations of populations at the lowest rungs of the social and economic ladder

Causes:

Cultural

- For **Murray (1984),** the responsibility for criminal involvement, children born out of wedlock, joblessness, and dependency on welfare rests upon the shoulders of members of the underclass themselves.
- The underclass reproduces its behavior from one generation to the next, just as it perpetually reproduces itself, through excessive unwanted births to teenage mothers and unemployed or unemployable fathers.

Structural

- The underlying causes are more broadly found in the larger context of structural transformations in the economy.
- Wilson points out that Joblessness in the inner city arises in part from the flight of low-skilled and semiskilled jobs from their historic location in central cities.

Race, Place and the underclass

- This is so because blacks are disproportionately found among each of the key definitional components of the underclass: concentrations of poverty and labor-force withdrawal; high rates of criminality; and high rates of female-family headship.
- Race is highly correlated with place.
- Low social capital and deviant behavior can be thought of as a manifestation of place or a concentration of pathology in particular neighborhoods.
- Location in particular neighborhoods, though, could be traced to redlining, mortgage discrimination, and other housing barriers that can be seen as manifestations of race

Why Underclass?

- Usually poorest migrate (rich & able of that ethnicity won't, so people able to see only 1 side of the coin) Core ethnic group uses them rather than assimilates them.
- Ethnic minority develops self-doubt.
- Economic insecurity -> so collective mobilization in minority not immediate (Not a class as consciousness lacks)
- Dependent on the state for benefits so don't oppose.
- Constitute maximum of poor people: so study of ethnicity important to understand society.

Long Term Outcome Such a scenario can be dealt with in two ways by society:

Assimilation: Where active effort is made to include the migrated population in the economy and society.

- **Example:** Giving benefits through schemes like **PDS, Giving voting rights**, 20th century migrations to US & Canada -> Indians took Truck driver & Taxi driver jobs.

Dissimilation- where the mainstream society continues to treat the migrated population as outsiders and exploits their labour for profits.

- **Example**- Labour from UP and Bihar to Punjab, Maharashtra. o Migration is encouraged and the migrated labour is even preferred than the domestic labour. o But no cultural interactions like celebrating each other's festival, etc.

STATUS GROUPS:

While class is dependent particularly on economic variables, status groups are founded on the differences in honour and prestige.

- Status is one of the most ancient systems 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 which is 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,** the Caste system is the most prominent form of status group classification, where social honour, lifestyles and prestige were sharply differentiated.

Pierre Bourdieu in his 'An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, 1992' also proposed that lifestyle choices, rather than class, are more important today. Individual identities are now more shaped by lifestyle choices rather than by more traditional indicators like occupation. **He made a departure from class to status and enumerated four dimensions of status as – cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital.**

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF GENDER

Broadly speaking, the **term 'gender' refers to cultural ideas that construct images and expectations of both females and males**. Nature has divided human race between men and women, but their status and role in society are determined by out culture. When we speak of women as 'fair sex' or 'weaker sex' or when invoke the etiquette of 'ladies first', our attention is not confined to the biological fact, have already entered the realm of culture.

The United Nations Report (1980) declared 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.

- According to **Naila Kabeer (1995) 'biology is gendered as well as sexed'.** Male and female are translated as man and woman based on mutually exclusive traits of masculinity and femininity

Karuna Ahmad finds four trends in women's employment:

a) Clustering of women in a few occupations (**Pink Collarization**)

b) Clustering either in low-status occupation or in the lower rungs of the prestigious profession

c) Women receive lower salaries than men

d) High proportion of highly educated and professionally trained unemployed women

It was observed that gender differences were present in every sphere of society in terms of status, wealth and power. **Matrilineal societies like the Khasis are often cited to rebuff the idea that women in all societies are discriminated.**

- Rousseau argued that biological inequalities matter least in form of social stratification, but feminists argue that most ancient form of system of Social Stratification is based on gender.
- They aren't incorrect as Plato placed reproductive role of women higher than their productive roles

There are different streams of Feminism which study gender differently:

Functionalist Approaches –

- The functional approach sees **society as a system of interlinked parts which operate smoothly to produces social solidarity.** Thus, functionalist and functionalist inspired perspectives on gender seek to show that gender differences contribute to social stability and integration.

- In Parsons's view, the family operates most efficiently with a clear-cut sexual division of labour in which females act in expressive roles, providing care and security to children and offering them emotional support.
- Men, on the other hand, should perform instrumental roles namely, being the breadwinner in the family. Because of the stressful nature of men's role, women's expressive and nurturing tendencies should also be used to stabilize and comfort men. This complementary division of labour, springing from a biological distinction between the sexes, would ensure the solidarity of the family.

Socialist and Marxist feminism:

- Socialist feminist have argued that the reformist goals of liberal feminism are inadequate. They have **called for the restructuring of the family, the end of domestic slavery** and the introduction of some collective means of carrying out child-rearing, caring and household maintenance
- Engels argued that under capitalism, material and economic factors underlay women's subservience to men, because patriarchy (like class oppression) has its roots in private property**. Engels argued that capitalism intensifies patriarchy men's domination over women**- by concentrating wealth and power in the hands of a small number of men

Radical feminism

- At the heart of radical feminism is the belief that men are responsible for and benefit from the exploitation of women. **The analysis of patriarchy- the systematic domination of females by males- is of central concern to this branch of feminism**. Patriarchy is viewed as a universal phenomenon that has existed across time and cultures.
- Radical feminists often concentrate on the family as one of the primary sources of women's oppression in society. They argue that **men exploit women by relying on the free domestic labour that women provide in the home.** As a group, men also deny women access to positions of power and influence in society.
- Radical feminists do not believe that women can be liberated from sexual oppression through reforms or gradual change. Because **patriarchy is a systemic phenomenon, they argue, gender equality can only be attained by overthrowing the patriarchal order**

Black feminism

- Many black feminists argue that ethnic divisions among women are not considered by the main feminist schools of thought and are oriented to the dilemmas of white, predominantly middle- class women living in industrialized societies.
- Moreover, the very idea that there is a '**unified form of gender oppression that is experienced equally by all women' is problematic**. Dissatisfaction with existing forms of feminism has led to the emergence of a strand of thought which concentrates on the particular problems facing black women.
- Black feminists contend, therefore, that any theory of gender equality which does not take racism into account cannot be expected to explain black women's oppression adequately. **Class dimensions are another factor which cannot be neglected in the case of many black women**

Postmodern feminism

- Like black feminism, postmodern feminism challenges the idea that there is a unitary basis of identity and experience shared by all women. This **strand of feminism draws on the cultural phenomenon of postmodernism in the arts, architecture, philosophy and economics.**
- Some of the roots of postmodern feminism are found in the work of **Continental theorists like Derrida, Lacan and de Beauvoir.**
- Postmodern feminists **reject the claim that there is a grand theory that can explain the position of women in society**, or that there is any single, universal essence or category of 'woman' consequently, these feminists reject the accounts given by others to explain gender inequality- such as **patriarchy, race or class as 'essentialist**
- Rather than there existing an essential core to womanhood, there are many individuals and groups, all of whom have very different experiences (heterosexuals, lesbians, black women, working-class women, etc.). The otherness of different groups and individuals is celebrated in all its diverse forms

Thinkers:

- **Shulamith Firestone**, 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 the 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.
- **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 e.g.,** 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 (male dominated unions)
  - ❖ Attaching beauty with females (attractiveness of females)
  - ❖ Sexuality (sexually active woman is labelled negatively)
  - ❖ Violence
  - ❖ State and
  - ❖ Relations within the household

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 increasing.

- **Company's Act** – At least one Woman Director
- Social Movement – **Beti Padhao, Beti Bachao**
- Reservation in Panchayats
- Maternity Leaves and Benefits
- MNREGA – Women-specific provisions
- SHG
- Standup India, Bhartiya Mahila Bank
- **Gender Budgeting**

Patriarchal Bargain:

Patriarchy, as we look at it in broader terms, gives men more privilege, power, and preference than women

The term **'Patriarchal Bargain' was introduced by Deniz Kandiyoti in her 1988 article, "Bargaining with Patriarchy."**

- **In her study, she illustrates two types of male dominance:**
- i. **One example is from sub Saharan Africa**
- ii. **And the other from the Middle East, South Asia, and East Asia.**
- The case of the sub Saharan Africa shows the instances of women resisting the attempts made to lower their value of labor.
- **Polygyny being the major insecurity for African women**, they work hard to maintain and even maximize the existing autonomy.
- She points out that in this society; it is **women who are majorly responsible for taking care of the children, their upbringing which includes their education.**
- The second type she talks about is the one that exists in the Muslim Middle East (including Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran), and South and East Asia (specifically, India and China). This she terms as '**Classic Patriarchy.**'
- These above given two types are in stark contrast to each other.

Example

- She exemplifies classic patriarchy by explaining the typical practice of how girls are married off at a young age and given away to their husband's household, which is headed by his father.
- This is the situation where the girl is subordinate to all the men and even the elder women of this new household.
- She says, "unlike women in sub-Saharan Africa who attempt to resist unfavorable labor relations in the household, women in areas of classic patriarchy often adhere as far and as long as they possibly can to rules that result in the unfailing devaluation of their labor."
- To sustain in this type of a system, women, in the areas where classic patriarchy exists, start manipulating, negotiating and bargaining with men and the systems of patriarchy.
- **Patriarchal bargain, as the name suggests, is the way women adjust and manipulate this existing system, for their personal gains and benefits.**
- Kandiyoti explains how a mother-in-law, who was once a bride herself, was subordinate to everyone in her new family. And due to the cyclical nature of their power in family structure, she takes over that role herself once her daughter-in-law comes into the picture.
- So, in a way, it becomes a decision which is taken by the women where they accept gender rules, which are not advantageous to and are rather disadvantageous to other women.

Reasons for patriarchal bargain

- **History**- The long history behind this system acts as a fuel and is taking it further.
- **Suo-moto-** people tend to get comfortable with how things are and avoid changes. If this is how one generation did it, the next will most likely follow in their footsteps.
- **Revolt**- Revolting and going against the predetermined rules of society is not everyone's cup of tea. Ones who cannot resist trying to manipulate, leading to a patriarchal bargain.

- **Power**- Taking the above-given example of family structure, a woman, who was once oppressed, feels empowered when she gets subordinates of her own.
- Lack of Conception of being oppressed.

Things that can be done include

Government Intervention- Government policies to start programs focusing on empowering women.

Education- Women education needs to be enhanced, to help think rationally.

Only making policies won't help, many sociological solutions are required. Especially changes that bring women to a position of power, the rights they have been denied for long

Gender wage gap:

According to World Economic Forum (WEF), women around the world get paid just 63% of what men earn.

- It further estimates that at present pace of change, it will take 202 years for the world wage gap to close
- **International Labor Organization (a United Nations agency), in its Global Wage Report, states that India is the country with the highest wage disparity.**
- In India, women are paid 34% less than men, making it the country with the highest wage gap

Reasons why gender pay gap exists:

Restrictions by law

- A World Bank report states that there are widespread job restrictions on women in India. The restrictions are prevalent in sectors like mining, and in jobs requiring them to lift weights above a particular threshold, or the ones involving glass.

Gender bias: Employers, whether consciously or unconsciously, end up choosing men over women, when it comes to hiring or offering promotions or bonuses.

The Price of Motherhood:

- Women, when on maternity leave, miss out on a lot.
- During this time, what suffers is both their career and financial status. It is also **known as the 'motherhood penalty.'** Inflexibility at work

Women are still seen as caregivers:

- Their responsibility does not end at childbirth, it is just the beginning. They have to maintain a balance between their work and child care because society expects them to do that

Things that can be done to close the gender wage gap

- **Education Policies:** The education structure and policies should be such that they do not leave any loophole in the equal development of every child.
- **Paternity leave:** Giving enough paternal leave to the father will help the parents share the responsibility. It will be a **way of extending workplace flexibility** and will help women come back to work.
- **Subsidized childcare:** State can take up the responsibility of providing subsidized childcare for working parents to relieve them off the pressure of added expenditure

- **Female entrepreneurship:** Females should be encouraged and mentored at different stages of their career to be the masters of their field. They should be encouraged to become entrepreneurs and change the work-pay dynamics altogether

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF RACE:

RACE: Sociologists define race as a **vast collectivity of people more or less bound together by shared and selected history, ancestors, and most importantly physical features.** These people are socialized to think of themselves as a distinct group, and others regard them as such

Milton Yinger – "Races solely biological, no relevance to social science". Social Sciences study Ethnic groups (and not races).

Racial Groups sharing certain physical features believed to belong to certain broad categories of ancestors, such as Africans, Europeans, Asians, and Native Americans. **The social significance of race is also a product of emphasizing or feeling connected to a history shared by a certain broad category of ancestors**, who were commonly forced by laws and other social practices to become socially distinct from others

In 18th century, many anthropologists and researchers tried to give a scientific color to the existing idea of race. **Joseph Arthur de Gobineau in middle of 19th century gave first major racial classification in terms of three distinct groups – White (Caucasian), Black (Negroid) and Yellow (Mongolian).** He also attached notions of superiority and inferiority with these races. **White race was termed as supreme race**. Such ideas of scientific racism also influenced colonial ruler and they at times tried to justify their colonial sojourns on the basis of such ideas. **White Man's Burden theory of Rudyard Kipling was also rooted in racial notions. Adolf Hitler too adopted supremacy of Aryan race** into a political ideology which led to annihilation of millions of Jews and the worst global war in the history of mankind.

Many theories are also offered to explain racial stratification like –

I. One theory says, differences were already there since centuries, but they acquired racist shape with arrival of racial nomenclature and terminologies which colored those physical differences as racial differences. White race supremacy is result of one such early theory.
II. **Ethnocentrism** is another explanation which is actually a suspicion of outsiders with a tendency to evaluate the culture of others with in terms of their own culture. **It creates notions of 'in-groups' and 'out-groups'.** Use of exclusionary devices **like ghettos, intermarriage restrictions and social distance maintenance gives a practical shape to ethnocentrism**. The group which is powerful, marginalize the other in this process. This happened in case of Blacks in both America and South Africa.
III. From conflict perspective, according to **O C Cox** in his '**Class, Caste and Race, 1959',** racial stratification is seen as a product of the capitalist system in which ruling class used slavery, colonization and racism as tools of exploiting labor.
IV. Another theory says that **racism is a result of highly unequal and exploitative relation that whites established with non-whites produced racism**. Slave trade was a consequence of this approach. **Whites used racism as a tool to justify colonialism and decline of political rights like citizenship to non-whites in their colonies further strengthened racial stratification**.
V. Another reason is attributed to migration of ethnic minority to Western countries. When developed countries witnessed periods of economic hardship, native populations started blaming the 'outsiders' of usurping their employment opportunities and economic space.

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.

Covert racism refers to subtle, hidden, or less overt forms of racism that are often more difficult to identify compared to explicit or overt racism. **Here are five points that characterize covert racism:**

1. **Microaggressions: Covert racism often manifests through microaggressions,** which are subtle, everyday acts, comments, or gestures that convey derogatory or prejudiced attitudes toward individuals or groups based on their race. These may include backhanded compliments, assumptions about a person's background, or dismissive behaviors.

2. **Colorblindness:** Some individuals claim to be "colorblind," asserting that they do not see race. While this might seem well-intentioned, it can actually be a form of covert racism because it dismisses the experiences of people of color and ignores the ongoing impact of racial disparities.

3. **Racial Profiling**: Covert racism can involve the unequal targeting and profiling of individuals based on their race, often in law enforcement and security contexts. This can lead to disproportionate surveillance, suspicion, and mistreatment of people of color.

4. **Disparate Impact:** Covert racism may be embedded in systems, policies, and institutions that appear neutral on the surface but disproportionately harm marginalized racial groups. This can include disparities in education, employment, housing, and the criminal justice system.

5. **Implicit Bias**: Implicit bias refers to the **unconscious attitudes or stereotypes that people hold about others based on their race.** Covert racism can be perpetuated by these hidden biases, influencing decision-making in areas such as hiring, promotions, and criminal justice.

It's important to understand that **covert racism can be just as harmful and insidious as overt racism, and efforts to combat racism should address both its subtle and explicit forms**. Education, awareness, and open dialogue are essential tools in identifying and addressing covert racism.

Thinkers:

Ralph Ellison in his book **'Invisible Man',** talks about the atrocities blacks face on account of their colour. For example – Blacks are concentrated in limited area.

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 - Race as a product of capitalism, where slave trade brought down the costs.

Today- Growing number of individuals identifying as multiracial, multi-ethnic, or even multinational. The lines between ethnicity and race are getting blurred.

RECENT:

- **"I can't breathe" a slogan associated with the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States.** The phrase originates from the last words of Eric Garner, an unarmed man who was killed in 2014 after being put in a chokehold by a New York City Police Officer. A number of other Black Americans, such as Javier Ambler, Manuel Ellis, Elijah McClain, and George Floyd, have said the same phrase prior to dying during similar law-enforcement encounters.

- Lynching of North eastern student Nido Tania in New Delhi can be categorised as a form of racial hatred born out of stereotyping

CASTE VS RACE:

- **GS Ghurye** – Caste has genesis in Race.
- **BR Ambedkar** – Also uses racial theory of genesis of caste. Dalits are the original inhabitants of India.

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 remained 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 than race where within caste there can be a number of sub-castes carrying different statuses, but race is much macros in nature.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF ETHNICITY:

It is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos' meaning nation which is not depicted as a political entity but as a unit of persons with common blood 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.**
- The ethnicity is **socially mobilized and territorially confined**. It has numerically sufficient population and is a pool of symbols depicting distinctiveness.
- It has a reference group in relation to which /whom a sense of relative deprivation is aggregated among members of ethnic group.
- Ethnicity causes ethnic movements after being left out of the developmental process or even being a victim of uneven development.

Popular conceptions of ethnicity

- **Biological** - The biological conception is based on **common genetic descent**. In this sense, ethnicity has been treated as synonymous with race.
- **Cultural -** The second conception differentiated race from ethnicity. This view treated ethnicity as a cultural phenomenon.
- **Psychological** - The third conception of ethnicity defines it in terms of the consciousness of a common identity. Awareness among the members of a group regarding their similarity to each other.
- **Instrumentalist Approach:**
- ❖ **Fredrik Barth and Paul Brass** is commonly associated with popularizing instrumentalist position in social science literature. Also sometimes **referred to as Situationalist perspective**. It emphasizes plasticity in maintaining ethnic group boundaries.
- ❖ It argues that people can change membership and move from one ethnic group to another. **The change can take place either "because of circumstances or because of manipulation by Political elites".** He regarded ethnicity: 'As a product of political myths created and manipulated by cultural elites in their pursuit or advantages and power.

- ❖ **"The cultural forms, values and practices"** of ethnic groups become resources for elites in competition for political power and economic advantage. They become symbols and referents for the identification of members of group, which are called up in order to ease the creation of political identity'.
- **Post-Modernist Model of Ethnicity:**
- ❖ **Sokolovski and Tishkov** stress that: In this atmosphere of renewed sensitivity to the dialectics of the objective and subjective in the process of ethnic identity formation and maintenance, even the negotiable ethnic character of ethnic boundaries stressed by Barth was not proper. It was argued that **terms like 'group' boundary' still can not fix identity, and Barth's concern with maintenance tends to defy it still more.**

Jenkins' Model of ethnicity:

- ❖ Jenkins has offered 'a basic social anthropological model of ethnicity which is equally relevant for sociological understanding.
  The model is summarized as follows : –
- ❖ **Social Construction:** Jenkins' model emphasizes that **ethnicity is a social construct**, meaning it is not an inherent or fixed characteristic but rather a product of social, cultural, and historical processes. **Ethnicity is created and shaped by societal influences**.
- ❖ **Intersectionality**: The model acknowledges that individuals often identify with multiple ethnicities and that these identities intersect with other aspects of their identity, such as **gender, class, and religion**. This intersectionality influences how people experience and express their ethnicity.
- ❖ **Performativity**: Jenkins argues that ethnicity is not just something one is, but something one does. **Ethnicity is performed through actions, behaviors, and interactions**, reflecting the dynamic nature of identity. This **idea is related to the concept of "ethnicity as practice."**
- ❖ **Fluid and Shifting: Ethnic identity is not static in Jenkins' model.** It can change and evolve over time, influenced by individual choices, societal dynamics, and external factors. People may adapt or emphasize different aspects of their ethnicity in different contexts.
- ❖ **Cultural Practices**: Jenkins stresses the importance of cultural practices and rituals in shaping ethnic identity. These practices, such as language, cuisine, and celebrations, play a significant role in the performance and preservation of ethnic identity.
- ❖ **Contextual and Relative:** Ethnicity is contextual and relative in Jenkins' model, meaning it is **defined and understood within specific social, cultural, and historical contexts**. What is considered a significant marker of ethnicity may vary from one context to another.

Jenkins' model challenges the idea of fixed and essentialist notions of ethnicity and encourages a more dynamic and socially constructed understanding of how people form and express their ethnic identities.

Ethnic groups can be identified as

- Ethno-racial
- Ethno-religious
- Ethno-linguistic
- Ethno-national
- Ethno-regional group

THINKERS:

- **Karl Deutsch** - Ethnicity has been **instrumental for Balkanisation** and the rise of so many nations in Europe, post-World War.
- **Gellner and Wallerstein -** Merit-based nature of modern society will dissipate any divisions on basis of ethnicity and abilities will spell out class positions.
- **Habermas** - Argues that ethnicity becomes more prominent in modern times to preserve itself from drastic changes and is present in covert forms even in modern societies.
- **Glazer** - Increasing importance of ethnic identities or ethnicization can be attributed to the very conditions of modernisation.
- **Paul Hirst (Marxist)** – Ethnicity is used by capitalists to keep the working class divided, so as to prevent any revolution from happening

Paul Brass: three ways of defining ethnic groups

- **in terms of objective attributes:** That there are some distinguishing objective cultural features that separate one group from the other- language, territory, religion, attire etc.
- **by reference to subjective feelings** - implies the existence of an ethnic self-consciousness, we feeling.
- **in relation to behavior-** 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.
- Indian states were cut out on an ethno-linguistic basis and 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.**
- Ethnicity as a system of social stratification, both integrates and disintegrates societies and hence, is of great interest to contemporary sociologists

Hot and cold ethnicity:

- "Hot" and "cold" ethnicity are terms used to describe different ways in which individuals and groups experience and express their ethnic identities. **These concepts were introduced by social anthropologist Fredrik Barth in his 1969 book, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries."**

Hot Ethnicity: **Hot ethnicity refers to a strong and exclusive form of ethnic identity**. In hot ethnicity, individuals and groups place a high degree of importance on their ethnic identity and maintain strict boundaries between themselves and others. This can be **characterized by a strong commitment to preserving cultural traditions, language, and customs, and a resistance to assimilation or integration with other ethnic or cultural groups**. Hot ethnicity often involves a heightened sense of pride and a desire to maintain a distinct, separate identity.

- **Amish Community:** The Amish people in the United States can be considered an example of hot ethnicity. They place a high degree of importance on preserving their cultural and religious traditions. They live in

close-knit communities, often resist modern technology and influences, and prioritize marrying within their own community

Cold Ethnicity: Cold ethnicity, on the other hand, **describes a more relaxed or flexible form of ethnic identity.** In cold ethnicity, individuals and groups may still identify with their ethnic background, but they do not place as much emphasis on preserving strict boundaries or maintaining a distinct and exclusive identity. **Cold ethnicity may involve a willingness to adapt, integrate, or assimilate into the dominant culture to a greater extent.** People with cold ethnicity may be more open to intermarriage, cultural exchange, and the blending of cultural elements.

- **Italian Americans:** Italian Americans in the United States often exemplify cold ethnicity. While many Italian Americans maintain a sense of cultural heritage and may identify as Italian, they are generally more open to integrating into the broader American society. They may intermarry with people of other ethnic backgrounds, adopt American customs, and participate in mainstream American culture

There are different metaphors and concepts used to describe the ways in which societies handle diversity and the interactions of various cultural and ethnic groups

- **The "melting pot" metaphor** represents a society where different ethnic and cultural groups blend together to form a single, homogeneous culture. In **a melting pot, the idea is that as immigrants and diverse populations come into the society, they assimilate and adopt the dominant culture's values, norms, and practices**. Eg: USA
- **Assimilation is** a process in which individuals or ethnic groups adopt the culture, customs, and values of the dominant or host society. In an assimilation model, the **emphasis is on cultural integration, often resulting in a weakened or diluted sense of one's ethnic or cultural identity.**

(The melting pot envisions a blending of diverse cultures into a single, homogeneous culture, while assimilation involves individuals or groups adopting aspects of the dominant culture while retaining elements of their original identity.)

- **The "mosaic" metaphor**, sometimes referred to as "cultural mosaic," suggests that **a society is composed of various distinct cultural and ethnic groups that coexist while maintaining their separate identities**. Instead of blending together, these groups are like individual tiles in a mosaic, each contributing to the overall diversity and richness of the society. Eg: India
- **Antagonistic coexistence** describes a situation where various ethnic or cultural groups live in the same society but are often in conflict or competition with each other. In this model, there is tension and hostility between different groups, which may result from historical, political, or social factors.

Race and Ethnicity:

While 'race' is perceived as biological, 'ethnicity' is cultural or social in its meaning. An ethnic group may have a common language, history, national origin or lifestyle. It is a purely social phenomenon in which people learn their ethnic differences as a process of socialization, use of exclusionary devices like marriage etc.

It was argued that the **terminology of ethnic group would provide a value neutral construct and avoid prejudiced and stereotypical categorization of people in hierarchical and discriminatory categories**

- Banton has argued that primary difference between race and ethnic group is that **membership in an ethnic group is voluntary whereas membership in a "racial group" is not'** and this would empty that an "ethnic group" is all about inclusion whereas race is all about exclusion.
- While racial identities remain same, ethnic identities are revised over time. Migration on a massive scale in the last century provided sociologists an opportunity to examine the fate of ethnic identities. For example, the Chicago School of sociologists found that over several generations, ethnic identities were lost and later revised.

In practice, the distinction between a 'racial and ethnic group' is sometimes slurred by several facts.

- Cultural traits are often regarded as **genetic and inherited** (e.g. body odor, which is a function of diet, cosmetics, and other cultural items);
- physical appearance can be culturally changed (by scarification, surgery, and cosmetic); and
- the sensory perception of physical differences is affected by cultural perception of race (e.g. a rich Negro may be seen as lighter than an equally dark poor Negro, as suggested by the Brazilian proverb; 'Money bleaches').
- One may reason that even when race is often constructed and conceived in terms of physical or phonotypical difference, prejudices and stereotypes accompanying this perception are socially articulated and perceived. In this sense, many would argue that '**race' is an allotrope of 'ethnicity**.
- One ethnic group may be subsumed by other under different situations. For example, while India itself has hundreds of ethnic groups, when Indians move to West all such groups are subsumed into one tag of 'Ethnic Indians'

Thus,

Ethnicity as Racialized:

- **Ethnicity can be racialized when the cultural or ethnic characteristics of a group are disproportionately linked to physical attributes, such as skin color or other racial markers.** This racialization can lead to the harmful stereotyping and discrimination of ethnic groups based on perceived racial traits, obscuring the cultural diversity within those groups.

- **EG:** *African American Stereotypes:* African Americans in the United States have often been racialized, with their ethnicity tied to physical characteristics such as skin color. For example, the assumption that all African Americans share similar cultural traits or behaviors, solely based on their race, racializes their ethnicity and neglects the diversity of cultures and backgrounds within this group.

Race as Ethnicized:

Conversely, race can be ethnicized when racial categories are associated with particular cultural or ethnic identities, attributing shared cultural characteristics to racial groups. This ethnicization of race can reinforce stereotypes and misunderstandings about the cultural diversity and complexity of racial groups.

EG: *Latino Identity:* **The term "Latino" or "Hispanic" is often used to describe people from various racial backgrounds, including those of indigenous, African, European, or mixed ancestry.** The ethnicization of race occurs when the category "Latino" is equated with a specific racial identity, despite the racial diversity within the Latino community. For example, assuming that all Latinos are of the same race oversimplifies the complex racial and ethnic identities within this group.

Social mobility:

Social mobility is the movement of groups and individuals across the social structure or change in position in social structure

Different types of mobility:

On basis of direction

Horizontal mobility: individual or group change their position in social structure without changing their position in social hierarchy.

- **Example**: agricultural workers migrate to city to become wage labourer. With industrialisation: every task requires specialised skills restricting horizontal mobility.
- Anthony Giddens says that there is a great deal of horizontal mobility in modern society. He **prefers to define it as lateral mobility.**

Vertical mobility: change in position along the social hierarchy: -

- **Upward** (most seek this- a value seen as a reward)
- **Downward** (most avoid it- a stigma generates discontent).
- **Anthony Giddens says that vertical mobility is moving up and down on a socio-economic scale.** Sociologically, vertical mobility is studied more as it has social implications while horizontal mobility is important for an individual.
- **Giddens says that sometimes both mobilities are seen in tandem e.g., promotion in a new city.**

On basis of speed

Intergenerational- change in position between generations e.g., son of rickshaw puller becoming a professor.

Intra-generational- change in position within the lifetime of a person. E.g., person appointed as a clerk then to the superintendent.

- Generally, this mobility is experienced in occupation. **Merton calls it a status sequence.**

On basis of system of stratification

- **Mobility in open system** -higher incidences of mobility E.g., Class system
- **Mobility in close system** - lesser incidences of mobility E.g., Caste system

Absolute versus relative

- Change in actual position of a person in actual terms is absolute. E.g.: increase in income.
- Relative mobility is a situation in which mobility of a person is adjudged in comparison to others.

Sponsored vs contested

- **R.H Turner** gave this concept.

- Sponsored means mobility due to outside support (reservation).
- Contested is mobility through open competition.
- All systems have mobility, the difference is of degree.
- **Open system:** norms prescribe mobility (meritocracy)
- **Closed system:** norms proscribe mobility (traditional caste system ascriptive system)

Structural and individual mobility

- **Structural Mobility:** Major upheavals and changes in society can enhance large numbers of people's opportunities to move up the social ladder at the same time. It may lead to group movement as a whole stratum or may even whole nation.
- **In his concept of Dominant Caste, M N Srinivas shows how possession of resources like land leads to shifting of a whole stratum in a local hierarchy**
- **Individual Mobility** – It is a **micro view of social mobility**. Individual characteristics—such as race, ethnicity, gender, religion, level of education, skills, determination, occupation, place of residence, health, and so on –determine individual mobility

Social mobility breaks the exclusiveness of classes and makes them open. It makes social hierarchies more fluid and less rigid. Equal access to all strata becomes an extension of idea of equality in modern societies where absolute equality cannot be achieved, but mobility at least ensures that there is equal opportunity to all. Mobility also helps in making use of best possible use of available talent as positions are filled by those who are most suitable for them.

CLOSED SYSTEMS OF STRATIFICATION:

AGE	**Masai Tribes in Africa is one such example where ranking on the basis of age, is put together with the exercise of authority, on the basis of seniority**. The ranks determined on the basis of age are called 'agesets'. All the persons (basically men) born, within a range or number of years, belong to one set.
CASTE	It is a system peculiar to India. Caste status is defined by birth and each caste has its own set of attributes and privileges.
GENDER	This type of stratification exists almost everywhere. It is more acute in patriarchal societies where gender roles are more strictly defined.
ETHNICITY	Examples can be seen in Sri Lanka, South Africa etc. **In Sri Lanka, ethnic cleansing of Tamilians by Singhalese majority** and of black in South Africa by White minority groups is glaring illustration of ethnic strata in society
SLAVERY	**Ancient form of Slavery and modern Slavery in USA, Europe. Ancient slavery was prevalent in ancient Rome and Greece**. Here slaves were usually foreign prisoners of war. In this system, the slave was designated as the master's property.
ESTATE	It prevailed in France and some other European regions. Though this system was less rigid than the caste system, it was also **characterized by hereditary transmission of social position**. Each estate had a clearly defined set of rights by law.

Sources and Causes of Mobility

First comprehensive account of mobility in such societies was given by **Sorokin in his book – 'Social Mobility, 1927'**. He defines it as 'transition of an individual, object or value which is of human creation, from one social position to another'.

Sorokin listed four primary factors, namely –

- The **demographic factors** like Age, Sex, Race etc
- **Talent and Ability** – Sorokin notes that usually, abilities of parents and children do not match. Popular pressure may force-individuals to vacate positions they are unsuited for. Even in ascriptive societies, there are scopes for mobility of individuals in upward direction. Pareto also argues that these are the chief reasons for social mobility in society.
- **The faulty distribution of individuals in social positions**: Pareto says that history is a graveyard of aristocracy that is people from lower strata would eventually occupy elite positions and the cycle goes on.
- **The change of the social environment** – Industrialization, Legal Restrictions etc. According to Sorokin, change in social environment is one of the major factors of social mobility.

Later on Social Mobility was defined in much broader context and other elements like – **Pierre Bourdieu describes four types of capital in his 'An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, 1992'** that place a person in a certain social category – **Economic capital, Social capital, Symbolic capital and Cultural capital** etc. These broaden the scope of meaning social mobility. At the same time, he also observed that cultural factors also hinder social mobility of individuals. Poor have poor cultural capital which is inherited by the young ones and it limits the avenues of mobility.

Davis Glass conducted an empirical study in British society and concluded that there is both upward and downward mobility to and from middle class and lower class, but due to **'elite self recruitment',** there is little downward mobility among elite.

Goldthorpe in his mobility study in Britain concluded that mobility largely happens in immediate ranks in hierarchy and absolute mobility – from lower ranks to higher ranks – is extremely low

In general factors affecting mobility can be both personal and structural factors, some of which are –

- **Industrialization and urbanization** – Lipset upheld that industrialization led to high mobility rates in England and it is true for the rest of the world as well. This is better known as **the 'Lipset – Zetterberg Thesis'.**
- **Education** – **Duncan and Blau** in their study of America found that mobility is higher among blue collar workers and white collar professionals and they attributed it to high levels of popular education in the United States.
- **Social Capital and Social Status** – **Giddens and Bottomore** in their **'closure thesis'** argue that those who occupy the superior positions seek to retain them for their own selves and for their kin. Social capital is used to monopolize the occupational positions.
- **Occupation** – It is one of the **major sources of inter-generational mobility** in the modern times as occupations are relatively open.
- **Social and Cultural Values** – liberal or conservative, caste system for example had little scope for mobility.
- **Environmental changes** – they may provide for both upward and downward mobility. **Natural disasters lead to downwards mobility.** Favorable changes like good rain, good weather support economic activity and agriculture leading to prosperity.

- **Social movements** also help in collective mobility. Dalit movements in India and Black Rights Movement in USA are such example.
- **Law and constitution** also plays an important role. Concept of positive discrimination for the deprived, weaker and minority sections helps in social mobility of these sections.
- **Migration** can also be a source of mobility. People migrate from rural to urban areas, from under-developed countries to developed countries for greener economic pastures.
- **Physical features** – **Sally Loverman** indicates that other factors remaining constant, physical looks also provide an edge.
- **Technology –** Industrialization in Europe had a major impact on collective mobility.
- **Subjective factors –** Individual and collective aspirations also play an important role. **As Veblen's book, 'The Theory of the Leisure Class' shows that individuals will always seek to be well thought of in the eyes of their fellow men**. Thus they will aspire to those positions which society deems to be worthwhile. The process of Sanskritization shows a similar desire of people. Merton has also written about the importance of the reference group in determining social behavior.

Criticisms

- Class of origin still mattered
- Unequal access to resources like education
- Caste clustering in industries increased
- Formation of Dalit and Tribal elites

Consequence of Mobility

- Increased Creativity and Efficiency
- Cultural Homogenization
- Lesser Possibilities of Conflict
- Weaker Hierarchical Divides (Everyone Wears Denim, Eat Pizza)
- **Creates Anomie:** People Resorting to Shortcuts and Thus Scams (Anomie of Infinite Aspirations).
- Possibility of Mobility Creates Stress and Weakens Social Bonds (Divorce Rates, Loneliness Solidarity, Nuclearisation Of Families).

VALUE ADDITION:

TRAP OF MERITOCRACY: DANIEL MARKOVITS

- Schools encourage children to operate in a particular way.
- At one elite northeaster elementary school (in USA), for example, a teacher posted a "problem of the day" which students had to solve before going home, even though no time was set aside for working on it.
- The point of the exercise was to train fifth graders to snatch a few extra minutes of work time by multitasking or by sacrificing recess.
- Epidemiologists at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have warned of schoolwork – induced sleep deprivation.
- Wealthy students show higher rates of drug and alcohol abuse than poor students do.
- They also suffer depression and anxiety at rates as much as triple those of their age peers throughout the country.

The Culture We live in

- Increased applications and desire to get into Top- Schools.
- Elite opportunity is exceeded only by the competitive effort required to grasp it. One must approach work as an opportunity to extract value from her human capital, especially if she wants an income sufficient to buy her children the type of schooling that secured her own eliteness.
- The higher a person climbs on the organisational chart, the harder she is expected to work.
- More and more concepts like EQ, Work Life Balance, Corporate Ethics are being worked out so that hard working people don't flame- out.

PROBLEMS:

- **Meritocracy is a self–undermining project:** Rewards may be distributed according to talent.
- But the production of talent itself is a function of resources. Meritocracy generates inheritable capital
- Those who succeed in the meritocratic game can ensure that they transmit their meritocratic advantages to their children, by deploying vast resources.
- **Merit is becoming a Caste**. High human capital individuals marry other high human capital individuals.

Elites have to work at least as hard, if not harder, than everyone else

- There has been a stunning growth in the work hours of all elites almost all professions. A great reversal where being busy is a sign of meritocratic success
- Leisure has now become associated with both failure and being relatively poor. The elites, rather than living lives to their own purposes, are how as much or even more commodified
- In order to maximise the return on the capital, a neurotic busyness is being produced, leading to the worst kind of self-instrumentalization
- **Dystopia of insecurity:** Elites are constantly plagued by the insecurity and neurosis of maintaining meritocratic privileges. They are working harder to stay ahead of the curve

SYLLABUS:

- Social organization of work in different types of society- slave society, feudal society, industrial capitalist society.

- Formal and informal organization of work.

- Labour and society.

- **Social organization of work in different types of society**
  - o Slave society
  - o Feudal society
  - o Industrial /capitalist society:

WORK AND SOCIETY

Work: generally, **any activity involving human effort**

1. **Sociology**: Work refers to **any activity resulting in paid employment** which **can be direct payment** (e.g. contract labour) **or indirect** payment (e.g. barter system).

2. **Another comprehensive definition**: Work is **carrying out of tasks**, requiring the **expenditure of mental and physical efforts** which has its objective **production, distribution or consumption of goods and services** that catered to human needs. It **can be paid or unpaid.**

   - **Traditional societies:** indirectly paid work. Involves feudal relation or ritual obligation.
   - **Modern capitalist societies:** work directly paid.
   - In socio, work interpreted not only in terms of money but obligation also.
     - o Thus, **conception not only limited to economic life** but also **permeates to socialdomain.**
     - o E.g. domestic division of labour: obligations not necessarily monetary.

Social Organization of Work in Diff. Societies

Slaves/Feudal/Industrial/Capitalist:

Sociological study involves understanding at 2 levels-macro and micro.

1. **At macro level:**

   - How is work organized among different sections of population and how is it influencedby social factors— broad distinction made between traditional and modern society.

KEYWORD - ADAPCO

   1. **Traditional society:** slave and feudal- -organization of work is **simple, ascription** based, collective orientation, **affectivity**, **informal** relation.

   2. **Modern society:** Capitalist- Organization of work is **complex, formal, Achievement** based, self-oriented, affective-neutral.

   3. **MARX**: in both trad. + modern organization a dichotomy of **haves and have-nots,** acommon exploitative process in both.

2. **At microlevel:**

   Specific aspects included within activities in terms of **allocation, performances, consequences etc.**

   KEYWORD – MADRAS P

(Mobility Activity DOL Roles Alienation Stratification Power)

Social Mobility
1. **Traditional – Less Mobility**
2. **Modern- Open and Numerous Avenues**

e.g. Sorokin: Differentiated Between Intergenerational AND Generational Mobility.

Major form of Activity
- **SLAVE**: Hunting And Food Gathering.
- **Feudal**: Agriculture
- **Industrial**: Factory System
- **Post-industrial**: Service/Information Society

Organization of Production (DOL)
1. **Traditional: Simple D.O.L.**   e.g. DURKHIEM: MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY
2. **Modern: Complex** D.O.L + Organic solidarity

Nature of Roles
1. **Traditional □ Social** expectations – few + simple. E.g. DURKHIEM : LOW MORAL DENSITY
2. **Modern □ Social** expectations high + complex

Degree of Alienation
1. **Traditional** - Less
2. **Modern**- High

e.g. **KARL MARX** : Evolution of societies associated with INCREASING alienation.

System of Stratification

System of stratification: organization also influenced by patterning of social inequalities.
1. **Traditional (slave+feudal): ascribed**, derived by heredity, caste driven (interdependentdimensions of caste, status, power i.e. if higher in caste will be higher in both status and power).
2. **Modern: achievement** oriented, innovation rewarded, rationalized society.
3. **independent dimension**- class, status, power.

Source of Power
- **SLAVE**: Tool Ownership
- **FEUDAL**: Land Ownership
- **INDUSTRIAL**: Capital Ownership
- **POST-INDUSTRIAL**: Dispersion Of Power (Information Ownership)

FORMAL AND INFORMAL WORK:

Formal Organization of work

Formal organizations represent those organizations which are **characterized by:**
- **A specific function**
- **Division of labour**
- **A hierarchy of authority**
- **Rationality**
- **A proper arrangement of statuses and role.**

They are **carefully planned** and **systematically worked out**.

