



**Sleepy Classes IAS**  
*Awakening Toppers*

# SOCIOLOGY

# PAPER 1



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## Table of Content

1. <u>Sociology - The Discipline</u> .....	3
2. <u>Sociology as Science</u> .....	23
3. <u>Research Methods and Analysis</u> .....	36
4. <u>Sociological Thinkers</u> .....	53
5. <u>Stratification and Mobility</u> .....	144
6. <u>Works and Economic Life</u> .....	179
7. <u>Politics and Society</u> .....	187
8. <u>Religion and Society</u> .....	231
9. <u>Systems of Kinship</u> .....	247
10. <u>Social Change in Modern Society</u> .....	263



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# Chapter - 1

## Sociology - The Discipline

### Chapter-1 Syllabus

- Modernity and social changes in Europe and Emergence of Sociology.
- Scope of the subject and comparison with other social sciences.
- Sociology and Common sense.

### Modernity and Social Changes in Europe and Emergence of Sociology

Imagine it like this:

#### Enlightenment

- Change on Societal Level because of various reasons
- 'Rise of Modern Societies'
- Problems and Reactions associated with it
- Search for solutions
- Rise of Sociology as a BoK (Body of Knowledge)

We'll discuss these things in detail to look for various factors and prepare for various questions that can be asked.

#### Age of enlightenment

- Belief that people could comprehend and control the universe by means of reason and empirical research
- Belief of universal social laws
- Society can be made better

#### New inventions, discoveries

#### Revolutions:

- Political
- Economic
- Social
- Commercial
- Intellectual

# What is Enlightenment

- The Enlightenment was a period of remarkable intellectual development and change in philosophical thought.
- The Enlightenment was a period when long-standing ideas and beliefs, mostly related to social life, were overthrown and replaced
- Prominent Thinkers of Enlightenment included French philosophers like:
  - Charles Montesquieu
  - Jean Jacques Rousseau (in 1700s)

**Firstly, let us see what were the two types of intellectual currents that were ongoing in the seventeenth century:**

- In Philosophy
- In Science

## **In Philosophy**

- Seventeenth-century Philosophers were René Descartes, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke.

## **Main Focus**

- Producing Grand, General, very abstract Theories based on rational ideas.

## **In Science**

- Especially Newtonian physics
- Emergence of the application of the scientific method to social issues.
- Ideas to be derived from the real world and to be useful to the social world, especially in the critical analysis of that world.
- Belief that people could comprehend and control the universe by means of reason and empirical research.
- That because the physical world was dominated by natural laws, very likely that the social world was too.
- Therefore, Later Philosophers needed to Find out the Laws of the Society and Create a Better Society (that is put the ideas to use)

## **Therefore, Later Philosophers**

- Like Alexis de Tocqueville and Karl Marx were most directly and Positively influenced by Enlightenment thinking.

## **Main Focus**

- Producing Grand, General, very abstract Theories based on rational ideas
- Derive ideas from the real world and test them there.
- These thinkers found traditional values and institutions to be irrational.

- They had a mission to overcome these irrational systems with rational ones.

### **Extreme opposition to Enlightenment ideas**

- French Catholic counterrevolutionary philosophy Ideas of Louis de Bonald and Joseph de Maistre (1780s-90s).
- Bonald wanted a return to the peace and harmony of the Middle Ages.
- He viewed God was the source of society and Enlightenment philosophers are tempering 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.
- Conservatives recognized the irrational aspects of social life and assigned them positive value.
- Phenomena such as tradition, imagination, emotionalism, and religion were seen useful and necessary components of social life.
- They hated French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, as they saw them as disruptive forces.
- The conservatives tended to emphasize social order, an emphasis that became one of the central themes of the work of several sociological theorists.
- Zeitlin (1996) outlined ten major propositions emerging from the conservative reaction and providing the basis for the development of classical French sociological theory:

### **Conservative Reaction brought the focus on Society**

- Enlightenment thinkers emphasized the individual, the conservative reaction led to a major sociological interest in and emphasis on society and other large-scale phenomena.
- Society was something more than simply an aggregate of individuals.
- Society was sui-generis that is, having an existence of its own with its own laws of development and deep roots in the past.

### **Society being the most important unit of analysis**

- Society seen as more important than the individual.
- Society produced the individual, primarily through the process of socialization.

### **No emphasis on the individual**

- A society consisted of roles, positions, relationships, structures, and institutions.
- Individuals were simply filling these units within society.

### **The parts of society being 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.

- This meant that changes in the social system should be made with extreme care.

### **Change a threat to society and its components including individuals**

- Society and its components satisfy people's needs.
- When these components were disrupted, people were likely to suffer, and their suffering was likely to lead to social disorder.

**Small units were family, neighbourhood, religious and occupational groups 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.**

- An emphasis on developing ways of dealing with their disruptive effects.

**Conservative reaction brought the focus on importance of non-rational factors**

- (Ritual, ceremony, and worship, for example) in social life.

**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.
- Now we can answer.

### **What is Modernity**

- Thinking new or thinking different opposing the tradition.
- It is a comparative process.
- It is only in the 1800s (or 19th Century) that we begin to find thinkers who can be clearly identified as sociologists.
- One cannot establish the precise date when sociological theory began.
- Human beings have unique capability to reflect on their existence and surroundings.

**For Instance: Plato Six basic assumptions of society**

- James Harrington (1670s)
  - An ideal constitution to create a Utopian society.
  - But their ideas not relevant to modern societies.
- By undertaking systematic study, Sociology came to be a distinct discipline by first half of 19th century.
- What led to Development of Sociology as a distinct Body of Knowledge?
- All intellectual fields are profoundly shaped by their social settings. Not only that Sociology is derived from the Social Setting but takes the social setting as its basic subject matter.



- Now let us see the Events that led to the development of Sociology as a separate BoK.

## Political Revolutions

- French Revolution in 1789 and carried over through the nineteenth century Many positive changes resulted.
- And also certain negative effects of such changes as well.

## Negative Changes

- Particularly, Chaos & Disorder after FR.
- 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.

## Industrial Revolution & Rise of Capitalism

- Industrial Revolution
- Capitalism and
- The reaction against them
- Swept through many western societies, mainly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- The IR not a single event but many interrelated developments.
- Transformed the Western world in following ways:
  - society shifted from a largely agricultural to an overwhelmingly industrial system.
  - From agricultural work to the industrial occupations
  - Factories transformed by a long series of technological improvements
  - Large economic bureaucracies
  - Rise of free marketplace for exchange of products of industries
  - A few profited greatly but the majority worked long hours at low wages. Led to the labor movements.

## Rise of Socialism

- Two Types of Thinkers / Thought Emerged
  - Marxian / Socialist
  - Reformative but Opposed to Socialist thought

- Marxian / Socialist Thought
  - 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 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.

### Feminism

- Feminist activity and writing started reaching a highpoint during the liberationist moments of modern Western history.
- More organized, focused effort 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.
- A number of women associated with the field.
- 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.

### Urbanization

- Industrial Revolution caused massive migration.
- Caused a lot of urban problems:
  - Overcrowding
  - Pollution
  - Noise
  - Traffic
- 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 to study urbanization and its problems.



## Religious Change

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

## 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 prestige of science were rapidly rising.
- Many wanted to model sociology after the successful physical and biological sciences. However, a debate soon developed between those who wholeheartedly accepted the scientific model and those (such as Weber) who thought that distinctive characteristics of social life and society cannot adopt scientific model as such.
- Now, have a look at how Sociology has progressed through ages and how various thinkers came and went.
- Don't try to memorise them right now.
- You'll gradually be able to remember all of them.

## Recalling how we imagined it:

- Enlightenment Change on Societal Level because of various reasons
- 'Rise of Modern Societies'
- Problems and Reactions associated with it
- Search for solutions
- Rise of Sociology as a BoK

## Scope of the subject and comparison with other social sciences

### Imagine it like this

- Scope
  - Increased Across Places
  - Increased Across Time Periods
  - Discuss up to Present Day
- Let's See How Scope Widened at Various Places

## French Sociology

- Start of Sociology
- Saint Simon, Comte, Durkheim
  - Positivism, Empiricism, Society as Supreme, Structuralism, Functionalism.

### **Later French Sociologists**

- (That we ought to know)
- Pierre Bourdieu
  - Cultural Capital, Social Capital
- Michel Foucault
  - Discourses as a source of Power
- Jacques Derrida
  - Deconstruction

### **German Thinkers**

- Hegel
  - Dialectics (dynamic view, Thesis, Anti Thesis, Synthesis)
  - Idealism (emphasises the importance of mind and mental products)
- Feuerbach
  - Materialism, Real people and not abstract ideas shall be discussed and probed.
- Marx
  - Dialectical Materialism
- Weber
  - Interpretivism, Improvements on Marxist Ideas, Bureaucracy,
- Simmel
  - Symbolic Interactionism, Influenced American Sociology.
- Habermas
  - Critical School

### **British Thinkers**

- Herbert Spencer
  - How the idea of evolution applied to sociology, biology, psychology, and morality.  
✓Social Darwinism
  - Organismic Analogy
- Thomas Bottomore

- Marxism and its application on developing world.
- Michael Mann
  - Grand theory of Power
- Anthony Giddens
  - Theory of Structuration.
  - Analysing creation and reproduction of social systems.
  - Analysis of both structure and agents (without giving primacy to either).

### Italian Thinkers

- Pareto
  - Theories on Elites
- Mosca
  - Theories on Elites
- Gramsci
  - Marxist, Hegemony

### American Thinkers

- Albion Small, Robert Park
  - Chicago School
  - Problems/Solutions of Urbanisation
- Jane Addams
  - How organisations alleviate hunger, poverty and oppression, Nobel Peace Prize Winner in 1931.
- Du Bois
  - Essays on race relations, Blending Sociology and Economics
- GH Mead
  - Symbolic Interactionism
- CW Mills
  - Sociological Imagination
  - It involves an individual developing a deep understanding of how their existence and daily lives are a result of historical process and occurs within a larger social context.
- Talcott Parsons
  - Structural Functionalism, Bridge between Micro-Macro.

- Robert K. Merton
  - Middle Range Theories, Functionalism, Deviance, Reference Group - Relative Deprivation.

### **Imagine it like this**

- Let's See How Scope Widened at Various Time Periods.

### **Initial phase (1838-1880s)**

- Macro-ism
  - Understanding society in terms of
- Macro units
  - August Comte - Social Statics, Social Dynamics
  - Saint Simon- Social Physics
- Inductivism
  - Understanding social reality in terms of
- Empiricism
  - August Comte- Social Positivism
  - Herbert Spencer - Organismic Analogy
- Humanism
  - Understanding and finding solutions to social problem

### **2nd phase (1880s-1940s)**

- Widening of Scope
  - Durkheim
  - Social Facts
- Micro Realities Introduced
  - Max Weber
  - Start of interpretative sociology
  - Sociology started to be taught in large no of universities.

### **Two schools Emerged**

- Synthetic
  - Focus on Macro
  - Bringing all social sciences together
  - Sociology can study everything (Socio Centrism)

- Durkheim
  - 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
  - Book - Ideology and Utopia
- Formal
  - Emphasis on Micro phenomenon like social action/social processes
  - Sociology to make abstract generalisations about concrete reality.
  - Kantian influence - SUOR - Subjective Understanding of Objective Reality.
  - Studies objective reality as subjective interpretation Mostly German.
- Weber
  - Types of social action
- George Simmel
  - Forms of interaction (formal & informal) and
  - Types of interactants (whether known or strangers. Behaviour varies).
- Alfred Vierkandt
  - Sociology is sum total of social and psychic behaviour of man which can be explained by abstract conceptual design.
- Leopold Vanwiese
  - All human behaviour can be divided into associative and dissociative.
- Ferdinand Tonnies
  - Difference of social groups
  - Gemeinschaft (community/small society) and Gesellschalft (society/industrial society).

### 3rd phase (1940s to 1990s)

- Blending of Formal and Synthetic Schools
- Parsons
  - The SOSA (Structure of social action) and
  - The SS (social system)
- Merton
  - Combined micro and macro
  - Latent and Manifest Functions
- CW Mills
- Sociological Imagination
- Sociology of coffee. Discussing the chain.
- Anthony Giddens
  - Theory of Structuration.
  - Double Hermeneutics.
  - Observe and then Understand.
  - Why women wear sindoor or mangalsutra and what sense others make of it.
  - Also emphasized blending.

### Extension of existing schools

- Formal School
  - Ethnomethodology - Harold Garfinkel
  - Phenomenology - Alfred Schutz
- Present Phase – 1980s onwards:
  - Wider varieties of interest
  - Health, IT, Biotech, Networking, Defence, Environment
- Emergence of Post-Modernist thought
  - Deal with Metanarratives
  - No way to differentiate between true and untrue stories.
- Michael Foucault
  - Discourse analysis. That discourses have power.
- Jacques Derrida
  - Deconstruction.
  - Language can never truly represent an internal, objective reality.



- Alan Bryman
  - Multidisciplinary Approach
- Purposive research has removed limitation on scope
  - Scope has kept expanding throughout history
- Conflict View
  - Marxian
  - Feminism
- Scope can also be understood in comparing sociology with other social sciences.

## **Sociology and History**

- History is although not exactly a social science, history shares certain attributes with sociology.
- 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 important, to assess what their social significance was and is.
- Historians provide a narrative of the sequence of events during a certain period and might use sociological research methods to learn how social forces have shaped historical events.
- Sociologists examine historical events to see how they influenced later social situations.

### **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 the sociology becomes, the better it is.
- Lucien Febvre and Mark Bloch formed Annales School in 1940s to study long-term social history.

### **Important Quotes to remember**

- “History is past Sociology, Sociology is present history”.
- “Sociology without history is rootless, history without sociology is fruitless.”

### **Sociological concepts that use Historical roots**

- Ethnicity, Caste, Nationality, Religion, Property Relations, Legacy, etc.
- They are used to mobilise people socially.

## Historians focus on individual events—the American Revolution or slavery, for instance—

- Sociologists generally focus on phenomena such as revolutions or the patterns of dominance and subordination that exist in slavery.
- They try to understand the common conditions that contribute to revolutions or slavery wherever they occur.
- Sociologists and modern social historians would use these data to ask many questions:
  - What social and economic forces shaped the institution of slavery in the United States?
  - How did the industrial revolution affect slavery?
  - How has the experience of slavery affected the black family?
- Although history and sociology have been moving toward each other over the past few decades, each discipline still retains a somewhat different focus: sociology on the present, history on the past.

### Quick Comparison

<b>Sociology</b>	<b>History</b>
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)

### Socio and Economy

- Economists develop techniques for measuring such things as prices, supply and demand, money supplies, rates of inflation, and employment.
- This study of the creation, distribution, and consumption of goods and services is known as economics.
- The economy, however, is just one part of society, and each individual in society decides whether to buy an American car or a Japanese import, whether she or he can handle debt and its obligations, etc.
- While economists study price and availability factors, sociologists are interested in the social factors that influence a person’s economic decisions.
- Does peer pressure result in buying the 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?

- What effect does the unequal allocation of resources have on social interaction?

### Examples of Economics and Sociology joining hands

- Advertisements – to study consumer behaviour, values, norms, culture
- Adam Smith – put forward the idea of possibility of independence of institutions (laissez faire)
- Pierre Bourdieu – economists shall look into all costs of economy including crime and suicides.
- Neil Smelser – put forward the idea of industrial sociology for better understanding of modern society.
- A. Lowie -- book “economics and sociology” – examines interplay of laws of market and mobility of factors of production.
- Francois Simiand – principles of economy need to be verified sociologically
- 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.

### Contemporary use

- Michael Mann - In mod
- Feminists – glass ceiling, pink collared jobs, unpaid domestic work Economic policy becoming developmental policy.

### Socio and Political Science

- Birth of Sociology related to political upheaval of French revolution.
- Broadly speaking, Political science is the study of three major areas: political theory, the actual operation of government, and, in recent years, political behavior.
- This emphasis on political behavior overlaps with sociology.
- The primary distinction between the two disciplines is that sociology focuses on how the political system affects other institutions in society, whereas political science devotes more attention to the forces that shape political systems and the theories for understanding these forces.

### Concepts used by

- 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.
- Colemans – Politics of developing areas
- David Easton – A system analysis of political life
- Social concepts such as ethnicity, caste, gender, social class, religion used to mobilize people politically and formation of political parties.
- Sociology helps in determining political behaviour (including voting pattern, psephology).
- Concept of Reservation is also a sociological manifestation in Politics.
- Neil Smelser - protests, social movements and right movements.

### Concept of Pressure Groups.

- Nation – Political organisation of a society.
- Secularism – Withdrawal of religion, a social phenomenon, from political life citizenship.
- However, both disciplines share an interest in why people vote the way they do, why they join political movements, and how the mass media are changing political events.

### 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 rather quickly 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.
- Thus, anthropologists tend to focus on the culture of small, preindustrial societies because they are less complex and more manageable using this method of study.
- Anthro studies
  - Human evolution
  - Physical, cultural, social anthro (evolution, genetics, fossils)
  - Archaeology
  - Concerned with pre-literate societies

### Primarily uses structural-functionalist ways:

- Both influenced by Darwins evolution theory.
- Spencer – Social Darwinism
- 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.

### Social Anthropology

- Studies small society.
- Origin in colonialism.
- Takes western societies as benchmark (ethnocentric viewpoint)
- Malinowsky - another name of social anthro is comparative sociology

### Ideas borrowed

- Survey method
- Quantitative data
- Field work
- Ethnographic research

### Socio and Psychology

- The study of individual behavior and mental processes is part of psychology; the field is concerned with such issues as motivation, perception, cognition, creativity, mental disorders, and personality.
- More than any other social science, psychology uses laboratory experiments.
- Psychology and sociology overlap in a subdivision of each field known as social psychology – the study of how human behavior is influenced and shaped by various social situations.
- Social psychologists study such issues as how individuals in a group solve problems and reach a consensus or what factors might produce nonconformity in a group situation.
- Generally, however, psychology studies the individual, and sociology studies groups of individuals as well as society's institutions.

### Psychology

- Science of behaviour. Focus on individual.

- Social psychology – behaviour in a group
- Weber – importance to meanings attached by the actor.
- Cooley – looking glass self.
- Mead – symbolic interactionism
- Parsons – effective role of mother
- Durkheim – suicide 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
- George Simmel (forms of interaction (formal & informal) and types of interactants (whether known or strangers. Behaviour varies)),
- Alfred Vierkandt (sociology is sum total of social and psychic behaviour of man which can be explained by abstract conceptual design,
- Leopold Vanwiese (all human behaviour can be divided into associative and dissociative).
- Radcliffe brown – contrasts the two fields. One studies social system and other the mental system.

### **Socio and philosophy**

- Socio emerged largely as a philosophical ambition.
- As a separate bok.
- Sociology raises a lot of philosophical questions and tries to answer them.
- Giam battista - philosophy of history - separating society from political society.
- Karl manheim – ideas of sociology of knowledge had 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 otherwise what are just facts and figures.
- Gunnar myrdal – chaos cannot organise itself into cosmos, we need viewpoints.

### **Sociology and common sense**

- Common sense is what people develop through everyday life experiences. In a very real sense, it is the set of expectations about society and people’s behavior that guides our own behavior.
- Unfortunately, these expectations are not always reliable or accurate because without further investigation, we tend to believe what we want to believe, to see what we want to see, and to accept as fact whatever appears to be logical.



- Whereas common sense is often vague, oversimplified, and often contradictory, sociology attempts to be specific and to prove its assertions.
- Let us look at a few examples to see how common sense is not coherent: There's a saying which says "look before you leap" and then there's another saying "he who hesitates is lost"?
- Or how can "absence make the heart grow fonder" when "out of sight, out of mind"?
- Why should "opposites attract" when "birds of same feather flock together"?
- Common sense often makes sense after the fact.
- It is more useful for describing events than for predicting them.
- It deludes us into thinking we knew the outcome all along.

### An Experiment

- KH Teigen researched in 1986 by asking students to evaluate actual proverbs and their opposites.
- When given the actual proverb, "Fear is stronger than love," most students agreed that it was true, but so did students who were given the reverse statement, "Love is stronger than fear."
- The same was true for the statements, "Wise men make proverbs and fools repeat them" (actual proverb) and its reversal, "Fools make proverbs and wise men repeat them."
- Sociologists as scientists attempt to qualify these statements by specifying, for example, under what conditions opposites tend to attract or birds of a feather flock together.
- Sociology as a science is oriented toward gaining knowledge about why and under what conditions events take place to understand human interactions better.

### We need to ponder

- If sociology is study of obvious or application of common sense?
- But common-sense lacks validity and presents itself as a mere assertion.

### Defining 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 more.
- Howard Beckers- labelling theory of deviance.
- Common sense is often related to social relationships, social setting or institutions which fall under purview of sociology.
- Common sense gives raw material for sociology.

- Common sense can even be supportive of sociological theories.

### Point of differences

- Common sense is status quoist but sociology professes active change. It even debate's 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 world, which is usually taken for granted by Sociologists.
- Sociology has Irreverent attitude towards religion (Durkheim, Weber and Marx).
- Common sense explains many things irrationally. For ex poverty is due to wish of God.
- Sociology is verified, self-correcting and academic discipline. Common sense is assumptive which sometimes is discontinuous/ paradoxical (for example opposite attracts as well as fight.)
- Also, common sense not coherent across countries and eras.
- Common sense has specific roles and duties assigned for genders, poor, tribal (stereotypes). Margaret Mead study of tribals in Papua New Guinea region found certain gender role reversal contrary to common sense.
- Common sense is highly value laden.
- 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 example, sociological investigation of marital breakups have made people believe that marriage is a risky business.
- Phenomenologists: attempting to study "what" people do and not "why" people do certain things.

### Poverty:

- Common sense -problem families, low intelligence.
- Sociology - structure of inequality in society, chronic irregularity of wages.

### Gramsci - Creation of 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, 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.

## Chapter - 2

### Sociology as Science

#### Non-Positivist Methodologies

- Positivist assumptions questioned by 'idealists' traditions.
- Kant - Ideas are important, as they change the society.
- It drew from hermeneutics i.e., study of interpretation.
- Society is highly subjective so emphasis is on understanding (or interpretation) as explanation not possible.
- Martin Heidegger talks about how 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 -
  - Experience
  - Expression (opinion of others)
  - Comprehension (interpreting information)
- Remember how Heinrich Rickert and W Windelband differentiated b/w nomothetic and idiographic.
- George Simmel says that reality is objective but knowledge about reality is subjective.
- Cause-consequence relationship is not constant in behavioural science.
- It depends on mood, intentions, situation.
- Max Weber (interpretative)
- Symbolic interactionism (GH Mead)
- Phenomenology (Alfred Schutz - Peter Berger) Ethnomethodology (Harold Garfinkel) (Louis Dumont in India)

## General elements

- Internal sides
- Scientific methods as natural science cannot be used in social science
- No general theory
- Futility of objective approach

## Critique

- Vague methods (verstehen)
- Dependence on the ability of investigator
- Time consuming and costly
- Contradictory explanations (various Ideal types for same phenomenon)
- Reliability and validity cannot be achieved

## Conclusion

- Ray Pawson: 60s hangover
- Alan Bryman: choice of methodology depends on type of research (purposive research).
- Post-modernist (no knowledge is untrue, voices of diverse groups be encouraged, meta narratives)

## Major theoretical strands of research methodology

- Sociology is commonly described as one of the social sciences.
- Science refers to a body of systematically arranged knowledge that shows the operation of general laws.
- Sociology also employs the same general methods of investigation that are used in the natural sciences.
- Like the 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

- We have already discussed it in bits and pieces in our previous lessons. Let us have a look at what positivism means in a greater detail.
- The word positivism is derived from the French word positivisme, in turn derived from positif.
- 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.
- We need to discuss it more to get greater clarity.
- I'd want you all to listen to this story of August Comte.
- Comte argued that, much as the physical world operates according to gravity and other absolute laws, so does society, and further developed positivism into a Religion of Humanity.
  - (Quoting from Wikipedia. Just read it leisurely and find out what positivism is)
- Auguste Comte (1798–1857) first described the epistemological perspective of positivism in *The 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*.
- The first three volumes of the *Course* dealt chiefly with the physical sciences already in existence (mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology), whereas the latter two emphasized the inevitable coming of social science.
- Observing the circular dependence of theory and observation in science, and classifying the sciences in this way, Comte may be regarded as the first philosopher of science in the modern sense of the term.
- For 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 sociological method.
- The most important thing to determine was the natural order in which the sciences stand – not how they can be made to stand, but how they must stand, irrespective of the wishes of anyone.
- This Comte accomplished by taking as the criterion of the position of each the degree of what he called "positivity", which is simply the degree to which the phenomena can be exactly determined.

- This, as may be readily seen, is also a measure of their relative complexity, since the exactness of a science is in inverse proportion to its complexity.
- The degree of exactness or positivity is, moreover, that to which it can be subjected to mathematical demonstration, and therefore mathematics, which is not itself a concrete science, is the general gauge by which the position of every science is to be determined.
- Generalizing thus, Comte found that there were five great groups of phenomena of equal classificatory value but of successively decreasing positivity.
- To these he gave the names astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and sociology.
- 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".
- Comte intended to develop a secular-scientific ideology in the wake of European secularisation.
- Comte's stages were (TMP):
  - the theological
  - the metaphysical, and (3) the positive.
- 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 presences and with the church.
- The theological phase deals with humankind's accepting the doctrines of the church (or place of worship) rather than relying on its rational powers to explore basic questions about existence. It dealt with the restrictions put in place by the religious organization at the time and the total acceptance of any "fact" adduced for society to believe.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Positivism also holds that society, like the physical world, operates according to general laws. Introspective and intuitive knowledge is rejected.
- It draws from –
  - Empiricism (what is seen or observable)
  - Inductivism (supremacy of facts)
  - Naturalism (influence of external environment on actions)
- John Locke was one of the first proponents of it.
- He was both an empiricist and an inductivist.
- He desired to understand or describe the world as a sequence of cause and effects between objects that can be observed.
- Positivism has had a great influence of enlightenment ideologies.

### For example

- Saint Simon – Sociology as Social Physics.
- Herbert Spencer - Advocated Organismic Analogy to study Society.
- Auguste Comte introduced positivism in Sociology.
- He, in his books 'Course in Positive Philosophy' and 'System of Positive Polity' aimed at Studying Sociology as a Natural Science.
- He also emphasized Sociological Positivism-
  - Objects are real not by material presence but in terms of their effects also.
- Sociology to be studied using methodologies like:
  - Reductional Analysis
  - Causal Analysis
  - Comparative Analysis
  - Generalisations
- 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.
- He used it in developing theories of Division of Labour (DOL), Religion, Suicide.

### Elements of positivism can be summarised as

- Study of observable phenomena and collecting information for the same. Rejecting the study of internal side.
- Use of scientific methods initially supposed to be similar to natural Sciences. But later more specific methods devised.
- Example - Durkheim's theory of suicide classical exhibition of positivist methodology conclusions drawn using multivariate analysis.
- Also, Durkheim - Use of data on Suicide Rates, Religious membership. Stress on Universal theories.
- Creation of testable knowledge, i.e., reliability
- Emphasising absolute objectivity, total value freedom.

### Criticism

- Obsession for positivism has been lost but it provided initial motivation for sociology to establish.

