

5. Stratification and Mobility:

- a. Concepts- equality, inequality, hierarchy, exclusion, poverty and deprivation.
- b. Theories of social stratification- Structural functionalist theory, Marxist theory, Weberian theory.
- c. Dimensions – Social stratification of class, status groups, gender, ethnicity and race.
- d. Social mobility- open and closed systems, types of mobility, sources and causes of mobility.

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EQUALITY: Emergence of Sociology. French Revolution. LEF.

Literally means being identical but in social sciences, it has complex meaning because people have diversity (biological, social, economic, psychological etc). Equality has developed through various stages, primarily after rise of capitalism)

- Equality before law
- Political equality
- Universal adult suffrage
- Socio economic equality
- Gender equality

Peter Saunders distinguishes between three types of equality

- 1) **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)
- 2) **Equality of opportunity** (people have **equal chance to become unequal** i.e. **meritocracy**)
- 3) **Equality of outcome (Marxist idea-** equal reward for any work ex affirmative action)

Dalton Conley - You May Ask Yourself;

Ontological Equality

John Locke

"All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights".

Equality of condition

The idea that everyone should have an equal starting point.

Equality of outcome

"The goals should not be the liberal one of equality of access but **equality of outcome for the median number of each identifiable** non-educationally defined group, i.e. the average women, Negro, or proletarian or rural dweller should have the same level of educational attainment as the average male, white, suburbanite".

Louis Dumont –

In India – **Homo Hierarchicus**

West – **Homo Equillus**

Karl Marx –

Capitalism brings inequality. Communism will have equality.

INEQUALITY: Emergence of Sociology. French Revolution. LEF.

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 ex 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** (ex Rajput 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 ex Dalits are low in all.

Status **inconsistencies lead to conflicts** not status crystallisation.

ANDRE BETEILLE:

- **Harmonic system:** where **norms/values** of society advocate/ **legitimize inequalities** ex ancient India caste system and Hinduism; conflicts do not occur.
- **Disharmonic system:** modern India, constitutional **norms prescribe equality but inequality is rising;** leads to **conflict**.

Louis Dumont –

In India – **Homo Hierarchicus**

Inequality is not opposite to equality, it is a way of life. It brings dependence.

Karl Marx – Capitalism brings inequality. Communism will have equality.

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.

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Elite Theorists.

EXCLUSION

Refers to ways in which individuals or groups become **cut off from wider society**.

It leads to **deprivation** hindering full development.

Exclusion is a wider concept i.e. **a person may be rich yet excluded** ex **Corrupt** businessman or poor but not excluded ex priest.

Exclusion is **not limited to minimum survival needs** like food shelter and clothing but may include **political** participation, access to **education, health, sanitation** etc.

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 (Peers, Product, Process, Self).

Herbert Marcuse – One Dimensional Man

Deliberate Exclusion

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.

BR Ambedkar- Understood social exclusion as domination of one caste, example Priestly class.

Steps to break exclusion

- **RTE**
- **MNREGA**
- **Reservation**
- **Article 17 (Untouchability ban)**

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POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION

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.

It is a matter of debate if poverty is a result of social divisions and hierarchies or vice versa.

Multi Dimensional Poverty – The social aspects of poverty may include lack of access to information, education, health care, social capital or political power.

Lack of intangible assets that cause poverty – like access to credit, social capital, cultural capital, political capital, and human capital.

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.

Condition of poverty generally entails

- Lack of opportunities
- Lack of mobility
- even in most open of societies

Oscar Lewis – Culture of Poverty - the poor are not only lacking resources but also acquire a poverty-perpetuating value system. Happens because of the worldview, aspirations, and character of the children who grow up in it.

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 –

- 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

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- Lack of education, skills, healthcare services
- Lack of political decision making power
- Increasing divorce rate and ensuing single parenthood
- Legal and Cultural constraints in Public Life
- Femonomics – Rita Wolfsohn –
 - o Women have unique healthcare problems leading to higher costs of health
 - o Shoulder fiscal and physical responsibilities of children
 - o 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

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 *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.

As it was indicated above the reduction of poverty results from religion, but also can result from solidarity.

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 stratificatory 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.

Similarly, Secular India again provides an example of religious stratification where religions are not hierarchized or unequally privileged in law, but have the freedom to exist separately in full knowledge of their intrinsic difference.