Characteristics of a Formal Organization

- **Well defined rules and regulation**
- Determined **objectives and policies**
- **Limitation on the activities of the individual**
- Strict **observance of the principle of co-ordination**
- Messages are communicated through **scalar chain**

Informal Organization of work

Informal organization refers to:
- **A small group, the members of which are tied to one another as persons.**
- **The group is characterized by informal and face to face relations, mutual aid, cooperationand companionship.**
- The **members** of informal organizations **work together not in their official capacities but aspersons.**

Keith Hart - Characteristics of the Informal Sector
1. **Low levels of skill**: Workers have low levels of education, skills and engaged in jobs involvinglow technology.
2. **Easy entry**
3. **Low paid** employment
4. Largely composed of **immigrant labour**.

Informal work

1. Much of the work done in the informal economy, for example, is **not recorded in any direct way in the official employment statistics.**

2. **The term informal economy refers to transactions outside the sphere of regular employment,** sometimes involving the **exchange of cash for services** provided, but alsooften involving the direct exchange of goods or services

   - The **informal economy includes not only 'hidden' cash transactions,** but also many forms of **self-provisioning,** which people carry on inside and outside the home.

   - **Do-it-yourself activities, domestic machinery** and **household tools**, for instance, providegoods and services which would otherwise have to be purchased.

Reasons for Informal organization of work

There are many different reasons for informal organization:

1. **Informal Standards**: Personal goals and interests of workers differ from official organizational goals.
2. **Informal Communication**: Changes of communication routes within an enterprise due to personal relations between coworkers.
3. **Informal Group**: Certain groups of coworkers have the same interests, or (for example) the same origin.
4. **Informal leaders**: due to charisma and general popularity, certain members of the organization win more influence than originally intended.
5. **Different interests and preferences** of coworkers.
6. **Different status** of coworkers.
7. **Difficult work requirements**.
8. **Unpleasant conditions** of work.

Voluntary work, for charities or other organizations, is another form of work, which has an important social role, often filling the gaps ignored by official and commercial goods and services providers and enhancing people's quality of life.

Many types of work just do not conform to orthodox categories of paid employment.

Distinction between Formal & Informal organization of Work

Distinction between **FORMAL & INFORMAL** debate can be understood at 3 levels:

1. **At macro-level** –
   1. Trad. = Work- informal organized
   2. Modern= More formal organization of work

2. **At micro-level/specific work :**
   1. In informal organized work—formal structure emerges.
   2. In formal organization—informal structure emerges.

(WITH TIME, the formal organization emerges from informal organization as a continous process.)

New Innovation of work organization in Industrial Society

TAYLORISM AND FORDISM:

- Taylor's approach to what he called **'scientific management'** involved the detailed study of industrial processes in order to break them down into simple operations that could be precisely timed and organized. (Scientific management came to be called as Taylorism)

- Taylorism, (as scientific management came to be called) was not merely an academic study. It was a **system of production designed to maximize industrial output**, and it had a widespread impact not only on the organization of industrial production and technology, but also on **workplace politics as well.**

- In particular, **Taylor's time-and-motion studies wrested control over knowledge of the productions process from the worker and placed such knowledge firmly in the hands of management**, eroding the basis on which cart or traditional workers maintained autonomy from their employers. (As such, Taylorism has been widely associated with the deskilling and degradation of labour.) The principles of Taylorism were appropriated by the industrialist Henry Ford.

- One of Ford's most significant innovations was **the introduction of the assembly line industry**. Each worker on Ford's assembly line was assigned a specialized tasks, such as fitting the left side door handles as the car bodies moved along the line.

   Ford was among the first to realize that mass production requires mass markets. He reasoned that if standardized commodities such as the automobile were to be produced on an ever-greater scale, the presence of consumers who were able to buy those commodities must also be assured. In 1914 Ford took the unprecedented step of unilaterally raising wages at his Dearborn, Michigan, plant to $5 for an eight-hour day a very generous wage at the time and one that ensured a working class lifestyle that included owning such as automobile.

- **Fordism is the name given to designate the system of mass production tied to the cultivation of mass markets**. In certain contexts, the term has a more specific meaning, referring to a historical period in the development of post-second world War capitalism, in which mass production was associated with stability in labour relations and high degree of unionization.

- Under Fordism, firms made long term commitments to workers, and wages were tightly linked to productivity growth. As such, collective bargaining agreements formal agreements negotiated between firms and unions that specified working conditions such as wages, seniority rights, and benefits and so on-closed a virtuous circle that ensured worker consent to automated work regimes and sufficient demand for mass-produced commodities. This system is generally understood to have broken down in the 1970s, giving rise to greater flexibility and insecurity in working conditions.

The limitations of Taylorism and Fordism:

The reasons for the demise of Fordism are complex and intensely debated. As firms in a variety of industries adopted Fordist production methods, the system encountered certain limitations.

- The system can only be applied successfully in those industries, such as car manufacture that produce **standardized produces for large markets.**

- To set up mechanized production lines is enormously expensive, and once a Fordist system is established, it is quite rigid; to alter a product, for example substantial reinvestment is needed.

- **Fordist production is easy to copy if sufficient funding is available to set up the plant**. But firms in countries where labour power is expensive find it difficult to compete with those where wages are cheaper. This was one of the factors originally leading to the rise of the Japanese car industry (although Japanese wage levels today are no longer low) and subsequently that of South Korea.

- **Fordism and Taylorism are what some industrial sociologists call low-trust system**. Jobs are set by management and are geared to machines. Those who carry out of the work tasks are closely supervised and are allowed little autonomy of action. In order to maintain discipline and high- quality production

standards, employees are con-tenuously monitored through various surveillance systems.

- This **constant supervision, however, tends to- produce the opposite of its intended result: the commitment and morale of workers is often eroded because they have little say in the nature of their jobs or in how they are carried out.** In workplace with many **low-trust positions, the level of worker dissatisfaction and absenteeism is high, and industrial conflict is common**. (A high-trust system, by contrast, is one in which workers are permitted to control the pace, and even the content, of their work, within overall guidelines. Such systems are usually concentrated at the higher levels of industrial organizations. As we shall see, hightrust systems have become more common in many work places in recent decades, transforming the very way we think about the organization and execution of work.)

HUMAN RELATIONS SCHOOL OF WORK ORGANIZATION:

ELTON MAYO Research carried out by Mayo at the **General Electric Company in Chicago concluded that group relationships and management-worker communication were far more important in determining employee behaviour than physical conditions** (e.g. lighting and noise) and the working practices imposed by management.

Also, wage levels were not the dominant motivating factor for most workers. In many respects this work paved the way for the volume of research that followed, looking at employee behaviour, motivation and so on. **Key proposition of Elton Mayo:**

Further research established the following propositions of the human relations school.
- Employee behaviour depends primarily on the **social and organisational** circumstances of work.
- **Leadership style, group cohesion and job satisfaction** are major determinants of the outputs of the working group.
- Employees work better if they are given a wide range of tasks to complete.
- Standards set internally by a working group influence employee attitudes and perspectives more than standards set by management.
- Individual workers cannot be treated in isolation, but **must be seen as members of a group**.
- Monetary incentives and good working conditions are less important to the individual than the need to belong to a group
- **Informal or unofficial groups** formed at work place have a strong influence on the behavior of those workers in a group.
- **Managers must be aware of these 'social needs'** and cater for them to ensure that employees collaborate with the official organization rather than work against it. The usefulness of the human relations approach:

The school explicitly **recognised the role of interpersonal relations in determining workplace behaviour,** and it demonstrated that factors other than pay can motivate workers. However, the approach possibly overestimates the commitment, motivation and desire to participate in decision making of many employees

POST-FORDISM THESIS OF WORK ORGANIZATION:

The term is used to refer to a set of overlapping changes that are occurring not only in the realm of work and economic life, but throughout society as a whole.

The phrase "Post-Fordism." was popularized by Michael Piore and Charles Sabel in their book 'The second Industrial Divide (1984)', and describes a new era of capitalist economic production in which flexibility and innovation are maximized in order to meet market demands for diverse, customized products.

Despite the confusion surrounding the term, several distinctive trends within the world of work have emerged

in recent decades that seem to represent a clear departure from earlier Fordist practices. These include the **'DECENTRALIZATION OF WORK INTO NONHIERARCHICAL TEAM GROUPS OR GROUP PRODUCTION' the idea of 'FLEXIBLE PRODUCTION' & 'MASS CUSTOMIZATION', the spread of 'GLOBAL PRODUCTION' and the introduction of a 'MORE FLEXIBLE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE'.**

Group production: Group production - collaborative work groups in place of assembly lines- have sometimes been used in conjunction with automation as a way of reorganizing work. ⌉ **The underlying idea is to increase worker motivation by letting groups of workers collaborate in team production processes** rather than requiring each worker to spend the whole day doing a single repetitive task, like inserting the screws in the door handle of a car

An example of group production is "quality circles (QCs)", groups of between five and twenty workers who meet regularly to study and resolve production problems. Workers who belong to QCs receive extra training, enabling them to contribute technical knowledge to the discussion of production issues.
- QCs represent a break from the assumptions of Taylorism, since they **recognize that workers possess the expertise to contribute towards the definition and method of the tasks** they carry out. ⌉
- The positive effects of group production on workers can include the **acquisition of new skills, increased autonomy, reduced managerial supervision** and growing pride in the goods and services that they produce. ⌉
- However, studies have identified a number of NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES of Group production.
- Although direct managerial authority is less apparent in a team process, other forms of monitoring exist, such as supervision by other team works.
- **GRAHAM (1995) also found that Subaru-Isuzu used the group- production concept as a means of resisting trade unions**, their argument being that if management and workers were on the same 'team' then there should be no conflict between the two. In other words, the good 'team player' doesn't complain

Flexible production and mass customization: One of the most important changes in worldwide production processes over the past few years has been the **introduction of computer-aided design and flexible production**. While Taylorism and Fordism were successful at producing mass products (that were unable to produce small order of goods, let alone goods specifically made for an individual customer.
Stanley Davis in his observation found the emergence of mass customizing. The new technologies allow the large-scale production of items designed for particular customers. Five thousand shirts might be produced on an assembly line each day. It is now possible to customize every one of the shirts just as quickly as, and at no greater expense than, procuring five thousand identical shirts

Global production: Changes in industrial production include not only how products are manufactured, but also where products are manufactured, as we saw with the example of the Barbie doll. For much of the twentieth century, the most important business organizations were larger manufacturing firms that controlled both the making of goods and their final sales.

During the past twenty or thirty years, however, another form of production has become important- one that is controlled by giant retailers. The American sociologists **Edna Bonacich and Richard Appelbaum (2000)** show that in clothing manufacturing, most manufacturers actually employ no garment workers at all. Instead, they rely on thousands of factories around the world to make their clothing, which they then sell in department stores and other retail outlets. ⌉
- **Bonacich and Appelbaum argue that such competition has resulted in a global 'race to the bottom'** in which retailers and manufacturers will go to any place on earth where they can pay the lowest wages possible

Criticisms of post-Fordism: -

- **One common criticism is that post-Fordist analysts are exaggerating the extent to which Fordist practices have been abandoned**. What we are witnessing is not a wholesale transformation, as advocates of post- Fordism would have us believe, but the integration of some new approaches into traditional Fordist techniques. This argument has been adopted by those who claim we are actually experiencing a period of **neo-Fordism- that is, modifications to the traditional Fordist techniques (Wood 1989).**
- **It has been suggested that the idea of a smooth linear transition form Fordist to post Fordist techniques overstates the true nature of work at both ends.** ANNA POLLERT (1988) has argued that Fordist techniques were never as entrenched as some would have us believe. It is also an exaggeration, she contends, that the age of mass production has passed in favour of total flexibility. She points out that mass production techniques still dominate in many industries, especially those that are aimed at consumer markets. According to **Pollert, economic production has always been characterized by a diversity of techniques rather than a standard, unified approach.**

POST INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

In 1973, sociologist Daniel Bell noted that a new type of society was emerging. He described the essential changes that are accompanying the emergence of a POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, one that relies on **intellectual technologies of telecommunications and computers**, not just "large computers but computers on a chip"

This new postindustrial society has six characteristics:
(1) A service sector so large that most people work in it,
(2) A vast surplus of goods,
(3) Even more extensive trade among nations
(4) A wider variety and quantity of goods available to the average person
(5) An information explosion
(6) A global village where the world's nations are linked by fast communications, transportation and trade.

In addition to the associated technology, a substantial proportion of the working population employed in service, sales, and administrative support occupations distinguishes postindustrial societies. There is an extraordinary rise in the percentage of workers in management, professional, and related occupations. There is an increased emphasis on education as the avenue of social mobility

The jobs associated with this knowledge driven, information based economy include computer programmers, technical writers, financial analysts, market analysts, and customer-service representatives. **The challenge of post-industrial society is interpersonal,** as the "basic experience of each person's life is his relationship between himself and others." In an environment that emphasizes knowledge and interpersonal relationships, the institutions of science and education take center stage.

With regard to science, **Bell described the rise and importance of science-based industries, which involve applications of theoretical knowledge**. These industries are fundamentally different from the industries of the Industrial Revolution, such as steel, automobile, and telephone. For the most part, **these industries were "founded or created by talented thinkers" who were not connected to the scientific establishment.**

Post-industrial industries derive directly from the investigations of scientists into the basic phenomena of nature and the applications of this research to technological problems. **Education becomes key to negotiating an information society and is viewed as something that takes place across the lifespan, not con- fined to a specific time or place.**

LABOUR AND WORK:

Before we begin, it's good to understand –

1. **Difference between labour and worker**:
   1. **Worker has choices** regarding work but **labour has either no choice or very limited** choices.
   2. **Worker—employee-employer** relation **contractually** defined but **labour – ritual, obligation**, highly informal
   3. In **MARXIAN** terms **both are exploited but worker less** and labour more.

Industrialism And Capitalism

2. **Difference between industrialism and capitalism**:
   1. Both **historically associated** but **theoretically different.**
   2. **Industrialism** - **Specific technological process for mass production** of goods and services. Eg. Factory system- prod. Based on **inanimate source of energy**.
   3. **Capitalism** a broad **ideological** process- defines **relationship between people engaged** in particular process of production. It include various elements like **private ownership, profit motive, free market principle,** etc.

Historically, capitalism emerged along with industrialism in modern Europe but **nowadayscapitalism permeates through each and every sphere** of social + economic life.

Modern agriculture, service sector etc. are capitalists

Labour & Society

Labour is unique gift of nature to man.

Imprints of labour visible in Architecture, Music, Literature, etc.

Economy -> Man labours for gratification of human needs.

Sociology -> Society uses labour to discipline man in social life.

1. **Labour driven by culture of society (By Malinowski)**

   o **Evans Pritchard**: Study of Nuer Tribe (South Sudan)

      ▪ Stereotypical role of men in warfare, production, rituals, sacrifices etc.

   o **Robert Redfield**: Peasant not expected to make profits. Surplus is deemed & to bedistributed in Kins.

   o **Jajmani Relationship**: Each caste specialises in one kind of activity bringing co–operation & harmony.

2. **Changing Labour with changing societies**

   • **Emile Durkheim**: Earlier - simple D.O.L │ Modern - complex D.O.L.

   • Leading to **integration**

   • **Human labours for collective well–being** to desire individual happiness.

   ED countered by Utilitarians:

• **Open markets** give **individual complete freedom**.

- **Emphasis** is on **individual happiness** & well being than collective well being.

Weber, Talcott Parsons:

- One who labours well to perform the role, society rewards him accordingly.

- **Criticism:** unequal access to opportunities|Self perpetuating tendencies of upper class.

  ### Marx: **Labour alienated** in every society.

- Rejects Liberals & Utilitarians.

- **Labour commoditised, dehumanised**, became **a means** rather than an end.

- **Lenin**: **Remove specialisation**. Specialisations **creates strata**.

- **American Leninists** (**Bowles & Gintis**)

  o **Specialisation** of work **a capitalist construct**.

  o **Individual left hopeless** as he can't produce a complete thing using his labour.

3. **White Collar Labour** - **C.W. Mills:**

- White collar workers carrying **artificial smile,** leading **artificial life.**

- After **following the law artificial feeling of being right.**

- **Professional man is enslaved** to social conditions.

4. **Effect of Religion on Labour**

   ### Herbert Marcuse:

- **Classical Biblical convention-**

  o Work given a sorrowful feeling.

  o Adam & Eve expelled from garden of Eden to work for their survival.

- **Protestant Thought-**

  o Man must work to justify his selection.

  o Work given a hopeful feeling.

5. Labour **in Socialism**

- **Marx & Lenin:**

  o Labour compatible, harmonic & non–exploitative

  o Labour free to determine where to work

    - **Milovan Djilas** contradicts saying "**Labour is exploited (even in Socialistic states) in the name of social well being".**

Lenin: People in democracy are talking people, People in Socialism are working people)

Conclusion

- **In every society inequalities exist, sociology** of economic life looks into **interlinkages intosociety & labour.**

- Attempting to **understand this inequality in terms of exploitation** of labour or **participationof labour in decision making** process of enterprises.

Social Organization of Work

Social organization of work can also be **understood at macro level** as **how work is organized amongdifferent sections of population** and how it is **influenced by social factors**.

For example –

In traditional society work is –
- Simple
- Based On Ascription
- Collective Orientation
- Affectivity
- Informal Relations,etc.

While in modern society, it

is –

- Complex
- Formal
- Achievement Orientated
- Self-orientation
- Affective Neutral.

In Marxian terms, the organization of work in both traditional and modern society –

- seen in terms of **dichotomy of haves/have nots** i.e. exploitative processes.

At **micro level**, work can also be organized at micro level in terms of **various social dimensions ofpatterns of activities** in terms of –
- *Allocation*
- *Performances*
- *Consequences etc.*

Example: Agriculture in feudal, mass production in industrial.

NEW WORK TRENDS:

GIG ECONOMY:

What is a GIG?

- Gig work is defined as the work in which **organisations hire independent contractors** for **short-term assignments** on a per-time or per-task basis (with no commitment of future work).
- In a gig economy, **a large number of people work as independent contractors or in part-timeor temporary positions**.

Example of Decomposition of labour - Ralf Dahrendorf

Types of work in Gig Economy

A gig can refer to a wide range of positions, ranging from driving for Uber or delivering food to writing code or writing freelance articles.

- *Freelancers*: Provide services to multiple clients.
- *Consultants*: Give guidance to clients.
- *Independent contractors:* They have the appearance of traditional employees but are self-employed.
- *Temps*: Contract workers on a temporary basis
- *Seasonal workers:* Work as independent contractors to provide temporary services in seasons

Emerging Business Models in gig economy

Digital Marketplaces:

- They sign up **demand-driven service providers** who are skilled in niche areas such as **beauty,fitness, plumbing, electrical repairs,** and so on, and offer these services to consumers on a **contractual basis** based on their needs.

E.g. - UrbanClap.

Service Listing Platforms:

- It provides a platform for listing the demand for various professional services, which can thenbe matched with the services being offered.

E.g.   –   Fiverr

Asset/Service

Sharing:

- It is a **business model** that **employs gig workers to provide specific services** such as transportation, lodging, and delivery.

E.g. - Ola

India's position in Gig Economy

- Gig economy enterprises are responsible for **56 % of new employment in India, whichincludes both blue-collar and white-collar workers.**
- **India** was listed among the **top 10 countries in the Global Gig Economy Index study.**

- India accounts for **almost 40% of all freelancing jobs** offered worldwide.

Advantage of Gig Economy to the Organisation

1. **Saving Money and Time**

- An organisation does not need to spend a lot of time and money on on-boarding gig worker because they already have the necessary knowledge in their field of work.

2. **Flexibility and Availability**
- Because of their flexible work schedules and availability, gig workers are an **excellent asset to organisations.**
- These workers are always ready to work and can easily blend in when an organization needs them (or) when there is an extra workload on the current workforce.

3. **High Impact**
- Gig workers typically have a high impact and **bring increased efficiency to their work**.
- They have a wealth of experience in their field, which is extremely beneficial to acompany.
- Regular employees will be able to pick up a few pointers from them and apply it in their own way.
- As a result, the **workforce becomes a collaborative one in which ideas are shared.**

4. **Does not require coaching**
- Because gig workers are already experienced and have mastered a variety of skills, they do not require any additional training.
- They are already experts in their field and have plenty of ideas for how to complete the task.
- They can q**uickly adapt to the situation and perform without difficulty** once themanagement explains the task's requirements to them.

5. **Pool of experienced Workers**
- As the gig economy has grown rapidly around the world, so has the number of gigworkers.
- As a result, a **significantly large pool of talented individuals with various skills,characteristics, qualifications, qualities, and so on is created.**
- With so many diverse candidates available, organisations can hire them based on their needs and make the most out of the gig economy.

6. **Proximity issue resolved**
- Employers are not required to hire someone based on their proximity.
- Furthermore, computers have advanced to the point where they can either replace people's previous jobs or allow people to work just as efficiently from home as they could in person.

Advantage of Gig Economy to the Worker

1. **Low Barrier to Entry**
- It is very easy to enter the gig economy.
- Many gig economy jobs are straightforward and do not necessitate any qualifications or prior experience.

Keith Hart's characteristic of Informal Economy

2. Flexibility

- Workers in the gig economy have the freedom to choose when and with whom they work(or do not work).
- As a result, many gig workers prefer to work from home.

3. Variety

- Workers in the gig economy frequently perform multiple jobs for various clients, which can **help them to avoid monotony and keep the work interesting.**

Marx - Work is an avenue of expression of creativity and hence a way to happiness and satisfaction

4. Independence

- Workers in the gig economy are **self-employed**.
- As a result, most gig workers are not required to attend meetings, conduct progress reviews,or deal with office gossip.

5. Opportunity to Try New Jobs

- Many people have a small business idea they'd like to try, but it doesn't make sense for them to give up their primary source of income to do so.
- Working in the gig economy is an excellent way to try out new jobs on the side with littlerisk.

Charles Handy - in his 'Empty Raincoat' argues that organisation, today, requires workers withmultiple skills, and hence labour is flexible labour today (portfolio worker).

Illustration of Marx quote - Labour satisfies our needs and creates new ones.

6. Increase Participation of Women

- The work from home nature and technology driven gig economy will improve theparticipation of women in work force

Example of Feminization of Labour

★ The Factors behind rise of Gig Economy

Besides the advantages mentioned above other factors that led to the rise of Gig economy are –
- It is **common for people to change careers** several times during their lives, so the gig economycan be viewed as **a large-scale reflection** of this.
- **Goldthrope and Lockwood**- in their *affluent worker study*, they **highlight that the work is justa means to an end** i.e. better standard of living.
- The **gig economy grew significantly in 2020** as gig workers **delivered necessities to home-bound consumers.**
- Those whose **jobs were lost turned to part-time and contract work for income.**

Disadvantage of Gig Economy to the Worker

Unfortunately, there are drawbacks to every job. Here are some disadvantages to working in the gig economy.

1. Modest Pay

- Although many gig economy workers make good money from gig work, it can be difficult to generate a substantial income from small jobs.
- This is especially true for **low-skilled jobs such as delivery driving or grocery shopping.**

Keith Hart's characteristic of Informal Economy

2. Inconsistent Income

- A flexible schedule involves a flexible income.
- Workers in the gig economy frequently see their income fluctuate depending on the amount of work available.

3. Lack of Benefits (Social security)

- Self-employed individuals are responsible for their own health insurance and retirement plan because they do not have an employer to provide benefits.

4. Taxes and Expenses

- Individuals who work for themselves must also manage and pay taxes on the money they earn from gig work.
- Furthermore, gig economy workers must usually buy and maintain the tools and equipment they require, such as cars, computers, smartphones, and phone plans.

5. Potential Stress and Burnout

- Working in the gig economy can be stressful and exhausting.
- Managing a large number of jobs and clients is not for everyone.
- And not knowing when your next job will arrive can be stressful.

6. Potential exploitation of worker

- Unlike traditional employees, gig workers cannot form unions and bargain collectively due to the individualistic nature of gig work.

Robert Blauner - increase in the use of technology leads to higher degree of alienation

7. Atomization

- The individualistic nature of gig work allows workers to have high levels of flexibility, but it also leads to atomization, leaving them isolated from peer workers.
- Diversity among gig workers has also led to limited empathy for one another, which further impedes the provision of emotional support

8. Application of labour laws

- Due to the dispersed nature of work on digital labour platforms across international jurisdictions, monitoring compliance with applicable labour laws is difficult.

9. Risk Society

- The insecure nature of employment and the growing power of businesses to operate beyond traditional notions of organised labour may lead to 'Risk Society.'

A concept given by sociologist Ulrich Beck in 1986

10. Disparity between urban and rural areas

- In India, very few people in rural areas are comfortable using digital platforms to find work, and as a result, they are unable to participate fully in the gig economy.

Other Issues

- Because temporary employees are often less expensive to hire and more flexible in their availability, the **gig**

economy trend may make it more difficult for full-time employees to **advance in their careers.**

- **Workers who prefer a traditional career path and the s**tability and security it provides are <u>being pushed out</u> of some industries.
- For some employees, the **flexibility of working gigs can actually disrupt work-life balance, sleep patterns, and daily activities.**
- **Competition for gigs has also increased. (Though it initially provides independence to the workers, as the competition increases, they fail to get any recognition which may lead to identity crisis.)**
- **Long-term relationships between workers, employers, clients, and vendors can deterioratedue to the fluid nature of gig economy transactions and relationships.**

Example of Alienation from fellow workers

- **This can negate the advantages of long-term trust, customary practise, and familiarity withclients and employers.**
- **People who do not use technological services such as the Internet may be left behind as thebenefits of the gig economy become available.**

In his book "Post-Industrial Society," Daniel Bell predicted that we are fast moving towards a society where services and knowledge related technologies would dominate.

Government's efforts w.r.t. GIG Economy

Code on Social Security, 2020

- It provides for registration of all three categories of workers - unorganised workers, gig workers and platform workers.
- It mentions that schemes for gig workers and platform workers may be funded through acombination of contributions from the central government, state governments, and aggregators.

What needs to be done?

- **Existing social protection eligibility and coverage must be updated** to more effectively reflectthe needs of Gig workers.
- A **Universal Labour Guarantee** might be formed, which would **offer a labour protection floor for all workers**, including **fundamental worker rights**, a **decent living wage**, and work-hour limits, among other things.
- **Re-skilling people** at risk of losing their jobs and **upskilling** as part of a lifelong learningprogramme.
- Companies must strive for **transparency in the employer-employee relationship**, particularlyin terms of pay and labour volume

CANCEL CULTURE:

Meaning

- **Cancel** here means to **cancel out or end** (**a person's career**) in response to his or her **offensive behaviour or action**.
- The cancellation is akin to **a cancelled contract**, a **severing of the relationship** that once linkeda performer to their fans.
- The word **echoes the trend of on-demand subscriptions of content**, from which a user can opt out just as easily as they opt in.

Examples

- If there is a celebrity who makes a **misogynistic** statement or commits an act of **sexual crime**, there could be **calls to boycott** the actor's films and other works, banish him or her from all public events and disconnect the person from all possible social associations.
- **As a result, the person is 'cancelled' or blocked culturally, socially, economically and politically.**

What makes the cancel culture more prominent than the boycott calls?
- It **is not only a personal act,** it is **also a public act.**
- As the **person Canceling out needs to broadcast** her/ his decisions on various Social Mediaplatforms to either get a movement going (that is **to show solidarity with a movement**) or **start a movement**.
- In the age of **social media,** such calls for **naming, shaming and banishing erring persons** canhave far-reaching impacts.
- Even though the origins of cancel culture **'dates' back to a long time ago**, the term has started getting **popular in recent years**, when a series of **Internet spats and controversies** in which a clutch of **celebrities** was '**cancelled out**' and as a result **lost fame, money, career** and, **in some cases, gender privileges**.

Kinds of Cancel Cultures

1. **Call-out culture:** An important or responsible individual is **shamed publicly on social media** for his or her statements (**xenophobic, homophobic, racist or sexist**) and the ensuing **outcry** **helps hold them accountable** for their errors.

2. **Shun-Out Culture:** It is **more serious**. Here, an erring celebrity is called out on social mediaand a larger populace **boycotts his products and services,** eventually bringing an end to their careers.
   - A lot of times, it is very **difficult to differentiate** between the variants.
   - The **immense popularity** cancel culture enjoys, especially **among teenagers and youngadults**, makes it one of the most influential movements in recent history.

The functions it serves
1. **Accountability**: This and various other movements (like MeToo) demand greater accountability from public figures.
2. **Attention Economy:** It works on the idea of **attention economy**. **Celebrities thrive on attention**and cancel culture aims to **deprive someone of your attention**, thereby depriving them of alivelihood.
3. **Highlighting the Issue**: The cancel culture **brings to notice some pressing issues** that **otherwise get lost** because those **without voice (or sub-altern)** cannot do much against thepowerful elites.
4. **Power to Individual**: The cancel culture **gives power to an otherwise powerless individual** to do their part. It makes the individual **feel connected to an otherwise diffused call**.

The troubles with the cancel culture

1. **Creates a stifling atmosphere:** 150 **prominent writers and academics** had put out **an open letter pointing to the dangers of the cancel culture**. **The letter says the social-media-powered cancel culture has created a stifling atmosphere that "will ultimately harm the most vital causes of our time**."

2. **Hasty and Disproportionate punishments**: Cancel-culture calls for **swift and severe retribution** in response to **perceived transgressions of speech and thought.** It causes damage, since **institutional leaders in a spirit of panicked damage control deliver hasty, disproportionate punishments** instead of considered reforms.

3. **A form of mob justice:** Critics of the cancel culture point to the fact that **such campaigns avoid established channels for justice**, such as the courts and police procedures, and replaces them measured and matured judicial processes with **social media trials and punishments.**

4. **Creates a culture of instant gratification:** Critics say such **easy forms of finding 'gratification'or 'justice'** can be **counter-productive**, since they **educate the young generation**, who form a big slice of the cancel culture apostles, **the wrong way** and **pave way for intolerant and impatient attitudes** towards opinions that are different from theirs.

5. **Vested Interests:** Several examples suggest, given the way social media trials have been played by vested interests and forces of capital, **cancel culture might be getting used by competitors and others to harm** particular people.

Way Ahead

1. **Reforming** the visible failures of **established modes of justice**.

2. Our **social systems and processes** are results of years of social and cultural evolution, and they are still a **work in progress**. This fact doesn't nullify their importance and **make courts and complaint systems irrelevant.**
   - **Cancel calls avoid such democratic systems** (though with their own flaws).
   - Today, **it may be a genuine case** and cause that **becomes fodder** for a cancel culture.
   - **Applying caution and reason** will help us cancel out wrong cultures.

LAZY GIRL JOBS

'Lazy girl jobs' is the latest trend going viral among Gen Z, here's what it is

Lazy girl jobs refer to those jobs that require minimal effort, pays decently and is flexible with timings thus allowing employees a good work-life balance.

While many millennials swear by the hustle culture and believe in giving their all at work and learning new skills that can be turned into a side hustle, there is a trend among many Gen Z to not let jobs dictate their life and take things easier.

Lazy girl jobs refer to those jobs that require minimal effort, pays decently and is flexible with timings thus allowing employees a good work-life balance. **Judge defines lazy girl jobs as something that you can basically "quiet quit". She says there are a lot of jobs out there where one could make 60-80 thousand and not do much work and be remote.** She said there are many non-technical tech roles like a marketing associate, some type of account manager or a customer success manager that are very good lazy girl jobs

A lazy girl job is an easy, usually white-collar, job with good pay where an employee can quiet quit.[1][2] **The term was coined in 2023 by Gabrielle Judge, also known by screen name "antiworkgirlboss" on Instagram, in response to hustle culture, the Great Resignation,[3] and worker exploitation**. Although the trend is centered around women, she says men can have lazy girl jobs too. Judge explained the term was a marketing gimmick in order to raise awareness about "toxic workplace expectations" and is not about celebrating laziness.[4]

QUIET QUITTING:

When an employee engages in quiet quitting, they stop going above and beyond for their employer and simply do the bare minimum possible to avoid getting fired.
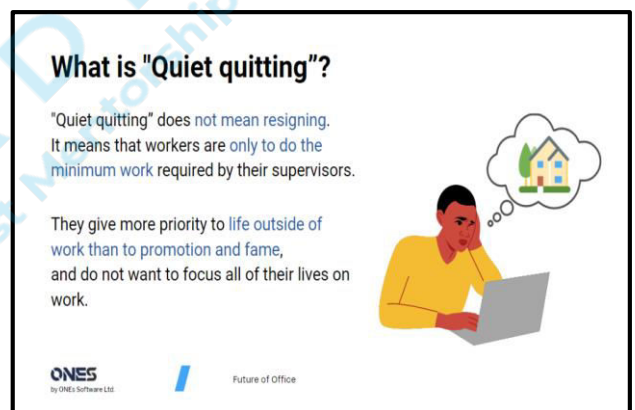
In practice, this might mean:

- Not volunteering for extra work, leadership roles or responsibilities
- Not speaking up in meetings unless addressed directly
- Not responding to emails or messages outside of work hours
- Turning down work outside of their job description
- Becoming isolated from the rest of the team and avoiding social events
- Taking a more-than-usual number of sick days (absenteeism)

Quiet firing is another buzzword that's been thrown around a lot recently, but it describes something quite different to quiet quitting.

Quiet firing is the management practice in which a manager or supervisor tries to subtly encourage an employee to quit their job. This is done by assigning them undesirable work, reducing their hours or depriving them of opportunities to advance.

This isn't a practice to be proud of — and it shouldn't happen in healthy work environments. However, it's sadly quite common when employers don't want to fire employees directly and be forced to provide a severance package, for example.

What is "Quiet quitting"?

"Quiet quitting" does not mean resigning. It means that workers are only to do the minimum work required by their supervisors.

They give more priority to life outside of work than to promotion and fame, and do not want to focus all of their lives on work.

THE GREAT RESIGNATION:

__What is it__
- The Great Resignation is popularly being called the *Big Quit.*
- It is the ongoing **trend of employees voluntarily leaving their jobs.**
- It started primarily in the **United States**.The resignations have been characterized as in:
- **Response to the COVID-19 pandemic**
- The **American government refusing to provide necessary worker protection**
- **Wage stagnation** despite **rising costs of living**.
- Some economists are describing the Great Resignation **as a general strike**.

Who Coined the Term

Anthony Klotz

- A professor of management at Mays Business School of Texas A&M University.
- He predicted this **mass exodus of employees** was coming in May 2021.

Quick Background

From 2001-2020:

- The **United States resignation rate never surpassed 2.4%** of the total workforce per month.
- **High quit rates indicate worker confidence in the ability to get higher paying jobs**, which typically **coincides with high economic stability**, an abundance of people working, and low unemployment rates.
- Conversely, **during periods of high unemployment**, **resignation rates tend to decrease** as hire rates also decrease.
- During the **Great Recession**,
- the **U.S. quit rate decreased** from 2.0% to 1.3% as the hire rate fell from 3.7% to 2.8%.

During Covid-19

- Resignation rates in the U.S. during the COVID-19 pandemic **initially followed this pattern**.
- In **March and April 2020:**
- A record **13.0 and 9.3 million workers** (8.6% and 7.2%) **were laid off.**
- The **quit rate subsequently fell to a seven-year low** of 1.6%.
- Much of the **layoffs and resignations were driven by women**, who disproportionately work in industries that were affected most by the lockdowns, like service industries and childcare.
- As the **pandemic continued**, however, *workers have paradoxically quit their jobs in large numbers*.
- This is **despite continued labor shortages** and high unemployment.

Why this must be happening

- The COVID-19 pandemic has allowed **workers to rethink their Careers, Work conditions**, and **long-term goals.**
- As many workplaces attempted to bring their employees in-person, **workers desired the freedom to work from home** given the pandemic.
- With telecommuting also came **schedule flexibility**, which was the primary reason to look for a **new job of the majority.**
- Many workers, particularly in **younger cohorts, are seeking to gain a better work–life balance.**

Cultural Shift

- **Workers have rapidly reassessed their life priorities**
- People in low-status jobs will **no longer put up with bad pay or poor conditions**
- While **white-collar types scoff at the idea of working long hours**
- Some people have become **lazier or more entitled**
- Others want to try **something new;**
- Some **desire money less** because they have realised the *joys of a simpler life*.

According to an *Adobe* study

"The exodus is being driven by Millennials and Generation Z, who are more likely to be dissatisfied with their work.

More than half of Gen Z reported planning to seek a new job within the next year."

Microsoft's 2021 Work Trend Index says

"More than 40% of the global workforce are considering quitting their job in 2021."

PricewaterhouseCoopers survey

"65% of employees said they are looking for a new job and 88% of executives said their company isexperiencing higher turnover than normal."

Global Evidence?

USA:
- In April 2021, a record 4.0 million Americans quit their jobs.
- This has continued in subsequent months of 2021.

Europe:
- **Germany** is witnessing the most COVID-19-related resignations, with 6.0% of the workersleaving their jobs.
- **United Kingdom** has 4.7%.
- **Netherlands** with 2.9%, and France with 2.3%.
- Some **preliminary data show an increase in the number of quits in Italy**, starting in the secondquarter of 2021.
- The registered increase was not only in **absolute terms, but also in terms of quit rate** (computed as quits over employed population) and of quit share (computed as quits over total contract terminations).

China:
- A similar phenomenon is occurring in China, referred to as *tang ping*.
- It started roughly during the same time in April 2021.

Striketober???

- Amidst the Great Resignation, a strike wave known as Striketober began.
- It saw participation of over **100,000 American workers in or preparing for strike action.**
- Some economists described the Great Resignation as workers participating in a *"general strike against poor working conditions and low wages."*

What is the future of it

- Tech firms in USA have **raised average salaries** by nearly 5% since 2020.
- A recent **study by Gallup**, in America, suggests that "*employee engagement*", a **rough proxyfor job satisfaction**, is **close to its all-time high.**
- Workers say, *"they would like a job with fewer hours and less pay".*

VALUE ADDITION:

THE CHANGING, NATURE OF WORK IN INDUSTRIAL SOCETY:

FEMINIZATION OF LABOUR:

The globalizing of economic production, together with the spread of information technology, is altering the nature of the jobs most people do. As discussed in chapter 9, the proportion of people working in blue collar jobs in industrial countries has progressively fallen. Fewer people work in factories than before. New jobs have been created in offices and in service centres such as supermarkets and airports. Many of these new jobs are filled by women.

Women and Work:

For the vast majority of the population in pre-industrial societies (and many people in the developing world), productive activities and the activities of the house hold were not separate. Production was carried on either in the home or nearby, and all members of the family participated in work on the land or in handicrafts. *Women often had considerable influence within the household as a result of their important in economic processes, even if they were excluded from the male relams of politics and warfare. Wives of craftsmen and farmers often kept business accounts and widows quite commonly owned and managed businesses.*

- ### *The growth-in- women's economic activity*

Women's participation in the paid labour force has risen more or less continuously over the last century. One major influence was the labour shortage experienced during the First world War. During the war years, women carried out many jobs previously regarded as the exclusive province of men. On returning from the war, men again took over most of those jobs, but ht pre-established pattern had been broken.

In the years since the second world War, the gender division of labour has changed dramatically.

There are a number of reasons why the gap in economic activity rates between men and women have been closing in recent decades. **First,** there have been changes in the scope and nature of the tasks that have traditionally been associated with women and the 'domestic sphere. As the brith rate has declined and the average age of childbirth has increased, many women now take on paid work before having children and return to work afterwards. Smaller families have meant that the time many women previously spent at home caring for young children has been reduced. The mechanization of many domestic tasks has also helped to cut down the amount of

time that needs to be spent to maintain the home. Automatic dishwashers, vacuum cleaners and washing machines have made the domestic workload less labour- intensive.

There are also financial reasons why a growing number of women have entered the labour market. The traditional nuclear family model- Composed of a male bread winner, female housewife and dependent children- now accounts for only a quarter of families in Britain. Economic pressures on the household, including a rise in male unemployment, have led more women to seek paid work. Many households find that two incomes are required in order to sustain a desired lifestyle. Other changes in household structure, including high rates of single hood and childlessness as well as a growth in lone- mother house holds, has meant that women outside traditional families have also been entering the labour market- either out of choice or necessity. Additionally, recent efforts to reform welfare policies, both in Britain and the United States, have aimed to support women- including lone mothers and married women with small children in entering paid work.

Finally, it is important to note that many women have chosen to enter the labour market out of a desire for personal fulfillment and in response to the drive for equality propelled forward by the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Having gained legal equality with men, many women have seized on opportunities to realize these rights in their own lives. As we have already noted, work is central in contemporary society and employment is almost always a prerequisite for living an independent life. In recent decades women have made great strides towards parity with men; increased economic activity has been central to this process (Crompton 1997).

ISSUES FACED BY WOMEN:

1) **Wage gap:** Occupational segregation by gender is one of the main factors in the persistence of a wage gap between men and women. Women are over- represented in the more

2) **Occupational segregation:** Many of these jobs are highly gendered – that is, they are commonly seen as 'women's work's Secretarial and caring jobs (such as nursing, social work an child care) are overwhelmingly held by women and are generally regarded as feminine occupations. Occupational gender segregation refers to the fact that men and women are concentrated in different types of jobs, based on prevailing understanding of what is appropriate 'male' and 'female' work. Pink collar jobs.

3) **Male homosociability:** Male homosociability encompasses the formal old boys' networks and informal clubs or meetings, as well as humour and banter, referred to metaphorically as the locker room.

4) **Concentration in part-time work:** Although increasing numbers of women now work full time outside the home, a large number are concentrated in part-time employment. In recent decades, opportunities for part-time work have grown enormously, partly as a result of labour market reforms to encourage flexible employment policies and partly due to the expansion of the service sector (Crompton 1997).

5) **Sticky floor effect:** Expression used as a metaphor to point to a discriminatory employment pattern that keeps workers, mainly women, in the lower ranks of the job scale, with low mobility and invisible barriers to career advancement.