### Various problems

- Interpretative School - Weber, Dilthey - Not possible to study human behavior using methods of natural sciences.
- Sociology should be concerned with SU of OR (Subjective Understanding of Objective Reality)
- Post Modernists - Derrida, Foucault - Reality can be studied in many ways.
- Interactionist - Mead, Cooley, Blumer- Actions and Interactions result in Social Actions.
- 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.
- Ethnomethodologists - Garfinkel - Reality be studied from People's perspective and not Researcher's perspective.
- Positivists themselves divided between use of Inductivism or deductivism.
- Paul Feyerabend - Gave the idea of anti-methodology.
- Alvin Gouldner - Reflexive Sociology (individual reflects on his/her own actions)
- Anthony Giddens - Theory of Structuration
- RK Merton - Over emphasizing Universal theories. Instead use Middle- Ranged theories.
- Gunnar Myrdal - Complete objectivity not desirable.
- Intestability of various positivist theories. Like Parsons'.
- Jurgen Habermas - Since human's study humans, thus, complete separation of facts and values not possible.

- Max Horkheimer – Positivism is engaged in ‘objective anarchism’, an obsession to study everything objectively.

### **Fact value and objectivity**

- Objectivity means freedom from personal biases. Fact – Empirically verifiable.
- Value – Desirable.
- Value Neutrality – Indifference to the matter in hand. No opinions or values about the matter. Which might be unrealistic or unnecessary if we are objective.
- That is, whatever be the conclusion, nothing is prescribed as such.
- scientific methods, evidence-based reasoning, logic, etc.
- The focus is on means, that is, the methods.
- Values or Personal bias come from Race, caste, language, religion, culture etc. Source of value is, thus, through Socialisation.
- These values influence human thoughts and actions.
- Premise of Positivism – Fact and value are in dichotomous relationship.
- Jurgen Habermas – Since human’s study humans, thus, complete separation of facts and values not possible.
- Vilfredo Pareto – Sociology should study ‘what is’ rather than ‘what ought to be’.

### **Problem of objectivity appears at different stages**

- Choice of subject matter
- Formulation of the problem
- Accumulation of data
- Data analysis
- Hypothesis building
- Testing of theory
- Choice of topic not considered a problem of subjectivity.
- Max Weber - Distinguish between value freedom and value reference. Value reference can be made while doing investigation. Value reference has to be ensured.
- Merton – The very choice of topic is influenced by personal preferences and ideological biases of researcher.
- Also, topic of suicide has received disproportionate amount of attention in Sociology after Durkheim’s study.
- Formulation of problem depends on prevailing choice of investigators debates and this issue is considered objective

- 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.
- Interview method influenced by subjectivity of interviewer and interviewee. William Whyte - study of Italian criminals concluded. “I started as a non-participant observer but ended as participant non observer”
- Interpretation of facts also coloured by viewpoints of investigator. Robert Redfield (functionalist) and Oscar Lewis (Marxist) studied the same village in Mexico around the same time but their interpretations differed vastly.
- Theories also suffer from biases. Durkheim gave functional theory of religion whereas Marx gave conflict theory of religion
- Testing is subjected to researcher’s bias. As the tendency would be to produce the same results. Durkheim’s Study of Suicide is accused of this.

### **Degree of objectivity desired in Sociology**

- Objectivity has been found to be neither possible nor desirable. It is an elusive goal.
- Alvin Gouldner – Fact and Value cannot be separated in empirical research.
- Gunnar Myrdal- Total objectivity is an illusion.
- It amounts to falsifying history and loss of basic purpose of the discipline which is of reformist agenda.
- Social problems cannot be and should not be studied objectively.
- They become meaningful only within a specific cultural context.
- Suggesting solutions with reference to the society is essential.
- Gunnar Myrdal – “Chaos cannot organise itself into Cosmos we need viewpoints”
- Book - The Asian drama.

### **How objectivity can be insured**

- Comte - Suggested using positivist methods and studying macro aspects.
- 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.
- By refraining from advocating preference of any view point.
- Using testing techniques to ensure reliability and validity
- Stating field limitations.

- Triangulation – Using various methods to cross check the outcome.
- Durkheim – Book: Rules of Sociological Method.
  - For study of Social Facts – 4 Rules: Observation, Classification, Distinction, Explanation.
- Herbert Marcuse – Objectivity in Sociology is a limitation of the discipline.
- Max Horkheimer – Contemporary Sociology demands plural theories.
- Theodor Adorno – Positivism is negative dialectics.

## **Science, Scientific method and Critique.**

- I will begin by telling you 2 stories. One of Thomas Kuhn.
  - Another of Karl Popper.
- Kuhn in his book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions talks of a generic idea of ‘paradigms’, which is a world view.
- He defines paradigms as “universally recognized scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners”.
- It says that how with time one world view replaces another.
- And that it has been considered valuable across so many areas of knowledge. Kuhn also touches on the fact that paradigms exist not only in science, but are the natural human way of comprehending the world.
- When a paradigm is replaced by another one, the world itself seems to change.
- He says that paradigms can have integrity, providing most of the answers to most of the questions asked of them in their day, and yet also be fundamentally wrong.
- Real discovery begins with recognition of anomalies, or nature acting in a way that it is not meant to. Scientists don’t know what to do with these facts, and so they are not ‘scientific’ until they have found a home in an existing theory.
- Kuhn makes a distinction between Normal and revolutionary science. ‘Normal’ science is based on the assumption that the scientific community knows what the world is like.
- Normal science tends to suppress anomalous facts because they are a road block in a pre-committed theoretical path.
- Scientific revolutions, on the other hand, Kuhn says are the “tradition shattering complements to the tradition-bound activity of normal science.
- It is the type of scientific thinking or research which can cause revolutions in how we see the world.
- Since paradigm change is not a rational process, but rather a gulf between what different parties see, paradigms do not compete.
- They cannot agree on the methodology to tackle problems, or even on the language needed to describe them; the paradigms are ‘incommensurable’,
- Kuhn says, because they have no common standard by which to judge each other.

- Karl Popper in 1934 wrote Logic of Scientific Discovery.
- Popper believed that the purpose of philosophy or its application was to bring clarity to real world problems; it must seek to tell us something about our place in the universe.
- 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.
- A real philosopher or scientist would work to prove themselves wrong, attempting to find the holes in any existing theory.
- Only then might knowledge be worthy of its name.
- 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.
- As for instance, when black swans were discovered in Australia to realise 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.

### On Positivism

- He believes that positivism considered itself an ultra-empirical movement and fell for the inductive illusion by claiming that something was only true if it could be shown in a positive sense to be so.
- But this is not enough. Given the problems of inductive logic, to arrive at any semblance of knowledge you have to come at a problem from the negative angle, to relentlessly identify what clearly isn’t true. He notes that scientific laws tend to have credibility when it is clear where they do not apply.
- Now when we have listened to these stories, let us try to find out if Sociology is a science or not
- Sociology emerged due to challenges posed before modernity.
- Initial sociologists wanted to develop Sociology on bases 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 parameter of natural science so debate started whether ‘sociology is a science’.
- Conception of science has changed – enlightenment ideologies consider it as a body of knowledge (empirical (observed)/testable (verified)/uniform laws) based on natural science.



- Karl Popper argues that only positivism is not science because it overlooks aberration and kills the
- Gradually science came to be understood as method of enquiry or approach based on evidence and reason.
- Karl Popper says that science is not a body of knowledge but a method of approaching and studying phenomenon.

### **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
- Theoretical orientation

### **Why 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- durkeim social facts and weber- Ideal types)
- Theoretical orientation (sociology has made theories but valid in specific socio-cultural context; Durkheim theory of religion and parsons' theory of social system claimed to be universal theory)

But there are also arguments against that why Sociology can't be seen as a Science:

- limitations w.r.t natural science (empiricism, testability, universal theories and absolute objectivity)
- But if seen as method of enquiry, sociology fulfils all conditions.
- Natural science - astronomy is considered a science but experimentation not possible.
- MAX WEBER- difference in subject matter (human beings have consciousness). So, sociology is a science in itself.
- Natural sciences go for statement of facts while social sciences go for statements of value.
- Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert (neo kantians) introduced concepts of nomothetic (based on facts/empiricism/ tendency to generalize) and idiographic (based on tendency to specify/ subjective interpretations/ suited to humanities).
- So, methodology, approach towards knowledge and theorizing is different for social science.



- Erving Goffman and GH Mead used different approach to understand social phenomenon.
- Science can, thus, be seen as -
  - Methodology (positivism/non positivism)
  - Spirit (critical)
  - Purpose (to know the truth)
  - Consequences (curiosity and solving the problem)

## **Scientific method**

- Method/ procedure followed while conducting research.

### **Stage**

- Identification of 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
- Glorification of one method is bad for growth of knowledge
- Scientific method is based on induction and it does not promote refutability
- Science makes relative prediction (meteorology, space)
- Difference between science and pseudo-science (where prediction starts e.g., Sigmund freud theory)

## **Thomas Kuhn (Book 'scientific revolution')**

- Scientific revolution is a continuous, collective method.
- Even with non-scientific methods, many disciplines have grown and matured – e.g., history, philosophy.
- A researcher in scientific method also makes certain assumptions so don't glorify.
- Today science is colonised by state or capitalist. Science should be given freedom.

## Theodor Adorno

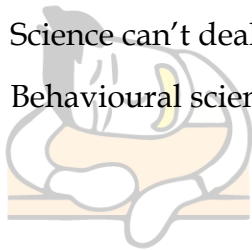
- 17-18th century- science attempted to study nature.
- 19th century: science attempted to exploit nature.
- 20th century: warhead, destructive power of science
- 21st century: colonised by state and capitalists (tech- which curtails choices and freedom).
- So, we should not celebrate science.

## Carl Jung

- (Swiss psychiatrist and psychotherapist)
- Subjective things like happiness, beauty, knowledge, pleasure etc cannot be measured with scientific methods. So, methodology should be discipline specific.

## Paul Feyerabend

- Scientific method is form of 'epistemology anarchism', i.e., Science has spread anarchy that any discipline not following scientific method should not be taken seriously.
- Science can't deal with human problems.
- Behavioural sciences researcher should be given freedom.



Sleepy Classes IAS  
Awakening Toppers

## Chapter - 3

### Research Methods and Analysis

#### Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

- Before we begin, let's have a look at what Yuval Noah Harari writes in his book Sapiens.
  - He writes that Modern Science differs from all traditional forms of science in 3 ways:
  - The willingness to admit ignorance.
  - Centrality of observation and mathematics.
  - Acquisition of new powers (science not just interested in creating theories, it also wants to apply itself in creating newer technologies) (always remember the difference between Science and Tech. - Science is theory, Technology is applied, Practical part of science).
- Also remember Scientific revolution feedback loop:



- 
- Political and Economic institutions provide resources for research to be taken up. There is re-investment of resources from research, so as to better it continuously.

#### Scientific Quantitative Methodology

##### POSITIVISM

- Introduced by Comte - sociology as a science of society based on positive philosophy.
- This conception of positivism involves search for laws that uses both reason as well as observation. That is, it is neither purely inductivist nor purely deductivist.
- Durkheim: study of suicide and social facts (enriched positivism).
- Use of statistical data.
- Correlation (b/w different social facts- Durkheim protestants and high suicide).
- Causation- to find cause and effect but possibility of third factor.
- Multivariate analysis: isolating effect of particular independent variable on dependent

variables.

- Use of computer software to study statistical significance of correlation.
- Theorisation: to form laws of human behaviour e.g. Durkheim (suicide), Comte (3 types of society).
- Inductive methodology.

Critical evolution:

- Karl Popper in his book 'the logic of scientific discovery' promotes idea of deductivism and falsification (no theory is absolutely true, need to keep testing).

### **Laboratory Experiment and Sociology**

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).
- Payne and Payne - Human beings are complex; matching one with other is impossible.
- Alan Bryman says that human beings as an independent variable cannot be manipulated beyond an extent ex: changing male to female.
- Impossibility of fitting entire society into lab.
- Longitudinal Studies can't be conducted - Difficult to keep subjects long in lab to study social change  
Some examples of lab experiment
  - Weber's charismatic leaders were found to be most effective
  - Children were impacted by viewing violent images.

Some examples of lab experiment:

- Weber's charismatic leaders were found to be most effective.
- Children were impacted by viewing violent images.

### **Field Experiment**

- Because of inability to perform lab experiment.
- Intervening in social world such that hypothesis can be tested by isolating particular variables.
  - Example - study done by J.W. Sissons (an actor dresses up like 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 short period.

### **Comparative Method**

- Comparing various studies/societies/times/groups and variables.
- Identifying critical factors leading to different outcomes.
- Victor Jupp says then 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).
- Data can be collected from primary as well as secondary sources

### **Benefits:**

- Less moral issues (easier to obtain prior consents, generally, of previous researchers).
- No direct intervention.
- Less likely to artificially effect behaviour 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 times.

### **Drawbacks:**

- Paucity of desired data and difficult to determine independent variables.
- Used by Karl Marx, Durkheim and Weber; Cicourel used it to compare juvenile delinquency in two Californian cities.

### **Interpretative and Qualitative Methodology**

- To supplement quantitative. Qualitative data in forms of words, description, narratives and greater depth.

### **Interpretative Approach**

- Weber. Social action/ establishing causal relations; verstehen; human beings different than natural science

### **Symbolic Interactionism**

- Mead. Cooley. Schutz.

- Does not reject attempt to establish causal relations.
- Individuals possess a self-concept or image of themselves which is built/ reinforced or modified during interactions (with others).
- Labelling can produce self-fulfilling prophecies.
- Phenomenology
- Study of phenomenon from perspective of those who witness it i.e. not what we know but how we come to know.
- Reject possibilities of causal explanations of human behaviour/ reject imposing meanings/ reject objective reality.
- They believe social world and its construction as social construction.
  - Example Cicourel questions the stereotypical definition of delinquency by officials.

### **Criticisms:**

- Challenges very existence of sociology, discarding other methodology making phenomenology victim of its own ideology.

### **Quantitative vs Qualitative**

#### **Ray Pawson**

- Distinction exaggerated.
- For ex Durkheim gave mental sketches of roman catholics and protestants.
- So even strongest advocates of either methodology have not stuck their position, 60s hangover, truce, methodological pluralism.
- New methods like post modernism and feminism do not fit into any branch.

#### **Alan Bryman:**

- Choice of methodology affects research planning and data analysis. Purposive research.

### **Critical Social Science Methodology**

- Every social science has some sort of criticism present but Lee Harvey says that critical school goes beyond.
- It denies objective status of knowledge or knowledge can be gained by quantitative and qualitative process.
- Knowledge is a process which is never complete and never finished. Sometimes need of the hour is to go beyond dominant ideologies.
  - For example, Harvey says that feminist studies on housework are able to show that housework produces things of value. Similarly, Marx work on capitalism reveals oppressive structure.
- Harvey says that class/ gender/ ethnicity and racism have been extensively studied by critical social scientists.

## Lee Harvey Main Features of Critical Social Research

- Abstract concepts and ideology.
- Totality (historical context).
- Deconstruction and Reconstruction.
- Praxis: practical reflective sociology; to understand about ways that exist to inform oppressed about structure of society; emancipatory concern.

RESEARCH METHODS like questionnaire, interviews and case studies are used and emphasis is on purpose of research rather than technique.

### Criticism:

- Martyn Hammersley:
  - Difficult to identify sources of oppression.
  - An oppressor could also be oppressed simultaneously and 'who is oppressor' is subjective.
  - There could be oppressive ideologies among the oppressed making it difficult to criticize one and tolerate the other (west accused of labelling Islam as oppressive, but it becomes difficult to come in defence of Islam knowing there are various oppressions within the religion like treating women as second grade humans).
  - Difficult to establish if false consciousness has been cast off and truth has been realized. 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.
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- 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

- 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, Gold Thorpe says that husband's class becomes wife class.



## Impact:

- Increase in female oriented studies.
- Rise in number of Female sociologists and;
- Sexist language (like mankind) has declined.

## Feminist Research Methods

### Ann Oakley:

- Closer relationship between interviewer and interviewee breaks down barriers and brings feminist approach to interview.

### Criticism:

- Nothing new just unstructured interview.
- But Oakley goes beyond as it involves advising and helping the interviewee.

## Feminist Standpoint Epistemology

- Examining the unique experiences of women in society.
  - For Example, experience of black lesbian women different from white middle class counterparts.

### Criticism:

### Ray Pawson

- 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.

But feminist have reformist point of view so it should not be discarded.

## Post-Modernist Methodology

- 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.

## Methodologies

- Post-modern ethnographies.
- 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 validity of knowledge (if argument is grounded in reality rather than mere persuasion).
- Mats Alvesson says that post-modernist should refine rather than reject conventional studies.
  - He proposes method of 'reflexive pragmatism' which involves researcher to produce data pragmatically without expecting it to provide an objective picture of reality.
  - He should be objective to cover matter from various angles.

Using this research can be divided into:

- Low ambiguity and
- High ambiguity issues.

## Techniques of data collection Part - I

### 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 (ex-class behaviour requires qualitative data while voting pattern requires quantitative techniques).
- Primary resources should have reliability and validity.
- Govt policies can demand certain type of research methods and data.
- Practicalities: Availability of data, possibility of interviewing the subjects (like murderers, gangsters etc).
- Ethical Concerns: Informed consent, confidentiality, to avoid harm and to do good.

#### Case Studies:

- Makes no claims to be representative; makes detailed examination of single example therefore lacks external validity.
- Howard Becker: aim of case study is to arrive at comprehensive understanding of group under study.
- Tim May: case studies emphasize contextual nature of social life.
- It helps to generate new hypothesis or falsify a general theory about social life. Ex K Gough study about Nayers which established that family is not always based on marital bonds.
- Various types of case studies
  - **critical:** to test a hypothesis or see reactions of an event (religion cults reaction when world didn't come to end in 2012)

- **Extreme or unique case:** Margaret Mead studied tribals in Pacific and found atypical gender relations
- **Revelatory case:** gaining access to new aspect previously inaccessible ex: black uneducated gangsters
- **longitudinal case:** to study case at two or more point (to see effects of social change)
- Representative or Exemplifying case.
- Drawbacks: no generalizations can be made (uniqueness);
- Bryman suggested no of case studies on same type of phenomenon to generalize.
- Karl Popper - Unique case studies help in falsification of universal theories.
- Thomas Kuhn - Case Studies help in furthering the Paradigm of the methodologies.

### 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 ex study of polish peasant.
- 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 starting point of studies or to falsify old ones.
- Feminist have used this method to highlight exploitation ex 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 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 ex Hannah Gavron found it necessary to establish a rapport with respondents.
  - May help in developing research skills.

### Social Survey:

- Collecting standardized data about large no of people. Aldridge and Levine: 'collection of same information about all cases in sample'.
- Usually by questionnaire.
- Three types

- Factual: for descriptive information ex: census
- Attitude survey: to discover opinion or subjective states of individuals
- Explanatory: to test or form theories or hypothesis.
- Researchers generalize from social survey.

## Techniques of data collection Part - II

### Primary Sources

- (continued)

### **Questionnaire:**

- List of pre-set questions generally repeated to every member of sample. It can be administered through
  - Structured or unstructured interview.
  - Postal questionnaire: response rate poor but cost effective.
  - Administering questions to a group.
  - Over the telephone.
  - Via email or online method (problem of digital divide).
- Some questions may be open ended other close ended. Likert scale can be employed.

### **Advantages of questionnaire**

- Practical, can collect large volume of data, relatively inexpensive, relatively less researcher's bias, quantitative data collected is more reliable, helps produce causal relations.

### **Disadvantages:**

- Same response might not mean same meaning, different words convey different meaning in different societies, researcher imposition (assumption-researcher knows what is important), order of the questions can be flawed, unwillingness and inaccuracies of respondents to give accurate replies, feminists say that it is important to include viewpoints of respondents as well.

### **Interviews:**

- TYPES: structured (pre-set), unstructured- conversational; most interviews are mix; Ann Oakley: very unstructured interviews- collaborative i.e., becoming friends with respondents. 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 overuse it can antagonize respondent. Only be used once and one on one.
- Individual interviews: confidentiality, no influence, easier to build rapport.
- Group interview (interactionists, interpretative and critical sociologists)- multiple voices, observe interactions
- Focus group: Alan Bryman says that when several members in a group discuss a topic that has been carefully specified construct meaning as a group, understand participants reactions and responses to each other is called focus group study.
- It helps in greater understanding of feelings, interviewer interaction is minimised, naturalistic, egalitarian and unstructured.

### **Advantages:**

- Observation:
  - Positivists: social world can be objectively observed.
  - Interactionists: observe social world to understand meanings in interactions.

### **Limitations:**

- Entry may be restricted of researcher (ex in tribal grp or in cabinet meetings).
- Presence of observer may impact behaviour.
- Observers can have difficulty in understanding ex why people are vegetarian.
- Dangerous to be present in certain situation.
- Crowded settings.

### **Ethnography**

- Long term observation of certain group in a social setting.
- Study of way of life - Introduced by Anthropologists like Malinowsky.
- Involves
  - Participant observation
  - In depth interviews
  - studying qualitative documents.

### **Participant observation**

- 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).

### Advantages:

- Researcher self is not imposed, symbiotic interactions can be closely observed, extended period of observations means behavioural 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:

- Time consuming, can study only a small group, researcher personal life can be impacted, 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, legal moral issues regarding observing covertly, studies can't be replicated, researcher may stop noticing nuances after sometime, validity may be impacted by presence of researcher (can be corrected by validation by members, triangulation, grounded theory i.e. theory formed from analysis of data).

### Critical ethnography:

1. It is used both to develop and test theories simultaneously i.e. oppressed studied and interviewed about impact of oppression simultaneously; forwarded by critical school.
  2. Phil Carspecken says that critical ethnography is concerned about social inequalities and directed towards positive social change,
  3. It helps in revealing oppression and educate people about the oppressions.
- Martyn Hammersley is hostile to this method as he says how subjects of theory can check validity of 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 circle by
    - Triangulation (cross checking with different methods i.e., quantitative data of a survey can be checked by in depth interviews).
    - Construct validity.
    - Face validity (testing the findings on few members).
    - 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').

### Longitudinal research

- Studying a group over an extended period collecting data on them at intervals.
  - Used to measure change in attitude.
  - Generally involved following a sample.
  - At times a particular age group is chosen.

- Alan Bryman: Many sociological researches have longitudinal aspect.
- But difficulty in finding accessible and cooperative sample and behaviour change due to people being conscious. 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.
  - Phenomenologists discard the secondary sources that give statistics as they are assumed to be social construct and are open to interpretation. Ex: Cicourel thought that youth from lower class are likely to be seen as delinquent.
  - CONFLICT THEORISTS like Ian Miles and John Irvine says that not all data is fabricated but figures criticising authorities may not be produced or publish.
- But Alan Bryman says that not all official data is incorrect.

### 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 resources. It can be divided into moving and still images. Ex how photojournalism influences perception of important historical events or study of advertisements.
  - But there are ethical and confidentiality issues.

### Content Analysis

- Analysis content of documents
- Ray Pawson gives four approaches
  - Formal content analysis: emphasis on reliability and objectivity; ignores inherent meanings for example, no of words devoted to a topic.
  - Thematic: how often theme is presented.
  - Textual: how a text encourages/ discourages an interpretation.



- Audience: focussing on responses of audience.

### Assessing secondary resources

- Authenticity: genuineness of author.
- Credibility: accuracy of author.
- Representativeness (time and accessibility).
- Meaning: understanding of document.

### Combining Various Methods:

- Alan Bryman says that difference between quantitative and qualitative research is over polarized. Even Weber used combination of various methods. New age is of methodological pluralism.
- Martyn Hammersley has suggested three methods for combining various methods.
  - Triangulation: one method checks authenticity of other (ex both quantitative and qualitative methods are used to verify each other).
  - Facilitation: one method helps the other method ex: Interview helps in producing questions for questionnaire.
  - Complementarity: various methods are used to cover various aspects ex questionnaire to produce statistical data while qualitative method to understand meaning behind pattern.
- Alan Bryman also gave 10 ways of multi strategy research like combining methods to fill the gaps, generalizing the findings etc.

### Variables, Sampling, Hypothesis, Reliability and Validity

#### Choosing A Sample:

- Sample is a part of larger population, representative of that population and chosen as a cross section of larger group

#### Stages of sampling:

- Identifying target population.
- Obtaining/producing a sampling frame (source of data) e.g. census, electoral register.
- Sample should have same proportion of people having relevant characteristics.
- Generalize the result

#### Types of sampling

- PROBABILITY SAMPLING
  - **Random sampling:** Each unit has equal chance of being chosen (less costly and time consuming).
  - **Systematic Sampling:** A random starting point but next members are chosen on a fixed interval. Say, every 10<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> item to be selected.

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

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

- **NON- PROBABILITY SAMPLING**

- **Quota Sampling:** quota is filled for particular category and till then no responses will be collected. It is quicker and cheaper with no need to produce to sampling frame. Everybody doesn't have chance to get selected. Difficult to fill quotas of minority.
- **Multistage sampling:** samples from sample when population is large. Ex -opinion polls.
- **Snowballing sampling:** involves using of personal contacts of one sample entity to bring in others. For example, criminals bringing their friends. Specific and used when other techniques can't be used.
- **Volunteer sampling.**

### **Non-representative sampling:**

- **Convenience sampling** - easily accessible and available.
- **Purposive sampling** - Deliberately selected sample on the basis of certain variables.
  - For Example: Sample for study of domestic violence from areas where incidents are higher in frequency.

### **Advantages of Sampling:**

- Saves time and money.
- Ease of supervision as smaller size.
- Increases the accuracy of study (as proper focus).
- A more detailed study can be conducted with the small amount of resources.

### **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.
- Faulty of biased selection will lead to inaccurate results.
- Validity is not as accurate as in census method.
- **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 cross section of a group.
- **Applications-** NFHS, ASER.

## Reliability

- if other researchers using the same method on same material produce the same results.
- if reliability can be established results can be generalized.
- Generally speaking, quantitative methods are more reliable than qualitative method.

## Validity

- A valid statement gives true measurement/description and explanation of what it claims to measure.
- It is accurate reflection of social reality.
- Data can be reliable without being valid.

## Alan Bryman outlines four types of validity

- **Measurement validity/ Construct validity:** Whether a measure that is employed really measures what it claims. For example, If IQ tests really measure intelligence.
- **Internal validity:** If one thing is said to cause another, this explanation will be internally valid, if causal relationship is true. Ex Pierre Bourdieu- Different cultural settings produce different educational achievements.
- **External validity:** If study can be generalized to situations other than study itself.
- **Ecological validity:** How accurately research mirrors natural setting or real experience. Lab experiments may lack ecological validity.
- Validation by respondents (of what they actually meant) overcome problems of validity.
- **Practicality:** less time consuming and less personal commitments.
- **Ethics:** researcher will choose topics where informed consent and confidentiality are possible.

## Concepts

- Concepts are mental constructs or logical abstractions through which social scientists make sense of social reality. They are basically tools with which we think, criticize, argue and explain. They serve as medium of communication among researchers.

## Variables

- Variables are specific characteristics or attributes of the more general concepts, or more specifically the attributes of events, objects and things that are observed and controlled by the researcher. They are empirical properties which take up one value or another.

**Earl R. Babbie-** Variable is a logical set of attributes.

- Use- Variables help formulate hypothesis. In any social experiment, the researcher needs to identify the variables and then establish which of them are dependent and which are independent.
- Durkheim study of suicide-used multivariate or variable analysis. He studied the effect if independent variables like religion, gender and marital status on dependent variable viz suicide.

## Types:

- **Dependent and Independent**
  - **Dependent Variable:**
    - The variable that depends on other factors that are measured. These variables are expected to change as a result of an experimental manipulation of the independent variable or variables. It is the presumed effect.
  - **Independent Variable:**
    - The variable that is stable and unaffected by the other variables you are trying to measure. It refers to the condition of an experiment that is systematically manipulated by the investigator. It is the presumed cause.
- **Qualitative and Quantitative**
  - **Qualitative** -variables which take non-numerical value.
    - Example- Gender, Religion
  - **Quantitative**-variables that take up a numerical value.
    - Example-Age, Income.
- **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

### GA 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

- 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

- Inductive - After reasoning from multiple inputs.
- Deductive - based on prevalent ideologies, viewpoints, important issues facing the society, attempting to falsify a prevalent theory, etc.