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THEORIES OF STRATIFICATION

Since ancient times thinkers were deeply concerned with patterned inequalities of social/eco/political etc nature

PLATO - three classes based on natural quality of people
 guardians-soldiers;
 auxiliaries- philosophers;
 servants- craftsmen

Aristotle thought that men by nature are unequal and there is natural rank among them
Saint Augustin, a prominent enlightenment thinker, understood inequality in terms of power, prestige and property.

Social philosopher *like Locke, Burke and Bentham* were all aware of emergence of social classes based on acquired as well as inherent differences.

Rousseau talked of social inequalities in terms of private property.

Theories of stratification try to explain

- 1) **Basis of stratification**
- 2) **Structure**
- 3) **Consequence**
- 4) **Universality/ desirability**

Theories of stratification can be divided into

- 1) Earlier theories (Marxian/ functionalist and Weberian)
- 2) Recent theories

EARLIER 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

MARX THEORY ON STRATIFICATION

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:
 - i. ancient (master/slave)
 - ii. feudal (feudal lord/ serf)
 - iii. Capitalism (Bourgeoisie/ proletariat. Currently there are no 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

Criticized by Weber - inequality will increase in future as more capitalism will mean more bureaucracy.

He also says that conflict will be there but revolution is a distant possibility.

Ralf Dahrendorf also 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.

He says that **stratification is based on**

- **Authority** (subordination and super ordination)
- **Access to authority** structure.

WEBER VIEW ON STRATIFICATION

- a) Basis of stratification:
 - i. Class (people sharing same place in market)
 - ii. Status
 - iii. Party (Political Power)

- b) Structure of stratification: Rejects Marx idea of polarisation and says Europe has 4 classes
 - i. Bourgeoisie
 - ii. White collared property less (will increase due to bureaucratization)
 - iii. Petty Bourgeoisie
 - iv. Manual workers (will shrink due to automation)

- c) Consequence: inequality will persist but revolution a distant possibility
- d) Universality: Stratification will remain

Weber on stratification and class:

- Weber used **class, status and party** to represent **three orders** namely economic, social and political
- Weber 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*
- Weber also differentiated between **propertied** (land) and **acquisition class** (skilled, semi skilled/ entrepreneurs and doctors)
- Weber **differentiated status groups from class**. For ex a thief might be rich but has low status, similarly Brahmin might be poor but has high status (Example -Nouveau riche).
- Weber admits **with time class based hierarchy overlaps with status** based hierarchy
- Stratification which is based on **unequal access to power and authority cuts across class and status**
- **Gerhard Lenski** says that inequality of power will eventually lead to inequality of wealth
- According to Weber, **class engage in communal action** (based on common sense of purpose, that is, with emotions) and **societal action** (based on rationality i.e. common interest).
- It is hard for a **class to develop a consciousness** but when it does **it becomes community**
- **Class will not erode away**

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.

FUNCTIONAL THEORIES

- Understanding any phenomenon or object in terms of function it serves
- Object is inevitable and exist for benefit for all
- Stratification is necessary for proper functioning of society

TALCOTT PARSONS

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 position according to their ability.

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

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)

KINGSLEY DAVIS AND WILBERT E. MOORE THEORY

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 and some are more important than others
- Position with high importance= high reward; in order to attract talented people
- Talent is scarce in society
- Functionally more imp positions require skills and training i.e. sacrifices to undergo training; those who sacrifice need to be compensated.
- Social stratification is 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

Criticism by MM TUMIN	Clarification by Davis and Moore
How to judge functional importance of a position, it is value loaded.	Difficult but not impossible. Importance of position can be measured according to degree of uniqueness or dependency of other positions on it. Ex engineer can do manual job but manual worker cannot be a worker.
There is no mechanism of measuring talent and ability	
Society does not provide equal opportunities so rewards cannot be functional	
Trainees do not make any sacrifices other than suspended earning (parents provide for them). Moreover psychic gratification is got from position they will occupy in future	Rewards are necessary to motivate people to undergo hardship of training which involves time/energy/money. Not required for unskilled task.
Alternative motivational scheme rather than differential rewards	Modern society cannot function if people are left to do what they want
Stratification creates hostility and distrust between different positions so not functional	Stratification is present everywhere so its universality makes it functional and inevitable

Criticisms:

- Applicable only to achievement oriented western societies and not ascription based caste oriented societies like india.
- Does not take care of elite self recruitment
- Stratification leads to people having power depriving/exploiting others. Ex Haves in capitalism
- People with more power take maximum rewards
- Without state intervention, there is very less probability of people coming out of poverty cycle

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 ex 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 national level



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Dimensions

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

Social Stratification of class:

What is class?