6) **Glass escalator for males:** The glass escalator refers to the way men, namely heterosexual white men, are put on a fast track to advanced positions when entering primarily female-dominated professions. It is

most present in "pink collar" professions, such as those in hands-on healthcare work or school teaching. Feminized care professions often pay lower wages than stereotypically male professions, but males experience a phenomenon in which they earn higher wages and have faster career mobility when they enter feminine careers.

● *Changes in the domestic division of labour*

One of the results of more women entering paid work is that certain traditional family patterns are being renegotiated. The 'male breadwinner' model has become the exception rather than the rule, and women's growing economic independence has meant that they are between placed to move out of gendered roles at home if they choose to do so. Both in terms of housework and financial decision-making, women's traditional domestic roles are undergoing significant changes. There appears to be a move towards more egalitarian relationships in many households, although women continue to shoulder the main responsibility for most housework.

Studies show that married women employed outside the home do less domestic work than others, although they almost always bear the main responsibility for care of the home. The pattern of their activities is no course rather different They do more housework in the early evenings and for longer hours at weekends than to those who are full-time housewives.

A survey conducted by **Warde and Hetherington (1993)** in Manchester revealed that the domestic division of labour was more egalitarian among young couples than among those of older generations. The authors concluded that over time, gender stereotypes are loosening. Young people who were raised in households with parents who attempted to share domestic tasks were more likely to implement such practices in their own lives.

Vogler and Pahl (1994) examined a different aspect of the domestic division of labour- that of household financial man agreement systems. Their study sought to understand whether women's access to money and to control over spending decisions had become more egalitarian with the increase in female employment. Through interviews with couples in six different British communities, they found the distribution of financial resources to be, on the whole, done more fairly

that in the past, but \that it remained interlinked with class issues. Among higher income couples, 'pooled' finances tended to be managed jointly and there was a greater degree or equality in accessing money and making spending decision. The more a woman contributes to the household financially, the greater the level of control she exercises over financial decisions.

In families with lower income, women were often responsible for the day-to- day management of household finances, but were not necessarily in charge of strategic decisions about budgeting and spending. In these cases, Vogler and Pahl noted a tendency for women to protect their husbands access to spending omen while depriving themselves of the soma eight. In other words, there appeared to be a disjunction between women's everyday control over finances and their access to money.

Sociological Theories of Power and Power Elite

POWER:

Possession of control, authority or influence over others, a relationship in which an individual is able to exert influence over the mind and actions of others.

Max Weber
- Opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits **one to carry out one's will even against resistance** and regardless of the basis on which opportunity rests.

Amos Hawley
Every social act is an exercise of power, **every social relationship** is a power equation and **every social group** or a system is an organization of power.

Steven Lukes
- Weber's definition is narrow.
- **3-D view** of power.

Three faces of power
- Decision making
- Non decision making (by giving limited preferences to choose)
- Shaping discussions (manipulating wishes and desires)

Generally Speaking, Basis of Power are
- Wealth
- Status
- Knowledge
- Charisma
- **Force:** Illegitimate (violence, coercion)
- **Authority:** Legitimate (traditional, charisma, rational legal)

Features of Power
- **Structural aspect** of social reality.
- Operates **reciprocally** but usually **not equally** reciprocally.
- Manifests itself in **a relationship** manner.
- Appears as **a process** not a fixed part of social structure.
- Power is **inherent in social stratification**
- It becomes the **basis of social stratification** e.g. CW Mills Theory.

Elite theory of power

Developed by Italian sociologists **Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca.**
- **Only minority** has **talent/intelligence/ability/ leadership** to occupy positions of power.
- **Minority influences** govt decisions and gains its dominant position beyond general elections
    (democracy is utopia).
- Elites hold power due to **religious values**.
- **Hereditary** or certain **personal qualities**.

Classical Elite Theories

Power Elite

Vilfredo Pareto - Circulation of Elites

Pareto is highly impressed by Italian social system.
On this basis Pareto has presented the following outline of social system. **Social system is made up of 2 kinds of people:**
1. Elite class (Governing class ruling class)
2. Non-elites (Mass-ruled class)

Governing class is made up of two groups:
- Residues of combination
- Residues of Group Persistence

- People of first group work on the **principle of maximum gains** and so are very selfish. They want to **bring substantial change in the system**, for which they easily mix up with the people.
- The **second group puts lot of thrust on stability** in the system. They are **idealistic, therefore neither they are selfish nor believe in the immediate gain.**
- Unlike first group, they are more contained and so do no easily mix up with people. They could be better understood under political, economic and idealistic aspects.

The **political aspect of first group is Fox** because they are equally clever and manipulative and diplomatic, whereas that of the **second group is Lion, a symbol of stability and idealism.**
The power rotates between the two, which Pareto called **'circulation of Elites'**. Pareto places particular emphasis on psychological characteristics as the basis of elite rule.

Major change in society occurs when **one elite replaces another, a process which Pareto calls "circulation of elites" and he believes history is a never-ending circulation elites.**
For him state is a tool in the hands of the ruling elite. He saw modern democracies as merely another form of elite domination

Criticism:
- No method of **measuring qualities**
- T. Parsons: **Residues change** with change in society

- **Difference** between foxes and lions is nothing but **style of rule**.
- Pareto **used only 2 residues** out of 6.

Gaetano Mosca - Class Theory of Power

Book '**Ruling Class**'

- Emphasised **sociological and personal characteristics of elites.**
- Elite rule is **universal necessity and inevitability**. Societies divided in **two groups:**

Ruling

o **Ruling class is divided into elites**
▪ Political power, Property

- **Ruled**
o Sub-elites
▪ Technocrats, Managers, Civil servants.
- **Dominant interest reflected in ruling class** and they **dominate structures and values.**
- **He differs from Pareto** (elites are restrained by various social factors, **ruled are not powerless**
in **democracy**).

Robert Michels (Iron law of Oligarchy)

Origins: The Iron Law of Oligarchy was formulated by German sociologist **Robert Michels** in the early 20th century. He developed this concept based on his observations of **political organizations, particularly within socialist parties.**

Inevitable Oligarchy: Michels argued that in any organization, no matter how democratic its ideals, there is an **inherent tendency for power to become concentrated in the hands of a few individuals or a small group**. This concentration of power is known as oligarchy.

Leadership Emergence: According to Michels, **leadership is a necessary and practical component of any organization**. Over time, certain individuals emerge as leaders due to their organizational skills, charisma, or other qualities. These leaders then tend to consolidate and perpetuate their power.

Organizational Complexity: As organizations grow in size and complexity, efficient decision-making becomes challenging. This complexity necessitates delegation of responsibilities, and leaders naturally arise to oversee and make decisions on behalf of the larger group.

Delegation and Expertise: Leaders often need to delegate tasks to ensure smooth functioning. This delegation leads to a division of labor, where certain individuals specialize in certain tasks. As a result, these specialists acquire expertise, which can further contribute to their influence within the organization.

Maintaining Power: Once leaders or a leadership elite gain power, they have a vested interest in maintaining it. This can lead to the entrenchment of the leadership, limiting the influence of the broader membership and concentrating decision-making power within a select few.

Cycles of Oligarchy: The **Iron Law of Oligarchy suggests that oligarchies are not only likely to form in organizations but are also resistant to change**. Even in organizations founded on democratic principles, the emergence of an oligarchy becomes a recurring and self-perpetuating cycle, challenging the ideals of equal participation and decision-making by the entire membership.

CW MILLS: book 'The Power Elite'

- Mills explained **elite rule in Institutional** rather than Psychological terms.

- **Two** kinds of elites:
  - **Segmental**: Arts/music and science.
  - **Strategic:** Those who govern

- **Three institutions** yield power
  - Major **corporations**
  - Federal **govt**
  - **Military**

- Elites have **same lifestyle**, **family relationship** and **perpetuate rules** through **self recruitment**.

Command Posts:

- These are **key pivotal positions** in institutions.

  o **Elites occupy these.**

- However, **elites have no moral/psychological superiority**.
- The cohesiveness and unity of the power elite is strengthened by the similarity of the social background of its members and the interchange and overlapping of personnel between and three elites.

- **Members are drawn largely from the upper strata of society:** they are mainly protestant, native-born Americans, from urban areas in the eastern USA. They share similar educational backgrounds and mix socially in the same high-prestige clubs.
- As a result they tend to **share similar values and sympathies** which provide a basis for mutual trust and cooperation.
- Within the power elite there is **frequent interchange of personnel between the three elites**. For example, a corporation director may become a politician and vice versa.
- At any one time, individuals may have footholds in more than one elite. **Mills notes that 'on the boards of directions we find a heavy overlapping among the members of these several elites'**
- The bulk of the population is pictured as a passive and quiescent mass controlled by the power elite which subjects it to **'instruments of psychic management and manipulation'**.
- Excluded from the command posts of power the **'man in the mass'** is told what to think, what to feel, **what to do and what to hope for by mass media directed by the elite**. Unconcerned with the major issues of the day, he is preoccupied with his personal world of work. Leisure, family and neighborhood.
- Elite rule is **not inevitable.**
- **Masses are not incompetent**.
- They are **kept in state of ignorance and powerlessness**.
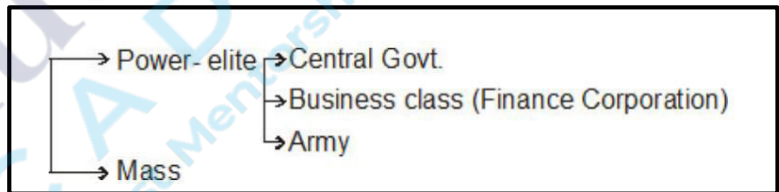
James Burnham: Book 'The Managerial Revolution'

All the **power is in hands of managers** (separation of operation and control), capitalism is on decline. Managers are new elites.

TB Bottomore: Book 'The Elites and Society'

Elites are different in industrial and developing world.

• Examined roles of elites in relation to **class and class structure.**

• **Criticised democratic and socialistic conception** of elites.

Society is moving towards **egalitarianism** and **multiple elites** are present in developing world.

• Dynastic
• Middle class
• Revolutionary intellectuals
• Colonial administrators
• Nationalist leaders

Critique of Elite theories

• **Power of public opinion** is ignored.

• **Karl Mannheim** in his book '**Ideology and Utopia**' says that **elites are different from totalitarians**. In **democracy, people remove leaders** not working according to their wishes.

• **Power changes** moment to moment and issue to issue.

• **David Riesman** rejected Mills theory and says that there is so much **diversity** in **US** in terms of thoughts and interests.

• **Altruistic motives do exist** e.g. people do charity not to gain power.

• **Modern society is complex** and has various power centres.

• **Robert Dahl – "Who Governs"** – Found in New Haven, Connecticut that power is dispersed.
Arnold Rose reconfirmed the findings.

Marxian Theory of Power (Karl Marx):

Marx does not give a clear definition of power, for him, power means coercion. Marx views power to be held by a particular group in society at the expense of the rest of the society.

- According to him the **source of power in society lies in economic infrastructure and those who own the modes of production** i.e. the dominant group uses power to further its own interest and there by exploiting those who subject to power.
- Marx argues that although from time to time dominant classes do have to resort to naked force to maintain their power and supremacy, the a**bsence of such obvious coercion should not be taken to signify an absence of exploitation, lack of naked oppression does not indicate lack of oppression and the lack of any need to force.** Lack of naked oppression does not mean that domination is not taking place. It is only that the dominated are unaware of their condition, because of the effectiveness of the ideologies into which they have been socialized.
- **Marxist theorist argue that institutions like education, state and mass media justify the stereotypical images of superiority and inferiority coinciding with class position**. Thus in terms of Marxian theory "the relationship of dominance and subordination in the infrastructure is justified and legalized by the super structure". FOR EXAMPLE, in capitalist society and the unequal relationship between employees and employers will be reflected and legitimated in the legal system. A range of legal status protect the rights of property owners and in particular their right to a disproportionate share of the wealth produced by their employees
- Marx views **power as to be held by a particular group (dominant class) in society at the expense of the rest of the society (subordinate class). This is a CONSTANT SUM CONCEPT OF POWER** since a net gain in the power of the dominant group represents a net loss in the power of the next in society.
- The only way to return power to the people is **communal ownership of the forces of production**. Since everyone will now share the same relationship to the forces of production, power will be shared by all members of society. Here **Marx's concepts of false consciousness and class-consciousness are of importance.**

Max Weber's Theory on Power:

- His definition of domination (Authority) is more specific. It re**fers only to those cases of exercises of power where an actor obeys a specific command issued by anothe**r. In making the distinction between power and domination (authority) **Weber put forward two types of solution to the problem of order**. Power represents action likely to succeed even against the opposition and resistance of those to whom it is applied.
- **Weber's concept of class, status and party along with his analysis of state and bureaucracy are the centre of his concept of power**. Each grouping is focused around or oriented towards power as an independent point of conflict. Each represents an aspect of and a basis for power
- Unlike Marx, he claimed that power did not emerge only from economic sources, and he certainly does not restrict power relationships to ownership or non-ownership of the means of the production. **Power can also emerge from STATUS OR PARTY** (associations concerned with acquiring power) or can also be pursued for its own sake. Among these different forms of power, there are cross-cutting influences and effects, so that power obtained in one of these spheres may lead to power or a change in situation in another sphere

Talcott Parsons Theory of Power:

Parsons regards power as something possessed by society as a whole. As such power is a generalized facility of resources in the society. In this sense the amount of power in society is measured by the degree to which collective goals are realized.

- Thus the greater efficiency of a social system for achieving the goals defined by its members, the more power exists in society.
- **This view is known as variable sum concept of power** (different from Weberian and Marxian constant sum concept of power), since power in society is not seen as fixed as contrast. Instead it is variable in the sense it can increase or decrease
- Parson view of power differential within society also derives from his general theory of social system. **He argues since goals are shared by all members of society, power will generally be used in the furtherance of collective goals**. Thus, for Parsons, power is an integrative face in social system just as social stratification
- Parsons argues that as **value consensus is an essential component of all societies, if follows that some form of stratification results from the ranking of individuals in terms of society**, values will be ranked highly and accorded high prestige and power sicken they exemplify and personify common values.
- And Parsons, a functionalist, believes that this differential distribution of power and prestige among the different strata of society is just, right and proper since they are basically an expression of shared values.

PLURALIST THESIS OF POWER OR COMMUNITY POWER THESIS:

Pluralists (Pluralist thesis) have challenged the main elitist contention that a society is marked by the existence of a single centre of political power. It is in **contrast to elite and Marxist theorists who argue that power is concentrated in hands of a few**. This theory is a bid to explain the power distribution in modern democracies, especially Western democracies.

Power is widely shared/diffused and **fragmented** and derived from **multiple resources**.
- Diverse group with conflicting interests such that none play dominant role.
- Natural balance of power is preserved through bargaining and compromise.

Alexis de Tocqueville:
- Democracy becomes dysfunctional if dominated by one interest.
- State is '**honest broker'**

It begins by an observation that industrial society is increasingly differentiated into various social groups and sectional interests.
- There are diversified occupations and power is held by each. Formation of groups like trade unions, pressure groups, professional associations also complicates the situation.
- **Absence of single dominant group leads to bargaining and compromising**. Since different groups cannot vie for power collectively, they field their representatives who act as elites and presence of such multiple elites creates situation of elite pluralism.
- **Government acts like a broker to mediate between different elite groups** and according to Raymond Aron 'Government becomes a business of compromise'.

Further continuing his criticism of the elite model **Robert Dahl argued that the elite theory confuses potential control with actual control.**

- In his empirical study **'Who Governs?, 1961'** he found that local politics is a business of bargaining and compromise with no single group dominating decision making. He **uses his 'decision making model' in political decision making process and showed that economic factors are not the sole factors in decision making.**

According to Anthony Downs in his **'Economic Theory of Democracy'** as the producers and consumers defend their interests in market, trade unions, associations etc play similar roles in politics to defend the interests of their members and workers.

- Multi-party political democracies like India are also an example of similar contention. Public in their respective constituencies directly influences respective political parties. With fragmented votes, parties also cannot rely on single vote bank and have to accede to demands of various sections. The phenomenon of non-political groups called pressure groups also reflects plural centers of power.
- **According to pluralist thesis, political parties and pressure groups have made democracy a truly representative of large complex societies.**

CRITICISMS:
- Pluralists are however accused of ignoring non-decision and safe decision making.
- Elite concede to only those demands which do not threaten their position and retain the power in those decisions which threaten their interests.
- They also ignore results and consequences as according to **Westergaard and Resler**, power is manifested in its consequences.
- As Roberto Michels highlights, representatives of people may ultimately usurp power and act in their own vested interests ignoring interests of public at large.

Bureaucracy

According to **Amitai Etzioni in his 'Modern Organizations, 1964', 'Our society is an organizational society'**. We live in a world where bureaucratic structures accompany us from cradle to grave.
Bureaucracy is the **administrative system** governing any large institution.

Karl Marx

- Marx was **opposed to** the bureaucracy.
- He saw the **development of bureaucracy** in government as a **natural counterpart to the development of the corporation** in private society.
- Marx posited that while the **corporation and government bureaucracy existed in seeming opposition**, in **actuality they mutually relied** on one another to exist.

John Stuart Mill

- He **theorized that successful monarchies were essentially bureaucracies**, and found evidence of their existence in Imperial China, the Russian Empire, and the regimes of Europe.
- Mill referred to **bureaucracy as a distinct form of government**, separate from representative democracy
- He believed bureaucracies had **certain advantages**, most importantly the accumulation of **experience** in those who actually conduct the affairs.

Criticism of Bureaucracy
- Bureaucracy is a form of governance **compared poorly to representative government**, as it **relied on appointment** rather than direct election. The bureaucracy **stifles the mind**, and that "A bureaucracy always **tends to become a** pedantocracy (bookish theorists)"

Max Weber

- **1922 essay** Bureaucracy published in his "**Economy and Society**".
- Bureaucratic administration means **fundamental domination through knowledge**.
- Bureaucracy as an **Ideal-typical form of public administration**, government, and business.

Bureaucratisation of society.
- As the **most efficient and rational way of organizing.**
- **Bureaucratization** - key part of the **rational-legal authority.**

Weber listed **several preconditions for the emergence** of bureaucracy:

- The **growth in space and population** being administered.
- The **growth in complexity of the administrative tasks** being carried out.
- The **existence of a monetary economy requiring a more efficient** administrative system.
- **Democratization and rationalization of culture** resulted in demands that the **new system treats everybody equally.**

Weber's ideal-typical bureaucracy is **characterized by**:

- **Hierarchical** organization
- **Delineated lines of authority** in a fixed area of activity
- **Action** taken on the basis of and **recorded in written rules**.
- Bureaucratic officials need **expert training**
- **Rules** are implemented by **neutral officials**.
- **Career advancement** depends on **technical qualifications** judged by organization, not individuals.

There is

- A rigid **division of labor**
- A **chain of command** is established, restricted by regulations
- A **regular and continuous execution of the assigned tasks** by **qualified and trained people.**

He is **not an admirer** of bureaucracy.

Weber believed that Bureaucracy is:

- A **threat to individual freedoms.**
- The ongoing bureaucratization as leading to a *"polar night of icy darkness", in which increasing rationalization of human life traps individuals in a soulless "iron cage"* of bureaucratic, rule- based, rational control.

Woodrow Wilson

Essay "**The Study of Administration**"

Argued for a **bureaucracy as**:

- A **professional cadre**
- **Devoid of allegiance** to fleeting politics of the day
- **Raised** very far **above** the dull level of mere **technical detail**.
- **Administrative questions** are **not political questions**.
- **Politics sets the tasks** for administration but it should **not be suffered to manipulate its offices.**

Robert K. Merton

In "**Social Theory and Social Structure**"

Dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy:

- A "**trained incapacity**" resulting from "**over conformity** "
- Bureaucrats more likely to **defend their own interests** than to act to benefit the organization.
- Bureaucrats took **pride in their craft**, which led them to **resist changes**.
- Bureaucrats **emphasized formality** over interpersonal relationships.
- Trained to **ignore the special circumstances** of particular cases, causing them to come across as "**arrogant" and " haughty**".

Other Important Criticisms of Bureaucracy

• **Ritzer: Mcdonaldisation** i.e. increasing rationality leads to irrational outcomes. It is dehumanizing.
• **Formal & Informal relations- Weber** gave importance to formal relations within an organization.
• **Peter Blau** on the other hand, found that informal organizations actually tend to increase the efficiency of workers instead of pulling it down. Informal networks bring life into the organizations.
• Elton Mayo's study of human relations: Study of Hawthorne works of GE, Chicago It came as a response to classical theory which laid emphasis on formal structure.
• **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.**
• He gave **three types- Mock** (No Smoking written- but smoking still allowed), **Representative** centred (to solve differences), **Punishment** centred (no absenteeism).

Arguments against bureaucracy

• **Burns and Stalker:** They argue that **system should not be mechanistic like bureaucracy but organic.**
• **Robert Michels:** In his political theory- **'iron law of oligarchy'** he says **that flow of power towards the top is an inevitable part of increasingly bureaucratised world**.
• That. **Bureaucracy is sworn enemy of individual liberty**.
• **Peter Sleznik-** In his **book 'TVA and grass roots'** argues **organisations need to be flexible and restructure power** in order to **create more participatory and adaptive structure**.

Another word in defence of Bureaucracy

• **Giddens**: In defence of bureaucracy observes that **as organisations expand in size, power relations become loose and there is increased decentralization in decision making.**
• It is **not possible to have a top down approach as size increases**.
• E.g.: **Transnational organisations can be:**
    o **Ethnocentric-** where **power resides in home country**
    o **Polycentric-** where it is **shared** or
    o **Geocentric-** where it's most **flexible.**

SYMBOLIC POWER: PIERRE BOURDIEU

To account for the **tacit**, almost **unconscious modes of cultural/social domination** occurring within the **everyday social habits** maintained over conscious subjects.

• Symbolic power accounts for *discipline used against another to confirm that individual's placement in a social hierarchy*, at times in individual relations but most basically **through system institutions**, in particular **education**.

• Also referred to as "**soft power**", symbolic power **includes actions that have discriminatory or injurious meaning or implications**, such as **gender dominance** and **racism**.

• Symbolic power maintains its effect through the **misrecognition of power relations situated in the social matrix** of a given field.

• While **symbolic power requires a <u>dominator</u>**, it **also requires the <u>dominated</u>** to accept their position in the exchange of social value that occurs between them.

•   The concept of symbolic power was first introduced by **Pierre Bourdieu in La Distinction**.

• Bourdieu suggested that   **cultural roles are more dominant than economic forces**   in determining how **hierarchies of power are situated and reproduced** across societies.

• **Status and economic capital are both necessary to maintain dominance** in a system, **rather than just ownership** over the means of production alone.

• The idea that **one could possess symbolic capital in addition** and set apart from financial capital played a critical role in Bourdieu's analysis of hierarchies of powe

POST MODERN THEORIES:

Michel Foucault

Book 'P o w e r and K n o w l e d g e'

- **Power not concentrated in one place** or in the hands of particular individuals.
- **Power is found in all social relationships** and is not just exercise by the state.
- Power is **intimately linked with knowledge**.

Power and knowledge produce one another

- **Power of the state therefore involves the development of new types of knowledge**, to **collect more information** and **exercise more control** over its population.
- This involves development of **discourses**.
- Foucault **does not just think of power in coercive terms**.
- Paradoxically, *Foucault only sees power as operating when people have some freedom*.

Michel Foucault
Book 'M a d n e s s and C i v i l i s a t i o n'

Book 'Madness and Civilisation'
- Foucault says <u>discourse is practice that systematically forms the objects of which they speak.</u>
- Example **psychiatry created the mentally ill.**
- **Power is part of the discourse** of psychiatry and not something that is held by individual psychiatrist.

Michel Foucault
Book "D i s c i p l i n e and P u n i s h'

Book 'Discipline and Punish'

- Foucault **traced the changes in nature and purpose of punishments** in 18th century.
- By 19th century **punishment changed from that of body to that of soul,** intention changed to reform.
- **People were judged for what they were** instead of what they had done.
- **Motivation behind the crime** began to be taken into account.
- This, Foucault argues, **brought experts into power relations** making discourses carry the power.

Michel Foucault
Book 'P o w e r and K n o w l e d g e'

- He says **power is exercised rather than possessed.**
- When **attempts are made to exercise** power there is **always an element of uncertainty.**
- Foucault believes that **power can sometimes be reversed.**
- Example: Accuracy of a **psychiatrist diagnosis can be questioned.**
- Foucault imagines state to be **Panopticon**.
- Pointing towards **techniques of surveillance** which encourage self discipline.
- With an idea that **humans have a soul that can be manipulated,** with state trying to produce **"Docile Bodie**

MICHAEL MANN

Non-existence of society

• **Human behaviour is not** and has never been **exclusively related to or caused by a particular territory** in which an individual lives.
• In **modern world mass media impacts** in many ways.
• Example - Britain can be analysed as either a country, a part of military alliance NATO or part of economic groupings (like earlier EU).
• Mann said **throughout history there has never been an isolated society**.
• **His idea of power** is the **ability to pursue and attain goals through mastery of the environment.**

Power can take two forms

• **Distributional power**:
o That is **power over others**.
o It is the **ability of individuals to get others to help them** to their own goals.

• **Connected power**:
o Which is **exercised by social groups over one another**, by one nation over another.

Two main ways in which the power can be exercised

• **Extensive power**:
o The **ability to organise large numbers** of people **over far-flung** territories in order to engage in minimally stable corporation.
o Example – Major Religions.

• **Intensive Power**:
o Ability **to organise tightly** and **command high level of mobilisation or commitment** from the participants. Example - Religious sects.

Difference between Authoritative and Diffused power

• **Authoritative power** is exercised when **deliberate commands** are issued. There is a conscious decision to follow them
o Example of football player following the **referee's instruction.**

• **Diffused power** spreads in a **more spontaneous** way. It **involves power relationships** but ones which **operate without commands** being issued.
o   Example – a **company going out of business** not because someone commands it to but because it is unable to compete.

Overall, according to Mann, Sources of power
  - Economic
  - Ideological
  - Political
  - Military

That is, Mann's idea is wider than that of Karl Marx's

Comparison of Mann with others

- **Marxism stresses economic power**
- Pluralism stresses ideological power in democracy
- Elite and State Centered theories emphasize political power.
- However Mann's approach embraces all of these including military power and is, thus, the broadest theoretical approach to power.

POLITICAL PARTIES

They are driven by clear ideologies which influence other members to become part of these organizations which then elect a common leader. This **leader is defined by the ideology and rule of law**.

- **Weber:** Party is an organized group action intended to capture power.
- Party is an ideal type, present in every society.
- **FW Riggs:** Any organisation that nominates candidates to election.
- **TB Bottomore**: Groups with divergent interest form political parties.
o They are a link between state and sectional interest. The ultimate aim is to capture power.
- **Seymour Lipset: parties compete** with each other to gain office.

In a democracy
- Parties represent **popular opinion.**
- They are obligated to **fulfill interest of supporters or else be voted out (Parsons and Aron).**
- They require **support from various groups** so can't only represent sectional interest

Forms of Political Party

Maurice Duverger
- **Mass Based** (China, Cuba. Mostly Socialist or Communist Countries)
- **Cadre Based** (in Democracies) (These are Rank Based, hierarchical, Division of Responsibilities)

Robert Dahl
- **Exterior Party** – Emerging out of external influence. Like CPI in India due to CP China, Russia.
- **Interior Party** – Like Communist Party of USSR.

General Criteria
- **Right**: Gradualism in welfarism.
- **Left**: Radical welfarism
- **Centre**: Balanced.

There are various political system
- Uni-party
- Bi-party
- Multi party

Advantages of Uni-party System

Maurice Duverger
- Political Stability
- Strict adherence to public policy
- Glorification of Nationalism.

Disadvantages of Uni-party System

David Lane
- Voice of people not given due acknowledgement
- Authoritarian govt

Advantages of Bi-party System

Harold Laski
- Autocracy checked. People given 2 distinct ideologies.
- Strong opposition.
- Responsible Govt

Disadvantages of Bi-party System
- **Robert Smith** - Divides the nation.
- In the globalised world, parties follow similar policies.

Advantages of Multi-party System
- True democracy highlighted.
- Suitable for multi-cultural society.
- **Sudipto Kaviraj, Zoya Hassan** – Multi party system true reflection of India's multi-culturalism and maturity of Indian democracy.

Disadvantages of Multi-party System
- Political Confusion
- Unstability
- Opportunistic politics.
- FPTO employed with its own demerits (a small fraction can win the results).
- Elite pluralist parties are governed by leaders who are Elite and elite make critical decisions.

From the perspective of people themselves, **Lester Milbrath classified four types of political participation in a political system –**
I. **Political apathetic** – Totally unaware of the political activities in state.
II. **Political spectators** – Takes part in polling and general discussion only
III. **Transitional activist** – They attend political meetings and raise funds as well.
IV. **Gladiators** – They are the one who enter the political arena and stand in elections

PRESSURE GROUPS

Interest Group - Unlike political parties interest groups **do not aim to form government,** rather they seek to **influence political parties** and the various departments of the state.

• They do not have wide range of interests rather they want to **project a specific interest** (e.g. CII - confederation of Indian Industries).
• When an **interest group seeks governmental aid in achieving its own ends and succeeds in influencing governmental policy to its advantage, then it becomes a pressure group.**

Robert McKenzie
Two types of pressure groups
• **Protective groups:** Defends the interests of a particular section of society, e.g. trade unions, CII (zero-sum game)
• **Promotional groups**: Support a particular cause rather than guard the interests of a particular group- e.g. Greenpeace, PETA etc. **Membership is larger and open** than the protective groups.

Gabriel Almond: Categorized these groups in terms of structural forms as under:
1. **Institutional** interest groups (within the institutions like army and business associations)
    • Generally consist of **legislatures, executives, bureaucracies** etc.
    • A formally organised group. Consists of professional persons. Particularly the bureaucracy.

2. **Non-associational** interest groups- (with similar ascriptive positions)
    • Associations or groups out of human's sociable character. Formed on the basis of different grounds. Same **religion, ethnic group, or kinship.** The members **complain about their non-delegation** to the legislature, or the non-fulfilment of their legitimate demands. Very **common in developing societies** (because stronger ascriptive identities).

3. **Associational** interest groups. (with similar class positions)
    • **Associational groups**- Formed by the trade unions, businessmen, industrialists or professional groups and persons. The articulation of interest by such groups is quite prominent in all political systems. If necessary they launch agitation

4. **Anomic** interest groups (forming spontaneously) (terrorist organization, criminal gang)
    • **Riots or militant** demonstrations. These groups have no permanent structure or organisations.
    • They **spontaneously form agitation** or lead demonstrations.

Another criteria
1. **Insider** - With **access** to power
2. **Outside** the power circles

Permanent and temporary pressure groups...including episodic groups and fire brigade groups:
Whereas some pressure groups are likely to be permanent because they have been formed to address issues which are seen as likely to dominate the political agenda for the foreseeable future others are formed to address issues which are essentially temporary

In their analyses of temporary pressure groups theorists also sometimes distinguish between EPISODIC GROUPS AND FIRE BRIGADE GROUPS.

• Episodic groups are groups which have been **formed for non-political purposes** but which may involve themselves in political questions if they feel that their interests are threatened [e.g. the local

amateur soccer leagues may register their opposition to proposals to sell off playing fields and then return to their usual non-political stance once this "episode" has been resolved.

- **Fire brigade groups are groups which are set up in response to a particular political issue and which may disappear completely once the issue has been resolved** because they no longer have any reason to exist although the group might continue if, FOR EXAMPLE, some of its members decide to support similar campaigns possibly in nearby areas

Durkheim
- In "**Professional Ethics and Civic Morals**" Durkheim calls them **tool for associative democracy.**
- They hold people together and effective **checks on individual** in Industrial society.

Bernard Barber
- They are called **third sector of democracy**

Roles played by pressure group

For parties
- Funds and resources
- **Policy feedback**
- Constructive criticism
- Mobilize support and votes
- **Link between people party and state**
- Conduit for opinion transition

For society
- Control individualism
- Platform
- Grievance venting organ
- Represent sectional interest
- Criticise policies
- **Check Elite rule or authoritarianism**
- Transmit public opinion
- Sensitize people
- Represent disadvantaged

Criticism
- Lobbying between pressure group and state
- Often vulnerable groups left out, only dominant voice is heard.
- Many pressure groups try to capture political power.
- Often disintegrate and lose vigour.
- Can't handle repressive state.

But **Dawes and Hughes** believe that pressure group are continuous mandate for government or parties and democracy can't be conceived without them.

Voting behavior
- **Miliband** - Caters to demands of class, age, gender, race.
- Cross class voting is present

NATION AND NATIONALISM

Nation – Psychological.   **State** – Political.   **Country** – Geographical.

• A nation is a large group or collective of people with common characteristics attributed to them
- including **language, traditions, mores (customs), habitus (habits), and ethnicity**.
• By comparison, a **nation is more impersonal, abstract, and overtly political than an ethnic group**. It is a cultural-political community that has become conscious of its autonomy, unity, and particular interests.

Joseph Stalin
• A nation is not a racial or tribal, but a **historically constituted community of people.**
• A nation is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a **stable community of people**.
• A nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of people living together generation after generation.
• A nation is a **historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture**.

Benedict Anderson : "Imagined community" (Paul James: "Abstract community")
• It is an imagined community in the sense that the material conditions exist for imagining extended and shared connections.
• It is an abstract community in the sense that it is **objectively impersonal**, even if each individual in the nation experiences him or herself as subjectively part of an embodied unity with others.
• For the most part, **members of a nation remain strangers to each other and will never likely meet**
  o **Vance Packard**: Hence the phrase, "a nation of strangers"

Two types of nations
• The **civic nation** of which France was the principal example
• The **ethnic nation** exemplified by the German peoples

Civic nation was traced to the French Revolution and **ideas** deriving from 18th-century **French philosophers** (Driven by the ideas like Liberty, Equality, Fraternity)

Ernest Renan
• **A willingness to "live together",** producing a nation that results from an act of affirmation.

Present day analysis
• Building of national identity sentiments

Ernest Gellner
o Shared, formal educational system
o Cultural homogenization
o Central monitoring of polity, with extensive bureaucratic control
o **Linguistic** standardization
o **National identification as abstract** community
o **Cultural similarity** as a basis **for political legitimacy**
o **Anonymity**, single-stranded social relationships

  • Identifying the **individual and collective mechanisms** within a nation (Duties vs Rights of a citizen)
  • Role of **United Nations** as an international collectivity

- The role a State plays in a nation (**Granville Austin** – in India, the State is making the nation)
- **Nations becoming economies**
- Issues of **Sub-nationalism**

NATIONALISM

It represents an ideology that those with the common identity and characteristics represent distinct political community.

• This political community is unified by territorial boundary.

Ernest Gellner's idea of Nationalism
• Shared, formal **educational** system
• **Cultural homogenisation** and "social entropy" (natural decay of a social system)
• Central **monitoring** of polity, with extensive **bureaucratic control.**
• **Linguistic** standardization.
• National identification as **abstract community** (even relating with those who we haven't ever seen)
• **Cultural similarity as a basis for political legitimacy** (politics relating with cultural aspects to garner legitimacy)

Eric Hobsbawm
• Nationalist ideology represents a **bourgeoisie construct** where capitalism replaced traditional aristocracy and nationalism was the **result of economic capital.**

Albert Cohen
• Nationalism was the result of a reaction to colonialism in third world Nations.

Modern view
• Nationalism develops in peripheral regions **against imbalanced development. Intellectual nationalism** invests with Industrial Revolution and French revolution **Ideological Nationalism** in East on basis of religion, culture, ethnicity, Nationalist ideology **Globalised nationalism** in Middle East (Arab Spring)

Nationalism And Globalisation

With rise of globalization, internationalisation and Cosmopolitanisation
• **Economic globalisation** to pose threat to territorial homogeneity and control the economy of nation state
• **Privatization**, rise of new non state Agencies, civil society organisations, NGOs, etc. would make differentials in society
• People lose a sense of culture **(identity crisis)**

Andrew Pilkington
• **Otherisation**: As the globalisation grew, the idea that we are different from the others also grew. Eventually leading to the proposal of the idea of nation and nationalism. It flew from Elites to lower stratas.
• **Hybrid Identities** – One is English + British + European at the same time
• **Hyphenated** identities (minorities) need to be mainstreamed and protected to form 'inclusive nationalism'.
• **Ernest Gellner**: Nationalism intensifies with global forces. Recent World War 1 and 2 have reinforced National ideologies
• **Stuart hall**: Nationalism provides sense of security to ethnicities amidst turbulence of global forces
• **Ian Robertson**: Migrating communities revive National culture in other Nations

STATE

• **Weber**: State is a "human community that successfully claims monopoly over the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory"

o Other groups might resort to violence, but they are termed as terrorists, or hooligans.

• **Thomas Hobbes** – State exercises Sovereignty.
• **Machiavelli**

o State comprises **institutions** governing members within a **territorial boundary**.
• Members confined in a boundary are deemed **citizens** and enjoy several political, cultural, religious, social and economic **rights.**
• The state is composed, therefore, of both physical and metaphysical or spiritual elements. **These elements are –**
  I. **Population** – A group of human beings, i.e. population
  II. **Territory** – A territory upon which they permanently reside
  III. **Sovereignty** – Internal sovereignty and independence from foreign control
  IV. **Government** – A political organization or agency through which the collective will of the population is expressed, i.e. government

2 problems for contemporary States
• **Territorial**: Posed by **globalisation.**
• **Institutional**: Posed by blurring of boundary between **state and non-state private**

Theories

Pluralist
• State controlled by many parties and organisation and represent interest of all.
• **Lipset: Institutionalization** of class-conflict through parties.
• **Aran**: Power with people in socialist regimes (pluralism)

Elite
• **CW Mills**: State represents Elite interest
• **Michels**: Democracy is rule by oligarchic organisations through Bureaucracy
• Elite interest not put to serious challenge.

Functionalist
• **Parsons** : State needed for two objectives
- Determining goals based on value consensus
- Mobilizing resources for fulfillment.

• **Marxian (state in capitalism)**
- State committed to common interest of capitalist and staffed by ruling class

Relation between ruling class and governing class

• **Stanley Aronowitz:** Capitalist staff is organs of state

- **Ralph Miliband:** State functions to serve capitalist interests. Because of the similar social origins of members of state, government and the personal ties between members of state government and the ruling-class elites (elite self-recruitment)
- **Poulantzas**: The relative autonomy of the state from the capitalist class. The structure of society is capitalist; thus, state is by default capitalistic in nature. No need for capitalists to be there in the governing class.
- **Westergaard and Risler**: **Welfare state a myth**. Still inequality prevails. **Social security** systems **concessions** to suppress proletarian Revolt.

- **Postmodernist: Habermas**
  o Space between **public private is shrinking**
  o **Institutional apparatus serves state interest** at cost of individual Liberty

- **Ralph Milliband** (Marxist) says that state becomes agent of wealthy but direct intervention is not needed (3rd face of indoctrination)

Antonio Gramsci (Neo Marxist):
- No economic determinism but reciprocity in infrastructure and superstructure.
- **Hegemony is achieved not by force but by idea** (concessions /dual consciousness – ideas are not always derived from capitalists)
- **Cultural ideological hegemony**: In culturally diverse society, ruling class manipulate culture (beliefs/ explanations/ perceptions/values) so that it becomes accepted.
- Dominant ideology becomes acceptable/perpetual and beneficial for all (status quo) rather than a fake social construct.
- **Operates through state apparatus.**

Bob Jessop (The future of capitalist state) Neo-Marxist

- **Post Fordist specialised production**
  o Capitalist don't run the state always, as state does not serve their interests
  o **Operational autonomy of the state**: capitalism cannot exist without non capitalist institutions; capitalism merely exercises dominance.
  o In regulationist approach, state can harm capitalism
- **Shift from Keynesian welfare model to Schumpeterian Workfare Economy** (unemployed should seek work) Post national (International competition in knowledge economy) model.
- Various state capacities like military, financial institutions etc. don't necessarily act to achieve same goals.

Louis Althusser

- **Repressive state apparatus**: ruling class controls govt/courts/police/military and even state.
  o People submit due to fear of legal prosecution and police action.

- **Ideological state apparatus**: religion/school/families controlled through ideology (system of ideas and values)
  o People submit due to fear of social ridicule.

- **Nicos Poulantzas** (Neo-Marxist)
  o Emphasized importance of social structure and minimizes of individual action (capitalist)
  o Class origin does not matter, class position does

  o **Relative autonomy of state** (diffuse protests, has to promote myth of inclusiveness, bourgeois are not free from internal divisions)

Critique
- State is stronger than ever
- Economic growth has become important functional duty of state
- Other sources of power than wealth.

Eric A Nordlinger
Although some Marxists and Neo Marxists predicted relative autonomy of state but state is never to go against ruling class. **Nordlinger says that state has autonomy**.

- **TYPE 1:** State has different wishes from major groups (state has resources. Decision making power)
- **TYPE 2:** Persuades opponents to change their mind (active role in manipulating public opinion)
- **TYPE 3:** Apathy of the public (not every group is sure of its demands so leaves it to state)

Theda Skocpol (Bringing the State back in)
- State can have its own goals like reinforce the authority, political longevity etc.
- She talks about state capacity which depends
  - **On reliable income** (taxes from rich)
  - **No foreign debt**
  - Increase in state power by having human resource etc.
- When state capacity decreases only then revolution occurs (e.g. Russian, French, Chinese revolution)

John Baylis and Steve Smith: The globalisation of world politics
Globalisation is a process of increasing interconnection and it has led to a new era in
- Politics (economic transformation) (state has less control over national economy)
- Electronic Communication (no boundaries)
- Global culture
- Homogeneity
- Cosmopolitan culture
- Global polity (UN –NGO)
- Risk culture (AIDS, environment)

But
- Globalisation is not new and it is not reducing power of nation state
- Globalisation has impacted Western societies more where infrastructure is present
- Globalisation has exploited the poor explicitly
- Global problems have emerged like **terrorism, drug, weapon trade, money laundering**
- Global Institutions may not be subject to democratic control.