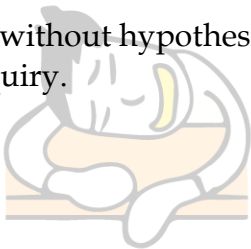
Also, as

- Crude - which is at low level of abstraction and indicates kind of data to be collected but does not lead to higher theoretical research.
- Refined - is more significant in research and is at higher level of abstraction.

## Uses

- 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.



**Sleepy Classes IAS**  
Awakening Toppers

## Chapter - 4

# Sociological Thinkers

### Karl Marx

#### Quick Idea

- 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 labour 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.

#### In detail

- In order to survive man must produce.
- Production is essential.
- Man must fulfil the basic needs of survival like food, clothing & shelter once the basic needs are fulfilled he creates new.
- Production - First historical act.
- In this way the need of production is never ending.
- Thus, he states that production is not only first historical act but the fundamental condition of history.
- In order to produce man must enter into relationships with others.
- He called this as relations of production.
- Along with the relations man also requires tools, techniques, labour, etc.
- Marx called these as forces of production. Both are required for the production.

#### Relations of Production

- In order to produce man must organize or enter into relations.
- The exact organization varies from era to era & society to society.
- These are 2 types of relations
  - Relation b/w man & things
  - Relation b/w man & man

#### These relations include ownership or non-ownership.

- The basic difference is of who controls.
- In every society these 2 extreme relationships are present since the corruption of private property started.

- The relation b/w Man & Man is of domination and subordination.
- The exact nature is in the form of antagonistic cooperation.
- These relations result into 2 broad stratas in the society, i.e., haves and have-nots.
- The 2 broad classes present in all existing societies.
- Haves are the owners & the ones who dominate whereas have nots are non-owners & subordinates.
- The exact relationship varies from society to society.
- The pattern of ownerships changes but the domination & subordination remains.

### **The forces of production**

Include the material aspect of the production.

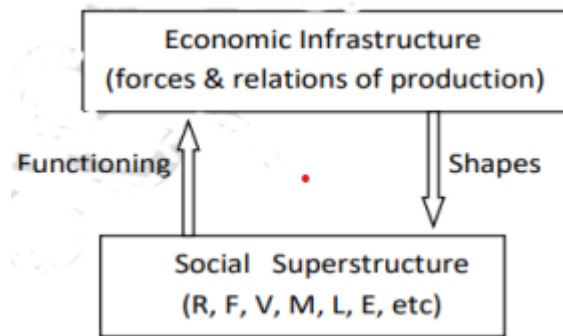
- These have 2 aspects,
  - Man - which include the entrepreneur, worker in a capitalist society. This includes the living component of production having consciousness.
  - Things - which includes tools, techniques, equipment's and other non-living components. Marx also called them as Means of Production. This also includes skills, technical know-how needed for production.
- Marx believes that the forces of production denote man's control over nature. After all production is nothing but transformation of things found in nature into things with exchange value.
- As the history proceeds, man's control over nature increases.
- Marx understands this in the form of man's constant struggle with nature.
- Again, a relation of domination and subordination appears.
- Different forces of production emerge in different societies.
- Ranging from stones in primitive society to modern complex technology of factory system of industrial society.

### **Mode of Production**

- According to Marx - the forces & relations of production are closely linked i.e. both govern each other.
- Within society the forces and relations are in a state of constant interplay.
- This constant interplay results into a particular type of society for which Marx uses the term "Mode of Production".
- Marx also uses the term "social formation".
- The social formation includes not only FOP and ROP but other aspects like family, religion, culture etc. which are by products of the interplay. All these other things are shaped by the production and in turn help in the functioning of production.
- This forms the basis of System view of Marx.



- Society contains 2 parts –
  - Economic Infrastructure which includes forces & relations of production.
  - 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.



## Historical Materialism

- Marx general ideas about society are known as his theory of historical materialism.
- Marx himself termed it as materialistic conception of history.
- The clear exposition of his theory is found in the book “contribution to the critique of political economy”.
- But this theory has evolved with time in virtually all his texts.
- It is called historical because analyses the evolution of society through history.
- It is called materialistic because he emphasizes more on material factors than on ideal factors.
- The material factors include forces & relations of production.
- The theory of historical materialism looks at change in society in terms of changing material condition.
- This theory contains 2 inter relates aspects
  - Materialistic conception of society (System view)
  - Evolution of Society (Dynamic view)

### **Materialistic conception of Society**

- His conception of society is based on centrality of production.
- According to Marx, production is essential for survival and in order to produce man requires both forces & relations of production.
- Their constant interplay gives rise to a particular mode of operation which generates system view of society having a materialistic conception.
- Economic infra shapes or gives rise to social element of superstructure where in turn helps in functioning of economic infra.

- Thus, material conditions in the form of various FOP are the basis of his conception of society. Evolution of Society (Dynamic view)
- 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 part as well as future.
- He conceptualizes 4 stages of societies in the part and 2 more in future.

## Stages

- Primitive communism
- Ancient mode of Production
- Feudalism
- Capitalism - Present (In Europe)
- Socialism
- Communism

## Explanation & the process of change through history

- Marx's evolutionary model starts with primitive communism in which the needs of man are basic.
- Food is abundant. And is found in nature.
- No productive relations or forces are required.
- Man's self-satisfied.
- Thus, there is no exploitation no class.
- With time the population increased, food became scarce, specialized tools are required to generate food.
- Some people mastered these tools & started conquering food.
- Other people became dependent on them.
- Gradually Master-Slave relationships emerge.
- Slaves are the properties of masters & master owns tools & surplus food.
- 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 cultivate land and give a share of the produce to the lords in lieu of protection and as land rent.
- Thus 2 classes again emerged, i.e., feudal lords & serfs.
- With time lords started demanding more.
- Serfs started feeling exploited as they were not even able to meet their subsistence.
- Continuous struggle b/w the 2 started.
- During this period, due to higher population the rationale of mass production started.
- Few feudal lords developed factories, requiring labour.
- At an appropriate time, serfs will revolt and will move towards factory.
- 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 fulfil the needs.
- The becomes too much dependent on capitalist for his survived he has no alternative.
- The exploitation reaches at its peak. When the right conditions appear the worker's revolt.
- The workers revolution will lead to establishment of socialism in which all will be movers.
- Private property will be abolished and each will get according to one's need & not greed.
- There will be no class & all will be movers.
- With time, Marx argues that, workers will announce their power as there'll be no need for a state.
- All will be enlightened & free and that will be the end of history.

### **Marx Theory of class & class struggle**

- According to Marx men are born in societies in which property relations have already been determined.
- Their property relationships give life to various classes.
- Just as a man cannot chose who is to be his father. So, he has no choice to choose his class.
- These fundamental properties formed the basis of man theory of class.
- Clearest exposition of which is found in communist manifesto, 1848.
- In every society there are classes which draw from specific relations of production.

- According to Marx, a class is group of people sharing the same position in the process of production.
- For eg. In factory system Marx defines predominantly 2 positions o Earning Profit (Haves) o Earning wages (Have nots).
- These 2 positions result in 2 classes capitalist & workers.
- This is known as class in itself and is defined on the basis of an objective criteria.
- According to Marx this class is not the end, gradually members of this class develop a consciousness of belonging to the same class.
- With this class for itself emerges.
  
- Marx also terms this class as social class.
- These concepts introduce an element of dynamism in Marx's class theory.
- In every society Marx talks of 2 broad classes, haves & have nots.
- Marx acknowledges the intermediate classes.
- In his book "Revolution & Counter Revolution in Germany", Marx talks of 8 classes.
- His references to Petty bourgeoisie and Lumpen Proletariat.
- All intermediate classes will eventually get absorbed into 2 poles - haves & have nots through the process of class polarization, i.e., Burgeoisisation & Proletarianisation.
- With time the Proletariat will keep on becoming poorer through the process of pauperization.
- In order to strengthen his analysis Marx also differentiates b/w false consciousness & the consciousness. False consciousness is one which does not transcend being rooted in economically & mode of production.
- 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 struggle leading to a process of social change.
- For e.g., Slaves are in conflict with the makers, serfs are in with feudal lords and so on.

### **Reason of Class struggle**

- Class struggle is a result of contradictions present in the 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 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 having conflicting interests.
- Apart from this Marx also attributes class struggle to increasing alienation i.e., absence of the conditions when help develop 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 at its peak and when nature conditions are present it leads to revolution symbolizing the emergence of a new mode of production.
- The mechanism of class struggle is not same in every society.
- Marx called slave & serf revolutions as the false revolutions as they were fueled by false consciousness.
- The workers revolution will be a true revolution as it is because of true consciousness.
- In the earlier case the have nots although are exploited, they 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.
- 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 o identification of common enemy.
- These mature conditions are proceeded by the economic crisis which does the Marx harm to the have nots.
- Inflation, unhealthy competition, emergence of monopolies, a welfare state working for haves etc.
- Finally, the class struggle will drastically come down in socialism before finally disappearing in communism.
- In socialism the erstwhile capitalism will resist and may have antagonist relations with workers.
- But gradually they’ll realize the benefits of new system and the struggle will end.

### Alienation

- According to Marx, “in bourgeois society, capital is independent has individuality. While the living person is dependent and has no individuality”.
- Marx uses the concept of alienation in order to deconstruct the exploitative productive processes in the society.
- He was the first sociologist to use the concept of alienation in the understanding of the society in economic & political manuscripts, 1844.
- The fundamental basis of Marxian conception of alienation is his view on individuals.

### **His view on individual**

- 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 e.g., human nature in capitalism is selfish whereas human nature in communism will be co-operative.
- 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 creativity of human beings.

### **Social being vs being**

- Thus, human nature has 2 aspects.
- One is variable when is defined by a particular mode of production.
- Marx called this as 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”.

### **In communism there'll be no social being**

- Alienation literally means “separation from in sociology. Alienation is a situation in which a feeling of enagement & disenchantment is experienced from a group, society situation and over the individual himself along with class struggle the concept of alienation completes the dynamic explanation of the society as understood by Marx alienation also refers to a situation of powerlessness, isolation & meaninglessness experienced by the people”.
- For Marx, the alienation at workplace is of prime importance as it is the source of superstructure & alienation of the society.

### **Cause of Alienation**



- According to Marx, creativity is essential for the being of an individual.
- The productive forces sometimes hinder the alienation 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.

### **Alienation & historical materialism**

- For Marx “history of mankind has double aspect.
- It was a history of control of man over nature, at the same time, it was history of increasing alienation of man”.
- Alienation is a dynamic concept and gets expressed in 2 ways.
- Firstly, in terms of increasing alienation within the specific mode of production.
- Secondly, increasing alienation b/w different modes of production.
- It is least in primitive communism, increases further in ancient & feudal societies & reaches at its peak in capitalism.
- Marx discusses alienation in different modes of production before capitalism in brief.
- In primitive communism the alienation is caused due to nature.
- In ancient society although slaves are placed in properties of masters still, they have a lot of control over the production apart from this he has freedom for the fulfilment of his basic needs.
- Slowly as the demand for food increased, pressure on manes to produce more increased which led to increase in alienation.
- In feudal mode of production serfs have control over production.
- Produce belongs to the serfs.
- He feels satisfied.
- But gradually the demand of the lords increased.
- Serfs left with little suspense.
- As he needs to sell the produce for satisfaction of his needs.
- The serf is unable to satisfy even the basic needs.
- Gradually he is alienated from the process of production itself.
- 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 shape 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 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 mkt 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.
  - Work is maddening.
  - He is alienated from the workers.
- 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.
  - 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 - "Subject - object, relationships get inverted. Objects become subject matters".

## 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.

## Dialectical Materialism

- Marx theory of historical materialism will the method of dialectical materialism for explanation of the historical process of change dialectics can be used in 2 ways, as a method of discussion or a process of change.
- Marx modified Hegelian dialectal idealism to propose a radial perspective called dialectical materialism. His friend Engels compiled Marxist dialectic Materialism into 3 laws.

## **Laws of Unity and conflict of opposites**

- There are internal sides, tendencies, forces, objects or phenomenon 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.).
- According to Marx. Internal contradiction is present in the society in terms of opposites. •
- These opposites are in a state of conflict but at the same time presuppose each other for their existence.

- These opposites in society are created by structure of society.
- The whole process has to be changed for the resolution of these opposites.
- It will finally happen in communism. Law of Negation of Negation
- Negation is over coming of the old through internal contradiction as a result of self development and self-movement of objects & phenomenon.
- The succession modes of production have been negating each other due to internal contradiction which emerge in the course of evolution.
- For e.g., feudal society resolved the contradiction of slave society and in turn created new contradictions which in turn were resolved by capitalism.
- Thus, capitalism is negation of negation.
- History proceeds in the terms of such processes.
- The process will end only if the structure of society is such that there is no contradiction. 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 are gradual.
- These changes do not themselves will result in change of society or will not result in revolution.
- The qualitative change for the transformation occurs only if mature conditions exist.

### Influences of Marx

- Marx is considered to be a radical thinker who influenced the course of history.
- His understandings about society were highly influenced by socio - economic 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.
- Marxist ideas were also influenced by influential classical economics like Smith & Ricardo and the primary to the economic conditions ones its origin to their influences.
- Darwin's theory of evolution reinforces Marx's idea about Society's evolutionary course.
- Marx appreciated Darwin's theory of origin of species and considered it appropriate to the evolution of society.
- Marx was highly influenced by Hegel's Dialectical process of historical change in terms of thesis, antithesis & synthesis. His emphasis on materialism was under the influence & modification of Feuerbach's. Epistemology -> how we know what we know -> Marxian Epistemology -> how Marx understood society.

### Extreme Materialism

- Material - external conditions change humans.
  - Marx's Materialism was based on individual as an active agent having choices, the choices which are constrained by material conditions.

- Further Marx understood an intensive study of famous political leaders like spinouts, Hume which helped Marx develop him a positive conception of democracy for him democracy is not simply a political system or a type of state but it is a way of life based on freedom. This conception of democracy shows in his idea of communism.
- Smith & Ricardo – Economics
- Hegel – dialects
- Feuerbach – Materialism
- Darwin – evolution model
- Spinoza, Hume – political thought, democracy.

### Contribution

- Although Marx himself denied to be a sociologist but now he is considered as sociologies most influential thinker.
- His writings had an enormous impact on all social sciences.
- His ideas about society & individual emerged as a new distinctly radial perspective.
- Marx contributions can be analysed in terms of development of sociological theories, introduction of new concepts, methods & methodologies for the understanding of society & individual.
- He not only introduced new perspectives but influenced many perspectives, concepts & new areas of research in sociology.
  - Radical Sociological theory: - Marx gave new theory of materialism, alienation & class struggle which strengthened the understanding of society 4 in divided.
  - 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.
  - 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.
  - Marx motivated new fields in sociology which led to 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 initialling modifications which cannot afford to ignore the contribution of Marx.
- Strong emancipatory concerns in sociological theories as well as welfare state speaks a lot about the contribution of Marx.

### General Criticism of Marx

- Marx is often accused to be a reductionist & a determinist due to over emphasis on material factor over ideal factors. (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 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 has attempted to give a generated theory on the basis of common assumption which may not be applicable in every case.
- Post modernists reject the possibility of developing generalized theories. According to them Marxian theories have failed to take into account the qualitative transformation of in the present post-modern society. Although post-modern Marxists reject such claims.
  - Being reductionist/ determinist.
  - Over-emphasized conflict.
  - Conflict only on economic - infra (ignored the basis of conflict).
  - Formulates generativist (post - modernists reject).

### Criticism of Historical Materialism

1. Marx has given **less importance to social superstructure in causing change**. For eg in Modern capitalist society of **today welfare states law etc are taking initiatives for the benefits of the have nots** rather than acting as instruments of the haves.
2. Marx has also **mentioned Asiatic M.o.P**. It **weakens prospect of a generalize theory** typical to eastern societies. If the eastern societies follow a different evolutionary path then a no of such patterns may be there. This weakens Marx generalized theory.
3. **The evolutionary scheme given by Marx is questionable.**
  - **Communism has not come** and even the socialist conception of Marx has not been realized throughout the world, the so-called **socialist societies are moving towards capitalism**.
  - For e.g. a famous study by **FRANK PARKIN** found that **classes exist within the various socialist societies** of Europe.

### Frankfurt School

- Owing to these criticisms, during 1930s, Frankfurt school emerged as a critical school which undertook theorization which though conforming to **Marxist methodology greatly modified it**.

### Marx & 4 Important Contemporary Thinkers Related With Marx

#### Karl Marx

- 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"
- The success of the bourgeoisie helped build the character of the modern nation-state

- The executive of the modern state had become but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. Where once people's position in society was based on tradition, old ties and relationships were being swept away by a single common denominator
- "Money has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation"
- In place of the old settled order, the epoch of the bourgeoisie was characterised by "everlasting uncertainty and agitation"
  - Desire was profit constantly seeking increases in productivity
- Marx and Engels: All that is solid melts in air, all that is holy is profaned
- In a world in which all social relations are based on capital, it become obvious to the proletariat that morality, culture, religion and law are not "universal" but rather bourgeoisie conspiracies to keep them in their place
- Marx and Engels maintain that they are not interested in this kind of property, they mean property "based on the antagonism of capital and wage labour"
- In a Communist system, the labourer's output would go to improve the life of that labourer
- The bourgeoisie protests that such a system would be the end of the freedom to buy, sell and trade, and of the right to individuality
- Hayek: "If socialists knew everything about economics, they would not be socialists"
  - Once the aristocrats were gone and farms were operating with the new machines, what then? Humans need higher aims in order to live meaningful lives; having enough to eat is not enough
  - In contrast, liberal or open societies allow for the pursuit of billions of different personal aspirations
- Adam Smith's basic logic that a society that allows everyone to pursue their selfish interests leads to the best allocation of resources
  - Perhaps against logic, such a society (rather than a planned one focused on equality) will quickly become richer
- French economist Thomas Piketty argues that advanced economies have shifted in emphasis from wage earning to capital owing, with the result that wealth has become increasingly concentrated, social mobility has decreased, and a highly educated, cosmopolitan bourgeoisie has become removed from the traditional wage-earning working and middle classes

When the pie is growing bigger for all, Marx seems irrelevant. If it grows bigger for one group only, suddenly his ideas about class and exploitation again mean something

- Idea: History had ended, liberal democracy only viable form of political organisation
  - 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



- If it had lost ground to new forms of political organisation such as racism, communism, it would have imploded over time
- 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 material sense, he is not prepared to risk anything.
  - Fukuyama writes that Humans are still not driven by economy alone, but by a non-rational drive that Hegel called 'struggle for recognition'.
  - He goes on to criticize Communism that though it might have generated wealth for individual but it did not recognize the uniqueness of the individual.
  - Tianamen Square incident not for wealth but recognition to uniqueness of individual
  - Scotland's drive for independence (cultural/social difference)
- Fukuyama agrees with Seymour Martin Lipset --> that there is a link between stable democracy & economic development
  - Tech + science --> rising middle class & consumerism
  - Political freedoms
  - Bureaucratic-authoritarian state (rising standard of living, grip on people)
- Even oppressive regimes pay lip service to liberal ideas
  - Sham elections, show of a parliament, free speech
- As people become richer they tend to demand more rights and to resent inequality that comes with crony capitalism
- Why can't religion take over?
  - Divisions by sectarianism, nationality.

### **Samuel P. Huntington**

- Prime Idea: Source of Conflict in present times will be cultural and religious and not Economic.
- Thought: *An appreciation of humanity as one, can only occur by first having taken account of its deep differences.*
- Rather than a moment of victory, the end of the Cold War exposed just how transient had been the division of the world into East and West, communist and capitalist
- In the absence of such arbitrary political divisions, much older cultural and religious fault lines were revealing themselves again
- The West was declining in influence and that of Asian civilisations was expanding, while Islam was undergoing a "demographic explosion" that would destabilise Muslim countries and their neighbours



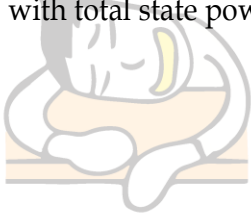
- The West's "universalist pretensions" were causing conflict with other civilisations, particularly Islamic countries and China; instead of trying to impose themselves on the world, Western countries should unite to affirm their unique identity and values against non-Western societies, including limits on immigration
- Modernisation was leading to "neither a universal civilisation in any meaningful sense nor the Westernisation of non-Western societies"
- Countries around the globe were happily accepting modernisation, but rejecting Western values
- World peace rested on each civilisation accepting the other's dominance in its own sphere, and cooperating so that those spheres were respected
- While countries united by culture will increasingly come together (East and West Germany, South and North Korea), those united by historical circumstance or ideology alone, yet with significant cultural differences, will split or fall under intense strain
- Huntington's view is almost the opposite of that put forward by Francis Fukuyama, which posits that ideological battles are being replaced by liberal democracy
- Rise in neo-fascist movements are hardly an evidence of a "post-historical" age, but rather a new world order hinging once again on culture, race and religion
- What is universalism to the West is imperialism to the rest
- Western states are now beset with their own problems including slower economic growth, stagnating populations, big government debt and low savings rates, at exactly the same time as economic power is rapidly heading to Asia
- Politicians in non-Western countries win elections by appealing to an ethnic, nationalist or religious sense of identity.
- The worldwide religious revival is counter to the consumerism, secularism and relativism that characterise modernity, which in many non-Western minds is synonymous with the "degenerate" West
- Conflict is more likely in Asia between other states over borders and territorial disputes
  - Asia may well start to look much like Europe once did – lots of states and lots of potential for conflict
- Boris Yeltsin used the term "cold peace" to describe future relations between Russia and the West
- Islam is a destabilising force primarily because it has no core state. Whether it is Indonesia, Egypt, Iran, Pak, Saudi Arabia or Turkey, there is no Muslim state strong enough to referee or resolve conflicts within the Islamic world and none strong enough to represent the Muslim world against the non-Muslim world

The other big source of instability is Muslim demography: Millions of angry young men, often unemployed, who can be egged into action against non-Muslims.

## Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

### The Gulag Archipelago

- GULAG " is an acronym for the Soviet bureaucratic institution, Glavnoe Upravlenie ispravitel'no-trudovykh LAGerei (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 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 thought 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 & Kate Pickett

### The Spirit Level

"In societies with greater inequality, where the social distances between people are greater, where attitudes of 'us and them' are more entrenched and where lack of trust and fear of crime are rife, public and policy makers alike are more willing to imprison people and adopt punitive attitudes towards the 'criminal elements' of society. More unequal societies are harsher, tougher places."

"Greater inequality actually increases the need for big government for more police, more prisons, more health and social services of every kind. Most of these services are expensive and only very partially effective, but we shall need them forever if we continue to have the high levels of inequality that create the problems they are designed to deal with. Several states of the USA now spend more on prisons than on higher education. In fact, one of the best and most human ways of achieving small government is by reducing inequality."

- Inequality is divisive and even small differences seem to make an important difference
- Call for a new "evidence-based politics" i.e., policies shaped by research in the social sciences that clearly show the route to greater social well-being
- What matters is where we stand in relation to others in our own society
- If a country wants to improve levels of achievement in schools, it will do so not by fiddling with classroom techniques or class sizes, but by addressing the wealth inequalities creating the social conditions that make education seem unimportant to parents and students
- Pierre Bourdieu talks of class in terms of "symbolic violence"

- 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
- 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
- The greater the class differences, the more costly it will be to support and pay for all the problems stemming from social deprivation
- 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
- Obesity is closely linked to a person’s sense of their social status, more than income or education level. Stress makes people eat for comfort, particularly food high in sugar and fat and drink more alcohol.
- Teenage pregnancies are more common in more unequal countries and more common in the US states with the greatest income inequality. Teenage motherhood tends to exclude young women from normal career paths and the rest of society, so reinforcing the lower socioeconomic status that they are likely to have had in the first place
- Inequality is entirely a political result, and it can be changed through politics too
- It is one thing to have a strong belief in free markets, small government, and individual responsibility, but another to have to live in a society where many people are left behind and to bear the cost that Capitalism entails
- They see history as one long move toward greater equality, a “river of human progress” that takes in the limitation of royal rule and the slow rise of democracy, the principle of equality before the law and the end of slavery, the extension of suffrage to women and non-property owners, the provision of free healthcare and education, greater labour rights and unemployment insurance, and efforts to eliminate poverty

## Karl Marx

### From George Ritzer

#### Introduction

- 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.

- Hannah Arendt: if Marx seems to be forgotten, it is not “because Marx’s thought and the methods he introduced have been abandoned, but rather because they have become so axiomatic that their origin is no longer remembered.”

## Relevance of Marx Today

- Thinking about Marx helps to clarify what sociology and, indeed, our society have taken for granted
  - Rediscoveries and reinterpretations renewed sociology and open fresh perspective on issues such as alienation, globalisation and environment
- Marx’s theory, then, is an analysis of inequality under capitalism and how to change it
- Marx provides a diagnosis of capitalism that is able to reveal its tendencies to crises, point out its perennial inequalities, and, if nothing else, demand that capitalism live up to its own promises
- His theories hold a value as an alternative to our current society
  - They may not tell us what will happen, but they can argue for what should happen and help us develop a plan for carrying out the change or for resisting the change

## Dialectical Materialism

### The Dialectic: Do we need to study Hegel to study Marx?

- The idea of dialectical philosophy has been around for centuries.
  - 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.

## Hegel’s Dialectic

- According to **Hegel, historical change has been driven by the contradictory understandings** that are the essence of reality, by our attempts to resolve the contradictions, and by the new contradictions that develop.

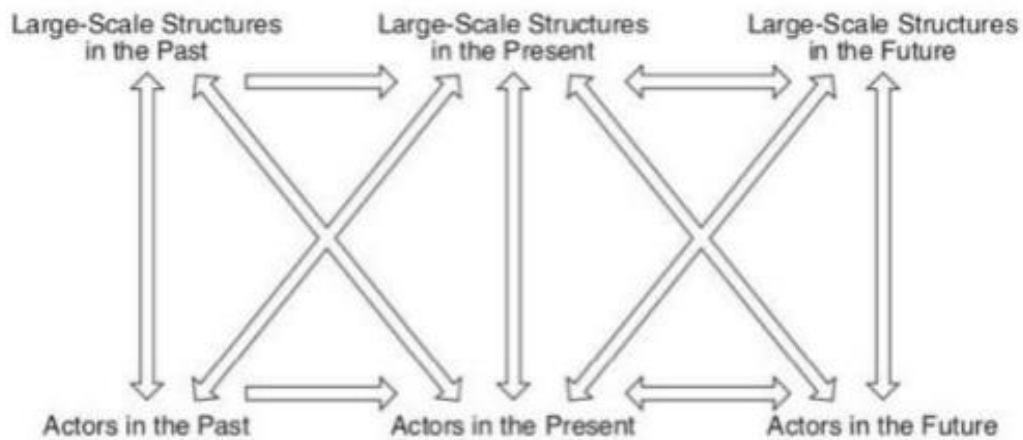
## Marx’s Dialectic

### Unlike Hegel:

- **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.
  - With this **Marx moved the dialectic out of the realm of philosophy and into the realm of a study of social relations grounded in the material world** – The most important contribution to Sociology.
  - **Contradiction of profit-making** is at the heart of Capitalism.
  - Can only be **resolved through social change** and not philosophy.