Among, scholars, there is a difference of opinion on what constitutes 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 St. Simon as a synonym for estates.

There are particular characteristics of class:

Classes are arranged in a vertical order; There is an idea of permanent class interest among the members of classes; Idea of class consciousness and solidarity is present among the members.

- Thus class, endorses to the idea of social distance and class distinctions get expressed in form of social inequalities and social boundaries.
- **Marx** defines it as ‘a social group sharing same relationship with the means of production’. Hence, he historically identified different antagonistic classes across modes of production.
- **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. These classes are:
 - Propertied upper class
 - Property less white collar workers
 - Petty bourgeois
 - Manual working class
- **Ralf Dahrendorf**, unlike Marx, argues that **classes will become more and more heterogeneous with time** and working class will get further divided into –unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled.
- Similarly, **Anthony Giddens** suggests that there are **3 classes- upper- who hold means of production; middle- who hold technical means and lower- who hold manual labour.**
- **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)

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- **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 and those who hold **symbolic capital** are power capitalists.
- **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.
- Classes vary in consistency, depending on weightage given to ascription or achievement. In tradition societies, societies were more consistent but less mobile because of high ascriptive associations whereas modern societies (market orientation) provide more fluidity in classes owing to achievement orientation.
- Class and social mobility- in next section

Conclusion:

Hence, classes stratify societies and answer to certain kind of sociological questions on poverty, exclusion, deviance, social inequalities, social mobility, social change, status, power, life chances and life styles.

Criteria of identifying classes may differ among different scholars but a sense of class is ingrained in the minds of members of the class and hence influence on every aspect of society.

With increasing economic development, there is a persistent effort to re-distribute wealth, income through progressive taxation, estate duties and taxes on capital gains. Therefore, there is equality of living standard, growth of middle class. But, to Marx's disappointment, it seems classes are here to stay for a long time to come in one form or the other.

Social Stratification of Status groups:

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 system of social stratification** where ranking is done on the relative position in terms of honour and respect. **In traditional** societies it was attached to birth, hence was **ascriptive**, but **in modern** societies it is more **achievement** oriented.
- Status group, is a **Weberian concept** which he defined, as a social group 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, Caste system** is most prominent form of **status** group classification, where social honour, lifestyles and prestige were sharply differentiated.
- **In many societies class and status groups are closely linked to each other but that is not always the case.** For example **fire fighters** and **doctors** for the highest status groups in US, despite there being richer businessmen economically above them. Similarly, **nouveaux riches** may not get the kind of equal status treatment as compared to other elites.
- Hence, status groups may not necessarily be linked to economic or political status of a person.
- **Today, it is also a question of legitimacy** that is accorded to a **person's** status by the way of his **deeds**. With rise of **civil society**, status is getting attached with nobility, **transparency of deeds**. More **philanthropic** one are respected more. It is a different matter that philanthropy maybe again linked to the economic and political milieu of a person. Thus status group, **today is a dynamic system** of social stratification which needs to be continuously proven by deeds and is **less ascriptive** as it was in the past.

Social Stratification of Gender

- Gender is one of the most pervasive and prevalent social characteristics upon which social distinctions are made between individuals. Gender distinctions are found in economic-, kinship- and caste-based stratification systems.
- **The United Nations Report (1980) declares that Women constitute half the world's population, perform nearly two thirds of its work hours, receive one tenth of the world's income and own less than one hundredth of the world's property**
- Social role expectations are often formed along sex and gender lines. In patriarchal societies, such rights and privileges are granted to men over women; in matriarchal societies, the opposite holds true.
- According to **Naila Kabeer (1995:37)** '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.**

Sex- and gender-based division of labor is historically found in the annals of most societies and such divisions have increased with the advent of industrialization.

Karuna Ahmad finds four trends in women's employment:

- a. **clustering of women in a few occupations (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.**
- Gender, as a form of stratification, difference and inequalities found mention in the literature since 70s when feminism started taking shape. It was observed that gender differences were present in every sphere of society in terms of status, wealth and power.
 - Matrilineal societies like the Khasis are often cited to rebuff the idea that women in all societies are discriminated.
Recent writings have shown how even among a matrilineal society like the Khasis, control of property and decision making within the family (the private domain) often resides with the male head-the brother instead of the husband.

Rousseau argued that biological inequalities matter least in form of social stratification, but feminists argue that most ancient form of system of SS is based on gender. They aren't incorrect **as Plato placed reproductive role of women higher than their productive roles.**

Similarly, Aristotle was against citizenship for women.