Leslie Sklair (Sociology of the global system)

Power of transnational companies

- **Transnational practices include:**
  - Economic transnational corporations
  - Political capitalist inspired politician
  - Cultural ideological consumerism
- Globalisation has mostly negative impact that is class polarization and ecological unsustainability

David Held And Anthony McGrew: (Democracy and Cosmopolitan order)

Two types of globalisation

- **Globalists** (economy, global politics, risk)
- **Sceptics** (nothing new about migration and international trade; people have maintained strong national identities)

Transformationalist Stance
- There is nothing new about globalization and in future, it might change direction or can be reversed
- **Globalization is bringing diverse people together which can become source of conflict**

NATION-STATES

Nation-state is a relatively new concept which is used to describe the new political units of modern day. **Nation states are closely associated with the rise of nationalism**. Today, almost all societies exist in form of nation-state as boundaries of 'nation' and 'state' coincide.

- Nation states are states which **confer citizenship rights** – as a means of political unity and in return citizens declare themselves as a part of a single nation – thus giving emotional integrity to the political unit.
- There is no one single definition. But this is a new development. It was not true in the past that a single state could represent only one nation, or that every nation must have its own state.
- For example, when it was in existence, the Soviet Union explicitly recognized that the peoples it governed were of different 'nations' and more than one hundred such internal nationalities were recognized. A different example is provided by 'dual citizenship' laws.

Modern nation-states have three major characteristics –
I. **Sovereignty** – Sovereignty refers to the undisputed political rule of a state over a given territorial area. Today, boundaries of states are clearly defined in most of the cases and state exercises unquestionable sovereignty over these. This was not the case earlier when boundaries were vague.
II. **Citizenship** – People are given **uniform rights** for being a part of a single entity and they also reciprocate by affirming their loyalties to it.
III. **Nationalism** – Individuals also take pride in being part of a national unit.

NATIONS WITHOUT STATES:

The persistence of a well-defined ethnic community within established nations leads to the phenomenon of 'nation without state'. In such cases, many of the essential characteristics of a nation are present, but those who comprise the nation lack an independent political community.

Separatist movements in Chechnya, Kashmir, Scotland, and erstwhile states of USSR manifested such symptoms. An advanced stage is reached with the **rise of nations which have a fair separate identity, but not recognized by world unanimously. For example – Kosovo, Palestine** etc.

There can be different types of nations without state like –
I.   When nation state may accept the cultural differences found among its minority or minorities and allow them a certain amount of active development. As in case of Scotland and Wales in Britain. These areas have separate parliament and educational system, but still greater power remains with the larger nation state.
II.   In some cases, nation state may allow for a higher degree of autonomy. In Quebec in Canada, regional political parties have power to take major decisions without actually being fully dependent.
III.   There are some other nations without states which completely lack recognition from the larger nation state. In such cases, larger nation state uses force or propaganda in order to deny recognition to minority. **Palestine, Tibet and Kurds in Iraq and Syria are such examples**

CITIZENSHIP

A citizen is not one who lives in a nation state, he is not just an inhabitant (aliens also are), he is the one who participates in the process of govt-two way – rights (demands on state) and duties (demand by state).

Harold J Laski says that state is known by rights it maintains. State is not merely a sovereign organization which is entitled to citizen's allegiance. In monarchies, only subjects are there.
- Citizenship has been defined as **legal status of membership in political community**. Citizenship is rights to have rights.

TH MARSHALL defines citizenship as a status, which is enjoyed by a person who is a full member of a community

- **Citizenship has three components:**
  o **Civil** (individual freedom institutionalized in law)
  o **Political** (right to participate in exercise of political power and holding public office)
  o **Social** (right to participate in appropriate standard of living).

- He says that there is **permanent tension between citizenship and capitalist market** (capitalism involves inequality while citizenship involves distribution of sources because of rights).

Marshall theory critique
- Only English experience with no comparative analysis
- Expansionary analysis of citizenship without examining social processes which undermine citizenship (gender differences, discrimination)
- It is not clear about cause of expansion of citizenship

Talcott Parsons says that citizenship **is measure of modernization** of society because it is based on values of universalism and achievement.

Citizenship is treated as an aspect of bourgeois liberalism and sometimes as an aspect of radical democratic politics. Globalization is transcending regionalism and parochial nationalism to make us global citizens. **Dual citizenship is a new phenomenon where connections are more based on convenience rather than love of mother land.**

Ramchandra Guha contends that while in West, citizenship was awarded in a phased manner with a demand from below, while in E**ast it was awarded suddenly as countries got independent and hence people often fail to appreciate citizenship rights and duties.**

According **to Gail Omvedt, citizenship in India has been paradoxical** as it theoretically grants equal rights, but caste dynamics make Dalits lesser citizens when it come for enjoying of democratic rights. Similar is the case with sexual discrimination. She contends that patriarchal society thwarts constitutional gains. Similarly, poverty is also a great handicap.

The terms **"ecological citizenship"** and **"environmental citizenship"** are often used **interchangeably**, but they can have subtle differences depending on context

1. **Scope of Concern:**
   * **Ecological Citizenship:** Broader, encompassing relationships between humans and ecosystems, emphasizing holistic sustainability.
   * **Environmental Citizenship:** More specific, focusing on issues like pollution, conservation, and resource management.
2. **Interconnectedness:**
   * **Ecological Citizenship:** Emphasizes the interconnectedness of social, economic, and environmental systems.
   * **Environmental Citizenship:** Recognizes connections but may place a relatively stronger emphasis on specific environmental issues.
3. **Global vs. Local Orientation:**
   * **Ecological Citizenship:** Often global, acknowledging responsibilities beyond national borders.
   * **Environmental Citizenship:** Can be more local or nationally focused on specific environmental challenges.

State and Citizenship

- State is important political organization but it mainly pursues its objective through law and coercive force
- State role is expanding due to **welfarism** even if as a regulator
- State and citizens often are at opposite end due to difference of opinion on morality, private sentiments, high social values, aspirations etc. E.g. Kashmir

DEMOCRACY

Democracy entails direct participation of all in political process.

- **Gandhi**: It is not a legal phenomenon but a **spiritual one** involving respect for each other and decentralisation of power.
- **Abraham Lincoln**: Rule by people and government by, of, for the people.
- **Pluralist** - democracy requires power at hands of a few to lead and represent.

- **Functionalist (Parsons)** - people bestow power to leaders which could be withdrawn during elections (as in a saving account in a bank)
- Political participation of people at the core of democracy.

Types

Participative
- Direct participation via referendum, recall, plebiscite, initiative.

Representative
- **Agent** based (one who consults the electorate)
- **Delegate** based (one who acts on his own discretion while taking decisions)
- Bestowing responsibility or Power at hands of a few to represent collective interest.

Associative
- In "Professional ethics and Civic morals" by **Durkheim,** Participation via voluntary organisation (socialist society) Sensitize, check on bureaucracy, Civic culture etc.

Critique

- **Bottomore** - pluralist societies - **Undemocratic**: democracy needs social + industrial democracy and equality of all.
- **Marx**: Communist societies are true democracies.
- **R Aran** - communist societies represent all interest. Pluralist represent Elite rule.
- **Lipset and Coleman** find control of Institutions by economic elites but Real democracy requires institutional democracy
- **Robert Michels** (political parties)
- **Iron hand of Oligarchy**
- In representative **democracy** organisation develop **a bureaucratic structure** that itself has various **flaws**.
- **It facilitates few to control** institutional landscape and suppress genuine people's participation.
- **Elite rule** by guile and cunningness.
- Bureaucracy within organisation makes society won't have democracy.
- **Dynasty** Rule
- **Elite Self Recruitment**.
- **Catch-All**: Parties with divergent ideologies tend to become centrist after being voted-in.
- **Illiteracy and ignorance** of populace.
- **Episodic Accountability** - Democracy **limited to voting** only.
- **Limited accountability** mechanism.
- Alexis de Tocqueville - **Tyranny of majority**
- **Steven Lukes** – 3rd Face of Power – State using its power to form opinions of people in its favour.

- **JS Mill:** "If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind".

CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society is community of citizens **linked by common interests and collective identity**. It manifests will and interests of the citizens. It is **third sector of society after govt and business**. It limits power of state and usher in true and vibrant democracy by enhancing participation.

- **JS Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville**: CS is domain of social association which will check excesses of the state. (based on liberal democratic theory: right bearing individuals are free to pursue their private associations with others).
- **Hegel**: Subordinated CS to state as he thought it as **a mediating domain** where particular interests of individual and universal interest of state can be reconciled for producing ethical basis for modern society
- **Antonio Gramsci:** CS furthers dominant ideologies
- **Partha Chatterjee and Sudipta Kaviraj**
o Dealinate western CS from Indian.
o Application of concepts of western CS on India is wrong as state in India is not extensive as on west.

Anthony Giddens
- **Groups which fall outside the market and government both can be termed as civil society.**
Government and the market alone are not enough to solve the many challenges in late modern societies.
- Civil society must be strengthened and joined up with government and business.
- **Voluntary groups, families and civic associations** can play vital roles in *addressing community issues* from crime to education

Anthony Giddens
- Some elements of civil society (often characterised as 'social movements') seek radical transformations of the prevailing order.
- However, civil society also includes reformist elements that seek only modest revisions of existing governance arrangements and conformist elements that seek to reinforce established rules.

Jan Aart Scholte
- Highlighted how civil society can play a very important role in enhancing democracy
  o Public education activities
  o Giving voice to stake holders. For e.g. giving voice to Singur farmers in WB, and unorganised labour
  o Fuel debate about governance. For e.g. highlighting environmental issues.

o **Increasing transparency**: Public scrutiny.
o **Increases public accountability**: Civic groups can monitor the implementation and effects of policies.
o **Fosters legitimacy**: Providing for interaction between people and the government, giving the government legitimacy

- **Caution**
o Civil society can pursue **anti-democratic goals**
o Employ antidemocratic means
o Produce anti-democratic consequences

- But these risks are by no means grounds to exclude civil society, but they give reason to treat it with care.

Characteristic Features of Civil Society –

I. First, civil society is the realm of organized social life that is **open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state** and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules.

II. Second, **civil society is concerned with public ends rather than private ends**. It is an intermediary phenomenon standing between the private sphere and the state.

III. Third, civil society is related to the state in some way, but does not seek to control the state.

IV. Fourth, **civil society encompasses pluralism and diversity**. It encompasses a vast array of organizations, formal and informal, including economic, cultural, informational and educational, interest groups, developmental, issue-oriented and civic groups.

Six parameters to judge quality of NGO
o People's participation
o Cost effectiveness
o Institutional/Environmental/ Financial sustainability
o Accountability
o Technical excellence
o Equity concern for deprived and for women

Civil Society & Democracy

General issues
- Funding and elite run
- Mafia and militia group are part of CS (ideology and propaganda)
- Black money in the name of aid
- Internal democracy lacking and corruption
- Govt agencies are ill equipped to handle CS inputs
- Insensitivity to local cultures (foreign NGOs)

Positives
- People power,
- Empowering citizen,
- New leaders,
- End of tyranny,
- Generate public support

IDEOLOGY

An ideology is a set of **cultural beliefs, values, and attitudes that underlie and justify either the status quo or movements to change it.**
Ideology can also underlie movements for social change, which rely on sets of ideas that explain and justify their purpose and methods.

Marxist view

• A society's dominant ideology is integral to its superstructure
• In the Marxist economic base and superstructure model of society, **base denotes the relations of production and modes of production, and superstructure denotes the dominant ideology** (religious, legal, political systems)
• The **economic base of production determines the political superstructure of a society**
• Ruling class-interests determine the superstructure and the nature of the justifying ideology
• For example, in a feudal mode of production, religious ideology is the most prominent aspect of the superstructure, while in capitalist formations, ideologies such as liberalism and social democracy dominate
• Hence **ideology politically confuses the alienated groups of society via false consciousness**
• Marx argued that "The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production."
• **György Lukács** proposes ideology as a projection of the class consciousness of the ruling class

Antonio Gramsci
• Uses **cultural hegemony** to explain why the working-class have a false ideological conception of what are their best interests
• Gramsci wrote about the power of ideology to reproduce the social structure via institutions like religion and education
• Intellectuals, often viewed as detached observers of social life, enjoy prestige in society
• They **function as the "deputies" of the ruling class**, indoctrinating the populace to follow the norms and rules established by the ruling class.
• Importantly, this includes the belief that the economic system, the political system, and a class stratified society are legitimate, and thus, the rule of the dominant class is legitimate.
• **Karl Mannheim, Daniel Bell, and Jürgen Habermas** - The Marxist formulation of "ideology as an instrument of social reproduction" is conceptually important to the sociology of knowledge.
• **Pierre Bourdieu** - ideology a psychoanalytic insight that ideologies do not include only conscious, but also unconscious ideas

Louis Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses
• Both spiritual and materialistic conception of ideology
• Made use of a special type of discourse: **the lacunar discourse**. A number of propositions, which are never untrue, suggest a number of other propositions, which are
Example, the statement "All are equal before the law", which is a theoretical groundwork of current legal systems, suggests that all people may be of equal worth or have equal "opportunities". This is not true, for the concept of private property and power over the means of production results in some people being able to own more (much more) than others
• The rich can afford better legal representation, which practically privileges them before the law

Ideological State Apparatus - to explain his theory of ideology

• For Althusser, **beliefs and ideas are the products of social practices, not the reverse**.

• What is **ultimately ideological for Althusser are not the subjective beliefs held in the conscious "minds" of human individuals**, but rather discourses that produce these beliefs, the material institutions and rituals that individuals take part in without submitting it to conscious examination and critical thinking

Silvio Vietta: Ideology and Rationality

• Described the **development and expansion of Western rationality from ancient times onwards** as often accompanied by and shaped by ideologies like that of the **"just war", the "true religion", racism, nationalism,** or the vision of future history as a kind of heaven on earth in communism.
• He said that ideas like these became ideologies by giving hegemonic political actions an idealistic veneer and equipping their leaders with a higher and, in the "political religions" (Eric Voegelin), nearly God-like power, so that they became masters over the lives (and the deaths) of millions of people.
• He considered that **ideologies therefore contributed to power politics** irrational shields of ideas beneath which they could operate as manifestations of idealism.

END OF IDEOLOGY DEBATE
The Current status of ideology in the world was reviewed in mid – 1950s and in 1960s. IN **WESTERN LIBERAL- DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES, IT WAS DECLARED THAT THE AGE OF IDEOLOGY HAD COME TO AN END.** These countries LOOKED AT IDEOLOGY AS A TOOL OF TOTALITARIANISM which had no place in open societies.

'**END OF IDEOLOGY'** ALSO IMPLIED THAT AT THE **ADVANCED STAGE OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**, A COUNTRY'S SOCIAL – ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IS DETERMINED BY THE LEVEL OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, AND NOT BE ITS POLITICAL IDEOLOGY. In other words, capitalist and communist countries were bound to evolve similar characteristics at the advanced stage of their industrial development, irrespective of their ideological differences.

Collective action

•Group of people engaged in some sort of **interaction, within the group** as well as **with other groups**, which creates a **collective identity**.

•**In sociology collective action is treated differently from individual action and can be classified in terms of (DISCOO)**
- o Duration
- o Ideology
- o Structure (under what structure is the collective action happening, Authoritative or Democratic)
- o Consequences
- o Objective
- o Organisation.

- **Individual Action → Social Action → Collective Action**

Protest
- The **process** of opposition against any other **person, group,** issue or even society.

Agitation
- The **activity** of showing opposition **to fulfil the purpose of protest.**
- **Both** agitation and protest are **interrelated** and **mutually exclusive**. Visible at manifest and latent levels.

Agitation
- **Manifest** – Verbal Comments, Expression of angers, disruptive activities, sometimes rioting
- **Latent** – Inaction, inefficient behaviour, distress, tension, disillusionment, alienation
- Common Interest + Collective Action = Protests/Agitation.

TYPES

Both could be
- **Organised** (Socio-Religious Movements of 19th Century)
- **Unorganised** (Rioting, blockade)
- **Acceptability** (Acceptability in the society. Anna Hazare movement)
- **Non-Acceptability** (Non-Acceptability in the society. LGBT protests, Slut Walk)
Protests – Mostly non-violent
Agitation – Mostly violent

Ghanshyam Shah: Gave testing criteria of Protest or Agitation

- "**Compulsive Demand**" in Agitation

o E.g. – Salt Satyagraha, Anna Hazare's Fast unto Death.

Causes

General Causes
- Dissatisfaction (with the prevalent conditions)
- Dissent (Manifest. Difference of opinion)
- Disagreement (Latent)

- Relative Deprivation
- Strain
- Vested Interest

Special Causes
- Precipitating Factor
- Specific Demands

When same thing is
- **Spontaneity in Start**
- **Sustained**
- **Non-Institutional** (by not being a part of the state)
- **Organised** (to achieve certain objective)

it becomes **Movement**.

Example – Driver beaten after an accident is not a movement because it is not sustained, but Sanskritisation by Rajvanshis is

SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Leadership
- Objective
- Ideology

Gives longevity to movement
- E.g. Bhoodan Movement, Naxal Movement.

Social Movements are
- Collective action
- By a large number of people
- Which is **directed towards – Changing (Promoting or Resisting) some of the values, norms** and social relations in a society.

Difference between Protest, Agitation and Social Movement

o **Social** movements are **essentially collective** action (**Agitation** and **Protests** can be **individualised**)
o SM are **broader** in terms of influence and reach
o SM are **sustained** in nature
o SM are **non-institutional** in character
o SM are **preceded by Protests** and **Agitation**

Therefore, all SM are collective actions but not vice versa

Anthony Giddens

"**Collective** attempts to further a common interest or secure a common goal through action **outside** the sphere of established institutions"

Anthony Giddens states that some recent changes have been taking place in modernity. He **believes modernity is developing into a phase which may be called high modernity or radicalised modernity.**

He identifies 4 dimensions of modernity
1. **Capitalism**: Private ownership
2. **Industrialism**: Mass production using machines
3. **Surveillance**: Supervision of activities of subjects
4. **Military Power**: Control of means of violence

According to Giddens SMs develop corresponding to these 4 dimensions
1. Labour movements
2. Ecological movements
3. Free speech/democratic movements
4. Peace

Giddens believes ecological and peace movements are relatively new phenomenon which have come up with globalisation and more awareness.

Social movements often arise with the aim of **bringing about change** on a

- **Public issue**, such as expanding civil rights for a segment of the population

- **In response** to social movements, counter-movements sometimes arise in defence of the status quo
- Example - **Abortion** movements **vs Prolife movements**

The **American civil rights movement succeeded in pushing through important pieces of legislation outlawing racial segregation in schools and public places.**

TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

REFORM MOVEMENTS: Collective attempt to **change some parts of a society without completely transforming it.** It accepts the basic pattern of the social order of that society and orients itself around an ideal. It **makes use of those institutions such as the press, the government, the school, the church and so on to support its programme**. These usually rise on behalf of some distressed or exploited group. **Reform movements are almost impossible in an authoritarian society**. Such movements are mainly possible in democratic societies where people tolerate criticism.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS: Such a movement seeks to overthrow the existing system and replace it with a totally different one. **Revolutionary movements aim at reconstructing the entire social order.** They Challenge the existing norms and propose a new scheme of values.
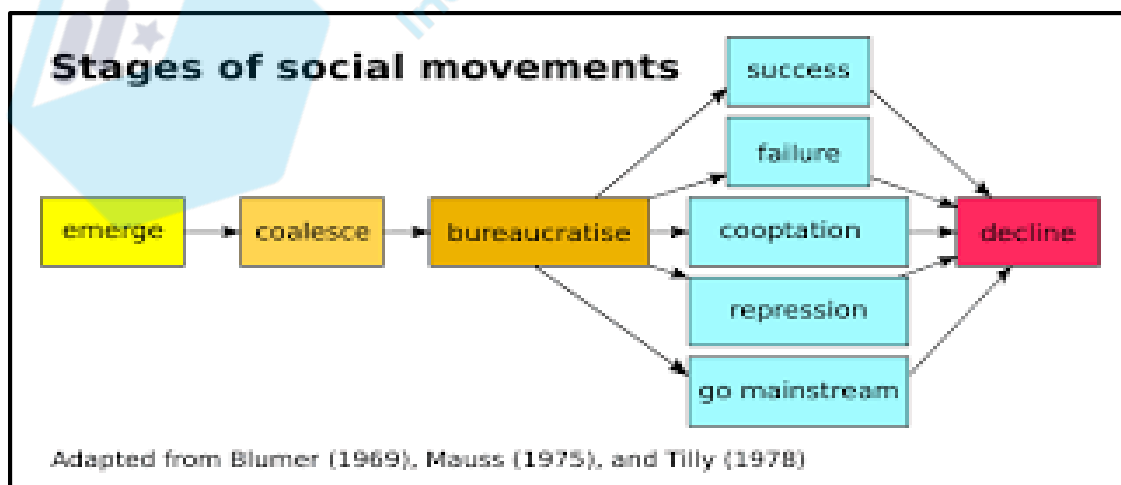
RESISTANCE OF REACTIONARY MOVEMENTS: These arise among people who are dissatisfied with certain aspects of change. The **movement seeks to recapture or reinstate old values.**

MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS: When a large number of people migrate due to discontent and or due to shared hope for a better future in some other land.
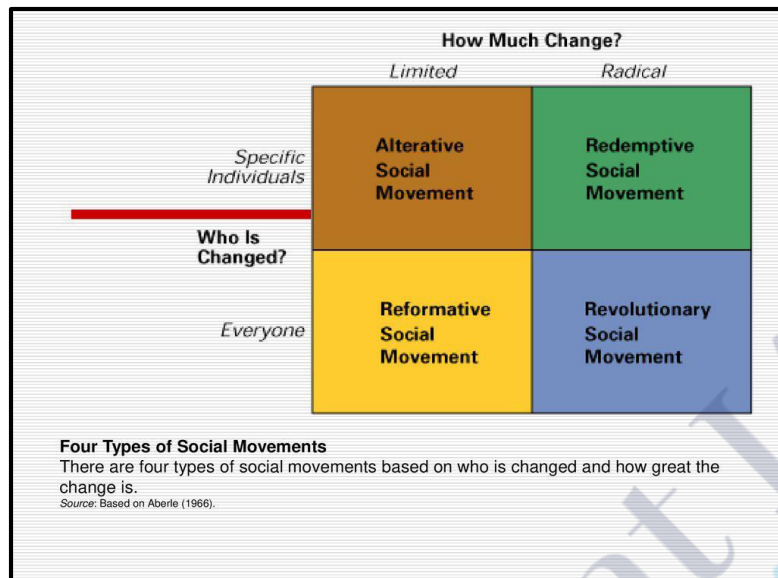
REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT

Charles Tilly
- Social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others
- For Tilly, social movements are a **major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics**

Stages of social movements

emerge → coalesce → bureaucratise → success / failure / cooptation / repression / go mainstream → decline

Adapted from Blumer (1969), Mauss (1975), and Tilly (1978)

On the basis of nature of change, **David Aberle has classified social movements into four types**.

How Much Change?

	Limited	Radical
Specific Individuals	**Alterative Social Movement**	**Redemptive Social Movement**
Everyone	**Reformative Social Movement**	**Revolutionary Social Movement**

Who Is Changed?

Four Types of Social Movements
There are four types of social movements based on who is changed and how great the change is.
Source: Based on Aberle (1966).

- An alternative movement suggests limited change at an individual level. Further, this **classification of Aberle is an ideal type, actual social movement may differ and may be a combination of these**. For example birth control drives.
- A redemptive social movement **aims to bring about a change in the personal consciousness and actions of its individual members.** For instance, people in the Ezhava community in Kerala were led by Narayana Guru to change their social practices.
- **Reformist social movements strive to change the existing social and political arrangements through gradual, incremental steps.** Brahmo Samaj in 19th century the recent Right to Information campaign are examples of reformist movements.
- Revolutionary social movements **attempt to radically transform social relations, often by capturing state power**. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia that deposed the Czar to create a communist society.

On basis of Ideology
- Marxian
- Gandhian
- Feminist
- Anti-state
- Anti-Society

Status Inconsistency Theory – According to **Broom and Lenski**, objective discrepancy between people's ranking and status dimension – e.g., education, income, occupation – generate subjective tensions in the society leading to **cognitive dissonance, discontent and protest.**

Revitalization Theory – It was given by **Wallace**. Though social movements express dissatisfaction and dissent against the system, they may also offer a positive alternative. Indeed they may be started for revitalizing the existing system which is undergoing structural strain. They thus **provide alternative and are also called as 'Positive Movements'**

Herbert Blumer - Theory of social unrest

- Blumer saw social movements as **motivated by dissatisfaction with some aspects of current society**, which they sought to rectify (outside the sphere of formal party politics). In doing so, they were trying to build a 'new order of life'

Types

- **'Active'** or **outwardly directed**, aiming to transform society

  - **E.g.** An example of the former would be the labour movement, which **aimed to radically change capitalist societies** in egalitarian ways

- **'Expressive' or inwardly directed**, trying to change the people who become involved

  - E.g. 'New Age' movements, which encourage people to transform their inner selves

- In practice most **social movements involve both active and expressive elements**

• As movement activists and supporters undergo changes in their self-identity as a result of campaigns to change society.

• Many environmental campaigns, for example, are **explicitly aimed at preventing environmental damage, but in the process, they often generate an increasing self-identification** with the natural world, thereby transforming people's perception of self.

Life cycle- (SPFI)

Involves four consecutive stages

• **Social ferment -->** when people are agitated about some issue but this is **relatively unfocused and disorganized.**
• **Popular excitement-->** This develops into a stage of '**popular excitement'** during which the sources of **people's dissatisfaction are more clearly defined** and understood.
• **Formal organisation--** In the third stage, formal organizations are normally created which are able to bring about a higher level of coordination to the emerging movement and a more effective campaigning structure is put in place.
• **Institutionalisation-->** Finally comes 'institutionalization', in which the movement, which was originally outside mainstream politics, comes to be accepted as part of the wider society and political life.

Of course, some movements partly succeed, while others completely fail. Some endure over quite long periods of time, while others simply run out of finances or enthusiasm, thus ending their life-

(also, Tilly –

Critics

• Studies tended **not to explore the rational decisions** This aspect was left for later scholars to pursue and **strategies** of movement activists
• Critics argued that these were **largely descriptive accounts** that did not really pay enough attention to explanations that were able to connect social movement activity to changes in the social structure.

Neil Smelser: Strain theory (CS GF AC)

Smelser argued that six **'value-added' elements** are necessary for a social movement to develop:

• **Structural conduciveness**: Structural context has to be **conducive to movement formation**. For example, in authoritarian societies there may be very little scope for people to gather together in large groups or to demonstrate legally against things they oppose
• **Structural strain:** There needs to be a strain between people's expectations and social reality.
• **Generalised beliefs:** If the first two conditions are met, then it is necessary for generalized beliefs about the causes of strain to develop and spread in order to convince people of the need to join or form a social movement.
• He sees such generalized beliefs as often quite primitive and based on wish fulfilment, rather than rationally thought through.
• **Precipitating Factors**: These are essentially events that act as sparks to ignite the flame of protest action. A good example of this would be the removal of Rosa Parks from a racially segregated bus in the USA in 1955, which triggered protests and became a key event in the black civil rights movement. Without them, the process of movement formation may be stalled for a long period.
• **Tunisia** – Vegetable Vendor self-immolated, started Arab Spring

Mobilization for action:
• Having witnessed a precipitating event, the next value-added element is effective communication via the formation of an active social network which allows activists to perform some of the functions necessary for successful protest and organization-building; writing and distributing pamphlets. organizing demonstrations, taking membership fees and so on. All of this activity requires a higher level of networking and social networking. (made possible in today's times by internet)

- **Failure of social control**: The final causal factor in Smelser's model is the response of the forces of social control. The response of authorities can be crucial in closing down an emergent social movement or creating opportunities for it to develop.
- **Sometimes an over-reaction by authorities can encourage others to support** the movement, especially in our media-dominated age. Theda Skocpol calls it—**Decrease in State Capacity.**

Critical points
- In focusing attention on generalized beliefs, Smelser's model implied that **individuals are motivated to start social movements for irrational reasons,** rooted in misleading ideas about their situation
- This fell back into an older tradition that saw **movements as unusual or marginal phenomena**
- Smelser's theory was also **structural functionalist in orientation,** setting social movements in the context of their adaptive function during periods of rapid social change

Contemporary significance
- Smelser's work on social movements has deservedly received more attention in recent years and is undergoing something of resurgence
- It still offers a **multi-causal model** of movement formation and even critics have extracted elements from it - such as ideas within resource mobilization theory, political opportunity structures and frame analysis - which have proved very productive

Similarly, **his model connects movement activism to social structures** and may provide insights into the rise of new social movements

REVOLUTION

A forcible overthrow of a government or social order, in favour of a new system.

• A revolution is a **fundamental change in political power or organizational structures** that takes place in a relatively short period of time.
• Generally, the population rises up in revolt against the current authorities

Aristotle described two types of political revolution:
1. Complete change from one constitution to another
2. Modification of an existing constitution

• The most dramatic and far-reaching example of non-orthodox political action is revolution - the **overthrow of an existing political order by means of a mass movement, using violence**. Revolutions are tense, exciting and fascinating events; understandably, they attract great attention
• Yet for all of their high drama, revolutions occur relatively infrequently
• Any sudden change in government of a society brought about violently often called coup- **de'etat or Palace revolution.**
• More broadly it's a complete change of social structure where political change reflects one of its manifestations
• Revolution may be due to political, economic and social other factors or a combination of all on any of these

Theories of Revolution

• **J curve theory** of revolution - believe that it's a result of relative deprivation when period of economic prosperity are reversed.

Marxian view
• Describe nature of revolution where changes brought about in economic organisation results in change in political structure
• For **Marx history of society was history of struggle between the classes** (replacement of one mode of production by another is involved in a revolution)
• Analyses India where periodic changes led to changes in mode of production
• **Marxists view revolution in terms of either**
  o As struggle between two classes
  o Conflict in mode of production

• Many believed that Revolution would occur where the social contradictions are more prominent.
o **Example**: collapse of socialism in Soviet replaced by multi-party

• **Fukuyama** (End of History) - Democracy and economic capitalism called true revolution.
• **Althusser** believed that Revolution would **occur in weak link** in chain of capitalism where social contradictions are more prominent
• **Theda Skocpol** – Revolutions occur when state capacity weakens. (Russian, French, Chinese)

RMT developed in the late 1960s and 1970s, partly as a reaction to social unrest theories, which appeared to portray social movements as 'irrational' phenomena.

Oberschall, Tilly, Zald, and McCarthy

- Capitalist societies produce chronic discontent so there should be perpetual movements
- Social unrest is always present and movements therefore cannot be explained by reference to it

Cause

- Chronic discontent turns into social movements when necessary *resources* are available to effectively challenge the established order

RMT

- Political dissatisfaction is not enough to bring about social change
- Resources are needed to become an active force in society
- RMT have an **economistic feel**.
- There are **similarities between social movements and the competitive market economy**.
- There is a competitive field of movements - a '**social movement industry' (SMI)-** within which movements compete for scarce resources, members, and activists
- Social movement organizations (SMOs) therefore find themselves in competition with other SMOs, some of which may appear to share their aims

Critics

- RMT underplays the effects of post-industrialism or globalization processes in bringing change on Social Movements. These may change the context of movement struggles.
- One-off incidents, like reporting of an asylum-seeking kid dying while crossing the seas, stirred the European community to change their asylum policy.
- A lack of resources can be turned to a movement's advantage. Example - 'Poor people's movements' in the USA.
- This was because activists in the early stages were very enthusiastic and took part in many direct actions such as strikes and sit-ins.
- But once they became more effectively organized, direct actions became fewer and the **'dead hand of bureaucracy, as described by Max Weber and Robert Michels**, took over as the movements lost momentum and impact.
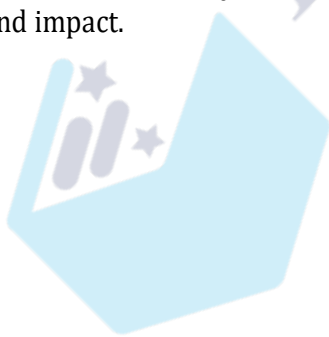
RELIGION AND SOCIETY

a) Sociological theories of religion.

b) Types of religious practices: animism, monism, pluralism, sects, cults.

c) Religion in modern society: religion and science, secularization, religious revivalism, fundamentalism.

What is Religion?
• Religion often involves something sacred
• Some prayers
• Some god like thing
• The way people make sense of the world
• Shared stories
(McGuire, 2007)

Various forms of Religion
• **Theism** (worship of a god or gods as in Christianity, Islam, Hinduism)
• **Ethicalism** (adherence to certain principles to lead a moral life as in Buddhism and Taoism)
• **Animism** (spirits as part of the natural world as in Totemism)

Important Quotes to Begin With

Marx: (Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, 1844)
• Opiate of the Masses
• Man makes religion, religion does not make the man

Friedrich Engels
• All religion is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily lives
• Religion is associated with illusory happiness of men

Max Weber: (while traveling to USA read and noted in **Benjamin Franklin's "Necessary Hints to Those That Would be Rich" (1736)** certain statements that he believed originated from Calvinist teachings and helped emerged the "spirit of capitalism")
• Time is Money
• Credit is Money
• Money begets Money
• A penny saved is penny earned

Figure 16.1: Percentages of Religious Adherents Worldwide

- 0.8% Other religions[b]
- 0.2% Jews
- 5.9% Folk religionists[a]
- 7.1% Buddhists
- 31.5% Christians
- 15.0% Hindus
- 16.3% Unaffiliated
- 23.2% Muslims

[a] Includes followers of African traditional religions, Chinese folk religions, Native American religions, and Australian aboriginal religions.
[b] Includes Bahá'ís, Jains, Sikhs, Shintoists, Taoists, followers of Tenrikyo, Wiccans, Zoroastrians, and many other faiths.

SOURCE: Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. 2012.

Durkhem:
• The sociologist's task is not to determine which religions are true and which are false.
• Religion's representations are collective representations that express collective realities.

> The Arunta [a member of an Aboriginal tribe] who has properly rubbed himself with his *churinga* [a sacred stone or wooden object] feels stronger; he is stronger. The soldier who falls defending his flag certainly does not believe he has sacrificed himself to a piece of cloth. Such things happen because social thought, with its imperative authority, has a power that individual thought cannot possibly have. (1917/1995, p. 229)
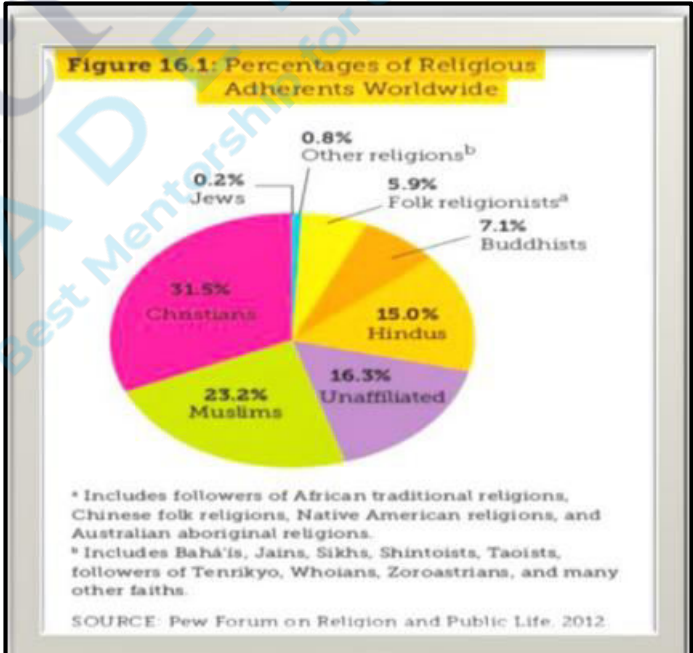
DEFINING RELIGION:

- **Ronald Robertson** - It refers to the existence of Supernatural beings which have a governing effect on life.
- But, according to Malcolm Hamilton certain belief systems such as Buddhism don't contain a belief in supernatural beings. Thus, defining religion is a tough and complex task.

PERSPECTIVES:

Evolutionists Tried to explain religion in terms of human needs.

- **August Comte** – animism, polytheism, monotheism
- **Durkheim** – From totemic practices to present day complex religions
- **Edward Tylor** -religion is a response to man's intellectual needs
- **Max Muller** - religion is a response to man's emotional needs

Various classical or evolutionary theories regarding origin of religion can be grouped into two broad categories:

- **Intellectual Theories –** They were the earliest theories of religion. They were **based on primitive logic**. These theories include – **Soul Theory by Comte; Dreams Theory of Spencer; Theory of Animism of Tylor**
- **Psychological Theories or Emotional Theories –** They are based on a particular mental state like fear. **Malinowski** gave a theory based on emotional stress, **Sigmund Freud** considers religion as a result of guilt, **Frazer** also gave a theory of 'naturism'.

INTELLECTUAL THEORY:

EDWARD B. TYLOR:

ANIMISM refers to THE BELIEF/FAITH that NOT ONLY HUMANS, BUT NON-HUMAN ENTITIES ARE SPIRITUAL BEINGS, OR AT LEAST EMBODY SOME KIND OF LIFE-PRINCIPLE. Animism encompasses the beliefs that THERE IS **NO SEPARATION BETWEEN THE SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL (OR MATERIAL) WORLDS**, AND SOULS OR SPIRITS EXIST, NOT ONLY IN HUMANS, BUT ALSO IN ALL OTHER ANIMALS, PLANTS, ROCKS, NATURAL PHENOMENA such as thunder, geographic features such as mountains or rivers, or other entities of the natural environment

According to **SIR EDWARD B. TYLOR, ANIMISM MEANS THE BELIEF IN SPIRITS. E.B. TAYLOR in his famous book "Primitive Culture"** developed "the thesis of animism" and subsequently he developed the distinction between "magic, religion and science"

- According to him, Man's ideas of spirits primarily **ORIGINATED from his dream**s. In his dreams man, for the first time, encountered with his double. He realized that his double or duplicate is MORE DYNAMIC AND ELASTIC than his own self. He further considered that his double, though resembled his body, **IT IS FAR MORE SUPERIOR IN TERMS OF QUALITY from his body**
- Taking this fact into consideration **'PRIMITIVE MIND' CONSIDERED THAT WHEN MAN SLEEPS THE 'ANIMA OR SOUL' MOVES OUT OF THE BODY OF MAN 'TEMPORARILY' AND WHEN HE IS DEAD IT LEAVES OUT THE BODY 'PERMANENTLY'**. Thereafter man generalized that "EVERY EMBODIMENT, WHICH IS SUBJECTED TO BIRTH, GROWTH AND DECAY, IS OBVIOUSLY ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMA OR SPIRIT". Hence, trees, rivers, mountains, which are greatly subjected to decay and expansion, were considered as the embodiments in which soul is present. Realizing this, "**MAN STARTED WORSHIPPING ALL THESE EMBODIMENTS AND THAT IS HOW ANIMISM AS A SPECIFIC FORM OF RELIGIONS CAME INTO BEING".**
- According to Taylor, the most ancient form of animistic practice is manifested in terms of ANCESTOR WORSHIP
- Man realized that his **ANCESTORS AFTER THEIR DEATH CONVERT INTO SPIRITS OR SOULS WHO MAY BE "BENEVOLENT" OR "MALEVOLENT"**. Realizing this, in order to convert these 'spirits or souls' as 'protecting spirits', man made them 'periodic offerings'. In primitive communities this is known as Ancestor cult and Ghost Worship.
- **IN MANY ANIMISTIC WORLD VIEWS, the HUMAN BEING IS OFTEN REGARDED AS ON A ROUGHLY EQUAL FOOTING WITH OTHER ANIMALS, PLANTS, AND NATURAL FORCES**. Therefore, it is morally imperative to treat these agents with respect. IN THIS WORLD VIEW, humans are considered a part of nature, rather than superior to,

or separate from it. In such societies, ritual is considered essential for survival, as it wins the favor of the spirits of one's source of food, shelter, and fertility and wards off malevolent spirits.

- In more elaborate animistic religions, such as Shinto, there is a greater sense of a special character to humans that sets them apart from the general form of animals and objects, while retaining the necessity of ritual to ensure good luck, favorable harvests, and so on

- Most animistic belief systems hold that the spirit survives PHYSICAL DEATH. **In some systems, the "ANIMA OR SPIRIT" is believed to pass to an easier world of abundant land** or ever-ripe crops, while in other systems, the spirit remains on earth as a ghost, often malignant. Still other systems combine these two beliefs, holding that the soul must journey to the world without becoming lost and thus wandering as a ghost. Funeral, mourning rituals, and ancestor worship performed by those surviving the deceased are often considered necessary for the successful completion of this journey.

- **FROM THE BELIEF IN THE SURVIVAL OF THE DEAD arose the practice of offering food**, lighting fires, etc., at the grave, at first, maybe, as an act of friendship or filial piety, later as an act of ancestor worship. The simple offering of food or shedding of blood at the grave develops into an elaborate system of sacrifice.

Contemporary animist traditions
- **African traditional religions**, a group of beliefs in various spirits of nature,
- In the **Canary Islands (Spain), aboriginal Guanches** professed an animistic religion.
- **Shinto, the traditional religion of Japan, is highly animistic**. In Shinto, spirits of nature, or kami, are believed to exist everywhere, from the major (such as the goddess of the sun), which can be considered polytheistic, to the minor, which are more likely to be seen as a form of animism.
- There are some Hindu groups which may be considered animist. The coastal Karnataka has a tradition of praying to spirits.
- The New Age movement commonly purports animism in the form of the existence of nature spirits and fairies.