## Various aspects of the Dialectical Method

### Dialectic Methods



**FIGURE 2.1** Schematic Representation of a Sociologically Relevant Dialectic

- 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
  - Marx's emotional involvement doesn't mean his study was inaccurate, rather his passion gave him unparalleled insight into the nature of capitalist society
- Reciprocal Relations
  - For the dialectical thinker, social influences never simply flow in one direction as they often do for cause-and-effect thinkers
  - Increasing exploitation by capitalists – → workers dissatisfied and more militant or Increasing militancy – → capitalists becoming more exploitative to crush resistance
  - Dialectician considers causal relationship in social world – when dialectical thinkers talk about causality, they are always attuned to reciprocal relationships among social factors as well as to the dialectical totality of social life in which they are embedded
- Past, Present, Future
  - Dialectical sociologists are concerned with studying the historical roots of the contemporary world
    - Very critical of modern sociology for its failure to do much historical research
    - 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
  - 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”
    - Marx’s historical studies showed him that people make choices but that these choices are limited
  - This disinclination to think deterministically is what makes the best-known model of the dialectic – thesis, antithesis and synthesis – inadequate for sociological use
  - This simple model 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
  - 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

### **Human Potential**

- Marx built his critical analysis of the contradictions of capitalist society on his premises about human potential, its relation to labor, and its potential for alienation under capitalism
- Human beings are an “ensemble of social relations”
  - Human nature is not a static thing and to understand human potential, we need to understand social history, because human nature is shaped by the same dialectical contradictions that Marx believed shapes the history of society
- When speaking of our general human potential, Marx often used the term *species being*.
- By this he meant the potentials and powers that are uniquely human and that distinguish humans from other species
- Marxists such as Louis Althusser have contended that the mature Marx did not believe in human nature
  - Ideas about human nature – such as our “natural” greed, our “natural” tendency to violence, our “natural” gender differences – have often been used to argue against any social change
  - If our problems are due to human nature, we had better learn to just adapt instead of trying to change things

- Our concept of human nature dictates how society can be sustained and how it can be changed, but most important for Marx's theory, it suggests how society *should* be changed
- The real question is not whether we have a human nature, but what kind of nature it is – unchanging or open to historical processes.

## Labour

- Species being and human potential are intimately related to labour
- 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 not 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. According to Marx, this transformation of our needs through labor is the engine of human history
- Labour is a social activity, it does not transform only the individual human, but also the society
  - Man is in the most literal sense of the word a zoon politikon, not only a social animal, but an animal which can develop into an individual only in society
  - This transformation includes even our consciousness: “Consciousness is, therefore, from the very beginning a social product, and remains so as long as men exist at all”

## Alienation

- 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
- Labour of a worker is not voluntary, but coerced; it is forced labour. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it
  - People feel freely active only in their animal functions – eating, drinking, procreating
  - In essentially human process of labour, they no longer feel themselves to be anything but animals

### Basic components of Alienation

- Productive activity
- Product



- Fellow workers
- Own human potential

## Structure of 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.

## Commodities

- It was Marx's view that in their interactions with nature and with other actors, people produce the objects that they need in order to survive.
- These **objects are produced for personal use or for use by others in the immediate environment.**
- Such uses are what Marx called the **commodity's use value.**
- However, in **capitalism** this process takes on a **new and dangerous form.**
- Instead of producing for themselves or for their immediate associates, the **actors produce for someone else (the capitalist).**
- The products have **exchange value**; that is, instead of being used immediately, they are exchanged in the market for money or for other objects.
- 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.
- They are **qualitatively different.**
- Furthermore, use value is tied to the physical properties of a commodity.
- In the process of exchange, however, different commodities are compared to one another. **Exchange values are quantitatively different.**

## Criticism

- The failure of communist societies and their turn to a more capitalistically oriented economy raise questions about the role of Marxian theory. At one time, almost one-third of the world's population lived under states inspired by the ideas of Marx. 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

- Against this criticism, it could be argued that those states never truly followed Marxist precepts, and that it is unfair for critics to blame Marx for every misuse of his theory. However, those making the criticism claim that Marx himself insisted that Marxist theory should not be split from its actually existing practice
- Alvin Gouldner: Having set out to change the world, rather than produce one more interpretation of it, Marxist theory must ultimately be weighed on the scales of history.
- 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 emancipatory subject**
  - Although Marx's theory places the proletariat at the heart of the social change leading to communism, the proletariat has rarely assumed this leading position and often is among the groups that are most opposed to communism
  - The problem is compounded by the fact that intellectuals have leapt into the gap left by the proletariat and substituted intellectual activity for class struggle
  - In addition, the intellectuals' disappointment at the proletariat's conservatism is transformed into a theory that emphasizes the role of ideology much more strongly than Marx did and that tends to see the "heroes" of the future revolution as manipulated dupes
- **Missing dimension of gender:** One of the main points of Marx's theory is that labor becomes a commodity under capitalism, yet it is a historical fact that the commodifying of labor has happened less to women than to men. To a large degree, men's paid labor still depends on the *unpaid* labor of women, especially the all-important rearing of the next generation of workers
  - 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. Patriarchy may be an essential foundation for the emergence of capitalism, but Marx simply ignores it
- 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. It could be argued, however, that the central role of consumption in the modern economy encourages some creativity and entrepreneurship and that these provide at least some wage labor jobs that are not alienating
- Marx's uncritical acceptance of Western conceptions of progress as a problem. Marx believed that the engine of history is humanity's always improving exploitation of nature for its material needs. In addition, Marx thought that the essence of human nature is our ability to shape nature to our purposes. It may be that these assumptions are a root cause of many of our current and future ecological crises

## Emile Durkheim

### Suicide

- types of Suicide are caused in most of groups due to 2 major reasons i.e.
  - Integration-degree to which collective sentiments are shared.
  - Regulation-degree of external constraint on people.
    - **Forces of Integration** -High: Altruistic  
Low: Egoistic
    - **Forces of Regulation** -High: Fatalistic  
Low: Anomic

### Religion and society

- As Durkheim puts it, “religion cannot be defined except by the characters which are found wherever religion itself is found”.
- According to Durkheim, all religions comprise two basic components, namely, beliefs and rites. Beliefs are the collective representations and rites are determined modes of action, which are influenced by beliefs.
- Religious beliefs as studied by Durkheim presuppose the classification of all things into:
  - Sacred
  - Profane

### Durkheim’s Study of Totemism

- Durkheim believes that to understand the more complex religions, one must understand first the simple forms.
- Durkheim maintains that totemism is the most simple form of religion.

### Social Facts

#### Introduction

- According to Durkheim **society and the large-scale structures of society impact the thoughts and actions of individual.**
- So, most of his study is based on the **social structure and culture.**
- Durkheim is the one who **differentiated sociology as a subject** from psychology and philosophy via the medium of empirical research (based on testing or experience).
- 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.

## Overview

**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

## Defining Social Facts

Social facts are the **social structures and cultural norms that constrain** people in all areas of social life.

- He said that social facts are **external** to and **coercive** of actors and to support this he said that social factors should **be treated as things**.
- This means that we must **study social facts by acquiring data from outside** of our own minds through observation and experimentation.
- The **empirical study** of social facts as things **sets Durkheimian sociology apart** from more philosophical approaches.
- Social facts are external and coercive whereas **psychological facts are clearly internal(inherited)**.

## Characteristics of Social Facts

- **Externality**
- **Constraint**
- **Generality**
- **Independence**

## Social Facts - Types

Further he classifies social facts as:

- **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.
- **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**.
- **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**.

## Material Social Facts

- Durkheim listed social facts into the below mentioned categories in **descending order of generality** as follows:
  - **Society**
  - **Structural** components of society (for e.g., church and state)
  - **Morphological** components of society (for e.g., population distribution, channels of communication, and housing arrangements)

## Non-material Social Facts

### Non-material social facts:

- **Morality**
- **Collective conscience**
- **Collective representation**
- **Social currents**

## Study of Social Facts

1. Rules of **Observation**: By identifying their manifestations, symbols, Eg: Reformative laws represent modern society.
2. Rules of **Classification**: By attempting to class together diverse set of social facts into broader categories.
3. Rules of **Distinction**: Difference between normal & pathological. It shows Durkheim's functional bias.
4. Rules of **Explanation**: - Define precisely - Complete objectivity - Methods of natural sciences - Empirical investigation - Make general laws.

## 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.

## Division of Labour

### Defining Division of Labour

- By the phrase of 'division of labour' we mean the **splitting 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.

### Why Division of Labour

- 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)

### Durkheim asks a basic question

- Durkheim says that a **primitive society is held together by strong adherence to the norms, values** of the society.
- That there is **likeness of the people** living together.
- In other words, there is **Mechanical Solidarity** binding people together.
- Durkheim then asks:
- *"In modern society where heterogeneity, complexity & differentiation is found, what holds the society together?"*

### Primitive Society

- 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**.
- But Durkheim says that **as population rises there is a conflict for sharing** of limited resources.
- Now, in primitive society there **occurs competition and leads to conflict**.



## Transition to Modern Society

- To **achieve peaceful coexistence** there needs to be transition from mechanical to organic solidarity.
- This is **achieved through** other material social fact i.e. **dynamic density**.

### **Dynamic Density:**

- An **increase in number of people** and an **increase in the interactions** among them, lead to **change** from mechanical to organic solidarity because **together they bring about more competition** for scarce resources and a more **intense struggle for survival** among the various parallel and similar components of primitive society.

## Modern Society

- In modern society (organic solidarity) **every person has some specialization** and so everyone is **interdependent**, so they are **connected by need**.
- In modern society since **every other person has different task to perform** so **there is less competition** and **better utilization of resources** and **coexistence** is more peaceful.

## A Basic Comparison of the Two Societies

### **In Primitive Society**

- Individual Conscience = Societal Conscience

### **In Modern Society**

- Individual conscience is not equal to societal conscience.

*“Individual while becoming autonomous, comes to depend more heavily on society”*

- **Primitive society** has **Mechanical** Solidarity (likeness).
- **Modern** society has **Organic** Solidarity (based on differences).
- In **modern society** there is **increased individuality**,
- **D.O.L.** maintains **functional interdependence**, binding society together.
- (D.O.L. : Splitting of activities. Implies specialization)

## 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.

1. **Anomic:** When people don't follow norms – Corruption.
2. **Inadequate organization:** Overburdening someone leads to conflicts
3. **Forced D.O.L.:** When someone is disinterested in the task given yet is asked to do so. Eg. Caste system.

### **Way Ahead:**

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

## 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).

## Anomie

- It occurs **when individuals don't face sufficient moral constraints** and **don't have a clear concept of what is and what is not proper** and acceptable behaviour.
- Durkheim classifies **anomie as a social pathology** caused due to **rise of organic solidarity in modern society**.
- Primitive society has more collective morality but the **modern society is more anomic due to the increase of isolation and decrease of regulation**.

## 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.

## 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.

## Suicide

### **Defining Suicide:**

*"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.

## 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.
  - **Integration-** degree to which collective sentiments are shared.
  - **Regulation-** degree of external constraint on people.

## Suicidogenic Forces

- Suicidogenic forces exist in every society in forms of social currents.
- **Forces of Integration:**
  - **High** : Altruistic
  - **Low** : Egoistic
- **Forces of Regulation:**
  - **High** : Fatalistic
  - **Low** : Anomic

## Suicide



## Egoistic Suicide

1. **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.
  - 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.** What constitutes religion is the existence of a certain number of beliefs and practices common to all the faithful, traditional and thus obligatory.

- The more numerous and stronger these collective states of mind are, the stronger the integration of the religious community, also the greater its preservative value."

### Altruistic Suicide

2. **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."
  - 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

3. **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

4. **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.

- In such a condition, people's activity is released from regulation, and even their dreams are no longer restrained.
- People in an economic boom seem to have limitless prospects, and "reality seems valueless by comparison with the dreams of fevered imaginations"

### 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

#### Farmer Suicide

- Greater no. of suicide in last 2-3 decades
- **Reasons -**
  - Agricultural income stagnation
  - Consumerism
  - Failed loan repayment

#### Farmer Suicide from different views

- **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

### Religion

Book: "The Elementary forms of the religious life", 1912.

#### 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.

### Cause of Religion

- A fact that **modern religion has evolved** from the simpler forms of religion.
- To **establish the cause** of simpler form he **read various ethnographies**. He selected the primitive religion practiced among “Arunta” tribe of Central Australia.
- **Primitive men were wanderers**. They moved from place to place in search of food or other things **Occasionally they came together** for some purpose.
- The **evidence of this Durkheim finds in ancient fairs**, since time immemorial.
- **They (people) talk to each other, they dance, all are enjoying, they feel happy**.
- **They feel something different** which they do not feel when they are alone.
- Durkheim calls this as a **state of exaltation or collective effervescence**.
- The **feeling disappears once they are separated**. **Primitive man explained** this feeling with the help of **presence of some supernatural face**.
- The study of various **ethnographies revealed** that **primitive tribes do have a conception of this supernatural force** which is termed by various/different tribes differently.
- It is called **Mana, Bonga** etc. in different types.
- **Primitive man becomes anxious and wants to re-experience** the feeling.
- They **need to explain** this force. Eventually they **create a totem** as a representation.
- **When they come closer to the totem**, they imagine that feeling.
- This is the **origin of totem** and **totem is the cause** of religion.
- But we can say now that **totem is the material representation of the non- material force**.
- **Non- material is none other than society**
- **Sacred god & society are one & the same thing**.
- This feeling of the **force was due to collectivity** or the **elementary beginning** of society.



- So, **totem is nothing but the symbol of the society.**

Finally, Durkheim states:

*“if it (totem) is at once the symbol of god & society, is it not because god & society are one.”*

- Ultimately, he proposes that **religion is the expression of self-creation & autonomous development of society.**
- As the **society becomes complex, religion also becomes complex.**
- Thus, **it is not the totem that we worship, it is the collectivity we worship.**
- In **modern, complex societies there is a lot of individualism.**
- Religion provides the **function of bringing people together.** For e.g., People come together at religious places, celebration of religion festivals & thus the society is reinforced.
- Durkheim further explains **increasing popularity of science** considerably.
- *Science as a unified system of beliefs & practices.*
- **All those who follow science** tend to associate with each other & become a **common source of identity.**
- The **science is nothing but a modern religion.**

### 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**

## In the words of Durkheim

“A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere them.”

## 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**.
- 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’s aim is to make the social and political structures of the economy clearer by **revealing** “the economic law of motion of modern society”. Furthermore, Marx intends to **reveal the internal contradictions** that he hopes will inevitably transform capitalism.

## Max 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

#### Authority

- Weber defines authority as legitimate form of domination.

#### Ideal Type of Authority:

- 3 sources of Legitimate Power
  1. Traditional Authority
  2. Charismatic Authority
  3. Rational Legal

## Bureaucracy

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

- Ideal type of bureaucracy
- Characteristics of ideal-typical bureaucracy
- Criticism

## 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.

### **Ideal Type of Protestant Ethics**

It’s tenets:

1. Own Glory
2. Asceticism
3. Doctrine of Predestination
4. Notion of Calling

### **Ideal Type of Capitalism**

- Comparing the two

## Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism

- How Calvinism led to spirit of capitalism?
- Criticism

## Introduction

- Founding father **bridged gap** between positivists & anti-positivists.
- **Sociology**: A science which attempts at **interpretative understanding of social action** (in order to 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 empirical research** 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 mental processes 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 method 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.
- For e.g. Greeting a priest.

## 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.



## 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)

## 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 exam

## 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).

## Verstehen

### Verstehen – What is It

- German word verstehen means **ability to understand** the social phenomena.
- Weber used this tool **to understand the social action**.
- Weber associated verstehen to the field of *hermeneutics*, which is a special approach to understand 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. symbolic interactionism.

### Verstehen - How to Do it

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

Involves **certain steps** in which investigator should:

- **Reconstruct choices & constraints** of actor
- Come at **same wavelength** with the actor (terms of communication, appearance, behavior)
- Have **detached interest** in the actor & his situation. This will ensure objectivity.
- Then **interact with the actor** to understand meanings attached.

### It Verstehen the only method?

No.

- There **could be other methods** (like ideal types)
- **Establishing plurality** of causes

### Ideal Types

- Not a new method
- Used to comprehend reality, whether natural or social

### 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.

### 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.
- Other names of ideal type could be a **“measuring rod”** or **“yardstick”**.

- Contain **specific traits**
- These traits **represent partial reality only** (not total reality)
- Traits **may not be visible** (but identified analytically)
- Ideal types are **logical constructs**, act as measuring rods.
- Be **used as a device**, not as a reality.

### Ideal Types - How to Construct Them

- Ideal type need **not be positive or correct**; it can just as **easily be negative** or even morally repugnant.
- These should be **constantly changing and develop new typologies** to fit in the changing 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:
  - **Actions of bureaucrats** that are motivated by misinformation.
  - **Strategic errors**, by bureaucratic leaders.
  - **Logical fallacies** undergirding the actions of bureaucrats.
  - **Decisions made** in bureaucracy on the **basis of emotion**.
  - **Any irrationality in the actions** of bureaucrats.

### Ideal Type - Broader Categories

- **Abstract Elements**
  - like social action, authority, etc.
- **Particular type of behavior**
  - Economics, Political, Religious
- **Historical Phenomena**
  - 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.

## Ideal Type of Authority

### Weber's Political Inclinations

- Weber had political interests and **he was a critic of capitalism** like Karl Marx but he **never advocated any revolution** to overthrow it.
- He **wanted the society to change gradually under good political leaders** because he had **little hope 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 obeyed by 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"
- It's ideal type contains 3 elements, based on 3 sources of legitimate power.

### 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.”**

## 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.

## 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 those elevated to authority** under such rules to issue commands.

## Legitimate Power in Reality

- It is a mix of all.

## 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**.

### 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.**

## Protestant Ethics & Spirit of Capitalism

### 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**

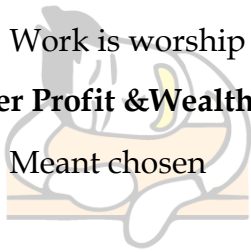
- Re-investment
- Individualism

### **Notion of Calling**

- Work is worship

### **Greater Profit & Wealth**

- Meant chosen



**Sleepy Classes IAS**  
Awakening Toppers

## **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**.

## Talcott Parsons

## Quick Idea - Social Action

### 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)

### Orientation of Social Action

1. Motivational Orientation
2. Value Orientation

### Types of Social Action

1. Instrumental
2. Expressive
3. Moral

## Quick Idea - Pattern Variables

Conflict between Motivational & Value orientations

### **Pattern variables**

- ADAPCO

Why This Conflict?

## Quick Idea - Action Systems

Types of **Action** Systems

- CSPO
  - Cultural
  - Social
  - Personality
  - Organismic

## Quick Idea - Social System

### **Conditions for conception of social system**

## Functional Analysis of social system

- Mechanism Equilibrium phase
- AGIL Model

## Social Action

### Theory of 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.

## 2 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.

## Types of Social Action

### Instrumental Action

(Zweck - rational)

- Evaluative aspect strong: Logical means

### Expressive Action

(Emotional)

- Appreciative aspect strong

### Moral Action

(Traditional & Wert rational)

- Moral aspect strong
- Based on traditions values.

## 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 relation to motivational orientation and value orientation, in the performance of roles, **each actor faces dilemmas**.
- 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.
- Ascription vs Achievement
- Diffuseness vs specificity (obligations in an interaction)
- Affectivity vs Affective Neutrality (Amount of emotion)

- Particularism vs Universalism
- Collective orientation vs self – orientation

(Keyword: ADAPCO)

### Affectivity versus Affective Neutrality

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

### Self-orientation versus Collectivity Orientation

- Similarly, in self-orientation versus collectivity orientation pattern variable 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 deferment 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 civilisation.
- The notion of socialist society and socialist consciousness 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, institutionalisation of such values is always fragile. This is because the response to the situation by the actor is always in the form of a dilemma.

### Universalism versus Particularism

- Universalism versus particularism is a pattern variable which defines the role situation where the actor's dilemma is between the **cognitive versus the cathective** (or emotional standards) evaluation.

- A very good example of roles adhering to universalistic standards of human behaviour are role performances which go strictly by legal norms and legal sanctions.
- 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 formal organisations and modern institutions have become widespread there the dilemmas of Universalism and particularism have become a matter of choice in everyday life.

### Ascription versus Achievement

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

### 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 interactions, such as between doctors and patients or between buyers and sellers of goods in the market, have a very specific scope.
- The nature of these interactions is defined in terms of a very precise context of interaction.
- **A doctor does not have to understand the social, financial or political background of his or her patients** in order to treat them and to give them a prescription.
- Doctor's task is very specific.
- So is the case of sellers of commodities in the market, who do not have to know the general details of the life of their customers.
- Such roles are specific in terms of the standards of response between actors.

- **On the contrary, some role relationships are very general and encompassing in nature.**
- Such roles involve several aspects of the object of interaction. Some examples of such role relationships are friendship, conjugal relationship between husband and wife, relationships between kin of various degrees.
- All these relationships are such where the actor does not interact with another in a relationship in a specific context as such, but in a diffused manner such as in case of two close friends. 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*).

## Action Systems

### Talcott Parsons Action Systems

**Actions occur in constellations called as action system.**

Parsons divides earlier contributions into three broad schools of thought:

- **The Utilitarian**
- **The Positivist**
- **The Idealist**

Actions occur in constellations called as action system.

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- **The Positivist**
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### 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.

(Keyword: CSPO)

### Conditions for conception of Social system

When does a social system form?

1. **Two or more individuals** in social interaction
2. **Some collective goals** (including motivations of units & values of society)
3. **Consensus** on Role expectations
4. Interaction will develop an **Abstract Boundary** around the system.

### Functional Analysis of Social System

Answering 2 questions:

**Q. How the system survives?**

**Q. What are the functions fulfilled by a particular system?**

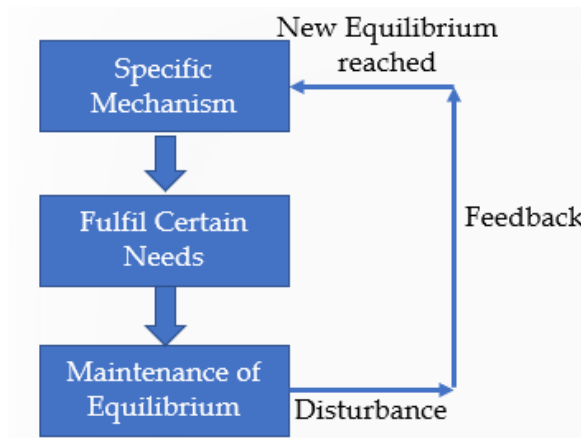
**Q. How the system survives?**

- **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.

### Functional Analysis of Social system Answering 2 questions



#### Q. What are the functions fulfilled by a particular system?

- Requisite Functionalism Phase
- ("The Social System, 1951")
- 4 set of universal functional requisites (must for survival of system)

### Functional Analysis of Social system Answering 2 questions

- 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.

### Functional Pre-requisites

There are four such functional prerequisites.

- i) **Adaptation**
- ii) **Goal Attainment**
- iii) **Integration**
- iv) **Latency**

This is also known as **AGIL** model.

## AGIL Model

### Adaptation:

- **Generation, acquisition & distribution of resources** (Economic System).
- Adaptation is oriented to factors external to the system and it has an instrumental character.

### Goal Attainment:

- Determination of **goals, motivating, mobilizing, channelizing** (Political System).
- It needs to be remembered that goal attainment is related to the ideological and organisational set up of the social system.

### Integration:

- Consensus, solidarity, co - ordination b/w units (cultural system).
- This functional prerequisite is internal to the system and has a consummatory character.

### Latency:

Hidden aspect for maintaining the motivation. Tension management. (Family)

- **Pattern Maintenance** (Maintaining conformity)
- **Tension Management** (internal tensions)

The functional prerequisite of latency also bears an instrumental character.

## **AGIL: Inter-related & Interdependent**

Functional Prerequisites of a Social System

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

## Talcott Parsons' Structural Functionalism

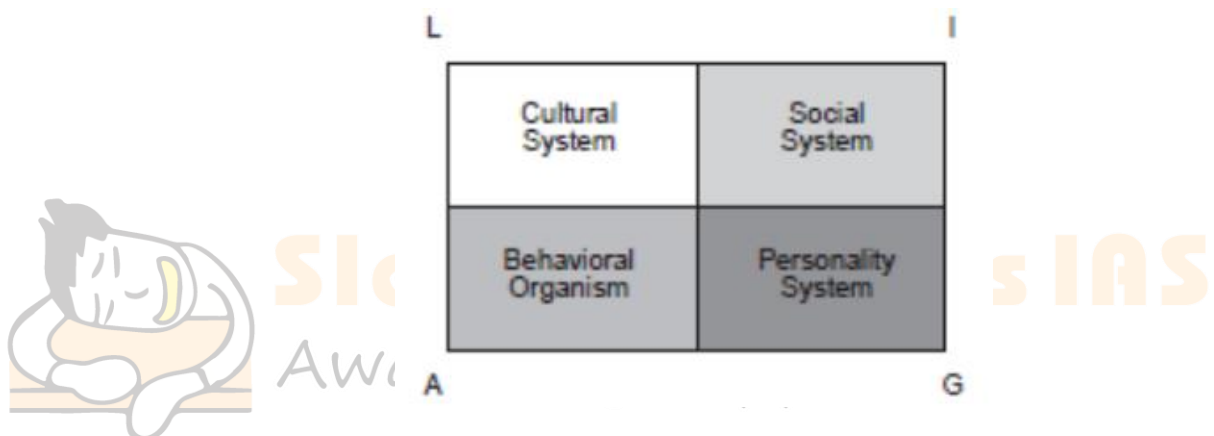
- His theory is based on AGIL scheme.

- According to him **A function** is “a complex of activities directed towards meeting a need or needs of the system”

In order to survive, a system must perform these four functions:

1. **Adaptation:** A system must cope with external situational exigencies. It must adapt to its environment and adapt the environment to its needs.
2. **Goal attainment:** A system must define and achieve its primary goals.
3. **Integration:** A system must regulate the interrelationship of its component parts. It also must manage the relationship among the other three functional imperatives (A, G, L).
4. **Latency (pattern maintenance):** A system must furnish, maintain, and renew both the motivation of individuals and the cultural patterns that create and sustain that motivation.

Let's see how Parson uses AGIL in action system



### 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 **social system** copes with the integration function by controlling its component parts.
- Finally, the **cultural system** performs the latency function by providing actors with the norms and values that motivate them for action.
- These four action tools do not exist in real world but are analytical tools for analyzing the real world.

### 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)

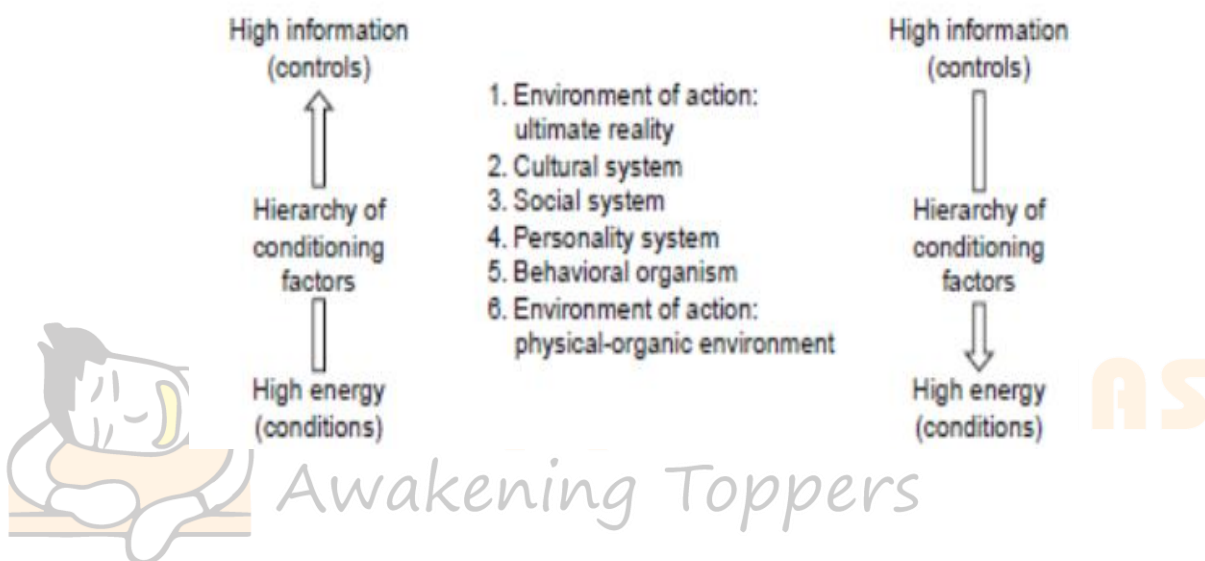
- **controlling systems** which have a high level of **energy** (such as the human biological system).