In modern societies, recognition of the fact that **sex is biological and gender is cultural got a push** as feminists studied gender. Their studies generally focussed on the exploitation, inequalities and stigmas that come attached to gender.

There are different streams of Feminism which study gender differently:

- **Radical Feminism:** They see society as patriarchal and **blame men for exploitation** of women.
- **Marxist & Socialist Feminism** see **capitalists as main beneficiaries** of women exploitation as in pursuit for profits either they hire women at **lower wages** or gain from **women's unpaid work** indirectly as men are able to work at costs of their wives. Also, at this time the question of sexual inequality treated in terms of division of labour (Marxist approach) considers **women as 'reserve army'**.
- **Liberal feminists** are most moderate of them all and believe that **it is culture that is culprit** for women's plight and not men. They aim for **gradual changes in political, economic and social systems**.
- **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 reason for women subordination to men. Through example of **Mbuti pygmies** of Africa, she argued that where men and women share domestic lives, those societies are relatively egalitarian.
- **Marxist scholar, Fredrick Engels**, puts a theory which says that in primitive communism women had a higher position than men but as society developed and forms of **private property** underwent changes, **men control over these increased**, putting gender equality on the backburner. He believed that capitalist society, despite all its issues, provided an opportunity for women to work at par with men and gain some equality. But, observed that bourgeoisie women were still forced to submit to male control.

Quote Robin Fox (from Family) to show why Patriarchy is widespread than Matriarchy.

- **Hartmann** believes that **capitalism and patriarchy are very closely connected**- and describes them as intertwined, but she does not believe interests of men as identical to capitalists. For eg: Capitalists may want them to work at low wages but men may want them to be at home to perform services for them.
- **Sylvia Walby** in her book '**theorizing Patriarchy**' says that patriarchy is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality and identifies **6 patriarchal structures** which help men to maintain dominance over women-
 - **paid work** (male dominated unions)
 - **Attaching beauty** with females (**attractiveness of females**)
 - **sexuality** (sexually active woman is labelled negatively)
 - **violence**
 - **State** and
 - **Relations within household**.

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- Even **religion** has been portrayed as one of the factors promoting patriarchy. Eg: In Christianity.(Quote from Religion chapter)
- When **gender is combined with other forms** of prejudices like race, ethnicity and poverty, then it becomes worst form of exploitation.

Different scholars suggest various ways to end such prejudices where androgyny or placing men and women at par have gained most popularity.

With development, many societies are giving high priority to gender in every aspect of planning- right from law and order, to budgeting and from households to parliament. Concepts like gender budgeting lay emphasis on gender equality. In India, we see gender inequalities present in every sphere of life and totally different rules for women, but more and more are coming to realize the cultural angle to such prejudices and awareness on such issues is getting gaining spread.

- *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*



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RACE as a form of Social stratification

In the **17th century**, with **European expansion to new parts of the world**, we see a rise of the ideology of racial stratification.

Following Darwin's biological theories of natural selection, the concept of Social Darwinism arose.

Racism as a system of stratification is loaded with both prejudice and discrimination based in **social perceptions of observable biological differences** between peoples.

Milton Yinger – "Races solely biological, no relevance to social science"

Social Sciences **study Ethnic groups** (and not races).

After WW2 – UNESCO International Conference –

No such thing as Pure Race. Nothing to do with Social or Psychological attributes. Apartheid condemned.

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, practiced in more contemporary societies, is **socially hidden** and **less easily detectable** as variable affecting income, educational opportunities, and housing.

Collin Brown and Pat Gray – Telephonic interviews. Sent fake CVs. White selected. Blacks rejected. But Asians did well, could have done better.

Italian migrants were discriminated in Post War USA, leading to them becoming criminals and mafias.

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.

But injustices in many parts, are also developing new shapes and kinds, keeping pace with such changes.

Recent –

Ferguson, US killings on the basis of perceived race.

Lynching of North eastern student Nido Tania in New Delhi last year can be categorised as a form of racial hatred born out of stereotyping.



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Caste Vs Race

Dalit sociologists consider both largely similar-

Both grounded on social justification of inequality

Both seen through lens of natural inequalities, both a form of discrimination.

GS Ghurye – Caste has genesis in Race.

BR Ambedkar – Also uses racial theory of genesis of caste. Dalits are the original inhabitant 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 number of sub-castes** carrying different statuses, but race is much macro in nature.