The Ghost Theory or Dreams Theory of Spencer:

Spencer in mid 19th century in his three volumes of **'Principles of Sociology, 1876-96'** constructed the first systematic theory of religion.
- Spencer shows the primitives to be rational though with a limited quantum of knowledge.
- Similarly 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. The event of death is also considered by the primitives as a longer period of insensibility.
- **This idea of duality is extended by them to animals, plants and material object.**
- According to Spencer, the appearance of dead persons in dreams is taken by the primitives to be the evidence of temporary after life. This leads to the **conception of a supernatural being in the form of a ghost**.
- According to Spencer, the idea of ghosts grows into the idea of gods and the ghosts of ancestors become divine beings. Spencer's conclusion is that 'ancestor worship is the root of every religion'. He also took an evolutionary view and according to him, it is followed by polytheism and finally monotheism

EMOTIONAL THOERY OF RELIGION:

Naturism or Nature Myth –
- It is the belief that the forces of nature have supernatural power. Man used to see forces of nature with various emotions – awe, fear, respect and so on.
- **Max Muller developed the theory of naturism**. He was a great scholar of Sanskrit and was very interested in ancient Indian gods.
- He held that **grand natural objects gave people a feeling of the infinite.**

- Max Muller argued that with the passage of time the symbolic representations came to gain an independent identity of their own and became separated from that which they represented. **The attributes or the symbols became personified as deities (Indra Devta – for rain, Agni Devta – for fire and so on).**
- According to Muller human beings and nature stand in a relationship of awe, wonderment, terror, etc.
- Early human beings could not understand or explain the world of nature. They ended up worshipping it out of fear and awe out of dependency and as a token of respect.
- **Frazer holds that primitive man was in a state of continuous struggle with nature.** The chanting and other rituals were developed by him to control nature which he thought of as magical. When man was overpowered by nature, he used to perform these to propitiate nature. **Herbert Spencer, Edward Tylor and Andrew Lang were the main critics of nature-myth theories.**

Emotional Stress Theory –
- **Malinowski uses data from small scale non-literate societies** to develop his thesis on religion and he chose Trobriand Island off the coast of Guinea for his field work.
- Like Durkheim, he saw religion as **reinforcing social norms and promoting social solidarity,** but he doesn't see religion as a symbol of society.
- According to him, religion is concerned with specific areas of social life namely situation of stress which threaten social solidarity.
- **Anxiety and tension tend to disrupt social life**. Situations which produce these emotions include crisis of life such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. Death is most disruptive of them all.
- At the time of death and funeral, members of society support the bereaved and this expression of **solidarity re-integrates society.**
- Second category of events is the events which are not **fully predictable or controllable** by man and hence produce anxiety. For example, during fishing in open sea, Trobriand Islanders have apprehensions about storms, amount of catch and so on. So, they make some rituals before going for fishing in open sea.
- Such rituals help in **reducing the anxiety** as they provide confidence and a feeling of control. Like funeral ceremonies, fishing rituals are also social events. Religion promotes social solidarity by dealing with the situation of emotional stress.

Functionalists:

Yinger – A system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with the ultimate problems of life.

Problems with the definition –
- **It includes a wide variety of belief systems, including Communism.**
- Assumes certain roles of the religion which may vary with society and time
- "Ultimate Problem" are subjectively interpreted.
- Many other mechanisms address problems, like medicine and leisure.
- Changes the emphasis from human to society's needs.
- Society requires a certain degree of social solidarity, value consensus, harmony, and integration. **The function of religion is the contribution it makes to meetings such as functional prerequisites.**

Durkheim: Sacred and Profane
- **Sacred** – Produces awe, veneration, and respect. Greater power to direct human beings.
- **Profane** – Does not.
- **Totemism**: Material representation of a non-material force.
- Collective worship, integration of society.
- **Worshipping Ancestors** – nothing but propagating Social Values. But modern life religious objects are often not treated with veneration.

Criticism –
- Generalised on the basis of one aborigine group only
- Data has doubtful validity
- Relevant in a small, non-literate society. Less in modern, multi-cultural society.
- Overstates religion as keeper of collective conscience.
- Sometimes religion with loggerheads with societal values.

Malinowski
- Malinowski – **Trobriand Islands, New Guinea.**
- Religion promotes social solidarity by dealing with situations of emotional stress that threaten the stability of society

Chaves & Higgins
- Churches are providers of mental health and psychological well-being.
- More so, in the face of marginalization and hostility.
- A kind of collective self-help, political activism, social networking and community involvement.

Marxist View of Religion –
- Karl Marx viewed religion from a conflict point of view and termed it as **opium of masses** which numbs their sufferings resulting from class exploitation.
- According to Marx, **'Man makes religion, religion doesn't make man'.**
- Man are made into believing that power lies in the supernatural and not with men themselves. Religion appears as the external force controlling man's destiny, but in reality it is man-made.
- Religion is also a reflection of relationship involved in process of production. Religion doesn't exist in a communist society as the social conditions which produce it disappear.
- According to Lenin 'Religion is a kind of spiritual gin which in which the slaves of capitalism drown their human shapes and their claim to any decent life'.

WHY IS RELIGION AN OPIUM FOR THE MASSES:
- He gives example of Christianity as a movement of the oppressed led by Christ against oppressive rule of Roman Empire.
- **Religion dulls the pain of oppression** by promising a paradise in afterlife, making virtue of suffering and by doling out hopes of supernatural intervention.
- **Religion also justifies the position of a man** in particular strata as in case of Hinduism, Karma theory justifies even a highly rigid caste system. Poverty and misfortune are depicted as divine will and punishment for sins of the individual. Religion, thus, makes poverty more bearable.
- **Ruling class also adopts religious beliefs to justify their actions to others.** In feudal England, there was collusion between feudal lords and Church. While the former gave donations to the Church, the latter would often legitimized the powers of lords from the pulpit.

Criticism
- Religion does not always legitimizes the powerful.
- It can sometimes provide an impetus for change.
- Religion did not die out in Communism as Marx predicted.

Neo – Marxists

Otto Maduro - Relative autonomy of religion.
- He believes that members of the clergy can develop revolutionary potential where oppressed members have no outlet for grievances and can pressurize the priests to take up their cause.
- These conditions led to the **development of Liberation Theology.**

- **Bryan Turner** has talked about changing roles of religion in modern society, where religion is also promoting consumerism in youth.

Feminist Perspective

Religion is a product of patriarchy. An instrument of domination and oppression.
- **Giddens -** Christian religion is a resolutely male affair. God is the father, a male figure.
- **Karen Armstrong** – All major religions a male affair. Women have been relegated to marginal positions.
- **Jean Holm –** Women do have some role in religion, but it is always subordinate and in private sphere.
- **Mary Daly** – Religious language, images need to be changed. They perpetuate the sexist world.
- **Nawal El Saadawi** – The hidden face of eve – Religion only one aspect of wider patriarchal system, which needs to be overthrown by struggle.
- **Simone De Beauvoir** – Book "The second Sex" – Women do much of the work for religious organizations, introduce children to religious beliefs, yet are exploited by religion. So, there must be a religion for women.
- **Carol Christ** – Thea-logy, replacing theology. Thea means Goddess.

Why more women are active in religious organizations than men
- Women are more active in religious organizations than men, either because they are socialized to be the more virtuous of the sexes or because they feel a greater need for the kind of social and financial support the church offers.
- **Jennifer Glass end Jerry Jacobs (2005)** show that evangelically reared women are less interested in their careers and more interested in their families and get married and bear children earlier than other women do. Some sociologists interpret such findings as evidence that these conservative faiths breed gender inequality

Why many women have little or no interaction with any form of organised religion?
- **Sociologist Susan Crawford** has been conducting research with lower-class religious women.
- She writes that "religious faith played an important role in their lives,' yet most of them had little or no interaction with churches, mosques, or other forms of organised religion.

Why were they staying away?
- Some was logistics.
- **Crawford says "about half my sample was homeless, living in long-term homeless shelters" but another third 'talked about stigma as a reason, feeling unwelcomed by religious communities because they were poor and didn't have money for the collection basket"**
- Many of the women who did not feel welcome at church made religion a part of their daily lives by praying in the bathroom at work or introducing their children to "faith practices at home," like religious stories and religious video clips.
- Though outside of organized religion, they actively "drew on faith as source of resilience and survival"

Why more elderly become religious?

Both men and women tend to become more religious with age.
Rodney Stark and Willaim S. Bainbridge (1987):
- They believe this happens because of the increased need for social support systems as well as the heightened search for answers to life's big questions.
Dillion and Wink, 2003:
- This increased religiousness is associated with increased levels of altruism and feelings of purposefulness in life's everyday activities, which help people age more gracefully

Rational Choice Theories

- Religion is seen in similar terms to a market in which individual consumer choices are important in determining whether a particular religion is successful or not.
- Consumers of religions have choices to choose a religion. It **rejects Secularism.**

Stark and Bainbridge – Religion and Compensators theory.
- **Compensator** – a belief that a reward will be obtained in a distant future or in some other context which cannot be verified.
- Compensator brings in the idea of the supernatural.
- **On Secularism** – It is not there. Because religion answers universal questions and its compensators meet universal human needs.
- There is increasing religious pluralism as people have sought new sources of compensators.

Roger Finke and Rodney Stark write in The Churching of America from 1776-1990 (1992) that different people look for different things in a religion:
- Some look for worldliness
- Some otherworldliness
- Some look for strictness
- Some permissiveness

Criticism
- **Steve Bruce** – That there is decreasing belief in religious values. That secularization is taking place.
- Religious pluralism is leading to lower numbers of church memberships.
- **Max Weber** linked religion with social change (PE&SC)

Reflexive Spirituality Kelly Besecke –
- Reflexive spirituality is a contemporary religious movement that encourages followers to look to religion for meaning, wisdom, and profound thought and feeling rather than for absolute truths on how the world works.

Types of Involvement

Gerhard Lenski:
- **Associational involvement:** The frequency of church attendance.
- **Communal involvement:** How much of your primary group interactions are restricted to followers of your own faith—how isolated or enmeshed you are in the religious community. Associational and communal involvement varies by faith.
- For instance, **Jews have weak associational involvement but strong communal ties. Catholics have strong associational involvement but weak communal ties**. Both are weak for white Protestants; both are strong for black Protestants.
- Lenski in agreement with Durkheim, argues that the pull of the congregation is much stronger and more influential on behavior and attitudes and outlook than the associational pull of the church.
- For example, African Americans tend to be more religiously active than whites, and African Americans who live in rural or suburban areas are more active than African Amercans who live in cities.

Religion promoting Consumerism
- **Rise of Megachurches in USA**: Megachurches are conservative Protestant churches that attract at least 2000 worshippers per week.
- **Religious Movies** – Passion of the Christ, Jai Santoshi Maa, etc.
- **Religious Songs and music** (already around 100 billion dollars globally)
- **Religious themed merchandise** as well as food: There is Jain food, Halal, Vegan, etc. based on religious lines and ideas.

- **Religious books and magazines** (one of the most selling literature in the world.). **In 2002, evangelical pastor Rick Warren wrote The Purpose Driven Life,** which has sold more than 30 million copies—the largest sales figure for any nonfiction hardcover book ever published in the United States. o Magazines include Refuel, Revolve
- **Massive Religious and Spirituality Concerts**
- **Banerjee, 2005:** Religion shopping is especially high among teens in USA. In a survey of 13 to 17-year-olds, the National Study of Youth and Religion found that 16 percent of respondents participated in more than one congregation at a time.
- **Pilgrimage as Tourism**: Packages to travel to chaar-dhaam, coming up of plush hotels and airports on important religious places.
- **Specific days as Auspicious**- Dhanteras, Akshay Tritiya
- Religious Membership- **ISKCON**
- Designer Religious Clothings - **Turbans, Burkinis**.
- Monetary Gifts during festivals – **Rakshabandhan Diwali, Id**

Monism

- 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.
- Among modern religions, **Islam is a monistic religion as its believers deny existence of any other power than Allah**. Similarly, **Advait philosophy of Hinduism** also contends that there is no distinction between the disciple and god and they are one and there is ultimately a single being. Sufi saints also stressed upon this concept of a single all powerful.

DURING MEDIEVAL PERIOD RELIGION OFFERED A FOUNDATION TO THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL STATE. It was believed that religious differences all over the world can only glorify the variations in political identity of the state. FOR EXAMPLE Roman Empire emerged as a Christian state. Middle East gave way to the rise of Islamic states what was known as post Egyptian civilization

PLURALISM

Religious pluralism generally **REFERS TO THE BELIEF IN TWO OR MORE RELIGIOUS WORLDVIEWS AS BEING EQUALLY VALID OR ACCEPTABLE**. More than mere tolerance, religious pluralism accepts multiple paths to God or gods as a possibility and is usually contrasted with "exclusivism," the idea that there is only one true religion or way to know God.

Here are four points to begin our thinking:
- **First, pluralism is not diversity alone, but the energetic engagement with diversity**. Diversity can and has meant the creation of religious ghettoes with little traffic between or among them.
- **Second, pluralism is not just tolerance, but the active seeking of understanding across lines** of difference. Tolerance is a necessary public virtue, but it does not require Christians and Muslims, Hindus, Jews, and ardent secularists to know anything about one another.
- **Third, pluralism is not relativism, but the encounter of commitments.** The new paradigm of pluralism does not require us to leave our identities and our commitments behind, for pluralism is the encounter of commitments. It means holding our deepest differences, even our religious differences, not in isolation, but in relationship to one another.

- **Fourth, pluralism is based on dialogue**. The language of pluralism is that of dialogue and encounter, give and take, criticism and self-criticism

Peter Berger (on secularization and pluralism) – Book- Social reality of religion
- Cosmos may not always be considered as sacred thus, attempt to secularize cosmos.
- Modern science has played crucial role in this process of secularization
- **Berger links pluralism to modernization & secularization & establishes link between both.**
- Pluralism undermined set of beliefs and weakens sacred canopy.

Bryan Wilson - Multiplicity of denominations interpreted as evidence of secularization. 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.

Stark and Bainbridge- called religious economists and **Contradict Berger and Bryan.**
- Study of 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.

Sects and Cults

Sects
- They are a religious group and stand for those who dissent from the established doctrine.
- **Stark and Bainbridge**- sects are formed as an offshoot of existing religion as a result of division or schism within that religion. Sects can be seen as a possible response to relative deprivation.

Finke & Stark:
- Churches are religious bodies that coexist in a relatively low state of tension with their social surroundings.
- They have mainstream "safe" beliefs and practices relative to those of the general population.
- **Because they are world-affirming more often than world-criticising**, they peacefully coexist (or at least try to) with the secular world, so they are low-tension organisations.

Finke & Stark:
- Sects by contrast, are **high-tension bodies** that don't fit so well within the existing social environment.
- These organizations are usually **most attractive to society's least privileged**—outcasts, minorities, or the poor- because they downplay worldly pleasure by stressing otherworldly promises.
- Sects can be an appealing **alternative to engagement in secular life**, because sectarian groups typically limit their contact with the outside world, keeping mainstream culture at a distance for fear of contamination. Material things don't matter as much as the supernatural world, which each sect purports to understand better than any other religious body.
- Sects usually start out by **splintering off an existing church**, typically when church leaders become too involved in secular issues in some members' eyes.
- To distance themselves from what they see as worldly concerns and corruption, members may form their own sect.
- Over time, if the sect picks up a significant following; **it almost inevitably transforms into its own church, ultimately becoming part of the mainstream.**
- As this happens, a new splinter group, made up of new "true" radicals, may become discontented and branch off to form their or sect. Thus, the cycle continues.
- A cult on the other hand, is a religious movement that makes some new claim about the supernatural and therefore does not as easily fit within the sect—church cycle

A famous example was **Heaven's Gate, formed in 1973 by two previously mainline Protestants, Marshall Herff Applewhite, Jr. and Bonnie Nettles.**

- **Known as "The Two"** they spread the card that civilisation was doomed.
- Furthermore, they claimed that only the disciplined few could be saved by way of a spacecraft to be sent by God.
- **In 1997, 35 members of the group, trying to reach God's U.F.O, behind the Hale-Bopp comet, committed mass suicide in California.**
- Heaven's Gate was not successful in generating a mass following, but a few better-known cults have been enormously successful, such as those started by **Jesus; Buddha, Joseph Smith (Mormonism), and Muhammad.**
- All religions begin as cults, and their leaders offer new insights, claiming that they are the word of the God. Because they're so novel cults are often high-tension movements that antagonize their social world and/or are antagonized by it.
- From the examples above, it should be clear that, some cults evolve into low-tension organizations, whereas others destroy themselves with their own zealotry.

Sect: Ray Wallis defined sects as deviant groups that see themselves as uniquely legitimate.

- People seek salvation in the sense-of-community offered by sects Example: In the early 1916 the Black Muslim sect provided a possible solution to the problem of poverty and unemployment in broken family.
- **Troeltsch** – sects are connected with the lower classes or those who are opposed to state and society.
- **Peter Berger** - sects openly reject many of the norms and values of the world and Society. Therefore, it is in tension with the larger society and closed against it.
- **Max Weber –** Sects are most likely to form within groups which are marginal in society and this **marginalisation is justified through "theodicy of disprivilege" where theodicy means a religious explanation**. (When marginalized stand up against religious explanations justifying their marginilisation)
- Sects tend to arise during a period of rapid social change. In this situation traditional norms are disrupted and traditional universe of meaning is undermined.
- **Example - Bryan Wilson** sees rise of Methodism as a response to rapid social change by the New working class.
- **Reinhold Niebuhr** - Sects could be short lived or could convert into dominant or full fledged religion depending upon the prevailing social condition
- **Rejected by Bryan Wilson**- Sects do survive for a long time without becoming denominations

Conclusion: Thus, sects emerge as a contradiction, try to seek remedies, create Counter Culture and alternate ideologies. **Example – Lutheranism, Calvinism, Buddhism, Jainism.**

Cults

- With rapid changes taking place in the Industrial society leading to increased individualism, heterogeneity, alienation, powerlessness has contributed to the emergence of many voluntary organisations in the metropolitan centres.
- One such voluntary organisation is a cult.
- **Cult is a small group of religious activists whose beliefs are typically esoteric and individualistic.**
- **Ray Wallis –** cults are deviant religious organizations that do not claim to have a monopoly on truth. (Pluralistically legitimate) **Stark and Bainbridge** –cults are new religions or at least new in a particular society (cultural innovation or cultural importation).
- An established religion in one part of world may have a status of cult in other part of world when it is introduced in that part. **For example – Krishna Consciousness when adopted in West, it became a cult, but Hinduism is a well established religion in India.**

Peter Berger classified cults into 3 types – Revivalists, Adventists and Orientalists.

- Revivalists glorify forgotten past.
- Adventists prescribe new means to joy
- **The Orientalist cult refers to a group or movement romanticizing and idealizing Eastern cultures, often perpetuating stereotypes and overlooking their complexities, prevalent during the colonial era.**

Three types:

- **An audience cult**: it is one where the **participant (or client) is a passive consumer.** People might attend lectures, read books or buy DVDs to hear a particular message or consume a particular set of ideas. There is no necessary ongoing relationship (other than to buy the next book) or expectations. It has been argued that **Scientology began as an audience cult**
- **A client cult**: it is one where the cult has a relationship with its adherents akin to a doctor/patient relationship. The cult is a service provider and the clients enter into a prolonged relationship as they might do with a therapist.
- **A cult movement**: it is one which does not simply provide one service, but looks to fulfil all the spiritual needs of their customers. This relationship then becomes more like a traditional church, denomination or sect, then with the clients being more like members of a congregation.
- Cult practices appear to satisfy the needs of alienated sections of urban middle class youth.
- **Cult membership is typically transitory and irregular.** People often have different cult memberships.
- In western societies cults have proliferated in the post war period and often associated with Counter Culture.

Reasons of Cults in Modern Societies

- **Insecurity** – Crisis of social and psychological security
- **Conflict** – Between traditional and modern social orders.
- **Change** – Perpetually changing modern societies
- Prevalent inequalities "Free-Lunches" offered by cults
- Political Patronage offered owing to populist politics
- Because of Social Media, challenging mainstream religion is becoming easier.
- **Gurus seen as middlemen between God and humans**
- High levels of illiteracy in countries like India
- Religion guarantees salvation in afterlife, cults provides relief in this life itself.
- While religion addresses spiritual needs, cults provide solution to mundane problems.
- Religion usually points out impossibility or extreme difficulty of direct communication with god, while in a cult believers and devotees are face to face with each other

Weber and Troeltsch - Differentiated between Sect and Cult

SECT	CULT
They are formed either when membership grows or the cult leader dies in a bid to become a more organized religious unit.	It generally starts around a charismatic personality. For example, when Buddhism was started by Buddha it was a cult at that time.
It is marked by a desire to disassociate from the existing social order. Sects are seen as an attempt to rationalize the dominant religion.	Its beliefs are different from the dominant religion, but never challenge it.
It is more formal and definite	It is more volatile in nature.
They are largely closed to those who have not undergone a process of initiation. For example –	They are relatively open and don't have preconditions for membership.

drinking of holy water, wearing of amulets and so on as initiation rites are performed. So, they have a strong claim to the loyalty of its members.	
It is a more closed group and has membership criteria	It doesn't have strict membership criteria as organization is loose
Calvinists or Methodists are examples of Christian sects.	Osho Cult, Transcendental Meditation etc are examples of a cult movement.

Ray Wallis –

	Respectable	Deviant
Uniquely Legitmate	Church	Sect
Pluralistically Legitmate	Denomination	Cult

Therefore, cult addresses the sociological, psychological needs of man in an expansionist capitalist modern society, that is, it is a new age phenomenon.

- **Andrew Dawson**--due to rapid and large-scale industrialization.
- **Bruce** – due to modernization and urbanisation. Example Theosophical Society, Osho cult of Rajneesh

DENOMINATION:

- A Denomination grows out of the sect.
- Sects often lose their momentum as it is difficult to maintain high levels of commitments for long periods and sects either die out or transform themselves into denominations.
- **According to Howard Becker, 'A denomination is a sect which has cooled down and become an institutionalized body rather than an active protest group'.**
- It is a **religious sect which has lost its revivalist, reformist dynamism and has become an institutionalized body** with a much larger following than a sect commands. The denomination is much closer to the Church than the sect ever was.
- Church also has more acceptability of denomination than that of sect. **Calvinism and Methodism started as sects, but are now in form of denomination.**
- **Johnson observes, 'The line between ecclesia and denomination is not always clear-cut nor is the line between sect and cult.**
- Denomination is what usually results when a sect becomes 'respectable' in the eyes of middle class society and relaxes its religious vigor.'

It has following distinguishing features –

I. **Membership of denomination is drawn from all levels of society,** unlike sect who has membership predominantly from a particular stratum which is generally the lower strata.
II. **The binding chord of 'fellowship of love and religious service' which is a distinguishing trait of the cult**, becomes weak, almost non-existent, in the' denomination.
III. Denominations generally accept the norms and values of larger society, though they may impose some minor restrictions upon their members. Sects on the other hand are closed against dominant religion and dominant values of society.
IV. It starts to develop a bureaucratic organization with a hierarchy of paid officials much like a Church.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE

Questions and confusions have always surrounded man and he sought answer to these in either religion or science. So, both acted as storehouse of complementary knowledge. It is generally agreed that religion predates science.

Those who believe RELIGION ARE NOT MUTUALLY OPPOSING". say that

1) RELIGION IS BASED ON **FAITH AND RITUALS** whereas SCIENCE DEPENDS ON OBSERVATION, EXPERIMENTS, VERIFICATIONS, PROOFS AND FACTS.
2) Science deals with **THE KNOWN OR THE EMPIRICAL WORLD**. But religion is concerned with the **UNKNOWN OR SUPERNATURAL WORLD**.
3) For **Sumner and Keller** it is difficult to find any type of religion which has welcomed free enquiry.

4) **Science insists that all phenomenon that is observed should not be accepted at face value**. Its value and meaning can be discovered through experimentation. All factors (time, place, person, equipment) that can affect the result of such experiments are controlled in laboratory conditions.

5) **SCIENCE DIFFERS FROM RELIGION BECAUSE IT BELIEVES IN NEUTRALITY AND OBJECTIVITY**. Scientific method is claimed to have annulled the subjective biases. SCIENCE BELIEVES IN PRECISION AND MEASUREMENT WHICH IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR RELIGION.

6) **SCIENCE BRINGS THE UNKNOWN TO THE LEVEL OF OBSERVABLE REALITY. RELIGION CANNOT BRING GOD TO THE LEVEL TO OBSERVABLE PHENOMENA.** Scientific knowledge has more concrete application in the form of the technology which might help in manipulating nature. RELIGION CANNOT ESTABLISH SUCH CONCRETE AND IMMEDIATE RESULT.

7) **SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND METHOD ARE VALID UNIVERSALLY WHEREAS PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS LIFE DIFFERS FROM SOCIETY TO SOCIETY**.

8) **KINGSLEY DAVIS** advocates that religion withers like a leaf before a flame when the scientific attitude is brought to bear on it

However those who say that SCIENCE AND RELIGION ARE NOT OPPOSING believe that:
- **SCIENCE DEALS WITH WHAT IS KNOWN**. It is potential knowledge based on sensory evidences. Religious beliefs REFER TO THE WORLD BEYOND THE SENSES. THE KNOWLEDGE which cannot be proved by the methods of science, cannot be disproved also.
- **RELIGION IS SOCIAL REALITY**. The persistence of religion throughout the ages is proof of its survival value. It has RENDERED UNDENIABLE SERVICES TO THE HUMANITY AND IS STILL SERVING. Religion like other institutions has ITS ROOTS IN CERTAIN HUMAN NEEDS.
- Both aim to provide answer to certain questions.
- **Both have manifest as well as latent functions** as well as dysfunctions.
- Both are a result of intellectual as well as emotional needs of the human beings.
- **Coming together**- Science got legitimacy with rise of protestant ethics.

Religion and Science
- **Berger**: Science played a major role in secularization of cosmos.
- **Positivists** very often tried to contrast religion with science. They argued that under the impact of rapid industralisation, religion was losing its ground.
- **August Comte** – theological, metaphysical and then positivistic (scientific) stage was the last in the evolution of human.
- **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.
- **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

To conclude with the words of Einstein, 'Science without religion is lame and religion without science is blind'. So, even today, both are complementary as a lot still remain outside the realm of human knowledge. Due to influence of science, many religions have also rationalized themselves. Many religious institutions are making ample use of scientific discoveries to make reach of religion wider. **Television and internet are profusely used by religious leaders to reach masses.**

Religion in Modern Society: Secularization and Secularism
It means influence of religion in all areas of social life is steadily diminishing.
Bryan Wilson defines **secularization as the process whereby religious thinking, process and institutions lose social significance.**
- **3 Stages: Theological Society → secularization → Secular society**

- In the 19th Century it was widely believed that **industrialisation and the growth of scientific knowledge would lead to secularization.**
- Early sociologists **Auguste Comte, Durkheim, Karl Marx, and Weber** all believed that the process of secularization was bound to occur as societies modernized and became more reliant on science and technology to control and explain the social world.
- Contemporarily, there is debate over the secularization thesis.
- Secularization is a complex sociological concept because there is little consensus on what secularization is and how to measure it.

Evaluating Secularization

Secularization can be evaluated according to number of aspects and dimensions
1. **Institutional religion** - participation has decreased according to some.
2. **Disengagement of the Church from the wider Society** - David Martin sees this view as concerned with decline in power, wealth, influence and Prestige of the church.
3. **Differentiation -** that is church no longer performs or it has been delinked from other social Institutions. Specialised institutions have come up in the political and economic arenas and the religious institutions in contemporary society confines themselves to purely religious matters.
4. **Religious pluralism** - the continuing proliferation of sects and denominations has been interpreted by some researchers as the decline of religion
5. **Secularization of Religious Institutions** - that is region itself has undergone a process of secularization. Religious Institutions engaged in tasks which may not be strictly speaking religious. Example running hospitals, educational institutions, et cetera
6. **Generalisation-** Parsons argues that as religious Institutions become more specialised religious values become increasingly generalized. Religious beliefs no longer specifically direct particular actions. However, they are incorporated into the society's value system they provide general guidelines for conduct.
7. **Individuation - Robert N Bellah** - that is religion is increasingly an individual quest for meaning rather than a collective actor worship.
8. **Transformation** - Rather than seeing religious beliefs as generalized or "individuated" a number of sociologists argue that these beliefs have now become transformed into secular guides to action into Western society. Example: Weber sees the logic of the spirit of capitalism in ascetic Protestantism
9. **Desacralization** - This means that supernatural forces are no longer seen as controlling the world. Action is no longer directed by religious belief. Man's consciousness has become secularized

Secularization
- **David Martin states that the concept of secularization includes "a large number of discrete separate elements loosely put together in an intellectual hold all"**
- Bryan Wilson although is convinced that secularization and its various forms is occurring in western societies, admits that there is "no adequate way of testing the strength of religious commitment". Thus, the problem of research methodology has dogged the secularization debate.
- Despite the widespread support for the theory of secularization a number of doubts have been raised and the opponents of the concept argue that religion remains a significant force though in new and unfamiliar forms
- A study by Kaufman indicates that while church attendance has decreased, the number of believers has not. **Davie, in his 'Religion in Modern Europe, 2000', calls this phenomenon as 'belief without belonging'**
- Similarly, **Thomas Luckmann in his 'The Invisible Religion, 1967',** also argues that religion is still very much alive though receded from public sphere and he calls it 'invisible religion'.
- Rise of New Religious Movements also pose a challenge to secularization thesis. Rising tensions in the Middle East and West Asia also point out to the act that religion is given no less importance

Religious Revivalism
- The role of religion in different modern societies varies considerably.

- Secularization is a feature of some societies but not of others. For example religion appears to be much more influential in USA the UK
- **Postmodernist argue that when societies move beyond modernity they will also move beyond the secular.**
- Faith and religion will be rediscovered in the world in which the achievements of Science and rationality will have less appeal than they once had.
- **David Martin** - takes a wider view of secularization. By looking at the changing role of religion in a range of societies.
- Based on this he argues that there is little evidence of a General trend towards secularization in the world as a whole.
- **Gilles Kepel** – Claims that any trend towards secularization was reversed in around 1970s when various religious revivals sprang up.
- These revivals were aimed at recovering a sacred foundation for the organisation of the society by changing society if necessary. To Kepel all these are example of counter secularism and also the emergence of new religions movements countering the secularization thesis.

These new religious movements can be classified as
- **World rejecting • World accommodating • World affirming**

World-affirming NRMs – or cults – seek to **offer their members spiritual enrichment.** They often do not include belief in a God and generally make few demands on their members. Instead **they offer personal fulfilment, meditation and ways to turn individuals into "better people", unlocking their "hidden potential".** This can include quite individualised beliefs, such as participating in forms of meditation and there is much overlap with New Age Movements. **However, some world-affirming cults are more organised and have greater demands on their members, such as Scientology.**

World-accommodating NRMs separate life into spiritual and worldly spheres, focusing on the spiritual. They neither affirm nor reject the world, but they do adapt in order to ensure they can peacefully live within it.

World Rejecting NRM: A world-rejecting NRM is one that **sees the world as inherently evil or corrupt.** They think that the way society is currently organised is against the will of God (or Gods or other spiritual forces) and needs to radically change. **E.g. Millenarianism is a belief system whereby adherents are waiting for a moment of radical change.**

Towards end of first half of the 20th century in 1940s, a tendency across the globe has been observed where its role has been re-emphasized**. It is observed at following levels –**
I. **Increased institutional acceptance of religion** – This is observed in increasing attendance at religious places, construction of new religious places (number of Gurudwaras have gone many folds in past 50 years), increase in activities of sects and cults (like ISKCON).
II. **Increasing use of religion as a medium** – Political parties are using religious support; increasing fundamentalism with Iranian revolution in East; rise of new right Protestant groups in US etc; establishment of demi-theocratic governments and so on. Meanwhile, in some of the Latin American countries, Christianity has become the tool of resistance against exploitation.
III. **Growth of invisible or private religion** – Even where religion seems to lose its hold in the sense of decreasing attendance in church ceremonies, a 'private religion' is seemingly emerging. In order words, a personal interpretation of religious doctrines is tolerated. **Luckmann says that religion today is invisible as individuals carry it out in their private space and not in institutions.**
IV. **Growth of civil religion** – Robert Bellah in his '**New Religious Consciousness and the Crisis in Modernity, 1976' argued that 'Civic Religion' is emerging as a new form of religion** where civic symbols and nationalism are accorded same respect and faith as of religion

Religion has survived because of both individual and social functions that it performs and in words of Turner the secret of the survival of religion is 'Religion is not a cognitive system, a set of dogmas alone, it is a meaningful experience'.

Other examples:
- Elderly becoming more religious

- Reflexive spirituality
- New types of involvement

Is India a Civilisation-State or a Nation-State?

- The **late Ravinder Kumar, (director of the Nehru Memorial Musuem and library) defined India as a Civilisation-State, rather than a nation-state, because of its capacity to amalgamate into one coherent whole a large number of cultural influences.**
- This approach - articulated by an historian in a long duration perspective - has a clear political implication: India is also a coalition-state.
- Unlike some European countries or China , India has never been governed successfully in a centralised manner.
- Sovereign had to build coalitions of regional satraps and maintain them through a constant bargaining process, even the great Akbar spent his half-life in traveling across his empire in managing his empire.
- **India after 1947 inherited a centralisation legacy from the British raj, but only after some years, Nehru had to built coalition again (he sent letters to CMs every 15 days).**
- Issue of states formation on the lines of language also become prominent in 1950s only.
- Whenever Prime ministers tried to emancipate themselves from coalition, the quality of governance has suffered the most. Example - Indira Gandhi's emergency period. Paradoxically, after a difficult transition of 10 years, India experienced more stability under coalition govt., from 1999 onwards.
- More stability as coalition forced Centre to acknowledge the state's autonomy because Centre depends upon regional forces. It limits concentration of power.

Coalitions apart from political parties also includes social groups.
- **One may argue that India cannot afford a coalition govt. because it needs reforms and strength** in a complicated international environment, but most difficult reforms were taken by coalition govt.
- **Ex- LPG, Nuclear Test, BRICS joining, Reservation of 27 % for OBCs, liberalisation of the FDI policy. Lokpal act, NREGA, RTI act, Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, etc.**
- But opponents of coalition politics may reject it in spite of its effectiveness - for **IDEOLOGICAL REASONS.**
- Hindu nationalist have traditionally considered that India is one and should have a unitary state so how can a sacred land (punyabhoomi - Savarkar's definition) be divided acc. to cultural lines?
- This approach reflects another idea of India, other than the one presented by Sunil Khilnani and before him, Ravinder Kumar, in terms of a civilisational state.
- The Hindu nationalist idea of India is more in tune with the European idea of a nationstate rooted in the exclusivist triad: o **One country o One culture o One people**

Fundamentalism:

- **It refers to a movement or a belief calling for a return to the basic texts or fundamentals of revealed religions, which are believed to be pure and contain original values and behavior.**
- It is usually contrasted with modernism and liberalism in religion.
- **Without political legitimacy and power, fundamentalism is mere revivalism.**
- When religious values are threatened by some common enemy, which is Modernity as seen by Fundamentalists, more and more members are recruited into the fundamentalist fold.
- The term has been applied to protestant trends within Christianity in the 1920s and recently to trends within Islam.
- The forces of social change that is **"High Modernity and Globalization", as Anthony Giddens** calls it, are responsible for the emergence of fundamentalism.
- Whenever there are drastic changes in society and change of pace which disturbs community life, very often there is a loss of identity and rootlesness among people. In such situations people clutch any support for solace.
- Fundamentalism promises certitude and restitution of an earlier better age of stability. The psychological appeal of this is difficult for people to resist.
- To achieve and restitute this earlier better age, the Fundamentalist evolves a comprehensive and absolutist rigid belief system and practice.

- This belief and practice which promises to bring happiness is capable of motivating intense commitment among its followers. **So much so non-believers are denied their rights.**
- That is why fundamentalism very often takes on a rather aggressive militant form, where killing and terrorism are justified. **Since the end, usually the establishment of Homeland, that is Israel or Khalistan or Caliph, justifies the means.**
- The two most prominent forms of religious fundamentalism **are Islamic fundamentalism and Christian fundamentalism.**
- Recently we also witnessing and increasing trend of Hindu fundamentalism.
- **Christian fundamentalism in the US -** reaction against secular values and a perceived moral crisis in American society.
- Islamic - Khomeini in 1979 and has been spreading ever since. Also leading to ISIS and related terrorism across the world.

In contemporary times, **fundamentalism is an ideology with following distinct features –**
- **Fundamentalism stress on infallibility of a scripture** (e.g. the Bible, Granths, the Gita or the Quran) in all matters & faith of Religion and doctrine. The believer accepts it as a literal historical record. Since the texts are seen as God's own actual words, their meaning is bound to be clear and unambiguous as also changeless.
- **Second, fundamentalists assert that all aspects and areas of life are to be governed by the true, revealed religion as embodied in the original texts**. God's words and law are to be the basis of society, economy, polity, culture, and law and the entire domestic and personal life of the believer. More specifically, the fundamentalists attack the separation of religion from politics and state, and therefore the, idea of the secular state. Similarly, the fundamentalists insist on religious control over education.
- **The fundamentalists don't believe in the equality of all religions** or for how can false religions be treated as equal to the true religion or given the liberty to preach practice falsehood?
- **It is opposed to reason and rationalism, humanism and secularism.**
- **The fundamentalists are a practical people and try to purge the way of life of all impurities (religiously speaking).** They reject all corrupt lifestyles. An example of this is Dayanand's critique of the traditional, superstition filled way of life. **Maududi characterized the present Muslim way of life as 'ignorant' and Bhindranwale talked of the 'fallen' Sikhs who shave off their beards,** cut their hair and do not observe the traditional Sikh way of life. Thus, fundamental movements are not only about religious beliefs and practices, but lifestyles generally.
- **According to T N Madan, fundamentalist movements are of a collective character.** They are often led by charismatic leaders who are usually men. Thus, the **1979 Iranian movement was led by Ayatollah Khomeini, and the recent Sikh fundamentalist upsurge by Sant Bhindranwale.**

More on Islamic Fundamentalism:
- One movement that has gained the most attention in recent times' media and politics is **Islamic fundamentalism**, which— in common terminology also refers to the political ideology of Islamicism
- Islamists call for the authority of the Islamic law—**known as shar'ia (often literal translations from the Qur'an)— over secular laws.** They are more likely to support political violence in the name if Holy War (jihad).
- Unfortunately, many mainstream Muslims are wrongly identified as Islamists, when in face most Muslims oppose Islamists and their goals.

Sociologist Jen'nan Read urges us to remember that:
- "Just like Christians in the United States, Muslims are a diverse population. We've got very secular Arab Muslims who are basically Muslims in name and, attend the mosque maybe once a year or never. And then we've got very devout Muslims who are very religious and uphold the five pillars of Islam**.
- There is also a difference between being a devout Muslim and being an extremist".
- Read goes on to lament that devout Muslims and extremists became lumped together after 9/11. There is a growing tendency to think of all practicing Muslims as extremists, which can lead to bigotry, profiling, and harassment

Perspectives on Is India a Hindu Rashtra? (By Christophe Jaffrelot)

Is Lynching spontaneous?

- The media often presents **cow-related lynching cases as spontaneous reactions of the mob**.
- But this is not that spontaneous.
- The perpetrators' ideological orientation could be surmised from the fact that they often make their victims raise slogans such as **Jai shri ram, Gau Mata ki Jai,** etc.
- Most visible organisation in this domain - **Gua Raksha Dal (GRD)**, has its presence in many states. Haryana - one of the strongholds of movement, the GRD emblem is a cow's head flanked by two AK47s

Case Study of Haryana

- In Haryana, the GRD and police arrived at a division of labour.
- **GRD has a huge network of volunteers and informants and act very fast whenever they receive information, volunteers set up joint nakas with help of local police. The GRD, thus, acts as a COMMUNITY CULTURAL POLICE**.
- In Haryana, cow task force has been created within the state police (convergence of two types of policing - **official and unofficial).**
- The national vice president of the GRD sat on the board of the Gau Seva Ayog, a Haryana Govt.'s institute for cow welfare.
- These developments showing a new dynamics of state formation, as defined by Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, in their study The Unhappy Valley.

The Unhappy Valley Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale

- **Berman and Lonsdale** distinguish the formation of the state as a social institution and state-building as an administrative process.
- Reasoning solely in terms of state-building tends to reduce authority only to official agents and their actions.
- Berman and Lonsdale take into account private actors who work their way into the process of state formation through the **"vulgarisation of power",** which involves commandeering public authority to further private ends

Application of The Unhappy Valley to India

- This approach has obvious heuristic advantages for the analysis of Hindu vigilante groups and their relationship to the state
- Collusion between police and Hindu nationalist movements is indeed evidence of the start of a transition from a state-building process, in which the administrative and coercive apparatus is supposed to treat all citizens equally, to a state-formation process wherein majoritarian non-state actors impose a social and cultural order.
- What adds a layer of complexity to Berman and Lonsdale's model is that in India, these **non-state actors enjoy state protection.**

Authority illegal but legitimate?