### Interaction of action systems:

- 1) Energy flows up
- 2) Information flows down

A balance between Energy & Info Flow.

### Parsons' action schema



## Action System

- Parsons had a clear notion of “levels” of social analysis as well as their interrelationship.
- Each of the **lower levels provides the conditions, the energy**, needed for the higher levels.
- The **higher levels control those below** them in the hierarchy.
- In terms of the environments of the action system, the lowest level, the physical and organic environment, involves the non-symbolic aspects of the human body, its anatomy and physiology.
- The **highest level, ultimate reality, has, “a metaphysical flavor,”** or the universal tendency for societies to address symbolically the uncertainties, concerns, and tragedies of human existence that challenge the meaningfulness of social organization.

## 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.”*

## Society and 4 sub-systems

Parsons’ distinguishes society in 4 subsystems in terms of functions (AGIL) performed:

1. The **economy** is the subsystem that performs the function for society of **adapting to the environment** through labor, production, and allocation. Through such work, the economy adapts the environment to society’s needs, and it helps society adapt to these external realities.
2. The **polity** (or political system) performs the function of **goal attainment** by pursuing societal objectives and mobilizing actors and resources to that end.

3. The **integration function is performed by the societal community** (for example, the law), which coordinates the various components of society.
4. The **fiduciary system** (for example, in the schools, the family) handles the **latency function by transmitting culture** (norms and values) to actors and allowing it to be internalized by them.

### 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.

## Criticism

- Alfred Baldwin criticizes him by quoting that

*"It seems fair to say that Parsons fails in his theory to provide the personality with a reasonable set of properties or mechanisms aside from need-dispositions, and gets himself into trouble by not endowing the personality with enough characteristics and enough different kinds of mechanisms for it to be able to function."*

## Robert Merton

### Quick Idea

#### Robert Merton Functional Postulates

3 Postulates:

1. Functional Unity
2. Functional Indispensability
3. Universal Functionalism

#### Robert Merton's Functional Paradigm

- Definition- The paradigm, says Merton, is intended to lead directly to the postulates and often to the tacit assumptions underlying functional analysis.
- Steps to be followed by the investigator

#### Latent and Manifest Functions

- Definitions- Manifest (intended meanings of the actor), Latent (Hidden to the actor)
- Significance

#### Middle Range Theories

- Triple Alliance
- Advantages
- Disadvantages

#### Reference Group

A RG is one to which you always refer to in order to evaluate your achievements, aspiration & ambitions. An outline of social psychology.

- American soldier study
- Concept of Group & Group Membership
- Concept of Non - Membership
- Anticipatory Socialisation
- Dysfunctional Consequences

### **Structural Elements of Reference Groups**

- Observability and Visibility: Patterned Avenues of Information about Norms, Values and Role performance
- Non-Conformity as Type of Reference Group Behaviour
- Role-sets, Status-sets and Status Sequences

### **Criticism of Structural Functionalism**

- Substantive Criticisms
- Methodological and Logical Criticisms
- Teleology & Tautology

### **Neofunctionalism**

#### **Deviance**

- The concept of Anomie
- 5 possible responses
  - i. Conformists
  - ii. Innovators
  - iii. Ritualists
  - iv. Retreatists
  - v. Rebels
- Critical Points
- Contemporary Significance
- Other Theories on Anomie/Deviance
- Merton vs Durkheim on anomie

## Robert Merton Functional Postulates

### 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:

- i. Indispensability of certain functions
  - Radcliffe Brown's "necessary conditions"
  - Parson's functional requisite (AGIL)
- ii. 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 & 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

### **Significance of M & L functions**

- Increased the purview of Sociology
- (objecting both subjective dispositions and objective consequences)
- Multi-disciplinary approach (Socio & Psycho)
- Resolved contradiction between positivism & non-positivism

### **Middle range Theories**

Bridged gap or raw empiricism (facts ,[ethnographic]& abstract generalizations (only theory (like Parsons)]

#### **Triple Alliance**

- Theory
- Method - functional Paradigm
- Data - 1) Primary 2) Secondary

Combine MRTs to form Grand theories.

### **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)

## Reference Groups

A RG is one to which you always refer to in order to evaluate your achievements, aspiration & ambitions. An outline of social psychology.

Famous book (1949) **Social Theory and Social Structure.**

1. A reference group is one to which **you always refer in order to evaluate** your achievements, your role performance, your aspirations and ambitions.
2. It is only a reference group that tells you **whether you are right or wrong**, whether whatever you are doing, you are doing badly or well.
3. **Even non-membership groups**, the groups to which you do not belong, **may act like reference groups.**
4. You **aspire** to become a member of a group to which you do not belong but which is more **powerful**, or more **prestigious.**
5. As a result, this time in order to evaluate your achievements, performance, you refer to a non-membership group.
6. Human beings look at themselves not solely through the eyes of their group members, but also through the eyes of those who belong to other groups.

## 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.
- It is true that non-members are those who **do not meet the interactional and definitional criteria** of membership.
- But, at the same time, as Merton says, **all non-members are not of the same kind**.

## 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

- 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**.
- Anticipatory socialisation may serve the twin functions -
  1. of aiding his rise into that group
  2. of easing his adjustment after he has become part of it.

## Dysfunctional Consequences

- If the system is very closed-->anticipatory socialisation would be dysfunctional for him.
- There are **two reasons** -
  1. **not be able to become a member of the group** to which he aspires.
  2. **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**'!
- **Anticipatory socialisation is functional for the individual only 'within a relatively open social structure providing for mobility'**.
- In a closed system the individual is unlikely to choose a non-membership group as a reference group.

Reference groups, says Merton, are of two kinds:

1. **Positive reference group** - is one, which one likes and takes seriously in order to shape one's behaviour and evaluate one's achievements and performance.
2. **Negative reference group** - which one dislikes and rejects and which, instead of providing norms to follow, provokes one to create counter-norms.

## Structural Elements of Reference Groups

- Observability and Visibility: Patterned Avenues of Information about Norms, Values and Role performance
- Non-Conformity as Type of Reference Group Behaviour
- Role-sets, Status-sets and Status Sequences.
- 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 role-performances.
- 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 out-group.
- 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.**
- Merton suggests that there are many ways of avoiding the tension in the status-set:
  1. **People are not perceived by others as occupying only one status.** Even an employer, Merton would argue, understands that an employee is not just an employee, he is a father, a husband, and a son.

That is why, an **employee** who is known to **have experienced a death** in his immediate family is held to **“less demanding occupational requirements”**.

2. **Empathy**---> **serves to reduce the pressures exerted** upon people caught up in **conflicts of status obligations.**

Because everyone faces the same problem as they all have a status-set, there is a **sense of shared destiny**, which facilitates the development of empathy.

3. **Components of status-set are not combined at random. This form of combination reduces the possibility of conflict.**
  - Suppose you are **born and brought up in a family with a culture of learning.** Let us understand that because of this family socialisation **you become a scholar.**
  - Now it is **unlikely** that with such a background, **you would choose to become an army officer** because you realise how **difficult it would be to reconcile your two statuses**, the status of an army officer and the status of a scholar.
  - Perhaps you would **like to become a professor** and then it would not be difficult for you to reconcile your two statuses, the status of a professor and the status of a scholar!
  - In **other words**, behind the **choice of a reference individual** or the desire to occupy a status **lies a design, a symmetry. So, all statuses in the status-set need not necessarily be in conflict with one another.**

## Criticism of Structural Functionalism

### Criticisms

#### Substantive 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**.

#### Methodological and Logical Criticisms

1. Structural functionalism is basically **vague, unclear, and ambiguous**.

Part of the **ambiguity is traceable to the fact that structural functionalists choose to deal with abstract social systems instead of real societies**.

2. 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**.

Many critics regard this **grand theory as an illusion**, believing that the best sociology can hope for is more historically specific, "middle-range" theories.

3. Whether there are **adequate methods to study** the questions of concern to structural functionalists.

Percy Cohen (1968), for instance, wonders **what tools can be used to study the contribution of one part of a system to the system as a whole**.

4. 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?**



## Teleology & Tautology

1. 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.**
  - ii. 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.
  - iii. A **variety of alternative structures could meet these needs; society does not “need” to create the family.**
  - iv. 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.**
  - v. An **illegitimate teleology** would be satisfied with a **blind assertion that a link between a societal end and a specific substructure must exist.**
2. 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.**
  - iii. **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.**
  - iv. **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.**

## Neofunctionalism

- Under the barrage of criticisms, structural functionalism declined in significance from the mid-1960s to the present day.
- However, by the mid-1980s, a major effort was undertaken to revive the theory under the heading “neofunctionalism”.

## Deviance

### 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.

### Theory of Deviance | Anomie Book

**Book:** "Social structure & Anomie, 1938"

"Social Theory & Social Structure, 1949"

- **Deviance:** Non - conformity to norms & policy
- **Goffman:** "We all are socially deviant".
  - All criminal acts = Deviant
  - but not all deviant acts are criminal
  - Various sociological theories.

**Deviance result of-**

- Subcultural characteristics
- Faulty socializations
- Parental deprivation
- Differential opportunities etc.
- Not always dysfunctional

Durkheim - "particular rate of crime is Normal".

**Deviance and crime are then products of the strain between people's cultural values and the unequal distribution of legitimate opportunities (means) within society.**

Merton identifies **five possible responses** to the **tensions** between **socially endorsed values and the limited means of achieving them.**

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.

### Critical Points

- Critics pointed out that in focusing on individual responses, Merton failed to appreciate the significance of **subcultures** in sustaining deviant behaviour.  
(**sub culture of a tribe** may influence their behaviour) (behaviour of a ghetto where such behaviour is expected)
- His reliance on official statistics is also problematic, because these have since been shown to be flawed and unreliable. (Hmm... ok)

### Deviance

- It has also been noted that Merton's thesis seems to overestimate the amount of 'lower working-class' criminality - it implies that everyone in this class group should experience the strain towards crime.
- But as the majority of this class group **never become involved in crime, we have to ask**, why not? (everyone in the lower class should feel strained)

### Contemporary Significance

- Merton's study retains its significance because it addresses a central research problem in the study of crime and deviance: **when society as a whole is becoming more affluent, why do crime rates continue to rise?**
- In emphasizing the **social strain between rising aspirations and persistent structural social inequalities**, Merton points to the sense of **relative deprivation** amongst manual working-class groups as an important motivator **for deviant behaviour**.
- **His research was also an effective sociological critique of earlier biological and psychological explanations of crime and deviance.**
- He demonstrates that individual choices and motivations are always made within a wider social context, which shapes those decisions according to the place of social groups and the differential opportunities available to them.

## Other Theories on Anomie/Deviance

1. **Biological Theories** – Cesare Lombroso -> genetically determined character.
2. **Psychological Theories** – John Bowlby – “44 Juvenile Thieves” Most important – Maternal Affection
3. **Sociological Theories** -> Function – Durkheim Anomie, Merton Anomie, Albert K Cohen Marxist theory
4. **Ecological theory** – Chicago School (Shaw & Mckay)
5. **Interactionist theory** – Howard Becker – Labelling theory

## Merton conception

Discrepancy between – “culturally defined goals & structurally available means to achieve goals”

## Merton vs Durkheim on anomie

Both consider it problem in normative order.

Durkheim	Merton	Response	Goals	Means
Temporary	Discrepancy b/w desired goals & available means	Confirmist	+	+
Cause: social currents	Not temporary	Innovators	+	-
Waves of enthusiasm, distress etc.	Structural property of every society	Ritualists	-	+
		Retreatist	-	-
		Rebellion	-	-
			+	+

## Merton Added

- Every deviance has some conformity
- Can be functional or dysfunctional.

## Quick Idea

### Introduction

- Evolutionary Theory
- Non-dualistic approach
- father of symbolic interactionism

### Theory of Self

### 4 Stages of Organic Act:

1. Impulse
2. Perception
3. Manipulation
4. Consummation

### Social Act:

The social act is a collective act involving the participation of 2 or more individuals and involves a process of interaction.

### The process of development of self:

2 parts-

1. Inner Conversation
2. Outer Conversation

### What is Self?

According to Mead - “a person’s self consists of his own thoughts about the unified goal of his or her body, emotions, thoughts & actions”

### Three stages in the process of development of Self:

1. Early Phase
2. Play stage
3. Game stage

## Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical framework that assumes that one's self concept is created through interpretation of –

- Symbolic gestures
- Words
- Actions and
- Appearances of others as observed during social interactions.

## George Herbert Mead - 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 govt. plans & policies** besides being an **eminent educationist**.

## George Herbert Mead - Social Reality

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.

- The **behavior of an individual** can only be understood in terms of the **behavior of the whole social group** of which he is a member.
- 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**.

### Theory of Self - Gestures

Gestures are of 2 types:

- Verbal
- Non-Verbal

Verbal include different signs ranging from elementary to most developed **sounds**.

Non-verbal include hand movements, body language etc.

These **gestures are essential for the communication** process or interactions.

- According to him the **gestures are symbols** used in the communication process.
- **The biological capacities also impose restrictions** on the performance of acts.

### Theory of Self-Acts

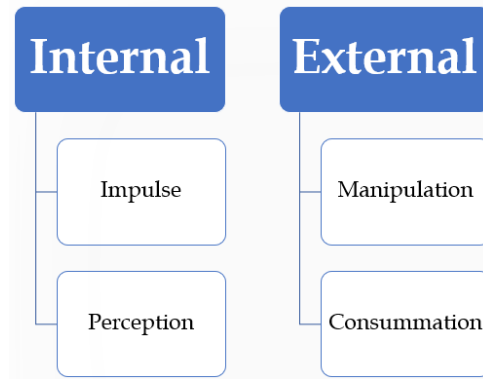
The act is either **organic** - which involves the biological aspect

Or

The act is **social**.

### Organic Act

Organic act involves 4 stages



## 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 **beginning of interaction** initiates the process of the **development of self.**

## Development of self involves 2 Parts

### Inner Conversation

- The process of inner conversation is nothing but mind.

### Outer Conversation

- **Verbal/non-verbal** conversation with the outside world.
- In this context Mead also refers to the **concept of consciousness.**
- One form of consciousness, which is important in the development of self is **reflective consciousness or reflective intelligence.**
- **It is the capacity of the mind to find new ways or thinking on its own.**
- **According to Mead mind is nothing but the process of inner conversation. Which gradually develops through communication.**
- **This gradual evolution of mind involves the development of consciousness or intelligence simultaneously.**

- According to Mead the process of development of mind and increasing social interactions within social acts lead to gradual evolution of self.

## What is Self?

According to Mead - “a person’s self consists of his own thoughts about the unified goal of his or her body, emotions, thoughts & actions”

- It is part of the private world of the individual.
- The self gradually emerges out of your interactions with others.

## Looking Glass Self

- The self evolves through a process of looking glass-self. A theory earlier propounded by C.H. Cooley in his book “The social organizations”.
- It involves **interaction of other’s reactions towards the person by oneself**. (we perform action - we see the reaction of others - we judge or interpret other’s reaction)
- This is how the interpretation of one’s own self emerges.

## Evolution of Self

In this way Mead argues:

- **Body, gestures, mind & self all evolve at the same time** influencing each other.

“Self & society are twin born”.

## 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)**

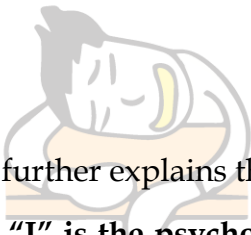
- In which the **biological capacity** of the child evolves.
- Child learns to **use gestures** but the process of **inner conversation is minimum**.
- They are **more of reflexes**.
- Child is more **involved with imitation**.

## 2. Play Stage (2 - 7 years)

- This stage involves the learning of significant symbols.
- A process of inner conversation starts.
- Child interacts with the peer groups & starts imitating the roles primarily of the significant others.
- Significant others involve parents or any other person close to the child.
- Child at this stage plays the role of significant others through imitation, a phenomenon which Mead terms as "role playing".

## 3. Game Stage (After 7 years)

- In this stage the **child engages in interaction with all others**, i.e., all others apart from significant others with whom child comes in interaction.
- At this stage the **reflective consciousness** of child develops.
- At this stage **child learns other roles through games**.
- He calls it "Playing at a role".



## "I" & "Me"

Mead further explains the **conception of self as containing "I" & "Me"**.

- **"I" is the psychological aspect** of the self-referring to individual's **own impulses, desires, emotions** etc.
- Whereas **"Me" is the social aspect** of the self which is **evaluative & keeps control on "I"**.
- **"I" is the source of energy** and **"Me" controls it**.
- Both are **inconceivable without each other**.
- Both **gradually evolve** with the **evolution of body & mind**.
- It is the **"I" who takes the initiative**, It is **"me" who evaluates** these initiatives.
- **"I" acts, "me" observes**.

It is the **complex operation of "I" & "me"** which leads to the **development of self**.

Depending upon the **relative significance of "I" & "Me" in human personality**, the **self or identity of a person varies**.

Mead further **intended to develop a universal evolutionary theory of society**.

On the one hand of which is

- The **physical environment** (i.e. institutions)
- **Macro society**
- **Micro society** (i.e. interactions)

And, on the other

- The **biological aspect of an individual** (i.e. body)
- **Psychological aspect** (i.e. Mind)
- **Social aspect** (i.e. self)

**Society evolves in a non-dualistic manner with continuous interaction b/w the two.**

## **Symbolic Interactionism**

Symbolic interactionism is a **theoretical framework** that assumes that **one's self concept is created through interpretation** of -

- Symbolic gestures
- Words
- Actions and
- Appearances of others as observed during social interactions.

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.

These are:

### **1. Actions as Responses**

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. Already Defined Contexts**

2. **All interactions** take place within **already defined and categorized social contexts**.
  - 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. Meanings emerge from Interactions

3. **These meanings emerge from the continued interactions** that persons in a society have with each other and with society at large.
  - 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. Dynamicity of Meanings

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.

### Symbolic Interactionism

- 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).
- Blumer was of the opinion that meanings can only be elicited through a qualitative methodology.
- He was particularly critical of the efficacy of positivist scientific methods for the study of social behavior.

### Sympathetic Introspection

- Thus an **investigator of human behaviour must get to an in depth understanding of that behaviour** and 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.

### Symbolic Interactionism - Summary

The three basic premises of symbolic interactionism as summarized by Blumer are:

1. **All humans act towards other things (objects or symbols) in accordance with the meaning these objects have to them.**
2. **These meanings vary according to context, both individual and collective.**
3. **These meanings arise out of the social interactions** that one has had with other members of



the society.

4. These **meanings arise in an interpretative way** that is they are **not inherent to the object but are an outcome of the mental process** by which they assume significance.

For example a particular tree, stone or building may assume significance beyond their basic structure, which may be due to the historical or sacred meaning assigned to them by members of a community.



**Sleepy Classes IAS**  
Awakening Toppers

## Chapter - 5

# Stratification and Mobility

### Concepts

- Equality
- Inequality
- Hierarchy
- Exclusion
- Poverty
- Deprivation

### Quick Idea

#### Equality

- **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
  - **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 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

- **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)
- **Differentiation** (existence of differences which can be **perceived** by people)
- **Ranking** (elementary ranking through comparison)
- **Evaluation** (**attaching values** to a stratum at collective level)
- **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** (for example 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.

### 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** e.g., **Corrupt** businessman
  - **poor but not excluded** e.g., 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 *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.

### 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)

### 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
  - 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 -
    - 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

### 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.

## 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

- He 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

- He talked of social inequalities in terms of private property.

## Theories of stratification try to explain

- Basis of stratification
- Structure
- Consequence
- Universality/ desirability

## Theories of stratification can be divided into-

- Earlier theories (Marxian/ functionalist and Weberian).
- Recent theories.

## Earlier Theories

### COMPARISON BETWEEN FUNCTIONALIST AND CONFLICT

FUNCTIONALIST (Durkheim, Parsons, Davis and Moore)	CONFLICT (Marx, Dahrendorf, CW Mills, Gerhard Lenski)
1. Social stratification is due to need of society Ex DOL of Durkheim	Due to need of certain groups ex DOL benefits capitalism
2. Justifies SS	Condemn SS
3. 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
4. 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.
  - Basis of stratification: Economic inequality.
  - Structure of Stratification:
    - ancient (master/slave).
    - feudal (feudal lord/ serf).
    - Capitalism (Bourgeoisie/ proletariat. Currently there are no of classes in Germany but gradual polarization.
- Consequence of stratification: Class struggle, socialism and communism.
- 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

- **He 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's View on Stratification

- **Basis of stratification:**
  - Class (people sharing same place in market)
  - Status
  - Party (Political Power)
- **Structure of stratification: Rejects Marx 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.

## 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**

- He 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.

<b>Criticism by MM TUMIN</b>	<b>Clarification by Davis and Moore</b>
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.



**Sleepy Classes IAS**  
Awakening Toppers

## 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.

## Dimensions

### 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
  - **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.
- 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.

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- 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 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, 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:**

- clustering of women in a few occupations (Pink Collarization)
- clustering either in low status occupation or in the lower rungs of the prestigious profession
- women receive **lower salaries** than men
- 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.**
- Even **religion** has been portrayed as one of the factors promoting patriarchy. E.g.: 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

### **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.

### 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.

### **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.
- [www.YouTube.com/SleepyClasses](http://www.YouTube.com/SleepyClasses)    <https://testseries.sleepyclasses.com/>    Sleepy Classes
- Italian migrants were discriminated in Post War USA, leading to them becoming criminals and mafias.

### 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, dress 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.
- 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.

## Social 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**
  - 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.
  - 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**
  - **Intergenerational**- change in position **between generation** ex son of rickshaw puller becoming a professor
  - **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**
  - Mobility in open system -higher incidences of mobility Ex Class system
  - 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 affect mobility in all societies and secondary factors that are specific to particular society at particular times. He listed four primary factors
  - demographic factors
  - the ability of parents and children
  - the faulty distribution of individuals in social positions and
  - 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
- 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

- increased creativity and efficiency
- cultural homogenisation

- 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)

## 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

### Extras:

#### **Pierre Bourdieu**

- 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 children’s 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.”

#### **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 behaviour; 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.

## Gender Wage Gap

### Meaning

- Gender wage gap means the average difference between earnings of both men and women in the work force.

### Gender wage gap in the world

- According to World Economic Forum (WEF), women around the world get paid just 63% of what men earn.
- It further estimates that it will take 202 years for the world wage gap to close. The harsh reality is that there is not even a single country where there is no disparity between the wages of men and women.
- Laos, a south-east Asian country, has the least disparity with women earning 91% of what men are paid.
- Yemen, Syria and Iraq have the biggest pay gaps with women being paid less than 30% the level of men's wages.

### Gender wage gap in India

- International Labour 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.

### How is it measured

- It is the number of hours an individual works that determines the salary he/she gets.
- This varies with whether that individual has full time employment or part-time. And it also varies with how it is measured- hourly, weekly, monthly or yearly.
- The gender pay gap is often divided into:
  - Unadjusted Pay Gap- Gender pay gap, when calculated by comparing wages of all male and female workers without considering different worker characteristics
  - Adjusted Pay Gap- When the gap is calculated by taking other factors into consideration. For e.g., education, experience, and other factors that matter for the pay gap.

Adjusted pay gap helps in making comparisons within workers or groups of workers with similar jobs, which in turn, helps in determining the extent of inequality.

### Difference between Gender pay gap and Equal pay

- While the gender pay gap is the average difference between hourly wages for men and women,
- Unequal pay is when women are paid less than men for doing the exact same work.

## Reasons why gender pay gap exists

- Gender Conditioning- Since birth, there is a distinct behaviour towards children depending upon the sex of the child.
- Girls, since childhood, are conditioned in ways that drive them away from areas like Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.
- While boys are given robots and cars to play with, girls get dolls and kitchen sets.
- This direction, that is shown to kids at a very young age, due to stereotypes, later determines their role in society and the fields they work in. This can be described as one of the reasons behind less women representation in high paying jobs especially in fields like science, technology and engineering.
- 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. The law also prohibits them from jobs that pose danger to life, health or morals.
- Gender bias- This is something that has a huge historical background and cannot be overlooked.
  - 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 'motherhood penalty.'
- Inflexibility at work- Women are still seen as care givers. Their responsibility does not end at child birth, it is just the beginning. They have to maintain a balance between their work and child care, because society expects them to do that.
  - Lack of flexibility at work places, especially when it comes to working hours, puts them under tremendous pressure, to which many accept defeat and drop out of the labour force.

## 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. The education system, instead of fuelling stereotypes, should nurture every child and help her grow to the best of her capabilities. It should not try to fit 'a round peg in a square hole.' In India, more encouragement is required for parents to send their girls to school.
- HeForShe- This global movement started by UN Women focuses on engaging men in the fight to stop inequalities faced by women, whether they are social, political, or economical.
  - As of October 2015, about half a million men from every continent pledged to support women as they work together to end discrimination.
- 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.
1. These are some of the ways that can be used to close this huge gender wage gap. Effective implementing of these strategies may have a positive effect.
    - a. For example, flexible, family-oriented policies that lead to higher participation in labour-force and salaries for women, will increase a women's investment in education, which will in turn will reduce the gender gap in labour force, eventually reducing the gender wage gap.
  2. Regardless of how powerful these strategies may be, they are only part of the solution.
  3. It is the social norms and culture that hold and limit the choices a man or a woman has with respect to both family and being a part of the labour force.
  4. What lies at the base is another fight, a fight against stereotypes and patriarchy. Getting rid of these forces will help in laying a strong foundation for an equal society and ultimately succeeding in closing this gap.

## What is Patriarchy?

### Patriarchal Bargain

- Patriarchy, as we look at it in broader terms, gives men more privilege, power and preference than women.
- is not something that came into existence yesterday; rather it has been going on since ages. It tends to give men the authority over women and the power to control.
- The patriarchal system is so well rooted in our society that all we need to do to see it is just 'open our eyes.'
- One of the classic examples of patriarchy in our society is the patrilineal family organization seen around the world. In this system the paternal descent i.e., the male's family is taken into consideration while determining various social provisions and privileges.
- And while society had just started to fathom the extent to which it is spread in our system, another term came to the forefront, Patriarchal bargain.
- When women are tied in the shackles of patriarchy, face constraint and a controlling environment, it leads them to manipulate patriarchy for their personal gains. They try to strategize and bargain with patriarchy, hence the term patriarchal bargain.

### Patriarchal Bargain, the study

- 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 with
  - one example from sub-Saharan Africa and the other
  - from 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 labour. 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 unfavourable labour 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 labour."
- 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 their footsteps.
- Revolt- Revolting and going against the predetermined rules of the society is not everyone's cup of tea. Ones who cannot resist try to manipulate, leading to 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.

### Solutions:

#### Can this bargain be resolved?

- Looking at the extent to which it is spread, the task looks mammoth, but definitely not impossible. Although the time taken to do so will be a lot

#### Things that can be done include:

- Government Intervention- Government policies to start programmes focusing on empowering women.
- Education- Women education needs to be enhanced, to help think rationally. o Only making policies won't help, many sociological solutions are required. Especially changes that bring women to apposition of power, the right they have been denied for long.