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ETHNICITY as a form of Social stratification

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.**

Three popular conceptions of ethnicity:

- **Biological** - The biological conception is based on a **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.

Ethnic groups can be identified as

- Ethno-racial
- Ethno-religious
- Ethno-linguistic
- Ethno-national
- Ethno-regional group.

Ethnicity is *much more elastic a concept* as compared to race or caste and is usually used for invoking political milieu.

Though some forms of ethnicity are much more ingrained a complex than others, however, by way of language shift, acculturation, adoption, and religious conversion, it is possible for some individuals or groups to leave one ethnic group and enter another.

Karl Deutsch - ethnicity has been instrumental for balkanisation and 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 - argue 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 working class divided**, so as to prevent any revolution from happening.

Collin Brown and Pat Gray – Telephonic interviews. Sent fake CVs. White selected. Blacks rejected. But Asians did well, could have done better.

Italian migrants were discriminated in Post War USA, leading to them becoming criminals and mafias.

Paul Brass –

Three ways of defining ethnic groups:

a) *in terms of **objective** attributes*- That there are some distinguishing objective cultural features that separate one group from the other-language, territory, religion, dress etc.

b) *by reference to **subjective** feelings* - implies the existence of an ethnic self-consciousness, we feeling.

c) *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.

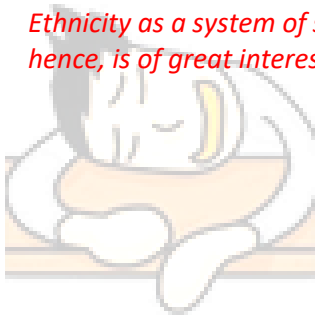
Ethno-violence are seen in areas where immigration host model sees crisis as instead of acknowledging to differences and providing space for inclusive developments, hosts expect immigrants to fit into their cultures, smoothly and invisibly as far as possible.

Indian states were cut out on ethno-linguistic basis are still more demands are coming in.

Crimea was taken away by Russia from Ukraine justifying large Russian population in Crimea.

Hitler's holocaust was also a form of ethno-religious war.

Ethnicity as a system of social stratification, both integrates and disintegrates societies and hence, is of great interest to contemporary sociologists.



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Mobility

Social mobility is **movement of groups and individuals across the social structure**
or
change in position in social structure

DIFFERENT TYPES OF MOBILITY

On basis of direction

- 1) **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 **great deal of horizontal mobility in modern society**.
He prefers to **define** it as **lateral mobility**.
- 2) **Vertical** mobility: **change** in position along **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 **movement up and down on socio- economic** scale.

Sociologically, vertical mobility is studied more as it has social implications while horizontal mobility is important for individual.

Giddens says that sometimes both mobility are seen in tandem ex promotion in a new city.

On basis of speed

- 1) Intergenerational- change in position between generation ex son of rickshaw puller becoming a professor
- 2) Intra-generational- change in position within lifetime of a person. Ex person appointed as clerk then to superintendent. Generally, this mobility is experienced in occupation. **Merton** calls it as a status sequence.

On basis of system of stratification

- 1) Mobility in open system -higher incidences of mobility Ex Class system
- 2) Mobility in close system - lesser incidences of mobility ex caste system

Absolute versus relative

Change in actual position of a person in actual terms is absolute. Ex: 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, difference is of degree

- Open system: norms prescribed mobility (meritocracy)
- Closed system: norms proscribe mobility (traditional caste system ascriptive system)

Avenues of social mobility

Every society has some avenues of social mobility and some restrictions too. No society is purely closed or open and what varies is avenues of mobility. Avenues can be understood in terms of traditional or modern.

- Traditional: Generally lesser avenues of social mobility but geographical mobility, patronage, renunciation, Sanskritization, acquiring political power (Maurya dynasty), acquiring expertise, performing a courageous task etc
- In modern times mobility is due to emergence of new occupation, modern education system, democracy, welfare state, technology etc

Agrarian- least mobility, Industrial- rapid increase (because of occupation/urbanisation) and in advanced industrial societies mobility tends to plateau out

Factors that cause mobility

P Sorokin - there are certain primary factors that effect mobility in all societies and secondary factors that are specific to particular society at particular times. He listed four primary factors

- 1) demographic factors
- 2) the ability of parents and children
- 3) the faulty distribution of individuals in social positions and
- 4) the change of environment

Demographic factor: In general, it has been observed that the birth-rate of higher groups is lower than that of lower groups. Even though the death rates of the lower groups are higher, the net reproduction rate is such that there is usually some room at the top for members of lower groups

Talent and ability: he notes that usually abilities of parents and children do not match. In descriptive societies, children may not always be suited to their inherited status position as their parents. Lipset and Bendix state that there are always new supplies of talent which must be absorbed somewhere or the other so that there is always room for talented individuals to be upwardly mobile.