- Though the authority they exercise is illegal, it is nevertheless seen as legitimate by the state in that it is inspired by the values and interests of the dominant community to which the government is accountable.
- In that sense, the **Hindutva forces are more of India's deep state than a parallel government.**

2021 Pew Research Center survey- Religion in India: Tolerance and Segregation:

- 80 per cent of the Hindu interviewees said that "respecting other religions is a very important part of their religious identity
- **86 per cent Hindus say that "all" or "most of their close friends are the same religion as them", but only 23 per cent of Hindus also consider that Hindus and Muslims "have a lot in common".**
- Only 3 per cent of Hindus say they have prayed in a dargah, though Sufi saints attracting Hindu devotees in large numbers was common once. This figure could be an underestimate, but it might also mean that some Hindus do not wish to say they are visiting an Islamic place of worship.

- In the same vein, 66 per cent Hindus say "it is very important to stop women/men in their community from marrying outside their religion

Christophe Jaffrelot's Perspective on the report

- **This brand of ethnicisation of religion is very similar to Zionism,** another ideology defining the nation on the basis of the sacredness of the land, the "historicity" of the people, lineage and language.
- Hindutva, similarly, defines the Hindu community not so much on the basis of religion, but as a people with ethnic and cultural features which make them the core of the nation.

FUNDAMENTALISM and COMMUNALISM

Fundamentalism and communalism have certain ideological elements in common. Both attack the concept of separation of religion from politics and the state. Both oppose the concept of equal truth in all religions or the unity of different religions. Both advocate control over education by the followers of the dominant religion.

i. **Communalism is often associated with eruption of violence and riots**, these conflagrations may not have any particular aim or goal.

ii. In a multi-religious society **a fundamentalist tends to be communal while communalists are quite often not fundamentalists**. For example, in India, the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS, the Muslim League, and the Akali Dal were and are communal parties but they are not fundamentalist.

iii. **Communalist leaders need not be religious leaders**. Thus, Maulana Maududi, founder of the Jamati Islami in India was a journalist. K B Hedgewar, founder of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh was a physician.

iv. **Similarly, the fundamentalists want to Christianize or Islamize or Hinduize the whole world**. Not so the communalists. They only want to communalize and can only communalize their own society.

FUNDAMENTALISM	COMMUNALISM
Stress Infallibility of Scriptures	It is a **strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group rather than to society.** The allegiance can be based out of religion, race, ethnicity etc. In India, basis of allegiance had been religion
They tend to separate certain communities from mainstream	Religion based opposition in Indian context. This is ideological and usually becomes active during phases of social upheaval. For example – 1947 communal flairs
It aims to **establish a normative order** by various means from wars to speeches to peaceful methods.	It **aims to establish its supremacy through violence which often involves hatred.** This is a situation where religion and religious communities view each other with hostility and antagonism.
	They have a **mass psyche**. Communalism becomes apparent only at certain occasions. It may not be sustained like fundamentalism as a movement.
Fundamentalism is a movement and such movements are often led by Charismatic Leaders – For example **Ayotollah Khomeni in Iran, Sant Bhinderwala in India.**	
They reject all corrupt lifestyles and aim to purge community of such evils. Bhindranwale talked of the 'fallen' Sikhs who shave off their beards, cut their hair	Communalism doesn't have such a reformative agenda.
Fundamentalist movements are reactive and a response to what the persons involved – the leaders and participants – consider a crisis. For example – Arya	It usually emerges when there are conflicts of interests and a sense of insecurity and suspicion exists in one or both groups.

Samjis through Shuddhi Movement showed such urgency	**Antagonism is central in communalism, promotion of the original is central in fundamentalism**
The pursuit of political power is very important to fundamentalism	It is more of protective of its own rights and beliefs and is exclusionary in nature

INVISIBLE RELIGION

- **Thomas Luckmann, a sociologist, contributed to the concept of invisible religion within the broader field of sociology of religion.** His ideas align with the notion that religion extends beyond formal institutions and practices, existing in various aspects of social life.
- **Subjective Spiritual Experience:** Luckmann emphasized individual experiences of spirituality that might not align with organized religious structures. These subjective experiences could include personal beliefs, intuitions, or mystical encounters.
- **Everyday Practices and Symbols:** Similar to other scholars, Luckmann highlighted how everyday actions, rituals, or symbols carry religious or spiritual significance for individuals, even in seemingly mundane activities or objects.
- **Socially Constructed Beliefs:** He argued that beliefs and spirituality are socially constructed, emerging from interactions and shared meanings within society, rather than solely dictated by formal religious institutions.
- **Pluralism of Religious Expression:** Invisible religion acknowledges a diverse range of beliefs and practices, accommodating different forms of spirituality, cultural traditions, and interpretations of the sacred.
- **Cultural Transmission of Beliefs:** Luckmann emphasized how religious beliefs and practices are transmitted across generations within cultures and societies, often evolving and adapting over time.
- **Implicit Influence on Behavior:** This concept suggests that religious or spiritual beliefs might implicitly influence individuals' behaviors, attitudes, and decisions, even when not overtly expressed or recognized as religious.
- **Beyond Institutional Religion:** Invisible religion highlights the idea that religion isn't confined to formal institutions but permeates various aspects of social life, including art, literature, family rituals, and personal beliefs.

Luckmann's concept of invisible religion underscores the pervasive and diverse nature of religious or spiritual beliefs within societies, extending beyond organized religious structures to encompass personal experiences and cultural expressions.

An example of Thomas Luckmann's concept of invisible religion can be seen in the practice of mindfulness in contemporary society.
Mindfulness, rooted in Buddhist traditions, in**volves being present in the moment and cultivating awareness through meditation and focused attention.** In today's secular context, mindfulness practices have been widely adopted for stress reduction, mental well-being, and personal development, often outside the realm of formal religious institutions.

Civil Religion
- **Robert Bellah introduced the concept of civil religion** to sociological debates surrounding the role and function of religion in society in the early 1960s. **One of his best known works is his 1967 journal article 'Civil Religion in America'.**
- Robert Bellah argued that 'civil religions' had become the main type of religions in the 20th century, as mainstream, traditional religions declined. Civil religions effectively performing many of the same functions of 'traditional religions', just without the concept of a god or higher power
- **He defined 'civil religion' as any belief system which didn't rely on a conception of a God, or gods, but which still inspired a passionate mass response with members displaying a high degree of commitment to that belief system.**
- Historical examples of belief systems which might be regarded as **'civil religions' include Nazism, and other forms of nationalism, and at a more international level, Marxism.** Such movements provided their adherents with an idea of the 'true path' to a 'better life', to be achieved through obeying certain moral codes as well as a degree of

commitment to charismatic leaders. These movements also had plentiful symbols and rituals to generate a sense of shared identity

- **Bellah argues that 'Americanism' is the civil religion of America.** The civil religion of Americanism stresses a commitment to the 'American way': a belief in the 'free market' and a drive to make the most of available opportunities
- According to Bellah, the American Civil Religion unites people across all sexes, classes and ethnic backgrounds.
- **We see it in yearly rituals such as Independence Day and Thanksgiving**.
- The national anthem being sung at the beginning of various sporting events, most notably the Super Bowl.

THE DOMAIN OF THE SACRED — MAGIC

Magic and Science Relation between these phenomena is shown by Malinowski in terms of both the similarity and difference. First we give the similarities.

Similarities

i) Like science, magic has a specific aim related with human needs and instincts. Both are governed by a system of rules, which determine how a certain act can be effectively performed.

ii) Both science and magic develop techniques of carrying out certain activities. On the basis of these similarities, **Malinowski concludes that he would agree with James Frazer and call magic a pseudo-science.**

Then he outlines the following differences between science and magic. Differences

i) Science, as reflected in the primitive knowledge of tribals, is related with the general experience of everyday life. It is **based on observation and reason over their interaction with nature**. Magic, is on the other hand, founded in particular experience of tense emotional states. In these states not the observation of nature but of one's own self or rather of impotency is crucial. It is the drama of emotions upon the human organism

ii) **The basis of science is the conviction in validity of experience, effort and reason**. But magic is based on the belief that one can still hope, one can still desire.

iii) The corpus of rational knowledge is incorporated in a social setting and certain type of activities, which are clearly separable from the social setting, and activities related with the body of magical knowledge. On the basis of these differences, Malinowski concludes that science belongs to the domain of the profane while magic comprises half of the domain of the sacred.

> ## Box 1.2 Tylor's Perspective on Magic
>
> Tylor's theory of religion would not be complete without a mention of his views on magic. He thinks primitive religion to be rational and based on observations and obvious inferences from them, Tylor emphasises the element of rationality in magical practices as well. He argues that magic among primitives is based on observation and classification of similar elements. Failure of magic is explained by Tylor in terms of the magician's wrong inferences about a mystical link between various objects. A subjective supposition of some connection in terms of ideas is mistaken for an objective link. Tylor's

> discussion of magic is good example of intellectualist interpretation. If one asks Tylor how the primitives happen to make such mistaken connections, his answer would be that it is so because the primitives do not, for good reasons, see the futility of magic. Whenever magic fails, its failure is rationally explained in terms of the practitioner forgetting to perform some prescribed act, or ignoring to observe some prohibition or some hostile magic has checked it in the way.

Magic and Religion

Similarities

i) Both magic and religion belong to the area of sacred and are born and function amidst emotional tension.

ii) Both phenomena provide an **escape from emotional stress**, which cannot be wished away on the basis of the primitive people's range of rational knowledge.

iii) Mythological traditions closely surround both magic and religion. **Taboos and practices associated with the two areas separate them from the domain of the profane.**

Differences: Looking at the differences between religion and magic, we find the following areas of differences.

i) **Magical acts are a means to an end**, which must follow them. **Religious acts are self-contained acts**, performed in self-fulfilment.

ii) The art of magic has a clearly marked and limited technique in which s**pell, rite and the magician are the main elements.** Religion has no such simple technique. It has many aspects and purposes and its rationale lies in the function of its belief and practice.

iii) The magical belief concerns one's simple faith in one's power to bring about certain results on the basis of a particular spell. Religion concerns, on the other hand, with a whole range of supernatural powers.

iv) Mythological tradition in religion is both complex and creative and focuses on tenets of belief. In magic, mythology centers around boastful accounts of what was in the beginning.

SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP

a) Family, household, marriage.
b) Types and forms of family.
c) Lineage and descent.
d) Patriarchy and sexual division of labour.
e) Contemporary trends.

Before We Begin

A Conventional Image of Family

- A male breadwinner
- A kind, female homemaker
- Their nurtured, well-socialized children.

GP Murdoch Defines Family

Group in which **both relations of affinity and consanguinity (adoption) are found**. Elementary family was found everywhere (he studied 250 societies)

Characteristics:

- Common residence
- Economic coordination
- Sexual reproduction
- Socially approved sexual relations between adults of both sexes
- Children born to adults or adopted

Exceptions to Murdoch's Definition of Family

Colliers (1997) writes that **Murdoch thought these characteristics are universal but there are certain exceptions.**

- *Na* in China
- *Zambian families* in Africa
- Among the Na people of southern China, who have managed to retain their distinctive culture despite war, **Communism, and the onset of quasi- capitalism**, the institution of marriage doesn't exist.
- The Na do not have any practice like it, **nor do they put much thought into fatherhood.**
- **Children grow up with uncles** rather than fathers as the **primary males** in the home.
- **Sex** occurs in the middle of the night, when **men visit women for anonymous and spontaneous encounters**.
- There are **no social rules restricting who can partner with whom**.
- Yet the **Na manage just fine**, reproducing from generation to generation and maintaining a stable economy.

Zambian families in Africa

- Women in present-day Zambia implode our notions of caring motherhood.
- Zambian mothers don't nurture their daughters in the way Westerners would expect.
- When a Zambian girl needs advice, she is expected to seek out an older female relative as a confidante in preference to her mother (Collier et al., 1997).
- Mothers' "essential" nature has always been defined in the West **as nurturing and connected to offspring**—presumably ordained by women's biological birthing functions.
- **However, the way motherhood is practiced in Zambian culture suggests that a mother's unconditional**

warmth, despite the rhetoric, is not necessarily biological given.

Concludingly

So, Murdoch's family is **not universal**.

Anthony Giddens Defines Family

Anthony Giddens gives **simplified definition** of family as a group of persons:

- Directly linked by **kin connection**
- Adult members of which assume responsibility of caring of children. He emphasizes on criterion of commitment over and above traditional features of family.

Types of Family

1. <u>**Conjugal or Companionate**</u>: Deliberately avoid having kids. Also called **DINK** (Double income no kids)
2. **Nuclear** (children born out of monogamous families)
3. **Compound** (children born from polygamous families)
4. **Lineally extended** (3 or more generations)
5. **Laterally extended** (2 or more couples)
6. **Extended joint** (**Henry Maine** coined this. Here property is held jointly)

Family type based on Descent

- **Patrilineal** (almost all the societies)
- **Matrilineal** (**Judaism** often uses a matrilineal descent system to trace cultural belonging. In the **Ashanti society of Ghana**, social status and property inheritance are passed down to women through a female line. **Nairs** of Malabar and **Khasis** of Meghalaya are matrilineal)
- **Bilateral** (For example, among the **Himba tribal group of Angola**, clans are led by the eldest male in the clan. **Inheritance of wealth is determined by the matriclan** i.e. a son does not inherit his father's cattle but his maternal uncle's instead. **Javanese people**, the largest ethnic group in **Indonesia**, also adopt a bilateral kinship system.)

Family type based on Residence

- **Patrilocal**
- **Matrilocal**
- **Neolocal**
- **Duolocal**

Patrilocal

- Also known as **virilocal** residence or **virilocality.**
- A social system in which a married couple resides **with or near the husband's parents**.
- The **concept of location may extend to a larger area** such as a village, town or clan territory.
- The practice has been **found in around 70 percent** of the world's modern human culture.

Matrilocal

- Also, **uxorilocal residence or uxorilocality**.
- The societal system in which a **married couple resides with or near the wife's parents.**
- Thus, the female offspring of a mother remain living in (or near) the mother's house, thereby forming large clan-families, typically consisting of three or four generations living in the same place.
- Matrilocal residence is found most often in **horticultural societies**.
- People of Ngazidja in the Comoros, the Ancestral Puebloans of Chaco Canyon, the Nair community in Kerala, the Moso of Yunnan and Sichuan in southwestern China, the Siraya of Taiwan, and the Minangkabau of western Sumatra.

Neolocal

- When a couple gets married and begins their family in **a home of their own, away from their parents and family**, **it is called neolocality**. In other words, if the **newlywed couple chooses to live by themselves**, **away from both** sets of parents. **Employment in large corporations** or the **military** often calls for **frequent relocations**, making it nearly impossible for extended families to remain together hence creating new generation of families.

Duolocal

- When a married couple live at separate locations and typically only come together to conceive children. Practiced in certain parts of **Central Japan.**

Family type based on Authority

- **Patriarchal** (A system in which **men dominate over others**, but **can also refer to dominance over women** specifically. In these families, **men have social privileges** over others which often results in **exploitation or oppression**, such as through **male dominance of moral authority** and control of property.)
- **Matriarchal** (a family led by females, especially mothers, who also control property. It is often interpreted to mean the **genderal opposite of patriarchy, but it is not** an opposite. **Barbara Love and Elizabeth Shanklin** write, "by 'matriarchy,' we mean **a non-alienated society**: a society in which **women, those who produce the next generation, define motherhood**, **determine the conditions of motherhood**, and **determine the environment** in which the next generation is reared". According to **Margot Adler**, in the **Marxist tradition**, it usually **refers to a pre-class society** "where **women and men share equally** in production and power." Most anthropologists hold that there are **no known societies that are unambiguously matriarchal.**)
- **Filiocentric** (importance of **Kids**. **Modern families** where there's **decreasing number of kids** and **rise in material wealth**. Parents, Grandparents splurge on kids.)

Family type based on Name

- **Patronymic** (a family where personal **name is based on the given name of one's father, grandfather** (avonymic), or an **earlier male ancestor**. They are often **mandatory use**, although their use has largely been **replaced by or transformed into patronymic surnames.**)
- **Matronymic** (less common. Matronymic last names were often given to children of **unwed mothers** or if a **woman was especially well known or powerful**. The matrilineal communities in South and North-East India include the **Nairs, Bunts and Khasi.** The **Minangkabau of Indonesia** are the largest group of people who use this naming system)

Family type based on Relationship

Conjugal

- **Also called Affinal, this kinship is based on marriage.** The relationship between husband and wife is also considered a basic form of kinship.

- A conjugal family is **mostly a nuclear family** that may consist of a married couple and their children (by birth or adoption) or a couple who are unmarried or underage.
- The family relationship is **principally focused inward and ties to extended kin are voluntary** and based on **emotional bonds**, rather than strict duties and obligations.
- The **spouses and their children are considered to be of prime importance**, and other **more distant relatives less important**.
- The **marriage bond is important and stressed**.

Since the **notion of "family" has changed over time** (increasing acceptance of **LGBT parenting, stepfamily, and adoption**), the meaning of the term **"nuclear family" is evolving.**

To avoid the **ambiguity**, the term "conjugal family" was created.

Consanguineal
- This **kinship is based on blood**—or birth
- The relationship between parents and children as well as siblings
- This is the **most basic and universal type of kinship.**
- It is **also known as a primary kinship**; it involves people who are directly related.

Functional Aspect of Family

G Murdock in his book '**social structure**' mentions 4 functions of family:

- Economic
- Reproduction control
- Regulating sexual relations
- Socialising children

Talcott Parsons identifies two basic functions:

- Primary **socialization** of children
- **Stabilization** of adult personality

Ronald Fletcher talked about **multifunctional** family in which the basic function may exist and other functions are being reinvented.

Functions of Family for an Individual

- **Physical** security (childhood)
- **Emotional** security
- **Psychological** security
- **Economic** security
- Legitimate means of **sexual gratification**
- **Entertainment**
- Gives readymade **status**
- Initial **socialization**

Contemporarily, Individual rely more on **peers/friends** for securities.

There is a rise of **alternative institutions** like hospital, play school, multiplexes, media etc. which are taking some functions of family.

Functions of Family for Society

- **Reproduction** (providing members to the society)
- **Cultural transmission** (socialization and transmission of values but media/school etc. are playing major roles now)
- Mechanism of **social control** (now police/law etc.)
- Unit of **economic production** (readymade jobs but now focus on corporate jobs) - **Ronald Fletcher** says that **function of family has increased in this regard** as **family provides** for making **necessary provisions** for **training** and **choice of forces**.

Criticisms of family - Dysfunctions

1. Family is often accused to be **status quoist**.
   - **Karl Marx** argues that family **assures conformity** to the individual thereby submitting to the exploitation of haves.
   - **David Cooper** in his book '**Death of Family**' consider it as **ideological conditioning device** in exploitative society.
2. Family is accused of **producing psychological disorders in children.**
   - **RD Laing** in his book '**Politics of Family**' studies schizophrenic children and concludes it is due to **expectations of the parents**.
3. Family produces **emotional stress in the members** leading to **conflicts** within family.
   - **Edmond Leach** in his book '**A Runaway World**' concludes that the **members expect too much of each other**.
4. Family **legitimizes the exploitation of the women**.
   - **Household work** done by them goes **unnoticed** and family **legitimizes sexual abuse**.
5. Family **legitimizes domestic violence** as it is often **ignored** or **even accepted.**

- **Murray Strauss** states Marriage licence is a hitting licence.
6. Family is used as **neutralization device** to **justify deviant acts**.
   - **Corruption** is often justified as being done for the betterment of one's family.
7. It is argued **family hampers creativity** of individual when he submits his desires to family.
8. Family **lacks privacy** inhibiting growth of individualism causing rise in **docile personalities**.
9. **Jordan Peterson** cites the role of families in **not being able to completely internalize the realities of the world** and in turn making children **vulnerable to harsh realities** of the world, including **Bullying**.

Family type based on Relationship

Social:

- **David M. Schneider** writes in "**A Critique of the Study of Kinship**" (1984), that **not all kinship derives from blood** (consanguineal) **or marriage** (affinal).
- There are also **social kinships**, where individuals not connected by birth or marriage may still have a bond of kinship.
- **Two people who live in different communities may share a bond of kinship through a religious affiliation or a social group**, such as the **Kiwanis** or **Rotary service club**, or **within a rural or tribal society** marked by close ties among its members.
- A **major difference** between consanguineal or affinal and social kinship is that the latter involves "**the ability to terminate absolutely the relationship**" **without any legal recourse**.

Contemporary trends

Talcott Parsons:

- **Pre-industrial society** had extended family because:
  - Lower life expectancy
  - Need of social support
  - Labor intensive economy
  - Simple skills required (taught in family)
- **Industrialization** led to:
  - Specialized skills
  - Less labour intensive tasks
  - High social/geographical mobility
  - Universalistic value against particularistic value of family **So nucleated family becomes structural fit in industrial society.**

William Goode:

- He agrees, that **achieved status, individualism** is rising and is **against familial norms** and **conventional role bargain** (maintaining relations with important kins).
- **So nuclear family becoming a culture.**

Counter Views

- **Elizabeth Roberts:** Industrialization lead to **growth in extended family** due to help provided.
- **Wilmert and Young:** Regular contacts with extended family by **working/middle class, babysitting**.
- **Colin Bell:** Physical **distance overcome** by internet, telephone and air travel (frequency less but quality more of contact). *Modified or dispersed extended family* - common residence might not be there but **kinship ties are maintained**.
- **Bade Thorne:** 'cereal packet image' i.e. problem of monolithic image of family; plurality of family forms.

New Developments

- **Reconstituted Family:** Where the spouses live with children of previous as well as current marriage
- **Single** parent family
- **Live-in** family
- **Mowrer** - Dual-career families
- **Rapaport** - Single parent family
- **Homosexual** parents' family
- **Commune** living family
- **Frederic Leplay** uses the term **unstable for working class family**.

Concludingly, in contemporary times

- Diversity in family forms growing
- Marriage is losing appeal
- Rising divorces/separation
- Sanctity of marriage declining
- Law has made divorce easy
- Stigma of divorce vanishing

Giddens: '**Forever love**' changing into '**love till further notice**' ('*plastic love*').

Contemporary trends in India

- Marriage still an important milestone of life
- **Caste is still active**
- Class becoming important as well
- In urban areas the trend of live-in families is increasing
- Divorce rate increasing
- **Joint family** has **sentimental** value
- **Girl choice is considered**
- Elderly are increasingly being confined to rituals only
- Rise of **filiocentric families**
- 6 pocket syndrome family

Family in Indian Context

Indological Perspective (Book View)

- Joint Family has **position of distinction.**
- **David Mandelbaum:** Considers Joint Family as one of 3 characteristics of Indian society (**Caste System, Village being the other two)**
- **Henry Maine, O Mailey** studied **traditional Indian Joint Family** and termed it as **patriarchal family.**
- **Irawati Karwe:** There is the prevalence of idea to have one roof, kitchen, property, deity but there exist differences in Dravidian, tribals, lower caste and non-Hindu families.

The idea of Joint Family is **threatened by industrialization and urbanization.**

Impact of Modernization on Family in India

Apart from the impacts discussed by **Parsons/Goode,** the following are worth considering:

- **IP Desai:** Mahua, Gujarat, **KM Kapadia**: Half of families are still joint.
- **RP Mukherjee**: Indian families are still **functionally joint**.

Use of Household Dimension to Study Indian Society

AM Shah: Dimension of study should be **household**:

- Commensal
- Coresident
- Coparcenary
- Co-rituals

He did field study and found two types of households:

1. **Simple**
2. **Compound** (2 or more parents)

Pauline Kolenda:

- **Nuclear** is becoming **more prevalent** than Joint Family
- **But average size** of household is **increasing**
- **Death rate is less** so there is increasing **life longevity**
- **Household** have **lifecycles**: Fission ⮕ fusion ⮕ fission
- **Stem family exists** where parents reside with married child
- **Rural household size** is **more** than the urban household size
- There are **regional differences** (North India JF > South)

Shah, Kolenda and others broke the myth of disintegration of JF in India.

OTHER PERSPECTIVES

David Morgan – A Prominent Sociologist

David Morgan, a prominent sociologist, is well-known for his work on family practices and the sociology of family life. He is particularly **renowned for his focus on 'family practices' and the 'doing' of family life,** rather than traditional structural definitions of what constitutes a family**.**

Morgan's Concept of Family Practices

Morgan's concept of family practices is a shift from the traditional structural view of family, which focuses on family as a unit and its functions. Instead, **he concentrates on the activities that constitute family life**. These practices are not just about what families do but also about how they think and feel about what they do. This approach allows for a more nuanced understanding of family life, **acknowledging diversity and change over time.**

Morgan's Argument on Family Life

Morgan argues that family life is not a static entity but a set of ongoing processes and practices. It includes everyday activities like cooking, cleaning, caring for children, and even less tangible aspects like maintaining emotional bonds, communication, and shared values.

Critique of Morgan's Views

While Morgan's perspective offers a fresh and dynamic understanding of family life, it has been subject to criticism. **One major critique is that it tends to downplay structural factors like social class, gender, and ethnicity that significantly shape family practices**. For instance, the practice of caring for children is deeply influenced by gender norms, with women often shouldering a disproportionate burden**.**

Impact of Socioeconomic Status on Family Practices

Similarly, socio-economic status can impact family practices. Families from lower economic backgrounds might have different practices compared to those from higher economic backgrounds. For example, the practice of dining out regularly might be common among affluent families but rare among lower-income families.

Power Dynamics within Families

Morgan's approach also tends to overlook power dynamics within families. **It assumes a level of agency and choice in 'doing' family life that may not exist for all family members.** For instance, in patriarchal families, women may have limited say in family practices.

The Importance of Family as a Structural Unit

Lastly, the focus on practices might overlook the importance of family as a structural unit. Despite changes in family forms, the family as an institution continues to have significant social, legal, and economic implications**.**

Examples

An example of Morgan's concept of family practices can be seen in the case of single-parent families. **Instead of defining family based on the presence of two parents, Morgan would focus on the practices that single parents engage in to create a sense of family,** such as shared meals, bedtime stories, and holiday traditions.

Another example could be seen in the case of LGBTQ+ families. Traditional structural definitions of family might exclude these families, but Morgan's approach acknowledges them through their practices of care, love, and mutual support.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while David Morgan's views on family practices provide a dynamic and inclusive understanding of family life, it is crucial to balance this with an acknowledgment of structural factors and power dynamics that shape these practices.

The Symmetrical Family – Young & Willmott

Michael Young and Peter Willmott had a different although still functional account to explain changes in family structures. In their book **The Symmetrical Family (1973) the two sociologists examined the development of the family from pre-industrial period to 1970s as occurring through four distinct stages:**

Stage 1 – the pre-industrial family -the family is a unit of production with all family members working as a team in order for the family unit to survive. **They agree with the idea this type of family was superseded by the industrial revolution.** (this type of family hasn't disappeared as some farming families still work this way.

Stage 2 – The early industrial family – was an outcome of the industrial revolution, developing from the early 19th century running through to its peak the early 20th century. As family members increasingly became employed in factories the site of the family as a unit of production faded.

The difficulty for families was factory wages were very low which was made worse by significant periods of prolonged unemployment. **According to Young and Willmott this encouraged families to create 'insurance' by inviting relatives beyond the nuclear family into its network.**

This proliferation of network ties was a distinct feature of the Stage 2 family. It weakened the conjugal bond in favour of greater ties between mother and married daughter to create an organised and informal network between women which excluded men. **Young and Willmott study found men had been eased out of the female circle to find 'comfort' in the pub.**

This gulf between male and female family roles was evident in the distinct division of labour between husbands and wives in the household. Segregated conjugal roles meant men had very little involvement in domestic chores, raising the children and leisure activities.

Stage 3 – the symmetrical family (**sometimes known as privatised nuclear family)** – Young and Willmott's book The Symmetrical Family was based on 1970s large-scale social research they'd conducted in Greater London which uncovered the demise of the Stage 2 family in favour of the Stage 3 family. This shift was particularly profound within the working-classes.

The term symmetry refers to how the family is an arrangement of opposite parts in sense of how each adult's contributions are similar in the running of the household through joint conjugal roles. The symmetry comes from there being 'men's' and 'women's' work – sharing decisions, chores etc; but most importantly their roles are not interchangeable.

The Stage 3 family differs in two clear ways from Stage 2. Firstly the nuclear family makes a distinct separation between itself and the extended family. Secondly, the extent to which so much Stage 3 nuclear family is based around the home, particularly when children are young with:
- free time being devoted to chores and odd-jobs
- leisure is mainly home-based with increased TV usage
- strong conjugal bonds
- husband and wife relationships more about companionship by sharing experiences in and outside the home

Stage 4 family – (the future?) – Young and Willmott predicted the rise of the Stage 4 family whereby using their '**Principle of Stratified Diffusion' theory** (lifestyles of those who are at the top of the social ladder are gradually adopted by those at the bottom).

Studying the family life of 190 managing directors they concluded that in the future, families in other social classes

will adopt their family lifestyle. This implies that the **fourth stage will be characterised by 'work-centred' individuals,** leisure time spent outside the home and wives looking after the home and the children

Beanpole Family

"Beanpole families"- those with **fewer children and multiple generations of older people** - are leading to profound social changes, government statisticians warned yesterday.

The beanpole effect was the outcome of a nationwide "pruning of the family tree", the office for national statistics said. Fewer brothers and sisters in one generation leads to fewer aunts and uncles in the next. So, instead of a "bushy" family tree with lots of lateral branches, there are longer, thinner patterns of family relationships. More great-grandparents are surviving into their eighties and nineties, and there are fewer young siblings.
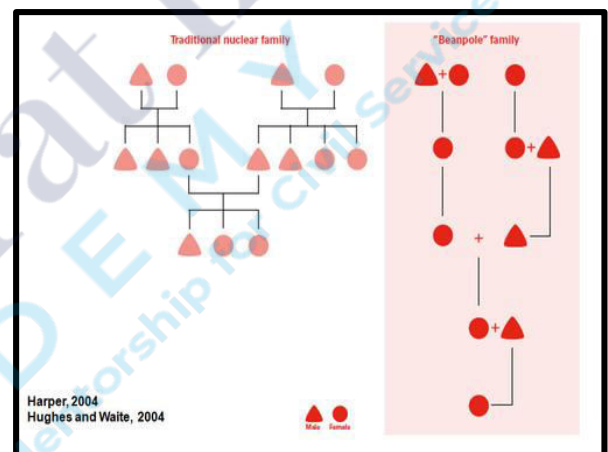
Functions of family can be seen in terms of – 'individual or manifest functions' and 'societal or latent functions'.

Some of its individual or manifest functions –

I. Family provides **emotional support** in modern society where other kinship bonds are not so strong**. Parsons refers it as personality stabilization.**

II. Physical security of the young ones and the older ones is also provided by the family.

III. Family also provides **financial security and placement**. For example – individuals take family business.

IV. **Sexual gratification** and regulation of sexual behavior.

V. Family also provides **early learning to individuals and imparts life skills** in individuals.

VI. **Entertainment function** is also provided by family at various stages.

VII. **Family also provides for social status and identity to individual**.

Societal or latent functions of family are those which are viewed at societal level.

Such macro functions have been emphasized by Parsons, Durkheim etc.

I. **Foremost function of family for society is that of reproduction as it keeps society alive.** It performs the function of member replacement in society and of its physical maintenance

II. **Family also performs function of cultural transmission**. Values of society are transmitted during the process of upbringing.

III. Family also carries out **primary socialization of children**. According to Parsons it is one of the basic and irreducible functions of the family.

IV. **Family is also a mechanism of social control.** Various sanctions, rules and punishment given to family members ensure that they adhere to accepted social norms.

V. Family also provides for **physical and emotional care** for the geriatrics and the disabled.

VI. **Family has also functioned as a unit of economic production**. Until recent times, the family was an important unit of both production and consumption.

Increased female labor force participation, legislation impacting gender, personal law and international migration, advances in science and technology including new reproductive technologies among others, have interacted with the family and have led to following structural changes –

I. **Conjugal Relations and Authority Structure** – Relationship between husband and wife today is more based on cooperation rather than domination and women are also playing increasing role in decision making. **According to Parsons, nuclearization has strengthened conjugal bonds between husband and wife**

II. **Parents-Child Relationship** – Mowrer says children are playing more role in decision making and **families are now rather filliocentric.** Both parents play now instrumental and emotional roles.

III. **Brother Sister Relationship** – They are now based on fellowship, based on equality.

IV. **Greater incidences of divorce** – **Single Parent Families**. According to Duncan Fletcher people today expect more out of marital relations and hence more likely to end a relation which would have survived in past. Edmund Leach says that emotional stress and tensions are so great that family often fails to bear it and bonds become fragile. In industrial society, due to rise of functional alternatives, families perform fewer functions and hence there are fewer bonds to unite. Nicky Hart says that there are more opportunities to escape today. **According to her, this is best exemplified by the enactment of new Divorce Law in USA in 1971 which led to a spurt in divorce cases.**

V. Authority of the aged is decreasing.

VI. Rise of non-institutionalized features – **live-in, single parent family** etc.

VII. Family is becoming more of an individualized affair.

Factors that have been responsible for changes in structure and functions of family and marriage are –

I. **Industrialization** – It **leads to small family sizes which are geographically more mobile**. Industrialization also promotes achievement based status and strengthens conjugal bonds.

II. **Families are today formed as a result of love marriages.** Free selection of spouse has introduced romantic element in family.
III. **Legal factors have improved status of women and children.** Women have now more rights. Individuals are now also freer to move separately. Polygamy is now practiced lesser due to legal restrain on it in most of the countries.
IV. **Neolocal trend** is replacing patrilocal patterns. Employed new couples have to move to new places where their jobs are located.
V. **Emergence of alternatives to family and marriages** –Cohabitation or live-ins, gay and lesbian partnerships and single parent families are new emerging trends. Acceptance to same sex relationship has also upset the traditional definitions of family.
VI. **Individualization and fluidity in relations has led to less durable bondings**. Zygmunt Bauman in his 'Liquid Love, 2003' argues that modern life is characterized by constant change and lack of lasting bonds.
VII. **Enlightenment of women** – Women resist the compulsions and atrocities of joint patriarchal family.
VIII. **Over population and migration**
IX. **Problems of accommodation** – A single house becomes insufficient to accommodate all members of family.
X. **Education**
XI. **Decline of religious control alters functions of family**.
XII. **Role of media**
XIII. **Urbanization** – It also put pressure on joint family.
XIV. **State policy** – Family planning drives and rhetoric like 'Hum Do Humare Do'.
XV. **Land reforms** – According to Lakshminarayana land reforms imposed ceiling restriction on the landholdings. In many cases, the heads of the family resorted to theoretical partition and sows the seeds for separate living.

Household:

Family is a social unit based on kinship, household is a brick and mortar dwelling unit. The household or ghar is a residential and domestic unit composed of one or more persons living under the same roof and eating food cooked in the same kitchen or hearth/chulah.

Thus, emotional attachment is core feature of family, while commensality is core feature of household.

TYPES OF HH:
* Households and family may or may not be the same for a given group of people.
* **There can be different households for the same members of family as in case of husband and wife having occupations** in different places and hence living in different households.
* There may also be different families in same households, as in case of different families living in a single house as tenants and landlords etc.
* There may also be **institutional households as in case of hostels, dormitories, hotels and so on**. There may also be houseless households as in case of pavement dwellers.
* The **household is a commensal and co-resident group/unit** which may even take a form of single person household.

Thus, kin and residence rules distinguish between family and household.
* Classical scholars like **Morgan, Maine and Kroeber** have looked family as a mean to explain evolution of human civilization and hence largely ignored its household dimension.
* Later the **idea of nuclear family by Parsons, William Goode** etc. also emphasized that nuclear family and household are inseparable to each other.
* However, Anthony Giddens argues that phenomenon like 'serial monogamy' have led to breakdown of concept of family and household being one and the same as different marriages bring many different relations under a single roof.
* Further, stay of members is more transitory than permanent. **Occupational compulsions in a cosmopolitan culture has separated husband and wife who often live at different places** in different households and meet only

at weekends giving rise to **new concepts like 'weekend families/marriages'.**

A household may also go several changes with time from nuclear to joint etc.

- In India, such transformation has been studied by **Shah in Gujarat villages in his 'Household Dimension of Family in India, 1973'.**
- **A household may experience progression and/or regression or both on the basis of birth, adoption and in- and out-marriage, and death, divorce and separation of members over a period of time.** A household in itself is neither joint nor nuclear, but becomes either of these by virtue of its being under progression and regression in the process of its developmental phases.
- For example, a married son's moving out of his father's house in a patrilineal society makes the son's house a nuclear one, or rather a separate one. This act may or may not simultaneously make his father's household a nuclear or simple one. Thus at any given time the family forms in a society are likely to vary from a single member to a large group residing together.

Thus, **the term household is used for the residential grouping and family for the group related through kinship, emotional, ritual and legal dimensions**. Further, some scholars like Shah also contend that it is the family that is nuclear or joint, a household can be more aptly called as simple or complex.

Kinship, Descent, Marriage

Kinship

- **Ties** that are **socially recognised.**
- **Majorly** originating from **Biological** relationships.
- **Kinship** is the trait of **persons recognized by the relationship** - Either through **blood** or **marriage**.
- It plays **crucial role in formation and maintenance of social structure and social system.**

Relationship Chart

Primary Lineals → Father – Son

Secondary Lineals → Grandfather – Grandson

Tertiary → Great – Great

- **Social recognition is more important than biological fact.**
- Even when biological fact is absent, social relation can exist (adopted kids).
- Also, biological fact presents but not recognised socially leads to child being called an illegitimate child.
- Rules are required to recognize lines of family as a rule/system.

Lineage & Descent

Lineage:

- It **refers to a particular type of kin group in which a member has a common ancestor whose identity is known.**
- It is the principle based upon which inheritance is chosen. **Example: Patrilineage, Matrilineage.**
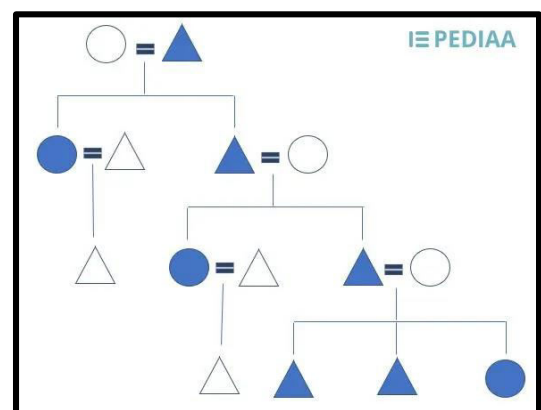
Descent:

- It is the principle **whereby a child is socially affiliated with the group of his/her parents.**
- Lineage has important place in kinship and family system.
- **Family is the smallest descent group compared to lineage.**

Unlineal Descent

Only one line recognised.
1. **Male line** – Patrilined Descent
2. **Female line** – Matrilineal Descent (Nayars, Kerla)

Robin Fox's Theory (Anthropologist)

4 conditions every kingroup has to fulfil to survive
1. **Men** are needed to **impregnate** women
2. **Women** are needed to **bear & rear** children
3. **Enough men for food** & properly management when women are pregnant
4. **Incest to be avoided**

Patrilineal system

Easy system

- **Own Group's women sent out; other group's women received** for mating.
- **Other group's women are kept inferior** so as not to harm group unity.

Patriliny & Patriarchy went hand in hand.

Matrilineal System

- **Own group's male sent out; others received.**
- **Assumption that, other group's men will have lesser unity** (i.e., affinal men less united compared to consanguine men), system will run into problems during child bearing & rearing by women.
- This is also called Matrilineal Puzzle, i.e. how these groups survive, various ways:
  o **Na's of** China, **Nayars** of Kerala: - **Visiting husbands**, not even social father's
  o **Mother's brother acquired an important** role.

NOW (Present Context):

Conditions are changing

1. Birth Control
2. Lesser number of children
3. Muscular energy not needed anymore to get food
4. Rise of technology helping women, men equally in work

Changing structure of kinship

Now, both sides are recognised
- Equally & Symmetrically
- Giving rise to **Bilateral Descent**

Both lines getting recognised equally & symmetrically.

FUNTIONS OF DESCENT GROUPS:

1. **Marriage** Regulation (rules of exogamy)
2. **Economic** cooperation (Loans)
3. **Land held in common** (villages belonging to a particular Lineage)
4. **Agricultural cooperation** on field (during sowing, harvesting)
5. **Religious practices** (Kul devtas)
6. **Solidarity** during **death**
7. **Celebrations** during child birth, marriage, other events, etc.
8. **Political Cohesion**
9. **Dispute resolution** by Lineage head (**Panchayats**)
10. **Legacy** (good name commanded by a group)

Changing Trends

Rise of Kindred Groups

Kindred groups are rising because of advent of specialised industrialised societies.

- A kindred is an **ephemeral grouping which is neither permanent nor a continuing one through generations in any fixed pattern.**
- The reckoning of kindred changes with the individual who reckons his/her circle of relatives.
- This is because the members of any particular kindred do not have nor reckon an ancestor in common to all of them; instead what they all have or recognize in common is ego.
- Every individual in a society has kindred and the kindred of each individual will overlap with his/her next of kin.
- No kindred is common for any two individuals besides siblings.
- A **kindred is thus not ancestor-focused but ego-centred.**

Kindred Active in
- Celebrations
- Mourning
- Loans
- Babysitting
- **Network** for accessing business opportunities & job opportunities
- **Helping hand** in faraway places.

Alliance vs Descent
- In the study of kinship, two theories – **the descent theory and the alliance theory** were proposed by anthropologists.
- This was **to work out the different structures of kinship** through the models based on birth and marriage ties.
- **Kinship group** are formed on the basis of **certain principles**.
- **Alliance and descent** are important major **structural approaches** in study of kinship system.

Alliance:
- The bond between two families following a **marriage** is described as relationship of alliance.
- It primarily **dictates, whom one should marry**. **Descent**:
- It is the **principle whereby a child is socially affiliated** with the group of his or her parents.
- It primarily **dictates, whom one should not marry**.