## SOCIAL EXCLUSION

### What is Social Exclusion?

- There is no particular and exclusive definition :-
  - o Can be defined as lack of access to institutions of civil society & basic levels of education, health, financial well being necessary to make access to social institutions possible.
  - o Means marginalization & non participation.

### Experienced at

- Individual Level: A particular individual may be ostracized by the social group.
- Community Level: A particular social group may be excluded from the mainstream society.

### Causes

- Single
- Multiple

Often one kind of exclusion leads to many others. So do not stand in isolation -> 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
  - o Complex & multi- dimensional process
  - o Denial or lack of resources, goods, services, rights.
  - o Inability to participate in social, cultural, political areas.
  - o Affects quality of individual's life.
  - o Cohesion of society also affected (social solidarity is weakened).

### Identifies three dis courses of social exclusion;

- Moral Underclass discourse
- Social integrationist discourse

<u>Discourse</u>	<u>Cause</u>	<u>Solution</u>	<u>Criticism</u>
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.	<b>The significance of the material conditions are ignored Cultures never develop in vacuum but in response to conditions in wider society. diverts attention away from social divisions such as 'race' and 'class'</b>
Social integrationist discourse	Exclusion from paid labour market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Exposure to paid labour market will make citizen responsible and bring discipline into their lives as they</b></li> </ul>	<b>Pay gap divisions within the labour market Informalisation of labour working poor</b>

		<p>earn income and a restricted power to consume in society.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indian examples Food for work, MGNREGA</li> </ul>	<p><b>Unpaid labour by women</b></p>
<p>Redistributionist Discourse</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poverty and structural inequality</li> <li>• Capitalism is the evil behind poverty.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• De-industrialisation</li> <li>• Structural economic changes of global level -Setting up welfare state, eg gradation in taxes.</li> </ul>	<p><b>To what extent can a particular change affect the entire structure? Some structures of society are hard to break down as no viable alternatives</b></p>

- Redistributionist Discourse

- The three constructs basically offer only a framework and have a heuristic value in understanding of the concept. The reality is much more complicated and the reasons in a particular society are usually more than one.

## Christine Bradley

Gives 5 mechanism through which social exclusion is practiced

- 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
    - Tribals in hills & forests. (natural)
    - Poor live in marginal areas
- Intimidation-Used to reinforce social stereotypes & control of power. Instruments like verbal abuse or ‘Threat to harm’ are used to continue practices that are propagate exclusion.
  - **Examples**
    - Calling of names to remind one of the inferiorities associated with his/her caste/race
- Physical violence- use of actual violence is also observed whee the intimidation fails to do the work.
  - **Examples-**
    - Women (domestic violence)
    - Dalits (mob lynching cases)
      - Justice Verma Committee observes that Rape -> also an expression of patriarchal power other than sexual desire
- Barriers to entry – physical barriers may be created in the social structures and institutions o limit access.
  - **Examples-**
    - Cultural beliefs (e.g., Temple entry)
    - Transaction costs (so poor can’t afford) [cost other than actual price]
    - Documentation Requirement (mechanism by misusing Bureaucratic procedures)
- Corruption
  - It overrides the provisions of constitution and laws made to overcome exclusion.
  - The corruption ensures that equal & just access is denied.
  - **Examples-Inefficiency in Public Distribution System**

## 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 behaviours.

### Charles Murray

- Murray said: “the underclass are defined by their behaviour. 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”
- Murray saw underclass as behaviour a lifestyle choice, a disease which infects people who share many of the following characteristics (female headed lone parents, out-of-wedlock-births, school drop-outs, violent and criminal).

### William Julius Wilson

- The underclass comprises of those who lack training or skills, are out of the labour force or long-term unemployed, and who engage in deviant behaviour. Wilson also incorporates in his definition family instability and welfare dependency.

### Erol Ricketts and Isabel Sawhill

- produced an empirically operational definition of an underclass area where a census tract has rates of high school dropouts, male labour-force nonattachment, welfare recipiency, and female-family headship 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 behaviour 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. Karl Marx described the lumpenproletariat as “the lowest sediment of the relative surplus population,” an unproductive and regressive portion of the population unable or unwilling to work

### 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 behaviour 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. Social isolation and concentration of poverty are but consequences of these structural transformations.

## **RACE AND THE UNDERCLASS**

- The relation between the two concepts has been deliberated by many researchers.
- Using 1980 U.S. census data, Ricketts and Sawhill - calculate that 59 percent of persons in underclass areas were black.
- It was generally understood that underclass areas are disproportionately poor and black. Indeed, the term black underclass was often used synonymously with the term 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 neighbourhoods, though, could be traced to redlining, mortgage discrimination, and other housing barriers that can be seen as manifestations of race (Wilson 1987; Stoll 2005; Massey and Denton 1993; Jargowsky 1997).

## **As a result of migration**

- In many cases, it is observed that members of a particular ethnic group have similar economic status in a society. In India, certain ethnic minorities perform extremely well while some others are deprived of the basic socio-economic benefits.
- One of the primary causes of migration is the pull factor of better economic opportunities. In case of cross country or cross state migration, the migrated group is seen as a distinct ethnic group. It is usually the poorest of the group whose survival is under question that migrate to farther off lands.
- Since their immediate need is economic independence, they may even take up menial jobs and adjust with poor working and living conditions. Further influx of people occurs through contacts and they tend to settle down at particular locations and work in particular sectors.
- At this initial stage, they do not demand political rights since they do not wish to confront the majority group. That translates to their being underpaid, no job security as they are increasingly used as disposable labour. This sets in the process of development of negative stereotypes for that particular ethnicity which is largely seen as the underclass of society doing the low paid work and living in poor conditions.
- Hence, setting a relation between ethnicity and underclass.

## Such a scenario can be dealt in two ways by the society:

- Assimilation- where active effort is made to include the migrated population in the economy and society, example- giving benefits through schemes like PDS, voting rights, etc.
  - Example: 120<sup>th</sup> century migrations to US & Canada -> Indians took Truck driver & Taxi driver jobs.
  - 21<sup>st</sup> century -> engineers going for post-graduation and high-profile jobs in MNCs -> so stereotype changing
  - This provides a unique case of assimilation where the migrating group was able to raise its social status and counter negative stereotypes. Earlier, they faced social exclusion. Now, increasingly accepted as equal. It provides a useful insight: inequality & stratification are dynamic concepts. It is tough to categorise a particular society as open/ close. Instead, degree of openness present in society must be looked into.
- 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
  - Migration is encouraged and the migrated labour is even preferred than the domestic labour. But no cultural interactions like celebrating each other's festival, etc. They are treated as inferiors and referred to with colloquial words - 'bhaiya' which gives them an identity markedly different from mainstream society and carries a negative connotation.

### Summary:

- Jobless from the poor countries migrate -> take menial jobs -> economic security is the immediate goal, no demand for political rights -> further migration through contacts -> people accommodated in similar work -> concentration of a particular ethnicity in an economic sector -> Negative stereotypes develop.

### Why Underclass?

- Usually poorest migrate (rich & able of that ethnicity wont, so people able to see only 1 side of coin)
- Core ethnic group uses them rather than assimilated them.
- Ethnic minority develops self-doubt.
- Economic insecurity -> so collective mobilization in minority not immediate (Not a class as consciousness lacks)
- Dependent on state for benefits so don't oppose.
- Constitute maximum of poor people: so, study of ethnicity important to understand society.

## Chapter - 6

### Works and Economic Life

- 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

- Slave society
- Feudal society
- Industrial /capitalist society:
- **Work:** generally, any activity involving human effort.
  - 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)
  - Another comprehensive definition: work- carrying out of tasks, requiring the expenditure of mental n 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.
- Thus, conception not only limited to economic life but also **permeates to social domain.** e.g., domestic division of labour: obligations not necessarily monetary.

#### Social Organization Of Work In Different Societies:

##### SLAVES/FEUDAL/INDUSTRIAL/CAPITALIST:

Sociological study involves understanding at 2 levels-macro and micro.

- **At macro level:** how is work organized among different sections of population and how is it influenced by social factors—broad distinction made between traditional and modern society. **Keyword - Adapco**
  - **Traditional society:** slave and feudal- -organization of work is simple, ascription based, collective orientation, affectivity, informal relation.
  - **Modern society:** capitalist- Organization of work is complex, formal, Achievement based, self-oriented, affective-neutral.
  - **MARX:** in both trad. + modern organization à dichotomy of haves and have nots à common exploitative process in both.
- **At microlevel:** specific aspects included within activities in terms of allocation, performances, consequences etc. **Keyword - Madras P**
  - **Major form of activity:**

- SLAVE: hunting and food gathering.
- FEUDAL: agriculture
- INDUSTRIAL: Factory system
- POST-INDUSTRIAL: service/information society
- **Source of power:**
  - SLAVE: tool ownership
  - FEUDAL: land ownership
  - INDUSTRIAL: capital ownership
  - POST-INDUSTRIAL: dispersion of power (information ownership)
- **System of stratification:** organization also influenced by patterning of social inequalities.
  - Traditional (slave feudal): ascribed, derived by heredity, caste driven [interdependent dimensions of caste, status, power i.e., if higher in caste will be higher in both status and power]
  - Modern: achievement oriented, innovation rewarded, rationalized society.
  - Independent dimension- class, status, power.
- **Nature of roles:**
  - **traditional** -> **social** expectations - few + simple. E.g., DURKHIEM à LOW MORAL DENSITY
  - **Modern**-> **social** expectations high + complex
- **Social mobility:**
  - traditional - less mobility
  - modern- open and numerous avenues
  - E.G., Sorokin a differentiated between Intergenerational and Genrational
- **Degree of alienation:**
  - Traditional - less
  - Modern- high
  - E.g., KARL MARX à Evolution of societies associated with increasing alienation.
- **Organization of production:**
  - traditional: simple d.o.l.
  - e.g., Durkhiem: Mechanical Solidarity
  - Modern: complex d.o.l + organic solidarity

### **Formal and informal organization of work.**

- **Formal organisation**

- Formal organizations represent those organizations which are characterized by a specific function, division of labour, a hierarchy of authority, rationality and 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 organisation**
  - 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, cooperation and companionship. The members of informal organizations work together not in their official capacities but as persons.

### **Keith Hart** - Characteristics of the informal sector:

- Low levels of skill. Workers have low levels of education, skills and engaged in jobs involving low technology.
- Easy entry
- Low paid employment
- The fourth characteristic of the informal sector, according to Hart is that it is largely composed of immigrant labour.

### **There are many different reasons for informal organization:**

- Informal standards: personal goals and interests of workers differ from official organizational goals.
- Informal communication: changes of communication routes within an enterprise due to personal relations between co-workers.
- Informal group: certain groups of co-workers have the same interests, or (for example) the same origin.
- Informal leaders: due to charisma and general popularity, certain members of the organization win more influence than originally intended.
- Different interests and preferences of co-workers.
- Different status of co-workers.
- Difficult work requirements.
- Unpleasant conditions of work.

### **Informal work**

- Much of the work done in the informal economy, for example, is not recorded in any direct way in the official **employment statistics**.

- **The term informal economy refers to transactions outside the sphere of regular employment,** sometimes involving the exchange of cash for services provided, but also often 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, provide goods and services which would otherwise have to be purchased

**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** 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 à**

- 1. in informal organized work – formal structure emerges.**
- 2. In formal organization – informal structure emerges.**

**3. (WITH TIME, the formal organization emerges from informal organization as a continuous process)**

**3) Explanation of reasons, benefits, organization of work.**

## Labour and society

Before we begin, it's good to understand -

- **DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LABOUR AND WORKER:**
  - Worker has choices regarding work but labour has either no choice or very limited choices.
  - Worker – employee-employer relation contractually defined but labour - ritual obligation, highly informal
  - In MARXIAN terms both are exploited but worker less and labour more.
- **DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INDUSTRIALISM AND CAPITALISM:**
  - Both historically associated but theoretically different.
  - Industrialism - Specific technological process for mass production of goods and services. E.g., Factory system- prod. Based on inanimate source of energy.
  - Capitalism abroad ideological process- defines relationship between ppl. engaged in particular process of production. It includes various elements like private ownership, profit motive, free market principle etc.



- Historically capitalism emerged along with industrialism in mod. Europe but nowadays capitalism permeates through each and every sphere of socio + eco. 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.
  - Labour driven by culture of society (By Malinowski)
    - **Evans Pritchard:** Study of Nuer Tribe (South Sudan)
    - Stereotypical role of men in warfare, production, rituals, sacrifices etc.
    - **Robert Redfield:** Peasant not expected to make profits. Surplus is deemed & to be distributed in Kins.
    - **Jajmani Relationship:** Each caste specialises in one kind of activity bringing co - operation & harmony.
  - 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 & wellbeing than collective wellbeing.
    - **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) Specialisation of work a capitalist construct. Individual left hopeless as he can't produce a complete thing using his labour.
  - **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.
  - **Effect of Religion on Labour**
    - Herbert Marcuse:
    - Classical Biblical convention:
      - ❖ Work given a sorrowful feeling.
      - ❖ Adam & Eve expelled from garden of Eden to work for their survival.

- **Protestant Thought:**
  - ❖ Man must work to justify his selection.
  - ❖ Work given a hopeful feeling to work.
- **Labour in Socialism**
  - **Marx & Lenin:** Labour compatible, harmonic & non - exploitative 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 into society & labour
- Attempting to understand this inequality in terms of exploitation of labour or participation of labour in decision making process of enterprises.

### A little Extra

- **Social Organization**
  - Social organization of work can also be understood at macro level as how work is organized among different 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 and
      - 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 of patterns of activities in terms of -
    - allocation

- performances
- consequences etc.
- Ex agriculture in feudal, mass production in industrial.

## 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 linked a 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 Cancelling out needs to broadcast her/ his decisions on various Social Media platforms 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 can have 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:

- **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.
- **Shun-Out Culture:** It is more serious. Here, an erring celebrity is called out on social media and 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 young adults, makes it one of the most influential movements in recent history.

### **The functions it serves:**

- **Accountability:** This and various other movements (like MeToo) demand greater accountability from public figures.
- **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 a livelihood.
- **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 the powerful elites.
- **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:**

- **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.”
- **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.
- **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.
- **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.
- **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:**

- Reforming the visible failures of established modes of justice.
- 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 (though with their own flaws) systems. 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.

## Chapter 7

### Politics and Society

#### 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.

## Theories of Power

### 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

- Characteristics of Elite
  - Strongest
  - Most energetic and
  - Most capable of good and evil
- Occupy higher stratum
  - Eco-wealthy
  - Political-rulers
  - Religion-most holy
  - Art-most artistic
  - Ethics-most virtuous
- **Higher stratum** comprises of
  1. **Governing** (ministers/secretaries)
  2. **Non-governing** elites

**Society degenerates** when **elites** occupy status **due to ascription** and not through achievement.

**Psychologically** human actions consist of:

1. **Residues** (major motivations-6)
2. **Derivatives** (elaboration of human action)



Elites are divided into (Taken from Machiavelli's anti thesis)

1. **Foxes:** Foxes have **vitality and imagination**, prefer **materialistic goals and strategy of emotional appeal** to **fraud**; replace **lions who lack manipulative skills**.
2. **Lions:** Lions are **conservative** elites who have **residue of persistence** (faith in ideology, group loyalty).

### 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**
  - Ruling class is divided into elites
    - Political power, Property
- **Ruled**
  - 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)

- **Oligarchy inevitable within democracy** as it is part of **technical and tactical necessity**.

- **Leadership class comes to dominate** power structure; it **controls access to info, centralise the power with little accountability.**
- Any **democratic attempt fails** because **leadership class rewards loyalty.**
- Elites have **three principles** which help in **bureaucratic structure:**
  - Need and specialization
  - Importance of psychological attributes
  - Utilizations of facilities by old elites

### 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.
  - **Elites occupy these.**
- However, **elites have no moral/psychological superiority.**
- 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.

## T.B. 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.

## Pluralist Theory of Power

Based on **functionalism** (Parsons) and classical pluralism with **emphasis on equilibrium, stability** and gradual change) society is **decentralized**.

- **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'.**

- **Neil Smelser:** Strain theory.
- **T. Parsons (Variable Sum):** Criticized Weber for constant sum of power.
- Power can **decrease and increase**.
  - For e.g. **modernity has raised lifestyle of all.**
  - It is **structural feature of society** and a **generalized facility or resource.**
  - It is **capacity to mobilize resources** for attainment of goals.
  - **Value consensus, goals are shared** and **power is used** to further collective goals.

### Parsonian Conception of Authority

- **Cooperation requires organization** and direction which necessitate position of command.
- **Western democracies are 'deposit' of power** and people can withdraw deposit in next elections.

### Max Weber (zero-sum)

**Aspect of social relationship** and present in social situation; **fixed amount** - *somebody's gain is somebody's loss.*

Differs from situation to situation.

**Three ideal types:**

- Charismatic
- Traditional
- Rational-Legal

**Sleepy Classes IAS**  
Awakening Toppers

### **Critique**

- **Steven Lukes** - Weber focuses excessively on the first face of power only.
- **Not all interest groups have equal power.** E.g. refugees.
- **Safe decisions are taken in disguise**

## Conflict Theories

### **Marxian**

- **Haves** (owners of production) have power like elites. **Coercive** power but accepted due to **false consciousness.**
- In **communist manifesto**, oppression of one class by other is political power.
- **Power is pervasive** which dominant class exercises in **every field** through dominant ideologies.

## Michel Foucault

### Book 'Power and Knowledge'

- Power not concentrated in one place or in the hands of particular individuals.
- Power is found in all social relationships and is not just exercised 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 'Madness and Civilization'

- Foucault says discourse is practice that systematically forms the objects of which they speak.
- 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 '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 'Power and Knowledge'

- 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 Bodies"**

## Michael Mann

### The Sources of Social Power

#### Nonexistence 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:**
  - That is **power over others.**
  - It is the **ability of individuals to get others to help them** to their own goals.
- **Connected power:**
  - 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:**
  - The **ability to organise large numbers of people over far-flung territories** in order to engage in minimally stable corporation.
  - Example - Major Religions.



- **Intensive Power:**

- 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
  - 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.
  - 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.
- T.B. Bottomore: Groups with divergent interest form political parties.

- 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.
- Sudipta 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
- Instability
- 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.

## 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

**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.

## **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 in 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."

## State

**Weber**: State is a "human community that successfully claims **monopoly** over **the legitimate use of physical force** within a given territory"

- Other groups might resort to violence, but they are termed as terrorists, or hooligans.

**Thomas Hobbes** - State exercises **Sovereignty**.

### **Machiavelli**

- 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**.

### **2 problems for contemporary States:**

- **Territorial**: Posed by **globalisation**.
- **Institutional**: Posed by blurring of boundary between **state and non-state private** organizations, civil society, NGO, voluntary organisations.

## 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**
  - Space between **public private is shrinking**
  - **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**
  - Capitalist don't run the state always, as state does not serve their interests
  - Operational autonomy of the state: capitalism cannot exist without non capitalist institutions; capitalism merely exercises dominance.
  - 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.
  - 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)
  - People submit due to fear of social ridicule.

### Nicos Poulantzas (Neo-Marxist)

- Emphasized importance of social structure and minimizes individual action (capitalist)
- Class origin does not matter, class position does
- 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)

## Globalisation and power of the nation-state

### 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 -NGOs)
- 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.

## 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:
  - **Civil** (individual freedom institutionalized in law)
  - **Political** (right to participate in exercise of political power and holding public office)
  - **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.

## 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

## 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 **education** 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 strata.
- **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

### Nation

- 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**
  - 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
  - Shared, formal educational system
  - Cultural homogenization
  - Central monitoring of polity, with extensive bureaucratic control
  - **Linguistic** standardization
  - **National identification as abstract** community
  - **Cultural similarity** as a basis for **political legitimacy**
  - **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**

## 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-d'état 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 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
  - As struggle between two classes
  - Conflict in mode of production
- Many believed that Revolution would occur where the social contradictions are more prominent.
  - 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)

## 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**
  - Delineate western CS from Indian.
  - 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
- 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
  - Public education activities
  - Giving voice to stake holders. For e.g. giving voice to Singur farmers in WB, and unorganised labour
  - Fuel debate about governance. For e.g. highlighting environmental issues.
  - Increasing transparency: Public scrutiny.
  - Increases public accountability: Civic groups can monitor the implementation and

effects of policies.

- Fosters legitimacy: Providing for interaction between people and the government, giving the government legitimacy
- **Caution**
  - Civil society can pursue anti-democratic goals
  - Employ antidemocratic means
  - 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.
- **Six parameters to judge quality of NGO**
  - People's participation
  - Cost effectiveness
  - Institutional/Environmental/ Financial sustainability
  - Accountability
  - Technical excellence
  - 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

# Protest, Agitation, Social movements, Collective Action, Revolution

## 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)
  - Duration
  - Ideology
  - Structure (under what structure is the collective action happening, Authoritative or Democratic)
  - Consequences
  - Objective
  - 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
- **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
  - 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

## How Social Movements get Institutionalised in Society (OIL)

- 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

- **Social** movements are **essentially collective** action (**Agitation** and **Protests** can be **individualised**)
- SM are **broader** in terms of influence and reach
- SM are **sustained** in nature
- SM are **non-institutional** in character
- SM are **preceded by Protests** and **Agitation**

Therefore, all SM are collective actions but not vice versa

## Social Movements In The Modern World

### **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.

## David Aberle

		Degree of Change	
		Partial	Total
Target of Change	Individual	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Redemptive</i>
	Society	<i>Reformative</i>	<i>Transformative</i>

## Charles Tilly

- Social movement 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

## On basis of Ideology

- Marxian
- Gandhian
- Feminist
- Anti-state
- Anti-Society
- Anti-Society

## Theories of Social movement

### 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 organization** → 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.

## Pierre Bourdieu The Concept of Symbolic Power

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 dominator**, it also requires the **dominated** 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 power.

## Resources Mobilisation Theory

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 economic 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.

## Social Movements in the Modern World

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- He identifies 4 dimensions of modernity-
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- According to Giddens SMs develop corresponding to these 4 dimensions-
  - Labour movements
  - Ecological movements
  - Free speech/ democratic movements
  - Peace
- Giddens believes ecological and peace movements are relatively new phenomenon which have come up with globalisation and more awareness.

## Bureaucracy

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 does agree that bureaucracy constitutes the **most efficient and (formally) rational way in which human activity can be organized**, and that thus is **indispensable to the modern world**.

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 bureaucratized 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:**
  - **Ethnocentric-** where **power resides in home country**

- **Polycentric-** where it is **shared** or
- **Geocentric-** where it's most **flexible**.

## Isaiah Berlin

### Backdrop

- His father has pulled his family out of Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution and fled to England
  - Personal freedom destructed in the new socialist states of Soviet Union and in the East

### Central Idea

- Personal freedom
  - "Should we be free to act as we wish and, if not, to what extent should we obey, and whom should we obey?"
- No single unique way of life.

### Details

- Liberty
  - Negative Liberty: Extent to which we are free from interference, i.e., the area or realm that a person or a group can enjoy without being coerced by another person, group or government
    - Hobbes in Leviathan "A free man is he that... is not hindered to do what he has a will to"
  - Positive Liberty: Freedom to be something or someone, "to be conscious of myself as a thinking, willing, active being, bearing responsibility for my choices and able to explain them by reference to my own ideas and purposes"
    - Berlin says, we are free to the degree that I believe this to be true and enslaved to the degree that I am made to realise that it is not
    - Although the idea seems laudable but Berlin takes it to its logical conclusion: This idea gives rise to "self-mastery" ethic (become true or higher self to fully realise one's potential).
    - But this could lead to situations where it is justified to coerce others to take steps for greater public good
    - It may prove to be a license to "bully, oppress, torture" others in the name and on behalf of their 'real' selves
  - T.H. Green says "The ideal of true freedom is the maximum of power for all members of human society alike to make the best of themselves"
    - Berlin argues that many a tyrant could use this formula to justify his worst acts of oppression

- True freedom, as per Kant, revolves around the belief that “Nobody may compel me to be happy in his own way”
- While positive liberty is invoked to create a certain kind of person, supporters of negative liberty know that the perfection of humanity is a dangerous myth, however well-meaning, it inevitably leads to illiberal and usually nasty outcomes
- Rational Society
  - Spinoza, Hegel, Marx all assumed that in a rational society the human lust for power and domination would fade away
  - Rational society → everyone wants greater good, no need for coercion
  - Engels expressed the same view when he writes about “replacing the government of persons by the administration of things”
- In place of naked power, a rational society has laws, which although they may impede and restrict at an individual level, benefit the whole
  - **Locke:** Where there is no law there is no freedom
  - **Montesquieu, Kant and Burke:** Political liberty is not permission to do what we want, but the power and means to “do what we ought to” within a rational social structure
  - **Rights of man** in 18thC: idea was that liberation and law are same → rational laws have authority of God, nature or history
  - We need state and its laws to shape us toward timeless values and productive ends and away from our irrational and base desires and instincts
  - Berlin agrees with Fichte’s statement “No one has rights... against reason”
    - He notes that if one follows the rational view to its end, “There can be only one correct way of life”
    - Wise people follow this way naturally, rest has to be shoe-horned into it for their own good
      - Also, the rationale behind Plato’s enlightened class (Guardians)
    - Berlin points out the problem that this view only makes sense when it is presumed that we are rational and that those who don’t agree are not
- **Berlin’s Assumptions of the Rational Model**
  - Everyone has **one true purpose: rational self-direction**
  - **Ends of rational beings must fit into a single universal, harmonious pattern**
  - **All conflict and tragedy solely due to clash of reason with irrational**
  - **When everybody is rational, they will obey rational laws of their own natures, so will be wholly law-abiding and wholly free**
- **But Berlin notes the following caveats**
  - If I can see and appreciate what is true, then I have the authority to shape and control

your life

- "Sovereignty of the people" in the French Revolution didn't mean more freedom for Individuals
- **Mill** wrote of the "**tyranny of majority**" as being **little different** from any **other kind of tyranny**.
- For French philosopher Benjamin Constant, the real question was not who was in power, but how much power any government should have.
- If one kind of slavery was voluntary, it still amounted to the same reduction of personal liberty.
- Berlin observes that **contemporary philosophers have gone out of their way to separate politics and philosophy**, yet the **reality is that politics is "indissolubly intertwined" with every kind of philosophizing**.
  - *If we do not appreciate the power of political belief, some of these beliefs will inevitably go uncriticised and unnoticed – until it is too late*

## Conclusion

- Berlin was not against all social and political movements that seek to improve the lot of humankind
- What he was against was "**the belief that some single formula can in principle be found whereby all the diverse ends of men can be harmoniously realised**"
- Kant believes there is no value higher than that of the individual. Berlin also puts it that *to manipulate men, to propel them towards goals which you – the social reformer – see, but they may not, is to deny their human essence, to treat them as objects without wills of their own, and therefore to degrade them... to behave as if their ends are less ultimate and sacred than my own*
- **Lord Acton said, freedom is an end in itself**
  - As **J.S. Mill** puts forth, there will be **millions of experiments in living** which will take place, many of which will fail, but at least **those who fail will learn their own lessons**.
  - The **problem with grand unifying visions** of humanity or absolute theories is **that they do not take account of people as they actually are rather than how we might like them to be**
- We are on **safer ground when freedom is made the highest value**.

## Paul Kennedy

- History is full of **great powers whose military and geopolitical ambitions and commitments could not be sustained**; at a certain point, they simply **could no longer afford** what the Romans called **Imperium**.