‘The rise of meritocracy’ by Michael Young debunks the myth that the open societies are really responsive to talent and ability. The class of the person still matters in that the topmost positions and the lowest positions are largely self recruiting

Faulty distribution of individuals Pareto says that history is graveyard of aristocracy that is people from lower strata would eventually occupy elite positions and cycle goes on.

Change in social environment Changes of various kinds economic, social, political, legal, technological and other have an effect on social mobility

- Goldthorpe sites the work of Miller who using more data than Lipset and Bendix shows that in fact there is a lack of convergence between the rates of mobility of industrial societies. This shows that perhaps it is not industrialisation but other factors such as cultural factors the education system which also have a bearing on social mobility.
- Barriers to mobility (Marxian viewpoint)
- Subjective factors like aspirations, motivation of people, degree of exclusivity etc
- Merton has also written about the importance of reference group in determining social behaviour anticipatory socialisation.

Criticisms:

- class of origin still mattered

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- Unequal access to resources like education
- Caste clustering in industries increased
- Formation of Dalit and Tribal elites

Social mobility and social change

Giddens criticises conventional discussion of mobility which look at classes as fixed categories which can be populated by different people at different times.

Schumpeter for example likens classes to buses which have different passengers at different times.

Merton work on social structure and anomie sheds mode light on this. He differentiates between socially accepted goals and means of achieving these goals.

Consequence of mobility

- 1) increased creativity and efficiency
- 2) cultural homogenisation
- 3) lesser possibilities of conflict
- 4) weaker hierarchical divides (everyone wears denim, eat pizza)
- 5) creates anomie: people resorting to shortcuts and thus scams (anomie of infinite aspirations)
- 6) possibility of mobility creates stress and weakens social bonds (divorce rates, loneliness solidarity, nuclearisation of families)

Dimensional of SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Based on different criteria

- **Age set** system- described as stateless by Evans-Pritchard as they lack central governance; stratified on basis of age and ranks on the basis age ex: Masai and Nandi tribes in East Africa
- **Slave** system- LT Hobhouse defines slave as a man whom law and custom regard as property of another. It does not exist anymore.
- **Estate** system- characteristic of feudal society of Europe; in terms of ownership of land.
- **Class** system- economic criteria mostly seen in industrial societies.
- **Racial**- biological and ethnic -cultural criteria; superiority one over another
- **Gender**
- **Caste**– ascriptive, theoretically closed and constitutionally illegal

#8: Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002)

Building on the work of Marx, Durkheim, Weber, and others, Pierre Bourdieu established what he called the “cultural deprivation theory,” which states that people tend to think higher class cultures are better than lower class cultures. As a result, members of the higher classes believe that members of the lower classes are to blame for their childrens’ shortcomings in learning and advancement. It follows that the higher classes’ assumptions of superiority are self-propelling prophecies; to declare oneself better is an act of social positioning, not necessarily truth. The ruling classes, Bourdieu said, have the power to impose meaning, to instate their own cultural choices as “correct,” to declare their culture as worthy of being sought. But he cautioned that people should not assume higher classes are necessarily better; Bourdieu blamed the education system, not the values of the working class, for the gaps in the academic achievements of children (a theory that has gained traction, even after Bourdieu’s death). His most famous work is 1979’s “Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste.”

#9: Anthony Giddens (b. 1938)

Anthony Giddens is a prominent thinker in the field of sociology, having published at least 34 books since 1971. His contributions to sociology as a discipline have been threefold: In the '70s, he helped redefine the field itself through a reinterpretation of classic works on society. In the '80s, Giddens developed his theory of structuration—one of his biggest contributions to date and a pillar of modern sociological theory. The theory addresses a long-standing debate in social science over whether structure (recurring patterns) or agency (free choice) is the primary shaper of human behavior; Giddens theorizes that neither is prime, but that they work in conjunction and must be studied as such. Third, in the '90s Giddens began publishing work on his theories of modernity (the historical period marked by the move from feudalism toward capitalism and industrialization) and its relationship to globalization and politics; he suggests a Third Way that reconciles the policies of the political left and the political right in order to form a system of ethical socialism—a balance of capitalism and socialism.