Other types of Descent Systems
1. **Double Unilineal Descent: Both sides recognised** but **unequally & asymmetrically**. One line – Movable Property. Other line – Immovable Property (Yako of Nigeria)
2. **Ambilineal Descent**: **Choose any line**. Choice of individual (Samoa, Margret Mead studied)
3. **Parallel Descent**: **Sons** inherit from **father**; **Daughter** inherit from **Mother**. (Saha Tribe)

Terms to keep in Mind

- **Agnates**: Kins connected from **father's** side.
- **Uterines**: Kins connected from **mother's** side
- **Patrilineal Descent groups** – Consist of Agnates
- **Matrilineal Descent groups** – Consist of Uterines

Clans

- Subdivided into smaller groups called Lineages
- These are Unilineal descent groups

Descent Groups

- **Clans & Lineages are exogamous** in nature.

Because

- **Clan** is a Descent from a common ancestor (Suryavanshi, Yaduvanshi, etc.)
- **Lineage** -Descended from a real ancestor
  - Relation depends upon which ancestor is chosen.

Alliance	Descent
Follows Marriage	Follows Ancestry
Dictates whom one should marry	Dictates whom one should not marry
Creates "between-unit" relations	Maintains "within-unit" relations
Avoids incest	Defines the Legacy
Relations are relative	Relations are absolute (either one is member or not)
Helps in Intra-Group Stability	Helps in Inter-Group Stability

- Helps in determining claim over immovable property. Also, sub-castes, if any.

MARRIAGE

Relations based on Affinity

Marriage:

- When sexuality is given social recognition – (institutionalising)

A minimal definition:

- A social arrangement in which individuals & groups acquire certain rights on each other.

Marriage

Rights: 2 types
- **Kinship Rights**: Sexual rights, Generician (Right to bear children)
- **Domestic Right:** Right to seek domestic cooperation for household mgmt.

Important to Note here that:
- Children born outside marriage suffer social disabilities.
- Content of the rights keep changing.

Marriages classifications based on content of rights

Rights vested in individuals (exclusivity) : Monogamy – 2 types.
- **Straight life (Classical Monogamy)** – Marriage is sacred, Bond is not dissolved, Women in particular, no right to divorce or remarry.
- **Serial Monogamy:** More of a contract, Remarriage possible, But at one time one spouse.

Individual rights not exclusive – Polygamy
- **Polygyny**: Rights are shared by women, More prevalent, outcome of Patriarchy.
- **Polyandry**: **Pandavas**: Fraternal Polyandry – co-husbands are brothers, Emerging again in Pb, hry, up, of shortage of women.

Preferential Marriage
- **Levirate**: upon death of husband, woman marries husband's younger brother.
- **Sororate**: upon death of wife, man marries wife's younger sister (eg. **Mopola Muslims**)

Different Forms of Marriage in India

#1. Polygamy   **#2. Monogamy**

>Polygyny.
-Sororal polygyny.
-Non sororal polygyny.
>Polyandry.
-Fraternal polyandry marriage.
-Non fraternal polyandry marriage.

Cross-Cousin Marriage

- Cross – cousin are children of Mother's brother or Father's sister.
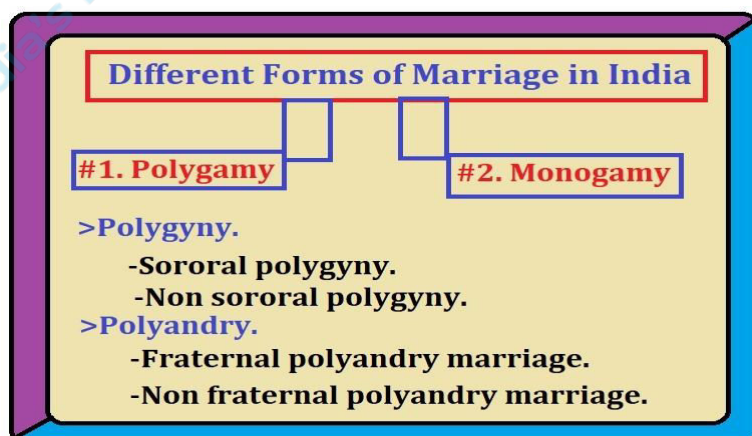
Parallel–Cousin Marriage

- **Parallel cousins**: children of Mother's sister or father's brother
- **In Hindus:** Prohibited
- **In Muslims:** Allowed
- **In Northern India:** Cross – cousin Prohibited as well.

Anuloma or hypergamy and pratiloma marriage –

Hypergamy is also practiced in almost all India. **A groom with higher status than that of girl is desirable**. This practice is also seen as promoting dowry as parents of boy put a price on their 'high status' boy.

Re-marriage –

Remarriage in case of widowhood and divorce or desertion. In modern societies like USA where divorce rates are as high as 35%, remarriages are a common phenomenon. **Anthony Giddens calls such marriages as 'Serial Monogamy'.** In some traditional conservative societies, female widows are not allowed to marry. It was quite prevalent in caste Hindus till some time back.

FUNCTIONS OF MARRIAGE
1. **Biological** (sexual ages)
2. **Social** – Procreation
3. **Cultural** – Transmission of values
4. **Economic** – Inheritance
5. **Psychological** – Emotional expressions, bonding

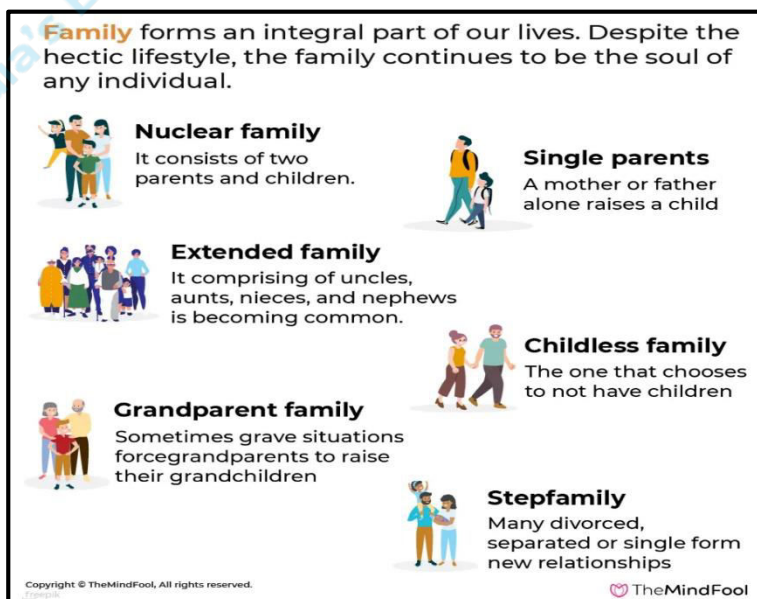**In India: Marriage is a 'Dharma' as an well**

Trends in Marriage
1. Divorce – Ease of law by women
2. Separation
3. Empty shell decreasing

CHANGING FORMS of Family:
1) Homosexuality
2) Live in relations
3) Plastic sexuality
4) Single parent families
5) Surrogate mothers
6) Patchwork family
7) Living apart together: Giddens
8) 6 pocket syndrome family
9) Dual career families

Family forms an integral part of our lives. Despite the hectic lifestyle, the family continues to be the soul of any individual.

Nuclear family
It consists of two parents and children.

Single parents
A mother or father alone raises a child

Extended family
It comprising of uncles, aunts, nieces, and nephews is becoming common.

Childless family
The one that chooses to not have children

Grandparent family
Sometimes grave situations forcegrandparents to raise their grandchildren

Stepfamily
Many divorced, separated or single form new relationships

Anthony Giddens' The Transformation of Intimacy

It is an interesting idea that romantic love is a product of modernity – or, at least, was accompanied with the process of modernization. Giddens assumes that romantic love "began to make its presence felt from the late eighteenth century onward" and that it is associated with 'romance,' not only as a literature genre of novel but also as a form of storytelling in which self is narrated.

For Giddens, in the pre-modern era there was no intimacy in love relationship. Romantic love based upon intimacy was impossible in the social environment where "most marriages were contracted, not on the basis of mutual sexual attraction, but economic circumstance. Romantic love is related with the question of intimacy.

PLASTIC SEXUALITY AND CONFLUENT LOVE

What is intimacy? It is "incompatible with lust, and with earthy sexuality" because "it presumes a psychic communication, a meeting of souls which is reparative in character". **It is also related with a "lack," which is "directly to do with self-identity."** In other words, in order to talk about intimacy, it is prerequisite for us to acknowledge that the self is incomplete being and that love is a communication between the self and the other – both of them are incomplete.

Thus, as Giddens argues, "clear boundaries within a relationship are obviously important for confluent love and the sustaining of intimacy". Sustainment of love, which was enabled in the modern era, is coincident with the emergence of self and its reflexivity. Without the concept of self and its reflexivity, there would not have been love and acknowledgement of other, whether philanthropic or secular. Giddens' interests in addiction and codependency are parts of his big project to elucidate the nature of self-identity. **He tries to show that self-identity is not something which resides independently inside a personality, but lies in setting up the relationship with others, i.e. establishment of boundaries. It is in this point that mutual intimacy is important in building a certain relationship**. As the chart of characteristics of additive and intimate relationship (94) shows, intimacy is a necessary element – or the core – of the personal independency, emancipation, and the "democratization of daily life"

The typical relationship is the '**pure relationship**'….It exists solely to meet the partners' needs and is likely to continue only so long as it succeeds. Couples stay together because of love, happiness of sexual attraction rather than tradition a sense of duty or for the sake of the children.

Consequently, the problem of intimacy is deeply related with the process of democratization of the private sphere. It is "above all a matter of emotional communication, with others and with the self, in a context of interpersonal equality. As political democracy is concerned with free and equal relations between individuals and "the constitutional limitation of (distributive) power" (186) in the public sphere, intimacy is structurally correspondent to the private sphere. **Democratized relationship between men and women, children and parents, and any other pure relationship, is based on "respect for the independent views and personal traits of the other".**

Ulrich Beck: The 'Risk Society' and The Negotiated Family

Ulrich Beck puts forward a similar view to that of Anthony Giddens**. Beck argues that we now live in a 'risk society' where tradition has less influence and people have more choice**. As a result we are more aware of risk (**we have developed a 'risk consciousness'**) because having choice means we spend more time calculating the risks and rewards of different courses of action available.

Today's risk society contrasts with the modern society of the past with its stable nuclear family and traditional gender roles. Beck argues that even though the traditional patriarchal family was unequal and oppressive, it did provide a stable and predictable basis for the family by defining each member's role and responsibly. However the patriarchal family has been undermined by two trends.

Greater Gender Equality – which has challenged male domination in all spheres of life. Women now expect equality

both at work and in marriage.

Greater individualism – where people's actions are influenced more by calculations of their own self-interest that by a sense of obligation to others.

These trends have led to the rise of the negotiated family. Negotiated families do not conform to the traditional family norm, but vary according to the wishes and expectations of their members, who decided what is best for them by discussion. They enter the relationship on an equal basis.

However, the negotiated family may be more equal, but it is less stable, because it is characterised by greater equality.

Marital breakdown can be divided into three categories – divorce, separation and empty shell marriage.
- Divorce is legal termination of marriage,
- separation is physical separation without legal recognition.
- **Empty shell marriages are those in which spouses live together, but only for sake of living together and marriage remains in name only.**

Marital breakdowns in post industrialized society are on rise. Various contributing factors are –
I.   It is today easy to obtain after legislative reforms and **enforcement of uniform civil code** in most of developed countries. For example, after enactment of new divorce law in US in 1971, divorce cases suddenly spurted.
II.   According to **Nicky Hart in her 'When Marriage Ends, 1976'**, opportunities to escape marriage are more today. Divorce is no longer a social stigma.
III.   **According to Fletcher, over expectations** in marital relations are leading to breakdowns. People expect and demand more from marriage and consequently are more likely to end a relationship which may have been acceptable in past.
IV.   **According to William Goode in his 'A Sociological Perspective on Marital Breakdown, 1971'** nuclear families today carry heavier emotional burden and such social units become relatively fragile.
V.   William Goode argues that as a result **of relative isolation of the nuclear family** from the wider kinship network family carries a heavier emotional burden and as a consequence, this unit is relatively fragile. In an industrial society, family performs fewer functions and as a result, there are fewer bonds to unite.
VI.   It is also seen as a **symbol of economic freedom** of women as she is now free from exploitation from other members of family.
VII.   Life is becoming more and **more secular**, marriage is no longer sacrament.
VIII. It is also seen as an **outcome of feminist movements** across the world.

Patriarchy & Sexual DOL

Gender refers to the social construction of humans physiologically and biologically identified as women and men. Because gender is a socially constructed category, we are 'doing' rather than being men or women.

- **Patriarchy is defined by Sylvia Walby in her 'Theorizing Patriarchy, 1990' as 'a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate and oppress women'**

Sexual DOL: Segregation of work based on genders. Where men are mostly given public roles & women are mostly given private (domestic) roles.

Basically, there are two broad approaches which deal with the question of sexual division of labor – **biological approach and cultural approach.**

Various theoretical perspectives have been offered on origin of patriarchy and sexual division of labor.

Biological theories by Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, Murdock and Parsons have attributed –

for various reasons – sexual division of labor on biological factors.

- **Tiger and Fox in their 'The Imperial Animal, 1972' give concept of 'Human Biogrammar'** to explain biological basis of sexual division of labor. **According to them, biogrammar is like a genetic program which has been developed due to the fact that man has spent 99.9% of his time as hunter gatherer and as a result, man is more aggressive and dominant.** Women are programmed by their biogrammar to reproduce and take care for the children. Reproduction is considered as role of women and production as of men and implication of patriarchy on various forms of entitlements is now a part of social life.
- **Parsons called such different roles as 'Instrumental' and 'Expressive' roles** of a husband and wife.
- **George Peter Murdock in his book 'Social Structure, 1949'** argues that biological differences like the greater physical strength of men and the fact that women bear children, led to gender roles sheer out of practicality. Given the biological differences between men and women, sexual division is the most effective way of division of labor in society

Feminist sociologist
- **Ann Oakley in her 'Housewife, 1974'** has vociferously rejected biological theories and has through empirical evidences argued that it has a strong cultural basis.
- According to her '**sex' is natural or biological, but gender is cultural construct** and it assigns different social roles for both genders. Differential rewards are attached to these roles which create gender inequalities and gender stratification.
- She cites numerous examples in which women take **stereotypical so called 'masculine' roles.** According to her, pre-industrial society had equal space for both men and women in all kinds of works. It was only during industrialization that such changes were brought that she was branded as 'housewife'. **Housewife role, according to Oakley, has following characteristics –** it is exclusively for women and dependent on men, it has the status of 'non-work', compared to real economic productive work of men, housework is unpaid, privatized and isolated.
- She sites examples in which **women 210 are also performing tasks which are labeled as tasks of men**. Women in many Latin American countries work in mines.
- **She also sites how Kibbutzs play role of mothers as alternatives**.
- Similarly**, Bruno Bettelheim in his study of Kibbutzs** highlights that close continuous mother-child relation is not essential for effective socialization.
- **According to Jessie Bernard in her 'The Future of Marriage, 1976',** benefits that husband and wife draw from the marriage are radically different or unequal. Compared to single men, married men are likely to have more successful careers, but compared to single women, wives are more likely to suffer depression. In marriages, it is the wife which makes adjustments, conforms to his wishes and resembles him.
- **Hoschild in his 'The Second Shift, 1989'** has argued that employed women are doubly harassed by men – **one during their 'first shift' at their workplace and secondly in their 'second shift' in form of housework.**
- **India:** Construction site workers mainly women
- **Pygmy's**: No post–natal dependence on men.
- **Israel:** Large participation of women in army.

Further, in Indian context, caste is also viewed by feminists as a patriarchal institution as across the castes, role of women is of domestic worker. Together with religion, it defines role of women in Indian society.

- **According to Uma Chakravorty**, Brahminical traditions glorify obedient women as 'Pativrata' and hence put a veil on gender discrimination. Patriarchy legitimizes motherhood as primary role of women. **In Indian society, patriarchy as a social institution gives rise to other social values such as male child preference, sexual purity, monogamy, fasting by women and abstinence of women from public discourse**. While her status on one hand is of Devi in scriptures, she is given treatment of Dasi.
- Bina Das calls it as '**Devi dichotomy'.**

Margaret Mead's Theory

Margaret Mead : 'Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies' Study on tribes of Papua New Guinea.

- Both men & women do equally stern tasks, have similar personalities, highly aggressive. At times, men are home loving. That is, a society exactly opposite to that found in West.

Criticism
- **Deborah Gewertz (1981)** found no evidence of such gender roles.
- Gewertz states there is evidence men dominated the women, controlled their produce, and made all important political decisions.
- Jessie Bernard criticised Mead's interpretations of her findings and argued that Mead was biased in her descriptions by using of subjective descriptions. o **Bernard states that Mead's own writings indicate that men physically fought over women, yet women did not fight over men.**
- Betty Friedan criticized on the basis that it contributes to women.

Shulamith Firestone

Shulamith Firestone wrote 'Dialetics of Sex'
- Sexual inequality most fundamental inequality.
- Criticises Karl Marx for overlooking sexual inequality. Supported by Eichler that:
- Because of **SDOL women are confined to domestic sphere, their work is not even valued because it does not fetch any profits.**
- Even if women work outside, still has to work at home.
- **Double Exploitation.**
- This inequality some roots in Biology because women have to bear children, make them dependent on men. Also, infant dependent on woman.
- While legal discrimination is no longer the norm in most western countries, little has been to displace traditional gender roles, roles and identities that are contested and embraced by feminists.
- **Firestone's radical feminism argued for a future where technology was used to eliminate sexism** by freeing women from childbirth and liberating both men and women from the patriarchal nuclear family

Patriarchy

There is a distinction between:
1. Private & Public Sphere
2. Paid & Domestic Work (unpaid) **(Now Double Burden)**
3. Salaries for Same Work
4. Types of Jobs Given (Pink Collared)
5. The Levels That Could Be Achieved (women have **Glass–Ceilings, Men have GlassElevators**) (Karuna Ahmad)

Factors that contribute to Patriarchy
1. Biology
2. Ideology propagated to children during variable upbringing of son & daughters
3. Family structure patriarchal
4. Religion – God is him (not her). Woman source of temptations.
5. **Women themselves:** Mother–in–law praying for a son, blessings, festivals male oriented, beating daughter–in–law on not agreeing.
6. Educational attainment & Educational system
7. Mass media commercialising & commodifying women
8. Physical violence (male physically stronger to overpower women)

9. Psychological factors
10. Laws & customs: Triple Talaq, Men as Karta

Technology bringing changes in Patriarchy
- **Political:** Ease of putting views forth (FB, Twitter)
- **Economical**: New jobs, requiring less muscular works (IT, Finance)
- **Social**: Safety when outside (Mobile phones, Aps), increased interactions, better possibility of availing education & skills.
- **Ecological**: Smokeless chulha preventing diseases, prolonging life expectancy & life– chances
- **Legal:** online FIRs, cyber police stations
- **Rise of technology** that aiding women's participation in workforce
- Technology that makes household work more equally distributed between males and females.

What is Menstrual Leave?

Menstrual leave is a **paid or unpaid absence due to a woman's inability to go to work because of painful menstruation**.

Need for Menstrual Leave
- A World Bank study conducted in 2019 reports that **40% of the world's labour force constitutes women.**
- Roughly half of this population experience a condition called **dysmenorrhoea (painful periods).**
- Apart from that, some also suffer from back pain, diarrhoea, fatigue, nausea, and vomiting when menstruating.

Examples from around the world
- Menstrual leaves are recognized in few other countries, among **them Japan, Taiwan, Indonesia, South Korea and Zambia.**
- **Japan has offered menstrual leave policies since 1947**, when a law was passed allowing any woman with painful periods, or whose job might exacerbate period pain, to take time off.
- But it turns out menstrual leave has been a thing for quite a while in some parts of the world. In Japan, women have been able to take time off for painful periods, or if they have to perform tasks that might exacerbate period pain, since just after World War II.
- **The leave is called seirikyuuka — meaning "physiological leave."**

In India

- A handful of private Indian companies have started such policies in recent months. The move has set off fierce debate, not just in India but around the world.
- Experts say the spread of such policies — despite their best intentions — could actually deter women's progress in the workplace.
- **Zomato, an Indian food delivery company, rolled out its menstrual leave policy in 2020** that it wanted to change perceptions in India where periods are shrouded in shame.

Arguments For:

- **Proponents argue that period leave will not just alleviate the pressure to work through periods, but will decrease the stigma surrounding a normal bodily function.**
- It does not address just women, several trans men also experience them and for many of them, it is a painful experience. Therefore**, period leave isn't just a woman rights issue, an LGBTQ issue, and, it is a human rights issue**.
- The cases are not the same for all women; some go through terrible pain during these days which makes it practically impossible for them to work.
- In almost 40% of women, menstruation pain is accompanied by premenstrual symptoms, such as bloating, tender breasts, swollen stomach, lack of concentration, mood swings, clumsiness, and tiredness.
- This needs to be highlighted because then the need for 'Period Leave' makes sense.

Arguments Against

- In a patriarchal culture, the s**tigma around menstruation often causes menstruation to be viewed as a disease**, and women who ask for menstrual leave as **weak and a liability.**
- The term menstrual leave can make people form unfounded assumptions. It isn't uncommon, for male employees in particular and society in general, to think that women are given preferential treatment or that they don't need to be part of the workforce.
- The additional days off could be **used to justify lower pay or increase hiring bias against women.**
- Women could lose out of decision-making roles and promotions due to these regular absences.
- And these policies may play into a **decades-old prejudice that menstruation makes women unfit for work outside home.**
- Giving women more paid time off could result in employers opting to skirt the policy altogether by hiring more men.

Kavita Krishnan (All India Progressive Women's Association): • Should workplaces be shaped only for an abstract and one-size-fits-all capitalism or should they be shaped keeping in mind the optimum productivity and comfort of diverse human bodies and selves?

For women in a competitive and patriarchal setup, it's like a double-edged sword. Take the leave and basically admit they are unfit physiologically, or go back to work and be in pain.
One thing people need to get right is that women going on pregnancy leave or menstrual leave doesn't make them weaker in any way.
If not leave, then work from home can be considered an alternative option.
And another step that needs to be taken is a uniform policy throughout the country to formulate a policy that benefits the female workers from both formal and informal sector.
Thus, once there is a political consensus that women should have the right to menstrual leave, there is a **pressing need for a law passed by Parliament to ensure that women across states and across establishments, whether public or private, are entitled to the same number of periods leave days.**

Paternity Leave

According to ILO-
- "Paternity leave is generally a short period of leave for the father immediately following childbirth.
- Its **aim is to enable fathers to assist the mother to recover from childbirth,** which is also crucial in establishing breastfeeding, take care of the newborn as well as other children, attend to the registration of the birth and other family-related responsibilities.

Some Examples

1. Internationally, countries have attempted to **address paternity leave in terms of equity between parents.** For example, **Almqvist & Duvander** note that in Sweden, a quota has been introduced to give fathers access to two months of paid paternity leave that must be used in order to receive full government parenting benefits. This legislation has been clearly documented as an attempt to strengthen women's bargaining position in the workplace and increase overall gender equity

2. Scandinavian countries— that top the Human Development Index— have instituted **"equal parental leave (EPL) rights" for men and women**. For instance, in **Sweden, the EPL system was introduced in 1974—both men and women were given an equal number of paid parental leaves, with the flexibility to swap the paid leaves between each other**. Empirical evidence shows that more women than men had accessed this, though parents were provided equal shares in paid leave.

3. Following in the footsteps of Scandinavian countries, Quebec adopted a "daddy quota"
Similar to the Scandinavian model, **offering five weeks of dedicated, non-transferable, government-paid l**eave to new fathers in the province

4. In India, it was only last year that Zomato rolled out 26 weeks paternity leave. With this step, they have set an example for everyone in the country.

Benefits

1. **Paternity leave-taking may also help to facilitate stronger parental relationships.** Similar to the idea that, fathers may use the time off provided by paternity leave to focus on their relationship with their new child, fathers may also use this time to focus on their relationship with their co-parent.
2. There is also evidence that **paternity leave-taking increases fathers' participation in domestic tasks**, which is associated with fewer conflicts and an increased likelihood of perceiving the division of household labor as equitable.
3. In their most recent paper, published in May 2019, **Dr. Petts and Dr. Knoester** found that in a longitudinal study, even nine years later, children whose fathers took at least two weeks of paternity leave after they were born reported feeling closer to their fathers than children with fathers who did not take leave.
4. Mandated parental leave, **along with high-quality care economy policies and flexi-work time** for men and women with young children, can ensure parents actively contribute to economic growth—a must for quality human capital formation, which, in turn, ensures intergenerational equity.
5. The most direct and far-reaching policy to encourage **fatherhood involvement is paternity leave**. Countries that offer leaves of multiple week duration only to fathers (e.g., father quotas) are associated with significantly higher rates of father involvement in childcare later in the child's first year.

Why People Hesitate While Taking Parental Leave
In almost all countries that offer paternity leave, fathers may choose whether to take the leave or not. Just three countries make paternity leave compulsory.
1. **Can lead to damage to professional reputation**- Men taking paternity leave are seen as less committed towards

their work and hence the whole idea has been stigmatized.

2. Wage difference

3. Job security

Issues with Paternity leave policy

- There is no set international standard by which countries can measure potential paternity policies; therefore, nations have a wide range of statutes in place.
- Since many nations have adopted paternity leave policies within the past few years, little evaluation has been done on the overall range of policy and their efficacy in bringing gender parity at various levels.
- When paternity policy has been evaluated, it seems to create a feedback loop. Once policies have been implemented over a period of time, individual attitudes are changed, bolstering general beliefs in equity.

Conclusion

- **Paternity leave is not a one-size-fits-all solution to promote the equal sharing of family responsibilities** and, as the majority of countries still provide only a few days of paternity leave, this policy alone is unlikely to make a difference in transforming traditional gender roles (United Nations, 2011).
- However, in enshrining a statutory right to paternity leave in national legislation, governments, workers, employers and societies as a whole publicly affirm that they value the care work of both women and men, which is a crucial step in advancing gender equality both at work and in the home.
- Moreover, it is time when tapping into fathers as a means to share the burden of childrearing is an increasingly popular expansion of the welfare state.
- Also, the **increasing nuclearization of families** warrants increased presence of the father in doing the chores

SOCIAL CHANGE IN MODERN SOCIETY

Social Change: Definition

Variations that happen overtime in relationships among individuals, groups, cultures and societies.

- Need not always be drastic, subtle like voting patterns, crime rate etc.

Horton and Hunt

Social Change can be defined as:
- Changes in social **structure** and social **relationships** of a society.
- **Differentiate** between **cultural change** and **social change** even though both overlap at many times.

The International Encyclopaedia of the Social Science

- Change as the **important alterations** that occur in the social structure, or in the **pattern of action and interaction** in societies.

3 Aspects of social change
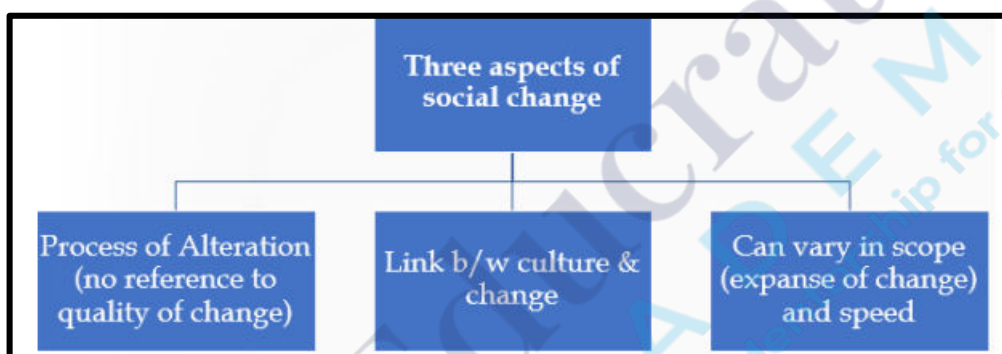
Social Change & Other Closely Related Terms
- **Evolution**: Expresses continuity & direction of change. Not just change in size but structure.
- **Growth**: Implies direction of change but essentially only size and quality.
- **Progress**: Direction towards some desired goal. Involves value judgement.

Sociological theories of social change Social change a universal phenomenon **Social change is change in**

- Social structure
- Functions
- Relationships (analyse on various parameters like within family, religion, gender, political institutions etc).

Sociology itself a child 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, India, etc.

Pitirim Sorokin's Cyclic Theory of Change

Book- 'Social and Cultural Dynamics'

Three kinds

- **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.

Cyclical Theories

<u>Ideational culture</u>: importance to spiritualism, mysticism <u>Sensate</u>: Importance to Science, Senses to understand reality. **Idealist**: An ideal culture, combines above 2.

These 3 types succeed one – another in cycles. He gave 2 principles:

1. Main thrust for change comes from within the system.
2. There is a definite limit to change.

Pitirim Sorokin's Cyclic Theory of Change

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, there is repetition.
- **Saw societies changing instead of progressing/decaying.**

2 major ideas:

Principle of limits and irregular motion of change

Sorokin's principle of limits suggests that **societal change fluctuates between two extremes: ideational (idealistic, spiritual) and sensate (materialistic, empirical).** These extremes represent contrasting values and norms that societies adopt over time.

Irregular motion refers to the oscillation between these two cultural states—societies don't transition smoothly from one to the other but rather experience erratic shifts influenced by various factors like wars, economic crises, or cultural movements.

Cyclical Theories

Oswald Spengler along with Toynbee studied the Decline of West. They studied 21 civilizations. Similarity in all civilizations in terms of birth, grow, decay and death.

- Birth / Growth / Decay / Death
- This is inevitable - Quotes Roman civilization.
- Very close to ancient **Hindu theory of Yuga**.

Vilfredo Pareto

Book 'The mind and society, **'Study of circulation of elites'.** 'History is graveyard of aristocracies'.

Asserted that political changes especially with regard to rule of elites tends to take place in a cycle.

- Focus on political changes, particularly elites
- History is circulation of elites
- **Elites 2 types – Lions / Foxes. Keep circulating.**

Cyclic Theory - Criticism

Criticism of Cyclic Theories

- **Horton and hunt:** Not convincing. Doesn't explain why different societies respond differently to change.
- **Ritzer**: Doesn't consider socio-psychological factors. Cast humans as virtual pawns.

Evolutionary theories

Unilinear

- Straight line evolution
- Universal & mandatory

Tylor – (Savagery, Barbarism, Civilisation) | Book – Primitive Culture **Comte** – (Theological, Metaphysical, Positive) |

Positive Philosophy **Spencer** – (Simple Society, Compounded, Doubly comp; Trebly comp.) **Durkheim** – (Mech.

Solidarity to organic solidarity)

Spencer: -

- Adopted **organismic analogy** to explain society
- Progressive increase in size
- Followed by increase in differentiation & integration
- **Higher the d & I, higher the evolutionary stage.**
- These theories considered Europe to be most advanced
- The idea faded after Europe fought most savage wars, WW1 & 2.

Criticism

1. Value bias
2. Arm – chair theorization
3. Macro theories (no consideration to cultural variations)
4. Doesn't explain decline of societies
5. Ignores external factors of change

> - Further, *Spencer even examined certain stages which the societies in course of their evolution passed.* Each stage is characterized by increasing development in the integration of mechanism. The evolutionary sequence consists of the following stages:
> - Simple society (Herd or band)
> - Compound society (Tribe and chiefdom)
> - Doubly compounded society (City state & kingdom)
> - Trebly compounded society (Empire and modern nation state)

Evolutionary/Linear theories

- Consistent in direction.
- When final stage reached $\longrightarrow$ 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 development is accompanied by moral development, especially, 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
- Development 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**
  o Innovation and selection.
  o 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.

Neo – Evolutionary theories
- To overcome the limitations of evolutionary.
- They avoid value judgements.
- They also suggest general trend towards more elaborate form of DOL
- Imparted by savagery nature of world wars.

1. **Talcott Parsons**
- Based on biological theory of evolution
- Capacity for adaptation.
- **2 basic process.**
  • Differentiation
  • Integration

Parsons build his theory of change based on **biological theory of evolution** in the living organisms system, which haves survived and become most developed are those which have shown greater ability for adaptation to their environment Thus the fundamental principle of evolution is the capacity for : **adaptation**

Capacity for adaptation, in turn depends upon two basic processes viz *differentiation and integration*. Increasing structural differentiation enable society to upgrade its *adaptational capacity*. At the same time, as it becomes more differentiated, new models of integration have to be invented in order to coordinate the new and more numerous parts of which it is composed. Increased differentiation accompanied by sustained integration enables society to evolve according to exigencies of the environment. Here *change in the culture* is very important for both. Increased differentiation as well as for new integrative mechanism to be effective, culture plays the most important role in maintaining control. According to Parsons cultural change accompanied by increasing differentiation is characterized by increasing *generalization of cultural value* which helps in greater inclusion.

Applying *evolutionary model, Parsons has distinguished five stages of evolution*, in terms of which various societies can be classified. These stages are characterized by increasing level of differentiation and integration.

5 stages of evolution based on Differentiation & Integration (PAHSM)
- Primitive Society (Australian aborigines)
- Archaic – (Mesopotamia, Egyptian empires)
- Historical – (China, India) - Seed bed – (Israel, Greece)
- Modern – (US, USSR, Europe, Japan)

2. **Gordon Childe**
- Model based on development of material culture

- He **presents archaeological evidence**

3. **Leslie White** : Energy theory of change
   - Amount of energy harnessed is an **index of level of development**
   - Energy is both cause & effect of the process of transformation.

Criticisms of Evolutionary/Linear Theories

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.

Conflict Theory

Marx- Dialectical materialism
- **Law of Unity and Conflict of Opposites**
- **The Law of Negation of the Negation**
- **The Law of Transition of Quantity into Quality**

Elements of social conflict
- Opposition between 2 or more social categories- can be class/caste/family/professional orgn
- All situation of conflict have element of power
- May involve hostile sentiments and attitudes
- Need to differentiate between **objective (eg resources) & subjective (eg: hatred) basis of conflict**
- Interests- economic/religious/political etc

Marxian Theory
- 5 stages of historical Materialism.
- **Class struggle as motor od social change**
- Conflict beings change when time is right
- Economic determinism

Max Weber
- Conflict can be good
- PE & SC
- Change because of cultural forces.

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.**

Randall 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 contribution 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

Parsons

- Despite emphasis on social order and stability, Parsons did not deny the possibility of social change. **Parsons viewed social change at two levels**
1. Change which emerges from processes within the social system
2. The processes of change of the social system itself.

A primary factor related to processes of change within the social system is increase in population, its density and aggregation.
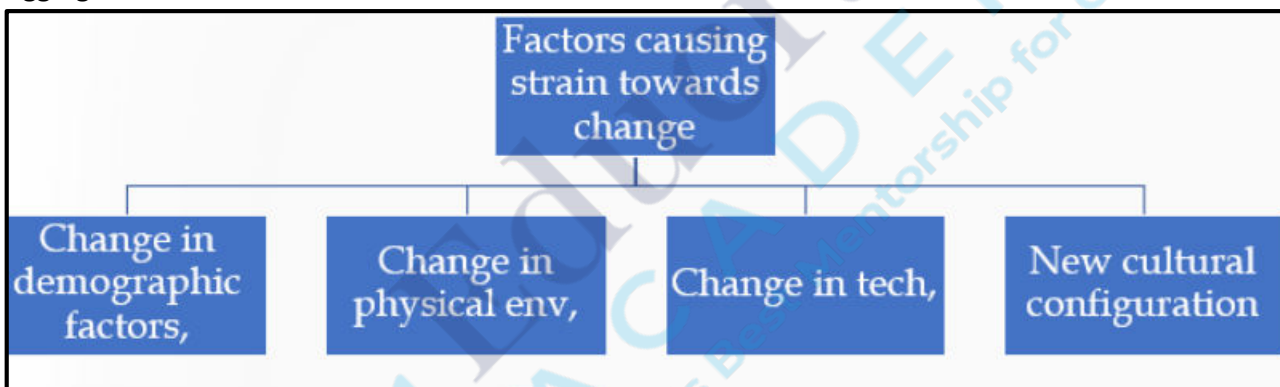
Eg development of new religious ideas. Not exclusive but work in independent plurality.

Cultural factors bring about changes within the social system through a continuous process of **"rationalisation" and "traditionalisation"** of values and beliefs.
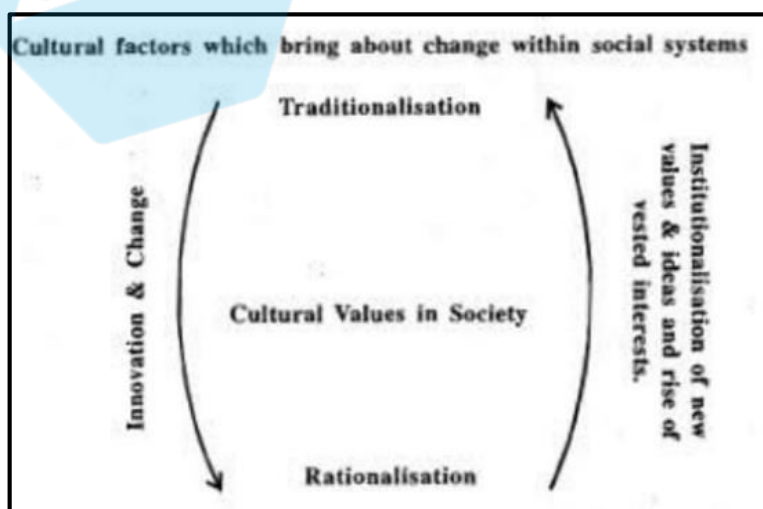
- Parsons illustrated the processes of social change within the social system by drawing examples from the family system. Order and stability are primary concerns
- **The family undergoes changes inherently through the life cycle of the persons who are its members**.
- The processes of birth, maturation, 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.

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
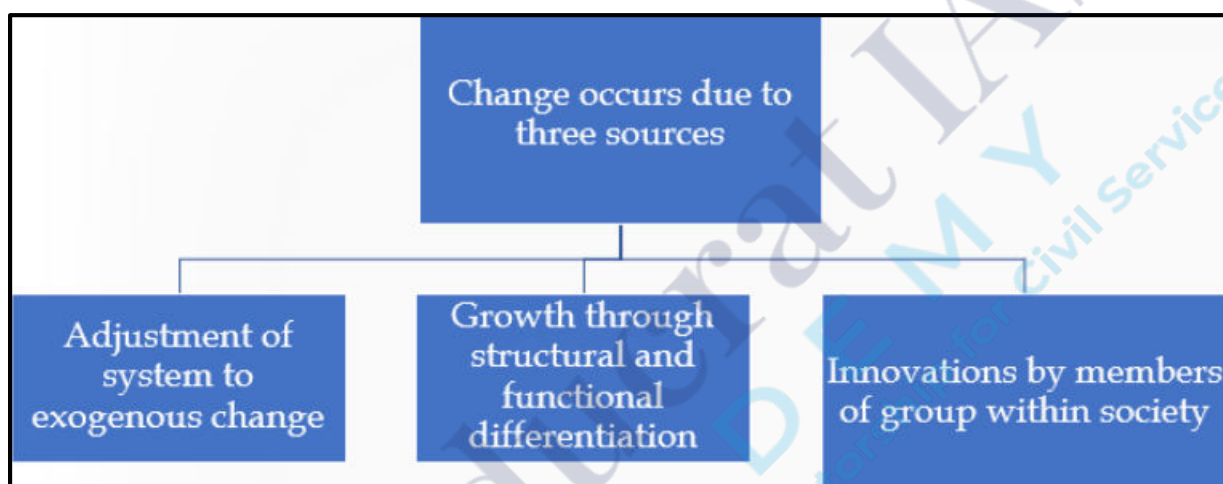
- Concept of dynamic equilibrium has change built into it →society in imperfect balance & open to adjustive changes.
- Ogburn theory of cultural lag closely related.

Criticism: Van den Berghe
- 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 for achievement' or the n-factor (three needs theory - achievement, power, and affiliation)
- **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

Diffusionist theory

R. Redfield, M. Singer, Mckim Marriot

- Source of change is outside the society
- Change begins with culture.
- **Cultural contact could lead to**
  o **Assimilation** (America)
  o **Acculturation** (India – westernisation)
  o **Rejection** (Tribes)

The acceptance or rejection of cultural traits depends

o **firstly on intensity of contact**; thus if there is the direct cultural contact leading to acculturation process, recipient culture may be transformed to a great extent.
o **Secondly, if the coming cultural traits am related to the peripheral aspects of the recipient's culture, then there is great chance of its acceptances**, for example, how easily Indians have accepted Jeans and Pizzas,
o but if it is related to the core values of the recipient culture, then it will face a lot of resistance. In fact, a change in core values of the recipient culture may even give rise to revivalist type of protest movement


"GREAT" And "LITTLE" TRADITIONS

➢ The term "great" and "little" traditions were coined by sociologists Robert Redfield in the 20th century to describe the cultural practices of peasants societies.
➢ The observance of rituals and customs among peasants emanating from dominant social categories for example, priests and rulers were classified as great traditions.
➢ While the peasants following of local customs and practices that did not necessarily confirm with the dominant classes, i.e, great traditions were categorized as little traditions. Great and little traditions changed over time through a process of interaction.
➢ However, scholars while accepting the significance of these categories are uncomfortable with the hierarchical notion, implicit in the terms of great and little traditions.

The origin of little and great traditions is from Robert Redfield, who conducted his studies in Mexican communities. It was Redfield who talked about little community. For him **little community was a village that had smaller size, self-sufficient and relatively isolated**. Redfield did not mention anything about traditions or great traditions. Singer and Marriott who were influenced by studies made by Redfield conducted their intensive study in Indian villages. They elaborated the original model of Redfield in the light of data generated from India villages.