- Kennedy in 1987 suggested that the **US might be simply another example** of an age-old pattern of “**imperial overstretch**”
  - Its decline relative to other powers was clear, and the **task of policy-makers was simply to manage it well.**
- There always seems to be a **time lag between a nation becoming wealthy and the point at which its political and military influence increases.**
- **Great powers in relative decline** instinctively **respond by spending more on ‘security’** and thereby **divert potential resources from ‘investment’** and compound their long-term dilemma.
- **Around 1500 there were several power centres** around the world: **Ming China, Ottoman Empire, Mogul Empire** in India, **Muscovy, Tokugawa** Japan, and the cluster of states in central-western Europe.
  - The problem with all the non-European powers is that they were illiberal. Not only did they require uniformity in religious belief, commerce and weapons development only happened with the consent of the ruler.
  - In contrast, Europe had no overarching ruler, and the constant warring between kingdoms and city-states only encouraged the development of military technology, which spilled over into other technological developments.
    - Competition also encouraged an entrepreneurial culture that helped to create wealth.
- After Napoleon’s bid to dominate Europe came to an end in 1815, the rest of the century was characterised by relative stability and peace.
  - **America and Russia** were focused on **domestic instability** and developing their huge landmasses
  - **Britain** was able to **achieve naval domination** and extend its commercial and colonial interests while achieving industrial power at home
- **Kennedy does not claim that economics alone drives** world events.
- **Geography, national morale, alliances** and other factors can all affect the relative power of nations within the state system.
- The **need to divert investment away from “butter” toward “guns” leads any great power to the “downward spiral** of slower growth, heavier taxes, deepening domestic splits over spending priorities and weakening capacity to bear the burdens of defense”.
- He sees **America in the late 1980s as being similar to Britain in 1914: an apparently unassailable** great power about to have an uncomfortable reckoning.
  - He **warns of a “multipolar” world** in which US and Soviet dominance is giving way to a rapidly **developing Eastern sphere** and an **industrialising Third World.**



- The cost of maintaining superpower status is so substantial that, even if this power is retained, it is an obstacle to continued economic dominance compared to other rising powers.
  - Unconstrained by the need for huge military spending, China has been able to focus on commercial enrichment, which has now set it up to become a major military power if it wishes to.
- Ability to defend a nation is usually a short-term need, whereas economic growth is a long-term requirement of national power and it can be hard to balance both.
  - The heart of Kennedy's argument is that there is a tension between strategic security, which requires significant diversion of the nation's resources, and economic security, which depends on growth and high demand, both of which can be eroded by the higher taxation needed for substantial defense spending.
- **On US**
  - US defense spending is quite affordable given that the country is still way ahead of China in terms of technology and education, and that America cannot be seen as a top-heavy military power with a weakening economic base – the classic profile of empire-fallers according to Kennedy.
  - Recent studies suggest that China will not match American in economic output for another 20 years. Chinese economic power is already held back by authoritarian rule and corruption, but even if the country were to become increasingly liberal, history suggests that democratic transitions are accompanied by falling growth rates.
- The combination of American economic resilience and Chinese political fragility may well prove Kennedy's thesis about American decline to have been wrong

## F.A. Hayek

### Background

- He considered himself a **child of the Austro-Hungarian empire**, and **watched aghast as Hitler rose** to power in Germany and then, in 1938, annexed Austria.
- **Fearing that Britain would experiment with the same kinds of anti-freedom ideas** that has led to regimes like Hitler's National-Socialism and the propaganda of Soviet Union, he resolved to expose the link between "planned" economies and political repression.
  - His book *The Road to Serfdom* made the shocking assertion that countries including Britain and the US could easily slide into totalitarianism, not by revolution but through good-intentioned steps toward greater organisation of the economy.
  - Ronald Regan, Margaret Thatcher, Milton Friedman, and the leaders of central Europe's post-Soviet revolutions were all deeply influenced by Hayek.

### The roots of oppression

- Hayek makes an express link between planned economies and totalitarianism
  - Right from the Italian city states to industrial Britain, it was the growth of commerce that allowed people to be freed of the hierarchical society in which birth alone

determined position in life.

- Economic liberty begetting ever greater political freedom was the process that fueled the power and wealth of the West.
- Yet the very success of liberalism was the basis of its decline
  - Though it had lifted up most of Europe, greater prosperity created ever more ambition and desire, so it was easy to blame the existing system as a failure
  - In reality, to paraphrase Franklin Roosevelt, it was not that free enterprise had failed, but that it had not yet been properly tried
  - Attempting to provide more freedom for those without it, brought with it less freedom for the whole, and thus a gradual erosion of the traditions of the individualist, liberal West.

## Truth about Planning

- Hayek defines socialism as a species of collectivism in which “the entrepreneur working for profit is replaced by a central planning body”
  - Attractions of planning: We are rational people → we want to plan rather than leaving things to fate
  - Yet problems arise with how we go about this. Socialists say we need central direction, while Liberals seek a system that allows the free forces of competition to achieve the same good ends, but with the least amount of coercion.
    - Advocates of central planning claim that it is “necessary” because an economy is so complex that it needs guidance by the state.
    - Yet Hayek says that precisely the opposite is true: The greater the complexity, the more impossible it is to get an overview of what is happening.
    - Development is best achieved through decentralisation.

Thus, according to Hayek, societies flourish when people are free to make their own decisions based on available information, including prices.

- To sum up
  - The wish to organise all of society’s resources for a definite social end sounds good, but in one stroke it ends personal freedom and demonstrates a lack of faith in individuals’ ability to achieve the “social ends” for which socialists call.

## Socialism and the rule of law

- Hayek notes that under the rule of law by which liberal societies operate, laws “are intended for such long periods that it is impossible to know whether they will assist particular people more than others”
  - In planned society, it is not left up to future or unknown people to allocate resources; rather, certain priorities are decided to exist, which identify gainers and losers.



- This is the difference between –
  1. providing the rules of the road in a Highway Code
  2. telling people where to travel
- The key point about rule of law is that it safeguards equality
  - It assumes that no one is going to be treated better because of their status or connections.
  - Hayek admits that rule of law does nothing to protect against economic inequality, yet neither is it designed to benefit particular people in particular ways
  - As soon as laws are designed for “distributive justice” some people are put above others; even if done with good intentions, it inevitably leads to the destruction of the rule of law.
- The rule of law does not mean simply that a society is run according to law, but that the powers of government itself are circumscribed by a constitution or laws set well in advance of its coming to power.

## Planned economies and totalitarianism

- Defenders of planned economy say that planning “only” applies to the economy; if we give up control in this aspect, we will be provided for to pursue, higher things in life.
  - However, economic striving is never a “secondary” aspect of our lives, Hayek observes, but rather our fundamental means to achieve heartfelt goals and live out certain values.
- The real question is not whether a planned economy will give us what we want or need, but whether it takes away our freedom to decide what is important or desirable.
  - “Mere” direction of the economy can end up shaping the sort of life we can live
    - In a planned economy, we may work for years to buy something, only to find that the state does not consider it worthy and bans it, or it is simply unavailable because of other production priorities.
- Those in charge of planned economies always maintain that there will be freedom to choose one’s occupation, but the reality is that economic direction requires certain jobs, industries and sectors to be more important than others which means that access to other fields will be more difficult or restricted, or offer little opportunity
  - Instead, everyone will be judged according to their fitness for certain defined categories of work.
  - One will no longer work to fulfil one’s own interests or potential, but become merely a means toward achieving “the good of all”

## Freedom v. Economic security

- In planned economy, the biggest problem is incentives for people to do their best
  - If your position does not depend on your skills or imagination, but on the state’s

judgement of the job's importance, it will not really matter whether you work harder or smarter, since it yields no particular gain to you

- When multiplied with the whole population we have a society whose productivity is well below what it could be
- Moreover, when everyone is assured of a job under some national program of "economic security", what matters most is not the quality or need for those jobs, but the fact that everyone has some kind of occupation
  - In a competitive economy, where there is less economic security there is much more incentive for you to retrain or study to make yourself more employable.
- In a competitive economy, Hayek notes, failure can end with the bailiff (bankruptcy), whereas in a planned economy it can end with the hangman
  - Trotsky (1937): In a country where the sole employer is the State, opposition means death by slow starvation. The old principle: who does not work shall not eat, has been replaced by a new one: who does not obey shall not eat.
- In a society in which economic security is considered more important than freedom, freedom itself becomes mocked, since it is worthless in providing "the good things of this earth"
  - In these circumstances people will happily sacrifice liberty for security.
- Hayek was not against some form of welfare state
  - Extreme privatisation should be protected against but economic security should not trump freedom as society's basic value.

### To sum up

- Faced with a choice of a reasonably liberal dictatorship or a democracy where the state is involved in every aspect of the economy and society, Hayek said he would choose the former
  - In his case study of Chile, a democracy does not imply real, personal and economic liberty. Indeed, the price controls and nationalisation of private businesses that occurred under the elected government were an assault on the basic freedoms of exchange and ownership
  - Economic freedom may seem less subtle, yet it is crucial if we are to preserve open societies as well as healthy economies.

## Chapter 8

### 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.

### Various 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

#### Functionalists - Yinger

- **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**.

#### Functionalists - 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.

### Functionalists - Malinowski

**Malinowski** – Trobriand Islands, New Guinea.

- Religion promotes social solidarity by **dealing with situations of emotional stress** that threaten the stability of society

**Parsons** – Religion gives norms, that control human action.

- Religion helps provide the consensus that he believes is necessary for order and stability in society.

### Criticism:

#### **Status Quoist**

- It ignores the dysfunctions of religion.
- Many instances where it is seen as a divisive or disruptive force.
- Little consideration to hostilities between religions.

### Functionalists - 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.**
- A salient force in fighting for civil rights and easing poverty.

### Marxist

- Religion is an illusion which **eases the pain** produced by exploitation and oppression (**opiate** of the masses).

- It makes life bearable and dilutes demand for change.
- Acts as a mechanism of social control and promoting dominating ideologies by maintaining the existing system of exploitation, reinforcing class relationships.
- Example: Caste system in India justified by Hindu religious beliefs, divine right theory in medieval Europe.

### Criticism

- Religion does not always legitimize the powerful.
- It can sometimes provide an impetus for change.
- Religion did not die out in Communism as Marx predicted.

### Engels

#### Social change -

- Religion played role in effecting revolutionary social change (early Christian sects that opposed Roman Rule)

### 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.

### 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)

## 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.
- **Stark and Bainbridge** - Sects can be seen as a possible **response to relative deprivation.**



## Religion, Sect and Cults

### 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 thd 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.

## Sects

- **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 marginalisation)

- 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).

### Three types:

- Audience cults- least organized and have little face to face interaction,
- Client cults- more organized and offer services to their followers,
- Cult Movements- more followers and try to satisfy all the religious needs of their followers.
- 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.**

### **Weber and Troeltsch - Differentiated between Sect and Cult**

<u>Sect</u>	<u>Cult</u>
Strict Membership	Voluntary
Dissent	Not necessarily
Not necessarily in modern societies	In modern societies
Attracts large crowds	Smaller in size
	Often have magico-religious character
Uniquely Legitimate	Pluralistically Legitimate

### **Ray Wallis -**

	<u>Respectable</u>	<u>Deviant</u>
<u>Uniquely Legitimate</u>	Church	Sect
<u>Pluralistically Legitimate</u>	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.

### 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 and Science

**Historical –**

- **Renaissance:** Arrival of science to cause departure of religion from public sphere.

### Commonalities

- **Understanding:** Both religion and science are forms of human understanding. Both are COGNITIVE.
- **Curiosity-** Both attempts to satisfy the curiosity by presenting answers to various questions put forward by people.
- **Cooperation:** Religion is more collectively oriented than science, but science too emphasises team-spirit and co-operation of the scientific community.
- **Personnel:** Both religion and science prescribe qualifications for their personnel.
- **Coming together-** Science got legitimacy with rise of protestant ethics.
- **Wars:** On many occasions in the past as well as present, in many a war, science and religion have acted against humankind.

### Differences

- **Experimentation:** “Science is taken on face value through experimentation whereas religion is taken on faith value.”
- **Precision and measurement:** Science believes in precision and measurement, which is not possible for religion.
- **Application:** Scientific knowledge has more concrete application in the form of technology, which might help in manipulating nature. Religion cannot establish such concrete and immediate results.

- **Universalism:** Scientific knowledge and method are valid universally, whereas principles of religious life differ from society to society.
- **Pitirim Sorokin-** Religion based on unquestionable faith but science based on questionable thesis.
- Religion not only cognitive but also moral. Tells right from wrong.
- Science makes no such attempt.

## 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 industrialisation, 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

## Secularization

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 religion 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.

**Max Weber** claims that **Industrial society** is characterized by **rationalisation and intellectualization**.

Thus, the term **secularization** has been used in many different ways.

## 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.**

## 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.
- He gives the example of Christians in USA and Europe, Jews in Israel and Muslims along the world to support his case.
- Since 1978 in France rechristianisation of society by Catholic charismatic groups.
- In USA - Evangelical new Christian right attracting Americans to reassert Christian values.
- Israel - Lubavitch campaigned against the watering down of traditional Jewish beliefs.
- Islamisation movements have had success in many parts of the world. Example in Algeria, Iran.
- Palestine - Radical Islam groups such as Hamas have been prominent in opposing Israeli occupations of West Bank.
- **Gilles Kepel** also points to the Salman Rushdie affair.
- The campaign by British Muslims against Rushdie's book The Satanic Verses indicates Islamic values continue to be important even in western Europe.
- 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*

## Conclusion

- **Jose Casanova**, thus, believes that in **contemporary Societies** of world **religious beliefs and practices** are **not dying** out but have **increasingly re-entered public sphere**.
- Therefore, it can be concluded that **though religion no longer has a central position** in the structure of modern society it has not faded away and **religion remains a significant force though in new and unfamiliar forms**.

## 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 rootlessness** 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 reconstitute 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.

### 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 of **Holy War** (jihad).
- **Unfortunately**, many mainstream Muslims are wrongly identified as Islamists, when in fact 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.

### Conclusion

- The **challenge for the modern Muslim nations** lies in achieving a balance to return to the fundamental religious values conducive to the Welfare of society rather than those that obstruct it.
- The strength of **religious fundamentalism** is another indication that secularization has not triumphed in the modern world.

## Summaries of Christophe Jaffrelot's 3 Important articles on Religion

### No room for liberal doubt

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/sabarimala-temple-women-entry-protests-bjp-5454465/>

### The choice in Sabarimala is clear:

- It's ethno-religious political entrepreneurs vs Social reform.

### Three historical-constitutional variables in order to look at present situation with a clearer perspective:

- **Reformers are lonely figures -**
  - Reformers have always had to face opposition when they stood against socio-religious traditions.
  - Ex - Rammohan Roy (sati), Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (widow remarriage), Mahatma Gandhi(untouchability).
- **liberals who are uncertain about the right attitude -**
  - Some liberals who are uncertain about the right attitude in the Sabarimala case assume that the people's opposition is spontaneous.
  - But one needs to distinguish between PURE CONSERVATIVES, who believed in Sanaatan Dharma like Madan Mohan Malaviya, from traditionalists who defended ancient practices in terms of identity politics like Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

#### (Excerpt:

- Tilak's worldview is well reflected in the controversy around the Age of Consent Bill – a bone of contention similar to the Sabarimala affair. At the end of the 19th century, western India debated the issue of legislating on the age of consent for consummation of marriages.
  - While reformers including Jyotirao Phule were in favour of a law to abolish child marriage, Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik and Tilak were not – for two different reasons. The former, like the Sanatanists, considered that child marriage should continue because the shastras allowed such practices. Tilak offered a different perspective.
  - On one hand, he argued in 1881 that “every son of Aryavarta must toil hard to see this custom eradicated”; on the other, he refused any change to tradition.
  - “We would not like that Government should have anything to do with regulating our social customs or ways of living, even supposing that the Act of Government will be a very beneficial and suitable measure.” (Tilak preferred to mobilise the people against the reforms he approved of, in order to promote his political agenda).
  - Today, it is apparent that the same was being done by various Hindu organisations in Sabarimala affair.
- **Openly opposed a decision of Supreme Court -**
    - Besides politicising a religious issue, Hindutva forces have openly opposed a decision of Supreme Court, same thing is happening in Ayodhya case (demand of law to build ram temple).
    - In both the Sabarimala and Ayodhya cases, what is at stake is prestige and authority of the SC vis -a-vis entrepreneurs in identity politics who use traditions in order to mobilise and polarise people.

# Summaries of Christophe Jaffrelot's 3 important articles on Religion

## Hindu Rashtra, de facto

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/hindu-rashtra-de-facto-bjp-rss-gau-rakshak-mob-lynching-5301083/>

- 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 - Gaa 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.



- 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, all the more so as the ruling BJP is part of the Sangh Parivar.
- This shift from a neutral state to an ideological Hindu Rashtra illustrates a form of violent majoritarianism that can be observed in all countries where vigilantes bring minorities to heel with the more or less tacit agreement of shadow forces that share their biases or ideology (the relationship between white supremacists' militias and the police in the US could provide other examples).
- If the executive, legislature or judiciary do not effectively oppose lynchings, India may remain a rule-of-law country only on paper and, in practice, a de facto ethno-state.

## Summaries of Christophe Jaffrelot's 3 important articles on Religion

### Coalition Country

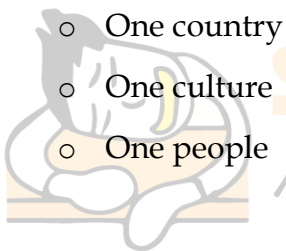
<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/coalition-country-united-opposition-bjp-2019-lok-sabha-elections-5229461/>

- The late Ravinder Kumar, (director of the Nehru Memorial Museum 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 has 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 nation-state rooted in the exclusivist triad:



**Sleepy Classes IAS**  
Awakening Toppers

## Chapter - 9

### 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.

#### 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 b/w 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

#### 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. **Conjugal or Companionate**: 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)

### Can also be based on -

- Descent (patri, matri bilateral- ex nairs of Malabar and khasis of Meghalaya are matrilineal).
- Residence (Matri, patri , neo, duo local, Avunco).
- Authority (patriarchy, matriarchy, filiocentric).
- Name (patronymic, metronymic).
- Conjugal and Consanguineal.

### 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 led to **growth in extended family** due to requirement of help.
- **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

### 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 provides 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 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, diety 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.

**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 Grandfather - Great Grandson

- 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.

	<u>Direct</u>	<u>Shared</u>	
<u>Sexuality (Mates)</u>	<u>Spouses</u>	<u>Co-spouses</u>	<u>Ties of Affinity (conjugal)</u>
<u>Genes (Descent)</u>	<u>Lineals (Generations vertical)</u>	<u>Collaterals Filial/Horizontal</u>	<u>Ties of Consanguine</u>

- 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.

## Unilineal Descent

Only one line recognised.

1. Male line – Patrilineal Descent
2. Female line – Matrilineal Descent (Nayars, Kerla)

## Why Patrilineal descent is more prevalent than Matrilineal

### Robin Fox's Theory (Anthropologist)

4 conditions every kin group 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 & property 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.

Patriliney & 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:
  - **Na's of China, Nayars of Kerala:** - **Visiting husbands**, not even social father's
  - **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 and 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.**

**Other types:**

- **Double Unilineal Descent:** Both sides recognised but unequally & asymmetrically. One line - Movable Property. Other line - Immovable Property (Yako of Nigeria).
- **Ambilineal Descent:** Choose any line. Choice of individual (Samoa, Margret Mead studied).
- **Parallel Descent:** Sons inherit from father, Daughter inherit from Mother. (Saha Tribe).

**Descent Groups:**

- **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

Groups formed on the basis of Unilineal Descent (Patri or Matri).

**Clans:**

- Subdivided into smaller groups called Lineages.
- These are Unilineal descent groups.

**Groups formed on the basis of Bilateral Descent:**

- **Kindered:** Kins from both father's, mother's sides.

- Clans & Lineages are exogamous in nature.
- Because: Clan – Descent from a common ancestor (Survivorships Yaduvanshi, etc).
- Lineage – Descended from a real ancestor - Relation depends upon which ancestor is chosen. (Helps in determining claim over immovable property. Also, subcastes, if any).

## 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 management.

#### 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 Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, due to 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)

## Cross-Cousin Marriage

- Cross – cousins 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 marriage is prohibited as well.

## Functions of Marriage

1. **Biological** (sexual urges)
2. **Social** – Procreation
3. **Cultural** – Transmission of values
4. **Economic** – Inheritance
5. **Psychological** – Emotional expressions, bonding

In India: Marriage is a ‘Dharma’ as well

## Trends in Marriage

1. Divorce – Ease of law by women
2. Separation
3. Empty shell decreasing

## Q. Describe Importance of Lineage and Descent in Kinship and Family.

Answer:

- 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.

### **Lineage:**

- It is the principle based upon which inheritance is chosen.
- Example: Patrilineage, Matrilineage.
- It refers to a particular type of kin group in which a member has a common ancestor whose identity is known.

### **Descent:**

- It is the principle whereby a child is socially affiliated with the group of his/her parents.

## Importance in kinship and family:

### Functions of Descent Groups: (mostly in simple societies)

- Marriage Regulation (rules of exogamy).
- Economic cooperation (Loans).
- Land held in common (villages belonging to a particular Lineage).
- Agricultural cooperation on field (during sowing, harvesting).
- Religious practices (Kul devatas).
- Solidarity during death.
- Celebrations during child birth, marriage, other events, etc.
- Political Cohesion.
- Dispute resolution by Lineage head (Panchayats).
- Legacy (good name commanded by a group).

### Now:

- Kindered groups are rising because of advent of specialised industrialised societies.

### Kindered active in:

- Celebrations
- Mourning
- Loans
- Babysitting
- Network for accessing business opportunities & job opportunities.
- Helping hand in faraway places.

(Descent group now becoming a kindered group).

Lineage has important place in kinship and family system.

Family is the smallest descent group compared to lineage.

Some tribes in Northeast India and some communities in South India are matrilineal while patrilineal society is mostly found.

## Patriarchy & Sexual DOL

### Men Achieve and Maintain

- Social
- Cultural
- Economic Dominance over females.
- Within & outside family



## **Patriarchy**

- Term introduced by **Weber**.
  - But with a **different meaning** of rule exercised **by father or male head**.
- Otherwise, it means **authority and dominance of males** over various aspects of existence.
- It includes authority over both public + private spheres of Life.

## **Sexual DOL**

- **Segregation of work based on genders**.
- Where **men are mostly given public roles & women are mostly given private (domestic) roles**.

## **Why SDOL: Various Theories**

### **Socio Biologists: Biological Reasons**

Difference in brains:

- Men
  - Spacio - visual skills
- Women
  - Developed Linguistic skills

**Different talents to do different tasks.**

**Problem: No conclusive evidence.**

### **Socio Biologists: Evolutionary Reasons**

**Evolution: (Robin Fox)**

- SDOL result of millions of years of adaptation.
- Men: Hunters | Women: Child bearing + rearing

**Difference in body types to do different tasks.**

- Men more suited for outside, muscular tasks.

### **Socio Biologists: Functional Reasons**

**Murdoch:**

- SDOL is the Most convenient way of organising tasks.
- Studied 250 societies.

**Parsons:**

- Females more expressive. Do adult personality stabilisation.
- **Delinquency studies:** delinquency became of lack of motherly support.

## Socio Biologists: Feminist Theories

**Feminist Theories:** criticising S.D.O.L.

- **Jessie Bernard:** criticises Parson. Not adult personality stabilisation but male personality stabilisation.
- **Ann Oakley :** criticised Murdoch. Incorrect to say women unsuitable for public tasks.
- **India:** Construction site workers mainly women
- **Pygmy's:** No post-natal dependence on men.
- **Israel:** Large participation of women in army.

SDOL socially created.

## 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**.

### Margaret Mead - 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**.
  - 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's Theory

### Shulamith Firestone

Shulamith Firestone wrote 'Dialectics 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**.

Also,

- Labour Market → 2 types of Labour

Primary	Secondary
High Income	Low Income
Promotions	Unstable work, Part time
Prestige	Low status
Dominated by men	Confined to women.

- 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**.

## Indian Case

**Lack of entitlement → Economic dependence .**

This often finds legitimacy from **Manusmriti**, other religious texts.

- **1937** → Right of widows to seek claim in husband's property
- **1956** → Daughter equal co-heir with the son. But daughters have to seek, sons were natural.
- **2006** → Both natural heirs of property.

But strong filial ties refrain women from dragging brothers to court of law.

## 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 Glass-Elevators**) (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

### Sylvia Welby

#### Book: 'Theorising Patriarchy'

1. **Different emoluments** to women employers (Part of **Public Patriarchy**)
2. **Idea of beauty** purely from Male point of view (even inflicting painful procedures)
3. Male's control over **female's sexuality** (virginity, chastity of females as a virtue)
4. Women primary source of **domestic labor** (unpaid, unrecognised)
5. **Violence**: private, public, workplace, mental, physical

### Changes in Patriarchy

1. Increasing **ease of divorce**
2. **Decreasing stigma** of divorce
3. Men more interested in child rearing & household management
4. Increasing **educational statuses of women**.
5. Better **state protection & facilities**.

## Chapter 10

# Social Change in Modern Society

### 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.

## Various Theories

### 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 compound; Trebly compound.)

**Durkheim** – (Mechanical Solidarity to Organic Solidarity)

#### Spencer: -

- Adopted organismic analogy to explain society.
- Progressive increase in size
- Followed by increase in differentiation & integration
- Higher the differentiation & Integration, higher the evolutionary stage.
- These theories considered Europe to be most advanced
- The idea faded after Europe fought most savage wars, WW1 & WW2.

### 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

### Evolutionary/Linear theories

- Consistent in direction.
- When final stage reached → evolution ends.
- **Herbert Spencer**: Applies **social Darwinism** – simple to complex
- **August Comte**: Explains change as the outcome of man's intellectual development. He said that this intellectual 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.
- Pre-literate
- 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, un-patterned, but evolutionary process of cumulative change is predominant pattern.
- Cumulative changes- 2 ways
  - Innovation and selection.
  - Innovation produces new variations & selection decides which variation should lead.
- Both processes happen at 2 levels- @ level of individual society and at world system.
- Portray course of evolution as progressive- freedom, justice, equality, happiness etc.

### 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

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 trends 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.

## Cyclical Theories

Assumption: - societies revolve in cycles, repetitively.

- Oswald Spengler -
  - Birth/- Growth/ - Decay/ - Death
  - This is inevitable
  - Quoter Roman civilisation
  - Very close to ancient hindu theory of Yuga.

- Vilfredo Pareto –
  - Focus on political changes, particularly elites.
  - History is circulation of elites.
  - Elites 2 types – Lions / Foxes. Keep circulating.
- Pitrim Sorokin –
  - Very systematic theory.
  - Cultures into 3 distinct types.
    - Ideational
    - Idealist
    - Sensate
  - With reference to the mode of perception of reality.
- Ideational culture: importance to spiritualism, mysticism.
- Sensate: Importance to Science, Senses to understand reality.
- Idealist: An ideal culture, combines above 2.
- These 3 types succeed one – another in cycles.
- Gave 2 principles:
  - Main thrust for change comes from within the system.
  - There is a definite limit to change.

### Marxian Theory

- 5 stages of historical Materialism.
- Class struggle as motor of social change.
- Conflict brings change when time is right.
- Economic determinism.

### Max Weber

- Conflict can be good.
- PE & SC.
- Change because of cultural forces.

### Diffusionist Theory: R. Redfield, M. Singer, McKim Marriott.

- Source of change is outside the society.
- Change begins with culture.
- Cultural contact could lead to:

- Assimilation (America).
- Acculturation (India – westernisation).
- Rejection (Tribes).

**Mal Integration Theory:** Neil Smanner, RK Marton.

- With time dysfunctions | incompatibilities in Society.
- Causing structural strain.
- Collective mobilisation, social movements & thus, social change.

**Cultural Lag Theory:** burn & Nimk off

- Culture into 2 parts:
  - Material -> Technology & other material goods.
  - Non – material -> 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 Cleland.