Influenced by this model (of Robert Redfield**), Milton Singer and Mckim Marriott had conducted some studies on social change in India utilising this conceptual framework.** The basic ideas in this approach are **'civilisation', and 'social organisation of tradition'**. It is based on the evolutionary view that civilisation or the structure of tradition {which consists of both cultural and social structures) grows in two stages: first, through orthogenetic or indigenous evolution, and second, through heterogenetic encounters or contacts with other cultures or civilisations.

The Indian social structure, in a broader way, is stratified into two divisions: (1) the folks or the unlettered peasantry, and (2) the elites. The folks and peasantry follow the little tradition, i.e., the village tradition. The second division of elites follow the great tradition. The great tradition consists of the traditions contained in epics, Puranas, Brahmanas and other classical sanskritic works
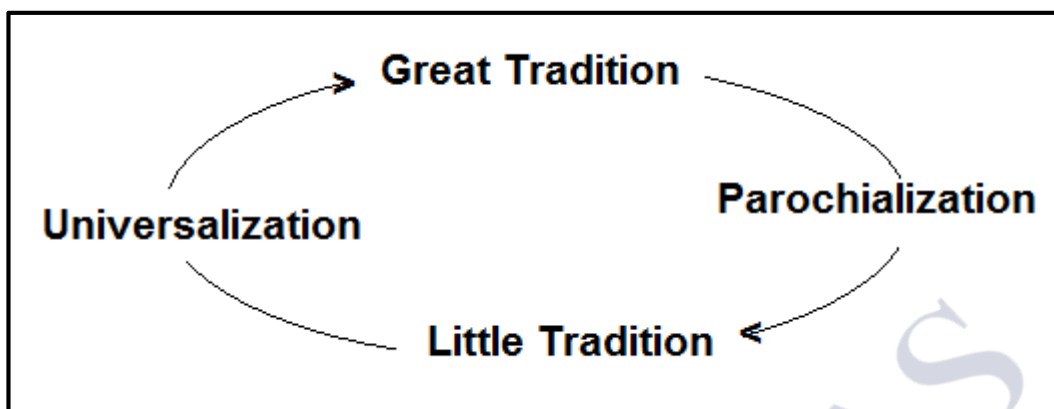
Mal integration theory

Neil Smelser, RK Merton

- With time dysfunctions | incompatibilities in Society
- Causing structural strain
- Collective mobilisation, social movements & thus, social change

Cultural Lag theory

Ogburn & Nimkoff

- Culture into 2 parts
- o **Material** $\longrightarrow$ Technology & other material goods
- o **Non – material** $\longrightarrow$ values, beliefs, religion, family, education. - Non – material culture (Also called adaptive culture changes more slowly than material culture
- **Y.Singh:** This theory not applicable in India, :. Non – existence of material culture like technology.

Modernisation Theory

Lerner, Levy, Wilbert Moore, Mc Clelland

- Certain broad patterns emerge while modernising
- Eg.Agri $\longrightarrow$ Industry

Traditional healthcare → Western Medicine Primitive Agri. → Technical Agri. Etc.

Criticism

- Broad patterns not visible in societies of Afro – Asian nations (limiting theory is universality)
- Majority of middle – east nations, still not democratic.

Convergence theory
Clark Kerr, Dunlop, Harbison

- Because of similar stimuli, like S & T, Industrialisation, secularism, modern education etc., modernising societies acquire uniform features, i.e., they tend to converge on similar lines, irrespective of their starting points. [i.e., whatever the starting modernising point be → converge to become similar societies)

Criticism: (of both convergence & Modernity theories)

- Too simplistic
- **Western bias (value loaded)**

World System Theory
Immanuel Wallerstein

- Explaining social change from a global & historic perpetuated
- **Categorised economies into**
  - **Core** (Developed)
  - **Semi** – **Periphery**
  - **Periphery** (Under developed)
- Consider modern world (Post WW – 2) to be neo – imperialist in nature
- Core countries develop high end products which continues to keep periphery countries dependent.
- Perpetuated by MNCs, IMF, WB, elites living in periphery countries etc.

EDUCATION & SOCIAL CHANGE

What is Education
- 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 developing individuals as mature, adult members of society.**
- The **invention of the printing press in the year 1423 was a milestone in the history of education.** Books and print material now became readily available. One consequence of this was the spread of literacy.

Objectives of Education
- Pursuit of man to know himself and the universe and to relate himself with the social world
- **Building bridges between past and future**
- Accelerating the process of human progress
- Integral growth of personality traits like intelligence, skill
- Development in terms of man's condition of life, i.e., **development of both individual and society.**
- Generating and strengthening harmony and peace.
- **Develop Critical thinking**
- Develop tolerance to diverse ideas
- To know more and more by spending less and less
- Creates favourable attitude to acceptance of skills
- Upgradation of skills
- Focuses attention leading to change e.g. Ecology book now-a-days will affect future
- Creates awareness
- Brings change in terms of **gender equality**

Types of Education
It Involves
- **Formal education** – Given in schools, universities, etc.
- **Informal** - Mass media, family, peers, etc.

Education in Past
- In India during British period, **education aimed at producing mainly clerks**.
- **Education was student-centred rather teacher-centred**.
- Christian missionaries engaged in imparting education gave considerable importance to conversion of religion.
- Education in school and colleges was not productive which could break down the **social, regional and linguistic barriers.**
- It never aimed at making people masters of technology. It also did not focus on fighting injustice, intolerance and superstition.

Education in Present Times
- Oriented towards **promoting values of an urban, competitive consumer society.**
- Education aimed at:
  - **Freedom of individual**
  - **Excellence** of individual
  - **Equality** amongst all people
  - Individual and **self-reliance**
  - **National cohesion.**

Education for Future
- Emphasis must shift from higher secondary and higher education to primary **and adult education.**

- Focus on **inventing and re-inventing**
- Service sector oriented
- **Technologically driven**
- Content at university level education needs serious consideration
- Problem of accountability of teachers needs to be addressed. **Focus on Quality of 3 A's : Affordability, Accessibility and Availability.**
- **Greater seriousness** regarding studies among students
- Push to **vocational/professional** courses
- Issue of **making all illiterate persons literate**
- **Reducing** number of **drop-outs**
- Present **examination system** needs to be **improved**

Education and Social Change

- Education helps in changing basic outlook of a person towards society.
- Education changes the established patterns of social relationships, attitude/values of a person and also structure of society.
- **Thus, Education changes →**
  o Established Patterns
  o Values
  o Structure of Society
- 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 of economic decline, hunger, and human poverty.**

Some Important roles that Education plays in bringing about Social Change:

- **Ending Discrimination against girls:** Gender differences in enrolments and dropouts are acute in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.
- Innovations in **Education at the Grass-roots**
- Education as Preparation for **Social Role in Ideal State**
- Education as **Cultivation of Reasoning** Ability
- Nature and Scope of Education: **Cross-cultural Perspective**
- Social and Human **Development Indicators**
- Education for **Capacity Building** of the Poor and the Marginalized.

Education and Social Change – A Case Study

Barefoot College of Tilonia, Rajasthan:

- **Tilonia is a small village in Rajasthan**. Way back in 1972 a group of students from some of the better-known Indian universities established **The Social Work and Research Centre (SWRC) under the leadership of Bunker Roy.**
- This group was greatly inspired by **Gandhian principles.**
- Its mission is of **tapping local wisdom** and initiative in order to empower the villagers themselves. The villagers are encouraged to identify and use their own skills, emerging perspectives knowledge and practical experience to make provision for drinking water, health, education, employment, fuel, and other basic needs.
- Students of The Barefoot have **solar electrified several thousand houses, installed hand pumps in the Himalayas** (a task which could not be accomplished by urban engineers), and **planned and implemented piped drinking water.** Barefoot educators serve as **trained pre- primary and night school teachers** educating thousands of boys and girls in more than 150- night schools run by the Barefoot educators.

Changes brought by Education

Use PESTEL Analysis

- **Political change**: Values for democracy, equitable rights, duties
- **Economical change**: More employment, less burden on agriculture, more SMEs
- **Social Change**: Literacy, awareness for health and sanitation, decrease in superstitious beliefs
- **Environmental change**: e.g. Chipko movement
- **Technological change**: Improved Access to education, better media of communication etc.
- **Ideological change**: Anti-superstitious movements in Maharashtra

Criticism of Education

- **Althuser** - Education used as **state's apparatu**s to propagate it's ideology (Ideological state apparatus)
- **12th FYP - U without Q** (focus only on numbers)
- **Pierre Bourdieu - Cultural Reproduction** - (benefitting only top classes). Corroborated by MM **Tumin**: Top classes have culture of excellence.
- **Tawney- Tadpole Theory** - only the "top of the bottom" get sponsorship from state.
- **Sachidanand Sinha** - Dalit Elites

- **Badgaiyyan** - Tribal Eltes
- **AR Desai** - Education Promoting Status quoism.
- **NEP** – Promoting Cultural Heritage, Values - Contains vague terms

Conservative & Radical roles played by Education

- **Steve Lukes**: 3rd Power promoted through education.
- **Marx**: Promotes dominant class ideology.
- **Karl Mannheim**: Education need to be critical.

Marxist Analysis of Education

- **It reproduces class inequality** - Wealthier pupils tend to get the best education and then go onto to get top class jobs. Meanwhile working class children are more likely to get a poorer standard of education and end up in working class jobs or worse.
- **It legitimises class inequality** - Schools spread the 'myth of meritocracy'. If we fail, we believe it is our own fault. This legitimises or justifies the system because we think it is fair when in reality it is not.
- **It works in the interests of capitalist employers** - **Bowles and Gintis** suggested that there was a correspondence between values learnt at school and the way in which the workplace operates. **The values, are taught through the 'Hidden Curriculum'**, which makes the students learn those values that are necessary for them to tow the line in menial manual jobs.
- **Passive subservice** (of pupils to teachers) corresponds to Passive **subservice of workers to managers.**
- **Acceptance of hierarchy** (authority of teachers) corresponds to Authority of managers.
- **Motivation by external rewards** (grades not learning) corresponds to being motivated by wages not the joy of the job.

Criticism of Marxist Analysis of Education

- **Henry Giroux**, says the theory is **too deterministic**. He argues that **working class pupils are not entirely molded by the capitalist system**, and do not accept everything that they are taught – Paul Willis' study also suggests this.
- There is **less evidence that pupils think school is fair** – Paul Willis' *Lads* knew the system was biased towards the middle classes for example, and many young people in deprived areas are very aware that they are getting a poor quality of education compared to those in private schools.
- **Education can actually harm the Bourgeois** – many left wing, Marxist **activists are university educated** for example.
- In **today's complex labour market** where **employers increasingly require workers to be able to think** rather than to just be passive robots.

Critical Perspective of Karuna Ahmad (1974)

- **Formal education** can play a vital role in 'ideational' **change** through **transformation of knowledge, attitudes** and values of the people.
- While Karuna Ahmad believes that education's **effectiveness in bringing about structural changes in society is extremely limited.**
- This is because of the linkages between the existing practices and procedures in education and vested interests of the status-quoists.
- **Structural changes** are more likely to be brought in by politico-economic factors.
- While **ideational changes** brought in by education can bring about stability in such a situation.

Critical Perspective of A.R. Desai

- He **questioned the validity of education as an instrument of social change.**
- His contention is that after Independence, education has not been purposively geared to obtain the desired changes.
- He has criticised the policies and funding and financing of education to attain the goals of social mobility and equality.

Critical Examples

- **Education of SC, ST, Women failed in uplifting** their status, unemployment and underemployment of educated youth.
- Presently, concern is not only about education but quality education (ASER reports).

Education Divides can be seen in the following aspects

- **Caste** related divide
- **Gender**: Girls are Undereducated/Undernourished leading to poor academic outcomes
- **Class Divide**
- **Elites**
  - "**Harijan Elites**" ⟶ Sachidanand Sinha
  - "**Tribal Elites**" ⟶ SD Badgaiyyan
- **Taboo based** -> Children of HIV parents
- **Religion** → **Sachar** committee, **Ranganath** Mishra Committee - Muslims denied entry in schools because of their religion.

Quotable Govt Actions

- **RTE**
- **SSA**
- **MDM**
- **RHS**
- **RUSA**
- **Articles 15**
- **DPSP**
- **Dr. Ambedkar → witnessed mobility because of education.**

DEVELOPMENT & 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.

Social Development includes
- Satisfaction of basic needs
- Essential amenities
- Physical & mental health
- Literacy
- Vocation
- Social integration
- Minimization of disparities

Approaches to Development
- **Development from the top**: Implicit in this approach is the **assumption** that the **people who need development are incapable of understanding their needs**, of devising development schemes and of executing them on their own
- **Development from the bottom**: Believes fairness of intentions & abilities of people who need development
- **Sectoral** development
- **Area** development
- **Target group** development
- Development as **Modernization.**
- **Amartya Sen**: Development as **freedom**
- **Dudley Seers**: Development is about creating **right conditions**- capacity to attain basic needs, job, equality, participation, adequate educational levels, belonging to a nation.
- **David Korten:** Justice, sustainability & inclusiveness.

Human development approach different from economic growth approach, human capital formation/HRD approach, Human welfare and basic needs approach.

Development on a Global Level

After the end of 2nd World War, the world was seen to be divided into 3 Parts:
- 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 and to certain extent still is generally used to refer to the **less developed or developing societies** of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

  Thus, there are certain important aspects that need to be considered:
- Development as **growth**
- Development as **change and transformation.**
- **Socio-cultural** Dimensions of Development.
- **Economic development** of a class **not trickling down** to the entire population.

Sustainable Development
- The **1972 United Nations Conference on the Environment in Stockholm** was the first world conference to make the environment a major issue.

- In 1987, **Brundtland or World Commission on Environment & Development** called for Sustainable Development
- First official definition of Sustainable Development – It is the development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future **generations** to meet their own needs.
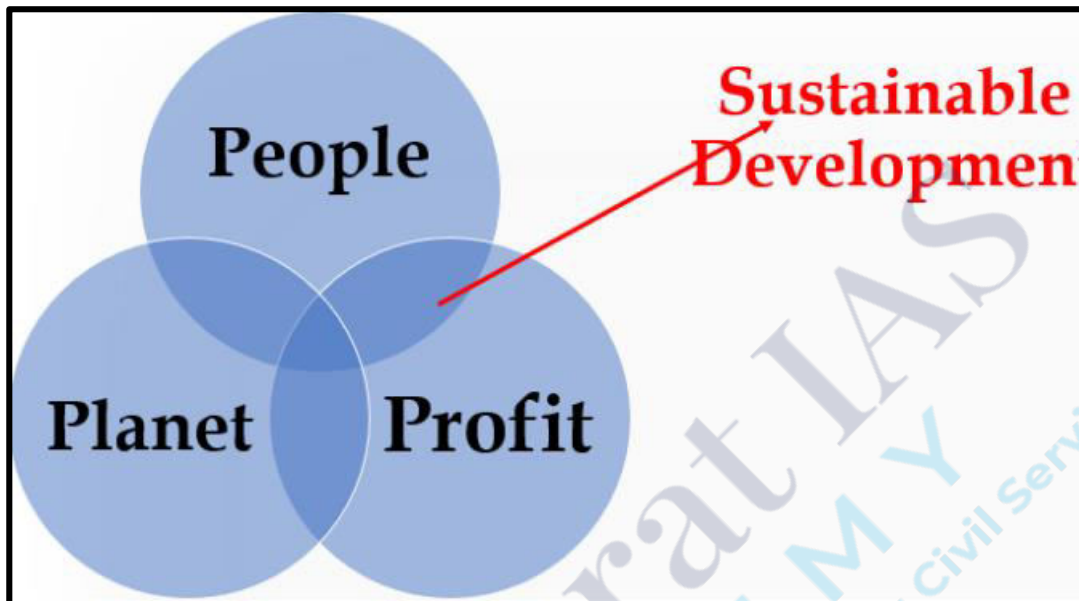
Theories of Development

Modernisation Theories

- **Daniel Lerner- book- Passing of traditional society**
- **Defines** – Modernization as the process of social change in which development is the economic component.
- **Features**: Structural differentiation & specialization, capitalism, rational choice, growth of bureaucracyrational and role differentiation, democracy, emancipation

5 Major Dimensions of Modernization

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

Ideal Typical Perspective on Modernisation

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 commercialized 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**

  Other important inputs on Development
  John J. Macionis: Role of rich nations in modernization
- Help in controlling population
- Foreign aid
- Food
- Technology

  Psychological perspective of modernization
- **David Mclelland**: Need for achievement

  Anthony Giddens on Modernity
  "Runaway World"

Giddens illustrates how **two consequences of Globalisation,** namely the rise of a '**risk consciousness'** and **detraditionalisation**, **undermine** the ability of institutions such as the Nation State, the family and religion, **to provide us with a sense of security and stability.**

These institutions are no longer able to offer us a clearly defined norms and values that tell us how we should act in society.
- Modernity is a **Juggernaut**

  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 new knowledge develops, individuals & institutions change to adapt to the new knowledge.

Criticism-

• It **ignores roles played by power and class,** reflexivity is not always positive.

Critical evaluation of Modernisation Theories

• Least Developed Countries are worse off today
• Rich often block path for development of poor countries
• There is a widespread assumption that developed countries characteristics are modern, thus, desirable.

Indian experience of development after independence

• Socialist path & mixed economy
• Sectoral Development
• Community Development and Cooperative movement
• Target group planning

Dependency Theories

• Dependency Theory developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, **Raul Prebisch**.
• Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact **that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries.**
• **Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries.**
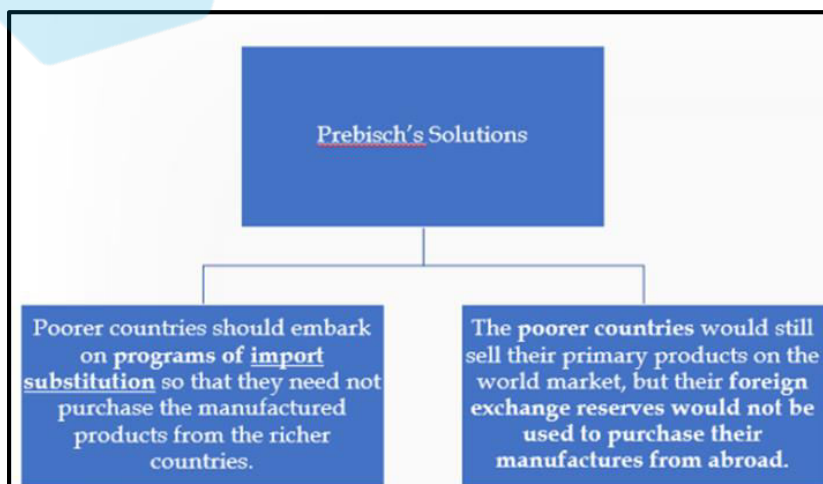
Raul Prebisch's Dependency Theory

Prebisch's initial explanation for the phenomenon was very straightforward:

1. **Poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries** who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries.
2. **The "Value Added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products** used to create those products.

Therefore, *poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports.*

Raul Prebisch's Solution to Dependency

Prebisch's Solutions

Poorer countries should embark on programs of import substitution so that they need not purchase the manufactured products from the richer countries.

The poorer countries would still sell their primary products on the world market, but their foreign exchange reserves would not be used to purchase their manufactures from abroad.

Reasons of Dependency

- Underdevelopment theory is particularly associated with Paul Baran's The Political Economy of Growth, and even more with the 1960s and 1970s work of Andre Gunder Frank.
- It was further developed in the 1970s by **Walter Rodney, Samir Amin and Arghiri Emmanuel**.
- Most dependency theorists regard **international capitalism as the motive force behind dependency relationships**
- The starting point for this analysis was **an acceptance that capitalism and imperialism were somehow parasitic,** and that this was most clear in the case of the underdeveloped world

World System Theory

Immanuel Wallerstein

- Explaining social change from a global & historic perpetuated
- **Categorised economies into**
  - ○ **Core** (Developed)
  - ○ **Semi**–Periphery
  - ○ **Periphery** (Under developed)

  Consider **modern world** (Post WW–2) to be **neo–imperialist** in nature.
- **Core countries develop high end products** which continues to keep periphery countries dependent.
- **Perpetuated by MNCs, IMF, WB, elites** living in periphery countries etc.

  The Central Propositions of Dependency Theories
  While there are various theories of Dependency, there are **certain propositions, which form the core of dependency theory.**
1. **Underdevelopment** is a condition fundamentally **different from undevelopment**.
2. **The distinction** between underdevelopment and undevelopment places the poorer countries of the world is **a profoundly different historical context.**
3. Dependency theory suggests that **alternative uses of resources are preferable** to the resource usage patterns imposed by dominant states.
4. Dependency theorists rely upon a **belief that there exists a clear "national" economic interest** which can and should be articulated for each country.
5. The **diversion of resources over time** (and one must remember that dependent relationships have persisted since the European expansion beginning in the fifteenth century) **is maintained** not only by the power of dominant states, but **also through the power of elites** in the dependent states.

1. **Underdevelopment is a condition fundamentally different from undevelopment**. The **latter term** simply refers to a condition in which resources are not being used. **Underdevelopment** refers to a situation in **which resources are being actively used, but used in a way which benefits dominant states** and not the poorer states in which the resources are found.
2. **The distinction** between underdevelopment and undevelopment places the poorer countries of the world is **a profoundly different historical context.** These countries are not "behind" or "catching up" to the richer countries of the world. **They are not poor because they lagged behind the scientific transformations** or the Enlightenment values of the European states
   They are poor because they were coercively integrated into the European economic system only as producers of raw materials or to serve as repositories of cheap labor, and were denied the opportunity to market their resources in any way that competed with dominant states.
3. **Dependency theory suggests that alternative uses of resources are preferable** to the resource usage patterns imposed by dominant states.

4. Dependency theorists rely upon a belief that there exists a clear "national" economic interest which can and should be articulated for each country

In this respect, dependency theory actually shares a similar theoretical concern with realism. What distinguishes the dependency perspective is that its proponents believe that this national interest can only be satisfied by addressing the needs of the poor within a society, rather than through the satisfaction of corporate or governmental needs.

5. **The diversion of resources over time** (and one must remember that **dependent relationships have persisted since the European expansion beginning in the fifteenth century)** is **maintained** not only by the **power of dominant states**, but also **through the power of elites in the dependent states.**

Dependency theorists argue that these elites maintain a dependent relationship because their own private interests coincide with the interests of the dominant states. **These elites are typically trained in the dominant states and share similar values** and culture with the elites in dominant states.

The elites sincerely believe that the key to economic development lies in following the prescriptions of liberal economic doctrine.
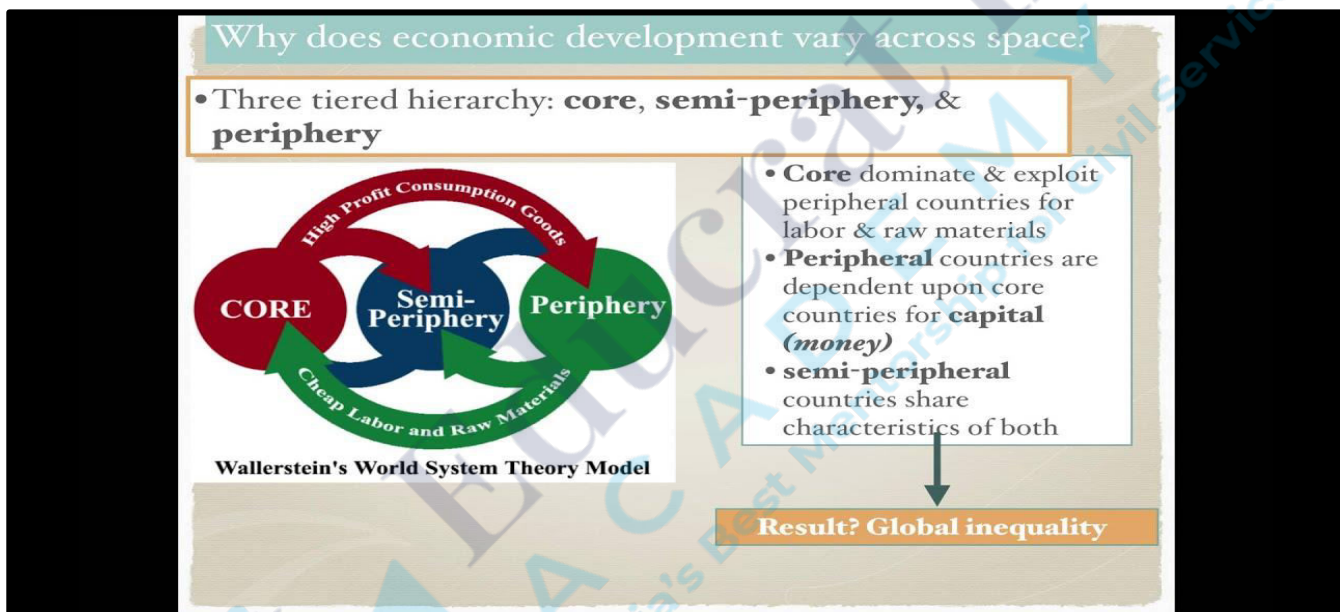
Lenin's Theory of Imperialism

Lenin's views on imperialism are contained in his well-known **work** *Imperialism: "The Highest stage of Capitalism."*

Basing himself of the laws of the emergence, development and decline of capitalism, **Lenin was the first to give a profound and scientific analysis of the economic and political substance of imperialism.**

Lenin believed, **Capital and its consequences** are threefold:

1. It results in the **exploitation of colonial peoples,** whom it subjects to the capitalist **law of increasing misery and whose liberty it destroys.**
2. **It produces war** between the nations, since it **substitutes international competition** for **competitions inside** the nation, and in the clash of combines and powers **seeking markets and territory** war becomes inevitable.
3. And ultimately **it brings about the end of capitalism and the emergence of the new** order, since with the arming and military training of the worker's war which begin as **national wars will end as class wars**

According to **Lenin**, **imperialism is _moribund capitalism_** (declining capitalism), containing a number of **contradictions** which ultimately destroys capitalism itself.

1. There is firstly the contradiction or **antagonism between capital and labour**. Capital exploits labour and brings the **exploited workers to revolution.**
2. Secondly, there is **contradiction between various imperialist powers** and industrial combines for new territories, new markets and sources of raw materials.
3. Finally, there is also the **contradiction between the colonial powers and the dependent colonial people** which arouses revolutionary outlook and spirit among the latter as happened in India and other countries.

AG Frank's Dependency Theory

Andre Gunder Frank is one of the earliest dependency theorists.

According to Andre Gunder Frank, _**underdevelopment is not a transitional stage, rather than due to the relationship between the centre and periphery**_, which has been **continuously generating a process of 'development of underdevelopment'.**

1. According to this view, **the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labor** which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world.
2. The **dependent states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities, and cheap labor,** and also serve as the **repositories of surplus capital, obsolescent technologies, and manufactured goods.**
3. **These functions orient the economies of the dependent states toward the outside**: Money, goods, and services do flow into dependent states, but the **allocation of these resources are determined by the economic interests of the dominant states,** and not by the economic interests of the dependent state.

**The most explicit manifestation of this characteristic is in the doctrine of comparative advantage.**

There are still points of serious disagreements among the various strains of dependency theorists and it is a mistake to think that there is only one unified theory of dependency.

Nonetheless, there are some core propositions which seem to underlie the analyses of most dependency theorists.

Banana Republic

- The term was coined in a **1904** book of fiction by **O. Henry**, an American writer.
- He wrote "**Cabbages and Kings**", a collection of short stories.

1. **Origin:** The **term "banana republic" was popularized by O. Henry**, an American writer, to describe small, politically unstable, and economically dependent countries in Central America.
2. **Economic Dependence:** O. Henry used the term to **highlight the reliance of these nations on a single export**, namely bananas, which were primarily controlled by foreign companies.
3. **Political Instability:** He emphasized the fragile political systems in these countries, often characterized by corrupt governments, frequent coups, and lack of stable governance.
4. **Foreign Influence:** O. Henry's concept h**ighlighted the significant influence and control exerted by foreign corporations**, particularly American fruit companies, on the economic and political affairs of these nations.
5. **Exploitation:** He criticized the exploitation of local labor forces by these foreign companies, often resulting in poor working conditions, low wages, and little to no workers' rights.
6. **Social Inequality:** The term also **encompasses the vast disparity between the wealthy elite who benefited from these industries and the impoverished majority** in these countries.
7. **Dependence on Imports:** O. Henry pointed out the heavy reliance of these countries on imported goods, highlighting their lack of self-sufficiency and economic diversity beyond the export of bananas.
8. **Cultural Impact:** He suggested that this dependence on a single export had a detrimental effect on the cultural, social, and economic development of these nations, limiting their growth and diversity.
9. **Symbol of Exploitation:** The **term "banana republic" became a symbol of exploitation, inequality, and**

10. **Legacy:** O. Henry's concept of the "banana republic" continues to be used to critique similar situations worldwide, highlighting the exploitation of resources, political instability, and economic dependence of certain nations on a global scale.

How the concept of a banana republic results in exploitation:

1. **Economic Dependence:** Banana republics heavily rely on a single export, such as bananas, controlled by foreign companies. This **dependency leads to vulnerability and exploitation as the economy is susceptible to fluctuations in global markets.**
2. **Labor Exploitation:** Foreign companies often exploit local labor forces by offering low wages, poor working conditions, and minimal workers' rights. Workers are subject to exploitation due to the lack of alternative employment options.
3. **Resource Extraction:** The focus on banana production often leads to **environmental degradation and the depletion of natural resources**. This extraction without sustainable practices harms local ecosystems and communities.
4. **Wealth Inequality:** The profits generated from the export of bananas mainly benefit the wealthy elite and foreign corporations, widening the gap between the rich and the impoverished majority in these nations.
5. **Political Manipulation:** Foreign corporations often wield significant influence over the political landscape of banana republics. This influence can result in corrupt governance, manipulation of policies, and lack of autonomy for the local population, perpetuating the cycle of exploitation.

Samir Amin's Idea

Samir Amin suggested that there was an international division between central and peripheral capitalist formations.

This **involved two modes of accumulation:**
- **Autocentric** or self-generating accumulation in the centre
- **Extraverted accumulation** in the periphery.

➢ **Core-Periphery Structure:** Amin argued that global capitalism created an international system with a core (developed nations) and a periphery (underdeveloped nations). The core exploits the periphery economically and maintains dominance.
➢ **Unequal Exchange:** He emphasized the unequal nature of trade relations between core and periphery countries. The periphery exports primary goods at low prices and imports manufactured goods at high prices, perpetuating their economic dependence.
➢ **Underdevelopment Resulting from Development**: Amin challenged the idea that development in the core necessarily leads to development in the periphery. He believed that the development of the core often happens at the expense of underdevelopment in the periphery.
➢ **Imperialism's Role: Amin highlighted the role of imperialism in shaping this dependency**, where powerful nations exploit weaker ones through economic, political, and cultural means, maintaining control and extracting resources.
➢ **Importance of Structural Change:** He **advocated for structural changes in the periphery nations** to break free from dependency. This included reducing reliance on core countries, diversifying economies, and pursuing independent development paths
➢ **Class Analysis: Amin also emphasized the importance of class analysis within nations**, pointing out that internal social structures and power dynamics often perpetuate dependency within the periphery.
➢ **Need for Collective Action**: He believed that overcoming dependency required collective action among periphery nations, fostering alliances and cooperation to challenge the dominance of the core nations and create a more equitable global system

As the **current system reduces countries of the periphery to being the subcontractors of central monopoly capital,** the only way forward is to *delink* from the global system.

Delinking for Amin, means to compel the system to adjust to your needs, rather than simply going along with having to unilaterally adjust to the needs of the core.

Criticisms of Dependency Theories

1. The principal criticism of dependency theories has been that the **school does not provide any substantive empirical evidences** to support its arguments. There are few examples that are provided but **many exceptions are there which do not fit** in with their core periphery theory, like the newly emerged industrial countries of South East Asia.
2. It has also been said that **dependency theories are highly abstract** and tend to use homogenising categories such as developed and underdeveloped, which do not fully capture the variations within these categories.
3. The **division of world into the centre and the periphery, the metropolis and the satellite, the developed and the underdeveloped,** as has been done by the dependency theorists, is quite **arbitrary and even misleading.**

It is indeed difficult to accept that all the underdeveloped countries, including the **local leviathans like India, Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, etc., are equally dependent** upon the developed.

4. Another point of criticism is that the **dependency school considers ties with multinational corporations as detrimental,** while one view has been that **they are important means of transfer of technology.**
5. Some of the **Eurocentric biases are inherited** in these theories of dependency school: for example, **they assume that industrialisation and possession of industrial capital are crucial requisites for economic progress.**

There is an **inability to think beyond the state as the primary and essential agent** of economic development

6. Another major criticism includes that they **do not reflect the changed socio economic and political situations of the contemporary world,** where the developed nations are closing their borders for trade and capital.

AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Three basic factors of social change:
o Discovery
o Invention
o Diffusion of the above

Discovery

- **A shared human perception is an aspect of reality which already exists**, for example discovery of blood circulation in biology. It is an addition in the world's store of verified knowledge. However, it becomes an actor in social change only when it is put to use, not when it is merely known.

Inventions

- Invention is the new **combination or a new use of existing knowledge**, for example the assembling of the computer from an already existing idea. The idea of combining them was new. **Inventions can be material and social.** Each invention may be new in form (i.e. in shape or action) in function (what it does) or in meaning (its long-range consequence) or in principle (the theory or law on which it is based).

Diffusion

- Diffusion **refers to the spread of cultural traits from one group to another**. It operates both within and between societies. It takes place whenever societies come into contact. **Diffusion is a two-way process**. The British gave us their language and made tea an important ritual. **Diffusion is also a selective process**. Majority of the Indians may adopt the English language, but not their eating habits. Diffusion generally involves some modification of the borrowed elements of culture either in form, function or meaning.

- Also, British gave a lot of habits to Indians. Yes, English became the prime language of India and Tea an important drink, yet Indians still don't eat cow meat. It shows social change is often selective.

It shows social change is often selective.

Exogenous and Endogenous origin of Change
- It is very difficult to determine where and how change originates.
- Some sociologists have offered a distinction between **endogenous change (change originating from within)** and **exogenous change (change originating outside).**
- It can be argued that **wars (exogenous origin) have played an active part** in bringing about major social changes in societies across the world.
- Again, it could be said that **in the modern world, the change taking place in the developing countries have been stimulated to a large extent, by western technology** which was introduced in most cases following colonial rule.
- But in all societies, including those in which the initial impetus has come from outside, social change has **dependent to a great extent upon the activities of various social groups within the society.**
- A major part of sociological analysis consists in identifying the sphere and groups, that are principally affected, and the ways in which **innovations are diffused from one sphere to another.**

   Factors that affect direction and rate of social change:
   o **Geography and Ecology**
   o **Population**
   o **Technology**
   o **Values and Beliefs (protestant ethics & spirit of capitalism)**
   o **Role of individuals**

Geography, Population and Ecology

- These factors are seen to bring about **sudden change** or set a limit on social change.
- **Climatic conditions, natural recourses, physical location of country, natural disasters can be important sources of change.**
- A natural disaster like floods may destroy entire population, force people to migrate to another place, or make them rebuild their community all over again.
- Similarly, **increase and decrease in the size of human population** through **birth, death or migration** can pose a serious challenge to economic and political institutions.
- Today, many geographic alterations and natural disasters are induced by the activities of the inhabitants of a region.
- **Soil erosion, water and air pollution** may become sever enough to trigger off new norms and laws regarding how to use resources and dispose waste products.

Technology

- The technological factors represent the conditions created by man which have a profound influence on his life.
- In the attempt to satisfy his wants, fulfill his needs and to make his **life more comfortable man creates civilization**.
- Technology is a **by-product of civilization**.
- Technology is a systematic knowledge which is put into practice that is to use tools and run machines to serve human purpose.
- In utilizing the products of technology man brings social change. The social effects of technology are far-reaching.
- According to Karl Marx even the formation of social relations and mental conceptions and attitudes are dependent upon technology.
- He has **regarded technology as a sole explanation of social change**.
- **W.F Ogburn says technology changes society by changing our environment** to which we in turn adapt.
- These changes are usually in the material environment and the adjustment that we make with **these changes often modifies customs and social institutions**.

Values and Beliefs

- The role of values in social change has been clearly brought out in **Max Webber's book** the '**Protestant Ethics and The Spirit of Capitalism'.**
- Webber proposed that in some historical situations, doctrines or ideas may independently affect the direction of social change.
- He tried to show that the rise of **modern capitalism was mainly rooted in religious values** as contained in **Asiatic Protestantism.**

Culture

- Culture not only **influences our social relationships, it also influences the direction and character of technological change**.
- It is **not only our beliefs and social institutions which must correspond to the changes in technology but our beliefs and social institutions determine the use** to which the technological inventions will be put in.
- For instance, the technology of **abortion** might exist in the world but might not be used by someone practicing strict **Catholicism**.

Ideological Factors

- **Political, social and religious ideologies** can bring forth **radical changes** in social structure and social relationships.
- Formation of **laws, nations, ideas on Communist ideologies** have developed various institutions that **changed the way corporations are run, equality is imagined, religion is accepted in today's world.**

Psychological Factors

- The inherent **tendency to look for novelty compel man to experiment new ideas** which may sometimes results in the establishment of new social setup.
- **Change in attitude of society towards family planning, dowry, caste system, women's education etc. which brought about radical changes** in society are often said to be psychological in nature.

Individuals

- It has been pointed out that the contribution by humans of genius and leaders to social change is important.
- The 'greats' faced a set of circumstance, and their influence arose a part from their ability to draw out persuasively the latent aspirations, anxieties and fears of large numbers of people.
- They are also **charismatic leaders**. These leaders owed their positions to personal qualities, and left upon events the mark of their own convictions.

Morris Ginsberg

According to Morris Ginsberg, social change is a change in the social structure.

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 occurrences eg **black death, natural disasters** etc.

Bottomer's perspective on Agents of Social Change

He called them SOCIAL FORCES:

- **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
- 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:**
  - o   Social Order as a concept may imply one or many of the following meanings
- Arrangement of institutions in the society
- Arrangement of roles and statuses in the society.
- 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 explain inequalities as natural and God-given. Some religions revolve around the concept of personal 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 meanings are attributed to rituals and beliefs, and in the process religion becomes a vehicle of collective mobilization, for a group of believers who would like to be 'liberated'.

Bottomore on 2 important agents of change in India:

- Technology from West
- Social Planning

Consequences of social change:

- Four things, as recognized by social scientists, **technology, social institutions, population, and the environment** get impacted as and when the society changes.
- **They are all interrelated:** a change in one area can lead to changes throughout.

Negative:

- o   **Cyberbullying**: USA's CDC (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention) writes that it is a special feature of the Internet. Unique to electronic aggression is that it can happen twenty-four hours a day, every day; it can reach a child (or an adult) even though she or he might otherwise feel safe in a locked house.
- o   The messages and images may be posted anonymously and to a very wide audience, and they might even be impossible to trace.
- o   Finally, once posted, the texts and images are very hard to delete.
- o   Its effects range from the **use of alcohol and drugs to lower self-esteem, health problems, and even suicide**.
- o   **Alvin Toffler** – In his book Future Shock, he defines Future Shock as *too much change in too short a period of time*.
- o   He argues that the accelerated rate of technological and social change leaves people disconnected and suffering from "shattering stress and disorientation"—future shocked.
- o   Toffler stated that most social problems are symptoms of future shock.
- o   He popularized the term **"*information overload*."**
- o   **Neil Postman- In his 1992 book Technopoly:** the Surrender of Culture to Technology, Postman defines "Technopoly" as a society which believes "the primary, if not the only, goal of human labor and thought is efficiency, that technical calculation is in all respects superior to human judgment and that the affairs of citizens are best guided and conducted by experts".
- o   That is, it has become a tendency of **technology to be given cultural.**
- o   There are some **unintended negative consequences** such as **pollution and obesity**.

Positive:
- o **Economic Development** of the underdeveloped world
  - ▪ Example: Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, etc.
- o More acceptance of ideas of Equality
- o **Domino Effect**-
  - ▪ **Technological convergence**: Rosenberg writes that machines making machines has transformed the pace of change in society.
  - ▪ **Serendipity**- Accidental discoveries- Fleming's penicillin & X Ray
- o **Development of Social Indicators** like Health, Longevity, Infant and Maternal Mortality etc.
- o Easier Access of Information
- o **Rise of new social movements like that of civil rights, women's rights, LBGTQ rights, etc.**

SC Dubey

This leads us to **another problem** in social change, namely **acceptance and resistance** to social change.

Innovations are rarely accepted totally.
- • The **specific attitudes and values of the society** in question
- • The manifest **usefulness** of the innovations
- • The **compatibility** of the innovations with the existing culture
- • **Vested interests**
- • The **role of change agents** are some of the important factors that affect the degree of acceptance and resistance to social change.

For this, **SC Dubey studied Community Development Program** of Planning Commission in UP covering 153 village.
- • People accept which can be more strictly called technological innovations.
  - o Eg seeds, fertilizers etc which give immediate results.
- • But those that affect social structure like cooperative methods, land reforms, improved sanitation are accepted slowly.
- • He also highlights the importance of communication for bringing change.

Gunnar Myrdal
- • In his study of **south Asian countries** writes in **Great Asian Drama** that the **momentum of Indian planning has failed, that there are no land reforms, no efforts to control population**, etc.

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:**
- • Conformity to norms and expectations of the group
- • Maintenance of order in society

Goals Of Social Control:
- • Conformity
- • Uniformity
- • Solidarity
- • Continuity

Methods of Social Control:
- • **Informal/Primary social control:**
  - o Family, playgroups, neighbourhood, community.

- **Formal/Secondary social control:**
    - **Positive sanctions** in the form of reward, honour
    - **Negative sanctions** by way of punishments, 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.