- Certain broad patterns emerge while modernising.
- E.g.
  - Agri -> 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 Kelr, 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 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 →
  - Established Patterns
  - Values
  - Structure of Society

### **Objectives of Education**

- Pursuit of man to know himself and the universe and to relate himself with the social world
- Building bridges b/w past and future
- Accelerating the process of human progress
- Integral growth of personality traits like intelligence, skill, etc.
- 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

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## 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 person literate**
- **Reducing** number of **drop-outs**
- Present **examination system** needs to be **improved**

### Education plays both consecutive & Radical role -

- **Steve Lukes** : 3rd Power promoted through education.
- **Marx** : Promotes dominant class ideology.
- **Karl Mannheim** : Education need to be critical.



## Educational 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, Sex Workers
- **Religion** → **Sachar** committee, **Ranganath** Mishra Committee - Muslims denied entry in schools because of their religion.

## 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: More awareness towards conservation e.g. Chipko movement
- **Technological** change: Improved Access to education, better media of communication etc.
- **Ideological** change: Anti-superstitious movements in Maharashtra.

## 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).

## Criticism of Modern Education

- **Althusser** - Education used as **state's apparatus** to propagate its ideology (Ideological state apparatus)
- **12th FYP - Universality without Quality** (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 Elites
- **AR Desai** - Education Promoting Status-quoism.
- **New Education Policy** - Promoting Cultural Heritage, Values - Contains vague terms

## Quotable Govt Actions

- **RTE**
- **SSA**
- **MDM**
- **RHS**
- **RUSA**
- **Articles 15**
- **DPSP**
- **Dr. Ambedkar** → witnessed mobility because of education.

## 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

- 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.

## 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 un-development.**

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 un-development 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 on 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 begins 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.
- One, "**The Admiral**", was set in the fictional land of Anchuria, a "small, maritime banana republic".
- It is clear that the **steamy, dysfunctional Latin republic** he described is based on **Honduras**.
- It refers to the **fruit companies from the United States** that came to **exert extraordinary influence over the politics of Honduras** and its neighbours.
- Giants such as the **United Fruit Company (UFC)** moved in and built roads, ports and railways in return for land.
- In 1911 the Cuyamel Fruit Company, another American firm (which was later bought by United Fruit Company), **supplied the weapons for a coup against the government of Honduras**, and prospered under the newly installed president.
- In 1954 America's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) backed a coup against the government of Guatemala, which had threatened the interests of UFC.
- It thus means a country in which foreign enterprises push the government around or "**a small**



nation, especially in Central America, dependent on one crop or the influx of foreign capital”

- Theotonio Dos Santos described a "new dependency".
- Which focused on both the internal and external relations of less-developed countries of the periphery, derived from a Marxian analysis.
- Former Brazilian President **Fernando Henrique Cardoso** wrote extensively on **dependency theory** while in political exile during the 1960s, arguing that it was **an approach to studying the economic disparities between the centre and periphery**.

**Cardoso summarized** his version of dependency theory as follows:

- There is a **financial and technological penetration by the developed capitalist centers** of the countries of the periphery and semi-periphery
- This **produces an unbalanced economic structure both within the peripheral societies and between them and the centers**
- This leads to **limitations on self-sustained growth in the periphery**.
- This **favors the appearance of specific patterns of class relations**.
- These **require modifications in the role of the state** to guarantee both the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance.

### 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**:

- **Auto-centric** or self-generating accumulation in the centre
- **Extraverted accumulation** in the periphery.

For the latter, this meant three “distortions” from central capitalism:

1. A crucial **distortion toward export activities, which absorb the major part of capital arriving from the center**.
2. A **distortion toward tertiary activities**, which arises both from the special contradictions of peripheral capitalism and from the original structures of the peripheral formations; and
3. A **distortion in the choices of branches of industry, toward light branches**, together with the utilization of modern techniques in these branches.

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.

## New Education Policy

### Introduction

- Recently, in the year 2020, India announced its third Education policy, after a gap of 34 years.
- In the year 1964, a 17-member Education Commission, headed by then UGC Chairperson D S Kothari, was constituted to draft a national and coordinated policy on education. Based on the suggestions of this Commission, Parliament passed the first education policy in 1968. The second education policy was released in the year 1986.
- The global education development agenda reflected in the Goal 4 (SDG4) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by India in 2015 - seeks to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” by 2030. Such a lofty goal will require the entire education system to be reconfigured to support and foster learning, so that all of the critical targets and goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development can be achieved.

### AIM

- This policy aims to address the many growing developmental imperatives of our country.
- This Policy proposes the revision and revamping of all aspects of the education structure, including its regulation and governance, to create a new system that is aligned with the aspirational goals of 21st century education, including SDG4, while building upon India’s traditions and value systems.

- The National Education Policy lays particular emphasis on the development of the creative potential of each individual.
- It is based on the principle that education must develop not only cognitive capacities - both the 'foundational capacities' of literacy and numeracy and 'higher-order' cognitive capacities, such as critical thinking and problem solving - but also social, ethical, and emotional capacities and dispositions.

### **Previous Policies**

- The implementation of previous policies on education has focused largely on issues of access and equity. The unfinished agenda of the National Policy on Education 1986, modified in 1992 (NPE 1986/92), is appropriately dealt with in this Policy. A major development since the last Policy of 1986/92 has been the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 which laid down legal underpinnings for achieving universal elementary education.

### **New Education Policy 2020**

- The NEP proposes to change the existing school curricular structure. It seeks to replace the 10+2 structure with a 5+3+3+2 structure, thus roping children from age three to five into the formal education system.
- Currently, children in the age group of 3-6 are not covered in the 10+2 structure as Class 1 begins at age 6. In the new 5+3+3+4 structure, a strong base of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) from age 3 is also included, which is aimed at promoting better overall learning, development, and well-being.

### **Main Focus Areas**

#### **School Education**

##### **Inclusion of early childhood care and education:**

- According to the New Education Policy, from the age of 3, children will be part of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE).
- This will be delivered through a) standalone Anganwadis; b) Anganwadis co-located with primary schools; c) pre-primary schools/sections covering at least age 5 to 6 years co-located with existing primary schools; and d) stand-alone pre-schools - all of which would recruit workers/teachers specially trained in the curriculum and pedagogy of ECCE.
- Strong investment in ECCE has the potential to give all young children such access, enabling them to participate and flourish in the educational system throughout their lives.
- Universal provisioning of quality early childhood development, care, and education must thus be achieved as soon as possible, and no later than 2030, to ensure that all students entering Grade 1 are school ready.

##### **Foundational Literacy and Numeracy:**

- The NEP states that a large proportion of the students currently enrolled in elementary school have not attained foundational literacy and numeracy (the ability to read and understand basic text, and carry out basic addition and subtraction). It recommends that every child should attain foundational literacy and numeracy by grade three.

- For this, the Ministry of Human Resource Development shall set up a National Mission on Foundational Literacy and Numeracy.
- A national repository of high-quality resources on foundational literacy and numeracy will be made available on government's e-learning platform (DIKSHA).
- Other measures to be taken in this regard include: (i) filling teacher vacancies at the earliest, (ii) ensuring a pupil to teacher ratio of 30:1 for effective teaching, and (iii) training teachers to impart foundational literacy and numeracy.

### **Universal access to Education:**

- NEP 2020 aims to achieve 100% Gross Enrollment Ratio in school education by 2030. GER is defined as the ratio of the total enrolment in education – regardless of age – to the official population in a given school year, expressed as percentage.
- Through initiatives such as the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (now the Samagra Shiksha) and the Right to Education Act, India has made remarkable strides in recent years in attaining near-universal enrolment in elementary education.

### **Multilingualism and the power of language:**

- Teaching up to class fifth in the mother tongue/ regional language:
  - The NEP also recognises the importance of learning in the mother tongue at least till Class 5.
  - The medium of expression until at least grade five – but preferably till grade eight or beyond – shall be the student's mother tongue, or the local or regional language.
  - The 'three-language formula' will continue to be implemented in schools, where two of the three languages shall be native to India.
  - The policy seeks to standardise the school curriculum for Indian Sign Language across the country.
  - Sanskrit will be offered at all levels and foreign languages from the secondary school level.

### **Curriculum and Pedagogy in Schools: Learning Should be Holistic, Integrated, Enjoyable, and Engaging:**

- The curricular and pedagogical structure of school education will be reconfigured to make it responsive and relevant to the developmental needs and interests of learners at different stages of their development, corresponding to the age ranges of 3-8, 8-11, 11-14, and 14-18 years, respectively.
- The curricular and pedagogical structure and the curricular framework for school education will therefore be guided by a 5+3+3+4 design, consisting of the Foundational Stage (in two parts, that is, 3 years of Anganwadi/pre-school + 2 years in primary school in Grades 1-2; both together covering ages 3-8), Preparatory Stage (Grades 3-5, covering ages 8-11), Middle Stage (Grades 6-8, covering ages 11-14), and Secondary Stage (Grades 9-12 in two phases, i.e., 9 and 10 in the first and 11 and 12 in the second, covering ages 14-18).

- The key overall thrust of curriculum and pedagogy reform across all stages will be to move the education system towards real understanding and towards learning how to learn - and away from the culture of rote learning as is largely present today.
- The aim of education will not only be cognitive development, but also building character and creating holistic and well-rounded individuals equipped with the key 21st century skills.
- In all stages, experiential learning will be adopted, including hands-on learning, arts-integrated and sports-integrated education, story-telling-based pedagogy, among others, as standard pedagogy within each subject, and with explorations of relations among different subjects.

### **Curricular Integration of Essential Subjects, Skills, and Capacities:**

- Concerted curricular and pedagogical initiatives, including the introduction of contemporary subjects such as Artificial Intelligence, Design Thinking, Holistic Health, Organic Living, Environmental Education, Global Citizenship Education (GCED), etc. at relevant stages will be undertaken to develop these various important skills in students at all levels.
- Mathematics and computational thinking will be given increased emphasis, starting with the foundational stage, through a variety of innovative methods, including the regular use of puzzles and games.
- Activities involving coding will be introduced in Middle Stage.
- A new and comprehensive National Curricular Framework for School Education, NCFSE 2020-21, will be developed by the NCERT.
- High-quality textbook materials will be developed by NCERT and SCERTs. States will prepare their own curricula and prepare textbooks incorporating state flavour and material.
- The availability of textbooks in all regional languages will be a top priority. Reducing the weight of school bags and textbooks will also be ensured by suitable changes in curriculum load.

### **Assessment Reforms:**

- There will be a shift from summative assessment to regular and formative assessment, which being more competency-based, promotes learning and development, and tests higher-order skills, such as analysis, critical thinking, and conceptual clarity.
- Board exams for Grades 10 and 12 will be continued, but be reformed to eliminate the need for taking coaching classes. Board exams will be redesigned to encourage holistic development; and will also be made 'easier', by testing core capacities/competencies.
- All students will be allowed to take Board Exams on up to two occasions during any given school year, one main examination and one for improvement, if desired.
- All students will take school examinations in Grades 3, 5, and 8 which will be conducted by the appropriate authority.
- A new National Assessment Centre, PARAKH (Performance Assessment, Review, and Analysis of Knowledge for Holistic Development), will be set up as a standard-setting body for setting norms, standards, and guidelines for student assessment and evaluation for all recognized school boards of India.

- The progress card of all students for school-based assessment will be redesigned. It will be a holistic, 360-degree, multidimensional report card that will reflect in great detail the progress and uniqueness of each learner in the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains. The progress card will include self-assessment, peer assessment, and teacher assessment.

### **Creating Bal Bhavans:**

- Every state or district will be encouraged to establish 'Bal Bhavans' as a special daytime boarding school, to participate in art-related, career related, and play-related activities.
- Free school infrastructure can be used by Samajik Chetna Kendras.

### **NEP ends science-commerce-arts streams:**

- NEP has eliminated the rigid separation of streams. Students will now be able to choose subjects like history and physics at the same time in class 11 and 12.

### **Equitable and Inclusive Education:**

- NEP 2020 aims to ensure that no child loses any opportunity to learn and excel because of the circumstances of birth or background.
- Special emphasis will be given on Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Groups (SEDGs) which include:
  - Gender Identities (particularly female and transgender individuals).
  - Socio-Cultural Identities (such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, OBCs, and minorities).
  - Geographical Identities (such as students from villages, small towns, and aspirational districts).
  - Disabilities (including learning disabilities).
  - Socio-economic conditions (such as migrant communities, low income households, children in vulnerable situations, victims of or children of victims of trafficking, orphans including child beggars in urban areas, and the urban poor).
- A separate Gender Inclusion fund will be created as also Special Education Zones for disadvantaged regions and groups.
- Children with disabilities will be enabled to fully participate in the regular schooling process from the foundational stage to higher education.
- Recruitment of special educators with cross-disability training, and establishment of resource centres, wherever needed, especially for children with severe or multiple disabilities will be supported.
- Schools and school complexes will be supported for providing all children with disabilities accommodations and support mechanisms tailored to suit their needs and to ensure their full participation in the classroom.
- Assistive devices and appropriate technology-based tools, will be made available to help children with disabilities integrate more easily into classrooms and engage with teachers and their peers.



- The government of India shall constitute a 'Gender-Inclusion Fund' to provide equitable and quality education to all girls and transgender students. States shall use this fund to implement the central government's policies for assisting female and transgender students, such as provisions for toilets and sanitation, conditional cash transfers and bicycles. The fund will enable states to support 'community-based' interventions.

### **School Governance:**

- The policy suggests establishing 'school complexes' consisting of a secondary school and other schools offering lower grades of education – including anganwadi centres – in a radius of 5 to 10 kilometers. Such a complex will have "greater resource efficiency and more effective functioning, coordination, leadership, governance, and management of schools in a cluster."

### **Teacher Recruitment and Career Path:**

- A common National Professional Standards for Teachers (NPST) will be developed by 2022, by the National Council for Teacher Education, in consultation with NCERT, SCERTs, teachers from across levels and regions, expert bodies in vocational education, and higher education institutions etc.

### **Standard-setting and Accreditation for School Education:**

- To ensure that all schools follow certain minimal professional and quality standards, States/UTs will set up independent, State-wide body, State School Standards Authority (SSSA). Transparent public self-disclosure of all the basic regulatory information, as laid down by the SSSA, will be used extensively for public oversight and accountability.
- The SCERT will develop a School Quality Assessment and Accreditation Framework (SQAAF) through consultations with all stakeholders.
- Public and private schools will be assessed and accredited on the same criteria, benchmarks, and processes, emphasizing online and offline public disclosure and transparency, so as to ensure that public spirited private schools are encourage.

### **Vocational Education:**

- By 2025, at least 50% of learners through the school and higher education system shall have exposure to vocational education.
- Secondary schools will also collaborate with ITIs, polytechnics, local industry, etc. Every child to learn at least one vocation and exposed to several more.
- Bagless periods sometime during Grades 6-8 to intern with local vocational experts such as carpenters, gardeners, potters, artists, etc.
- Similar internship opportunities to learn vocational subjects to students throughout Grades 6-12, including holiday periods. Vocational courses through online mode will also be made available.

A mission for foundational literacy and numeracy, free breakfasts in government schools, **vocational education from Class 6 along with internships and a redesign of board examinations** are some of the key initiatives for school education.

## **Higher Education**

### **Increasing GER in Higher Education to 50% by 2035:**



- The NEP aims to increase the GER in higher education to 50% by 2035. As of 2018-19, the GER in higher education in the country stood at 26.3%.

### **Holistic Multidisciplinary Education:**

- The policy says that all 'higher education institutions' (HEIs) shall aim to be multidisciplinary by 2040. By 2030, there shall be at least one multidisciplinary HEI in or near every district.
- Model public universities for holistic and multidisciplinary education, Multidisciplinary Education and Research Universities (MERUs) will be set up and will aim to attain the highest standards for multidisciplinary education across India.

### **Online Education and Digital Education:**

- A comprehensive set of recommendations for promoting online education consequent in the recent rise in epidemics and pandemics in order to ensure preparedness with alternative modes of quality education whenever and wherever traditional and in-person modes of education are not possible, has been covered.
- A dedicated unit for the purpose of orchestrating the building of digital infrastructure, digital content and capacity building will be created in the MHRD to look after the e-education needs of both school and higher education.

### **Adult Education-**

- The policy aims to achieve 100% youth and adult literacy by 2030.

### **Academic Bank of Credit:**

- This to be established for digitally storing academic credits earned from different HEIs so that these can be transferred and counted towards final degree earned.
- The academic credit stored in a digital locker will be like a bank credit through which a student will be able to resume education after a break as specified by the higher education commission later.

### **Multiple entry and exit points in Higher Education:**

- The new policy will have multiple entry and exit points. Under the four-year programme students can exit:
  - After one year with a certificate.
  - After two years with a diploma.
  - After 3 years with a Bachelor's degree.
  - After 4 years with Bachelor's with research.
- The multiple entry and exit will be done through the academic bank of credit.

### **Restructuring of Higher Education Institutes:**

- The NEP notes that the higher education ecosystem in the country is severely fragmented. The present complex nomenclature of higher education institutes (HEIs) in the country such as 'deemed to be university', 'affiliating university', 'affiliating technical university', 'unitary university' shall be replaced simply by 'university'.

- The NEP recommends that all HEIs should be restructured into three categories:
  - Research Universities focusing equally on research and teaching,
  - Teaching Universities focusing primarily on teaching, and
  - Degree Granting Colleges primarily focused on undergraduate teaching.
- All such institutions will gradually move towards full autonomy - academic, administrative, and financial.

### **National Research Foundation (NRF):**

- To boost research, the NEP recommends setting up an independent National Research Foundation (NRF) for funding and facilitating quality research in India.
- The overarching goal of the NRF will be to enable a culture of research to permeate through our universities, helping to develop a culture of research in the country.

### **Online Education and Digital Education:**

- A comprehensive set of recommendations for promoting online education consequent in the recent rise in epidemics and pandemics in order to ensure preparedness with alternative modes of quality education whenever and wherever traditional and in-person modes of education are not possible, has been covered.
- A dedicated unit for the purpose of orchestrating the building of digital infrastructure, digital content and capacity building will be created in the MHRD to look after the e-education needs of both school and higher education.
- Several interventions must be taken to ensure inclusive digital education such as:
  - Developing two-way audio and video interfaces for holding online classes, and
  - Use of other channels such as television, radio, mass media in multiple languages to ensure reach of digital content where digital infrastructure is lacking.

### **Technology in Education:**

- An autonomous body, the National Educational Technology Forum (NETF), will be created to provide a platform for the free exchange of ideas on the use of technology to enhance learning, assessment, planning, administration.
- Technology-based education platforms, such as DIKSHA/SWAYAM, will be better integrated across school and higher education.
- HEIs will play an active role in conducting research on disruptive technologies and in creating instructional materials and courses including online courses in cutting-edge domains.

### **Open and distance learning:**

- It will be expanded, thereby playing a significant role in increasing the Gross Enrolment Ratio

to 50%.

- Measures such as online courses and digital repositories, funding for research, improved student services, credit-based recognition of MOOCs, etc., will be taken to ensure it is at par with the highest quality in-class programmes.
- Internationalization of education will be facilitated through both institutional collaborations, and student and faculty mobility and allowing entry of top world ranked Universities to open campuses in our country.

### Regulation:

- There will be a single overarching umbrella body for promotion of higher education- the Higher Education Commission of India (HECI)- with independent bodies for standard setting- the General Education Council; funding-Higher Education Grants Council (HEGC); accreditation- National Accreditation Council (NAC); and regulation National Higher Education Regulatory Council (NHERC).
- Regulation will be 'light but tight' to ensure financial probity and public-spiritedness to eliminate conflicts of interest with transparent self-disclosure as the norm not an inspectorial regime.

### Teacher Education:

- The 4-year integrated stage-specific, subject- specific Bachelor of Education offered at multidisciplinary institutions would be the way forward.
- A new and comprehensive National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education, NCFTE 2021, will be formulated by the NCTE in consultation with NCERT.
- By 2030, the minimum degree qualification for teaching will be a 4- year integrated B.Ed. degree that teaches a range of knowledge content and pedagogy and includes strong practicum training in the form of student-teaching at local schools.
- Stringent action will be taken against substandard stand-alone Teacher Education Institutions (TEIs).

### Ministry of Education:

- In order to bring the focus back on education and learning, it may be desirable to re-designate MHRD as the Ministry of Education (MoE).

### Affiliation:

- Affiliation of colleges will be phased out in 15 years and a stage-wise mechanism will be established for granting graded autonomy to colleges.

### Fee cap over private institutions for Higher Education:

- An awaited move, but it will need private institutes to apply for a loan at HECI and claim funding from the government to run effectively. As per speculation, a large chunk of budgetary allocation will be channelled to private universities via the loan route.

The policy says that **'high performing' Indian universities shall be encouraged to set up campuses in other countries**. Similarly, selected universities – such as those from among the top 100 universities in the world – shall be encouraged to operate in India. 18. The policy says that the centre

and states shall work together to increase public investment in education to 6 per cent of the gross domestic product, from the current 4.43 per cent.

The policy says that the centre and states shall work together to **increase public investment in education to 6 per cent** of the gross domestic product, from the current 4.43 per cent.

## Implementation

- The implementation of this Policy will be led by various government bodies.
- The NEP only provides a broad direction and is not mandatory to follow. Since education is a concurrent subject (both the Centre and the state governments can make laws on it), the reforms proposed can only be implemented collaboratively by the Centre and the states.
- It is planned that the Implementation will be guided by the following principles:
- Implementation of the spirit and intent of the Policy will be the most critical matter.
  - It is important to implement the policy initiatives in a phased manner, as each policy point has several steps, each of which requires the previous step to be implemented successfully.
  - Prioritization will be important in ensuring optimal sequencing of policy points, and that the most critical and urgent actions are taken up first, thereby enabling a strong base.
  - Comprehensiveness in implementation will be key; as this Policy is interconnected and holistic, only a full-fledged implementation, and not a piecemeal one, will ensure that the desired objectives are achieved.
  - Since education is a concurrent subject, it will need careful planning, joint monitoring, and collaborative implementation between the Centre and States.
  - Timely infusion of requisite resources - human, infrastructural, and financial - at the Central and State levels will be crucial for the satisfactory execution of the Policy.
  - Careful analysis and review of the linkages between multiple parallel implementation steps will be necessary in order to ensure effective dovetailing of all initiatives. This will also include early investment in some of the specific actions (such as the setting up of early childhood care and education infrastructure) that will be imperative to ensuring a strong base and a smooth progression for all subsequent programmes and actions.
  - The incumbent government has set a target of 2040 to implement the entire policy. Sufficient funding is also crucial; the 1968 NEP was hamstrung by a shortage of funds.
  - The government plans to set up subject-wise committees with members from relevant ministries at both the central and state levels to develop implementation plans for each aspect of the NEP.
  - The plans will list out actions to be taken by multiple bodies, including the HRD Ministry, state Education Departments, school Boards, NCERT, Central Advisory Board of Education and National Testing Agency, among others. Planning will be followed by a yearly joint review of progress against targets set.

## Criticism

- Increased emphasis on the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction will create more problems for the marginalized who already face difficulties due to lack of English education.
- Even though the major reason for advocating learning in the mother tongue is for ease of learning, it could in fact, impede the progress of the marginalised sections, in terms of accessibility to employment and educational opportunities.
- Privatization of higher education- The NEP aims to gradually phase out the system of affiliation to a university in 15 years and grant autonomy to colleges which will open the doors to privatization. Privatisation per se is not a bad thing, but lack of affiliations shall not lead to lack of accreditations.
- Kerala’s Higher Education Minister has said that the proposal to transform the educational sector from the affiliation system to the autonomous system in the coming 15 years will adversely impact students’ access to higher educational institutions, especially in villages and other backward areas. It might lead to corporatization of education sector.
- Examinations only in Classes 3, 5 and 8- Examinations not only help in checking a child’s potential but also prepare them for life. Eliminating exams in earlier classes might not serve the desired purpose.
- As per UDISE+ (Unified District Information on School Education, Department of School Education, Government of India), only 9.85% of government schools have a functional computer and 4.09% have an internet connection. This, itself, puts into question the overwhelming reliance on online education in NEP 2020.
- The NEP also lays focus on digital and distance learning to increase gross enrolment ratio from 26% to over 50%. However, the primary reasons for dropping out of school such as child marriage and child labour remain unaddressed in the policy or otherwise. They should be disincentivized.
- The absence of digital infrastructure will lead to the further segregation of the poor and disadvantaged, creating a “digital divide” that will grow even stronger due to the absence of or limited internet connectivity/access to technology in rural areas.
- The NEP recommends a spending of 6% of GDP on education. However, spending on education has fallen from 4.14% in 2014-15 to 3.2% in 2020-21. Even this amount may get cut down by 40% owing to the coronavirus pandemic in the current year, bringing the education spending to just 2% of the total budget.
- There is hence no clarity on whether the NEP proposes financing of 6% of GDP to come from public funds or if it includes private investments.

## Sociological Perspective

- The major sociological perspectives on education fall nicely into the functional, conflict, and symbolic interactionist approaches (Ballantine & Hammack, 2009).

Theoretical perspective	Major assumptions
	Education serves several functions for society. These



### **Functionalism**

include:  
(a) socialization,  
(b) social integration,  
(c) social placement, and  
(d) social and cultural innovation.

Latent functions include child care, the establishment of peer relationships, and lowering unemployment by keeping high school students out of the full-time labor force.

### **Conflict theory**



Education promotes social inequality through the use of tracking and standardized testing and the impact of its “hidden curriculum.”

Schools differ widely in their funding and learning conditions, and this type of inequality leads to learning disparities that reinforce social inequality.

### **Symbolic interactionism**

This perspective focuses on social interaction in the classroom, on the playground, and in other school venues.

Specific research finds that social interaction in schools affects the development of gender roles and that teachers’ expectations of pupils’



intellectual abilities affect how much pupils learn

## Functionalism

- Functionalists view education as one of the more important social institutions in a society. They contend that education contributes two kinds of functions: manifest (or primary) functions, which are the intended and visible functions of education; and latent (or secondary) functions, which are the hidden and unintended functions.

### Manifest Functions

- There are several major manifest functions associated with education. The first is socialization. Beginning in preschool and kindergarten, students are taught to practise various societal roles.
- The French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), who established the academic discipline of sociology, characterized schools as “socialization agencies that teach children how to get along with others and prepare them for adult economic roles” (Durkheim 1898).
- This socialization also involves learning the rules and norms of the society as a whole.
- Education also provides one of the major methods used by people for upward social mobility. This function is referred to as social placement. University and graduate schools are viewed as vehicles for moving students closer to the careers that will give them the financial freedom and security they seek.

### Latent Functions

- Education also involves several latent functions, functions that are byproducts of going to school and receiving an education rather than a direct effect of the education itself.
- One of these is child care. Once a child starts kindergarten and then first grade, for several hours a day the child is taken care of for free.
- The establishment of peer relationships is another latent function of schooling. Most of us met many of our friends while we were in school at whatever grade level, and some of those friendships endure the rest of our lives.
- A final latent function of education is that it keeps millions of high school students out of the full-time labor force. This fact keeps the unemployment rate lower than it would be if they were in the labor force.

## Critical School: Education and Inequality

- Critical sociologists do not believe that public schools reduce social inequality. Rather, they believe that the educational system reinforces and perpetuates social inequalities arising from differences in class, gender, race, and ethnicity.
- Where functionalists see education as serving a beneficial role, critical sociologists view it

more critically. To them, it is important to examine how educational systems preserve the status quo and guide people of lower status into subordinate positions in society.

- French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu extensively studied social class reproduction. He researched how, parallel to economic capital (as analyzed by Marx), cultural capital, or the accumulation of cultural knowledge that helps one navigate a culture, alters the experiences and opportunities available to French students from different social classes.
- Bourdieu emphasized that like economic capital, cultural capital in the form of cultural taste, knowledge, patterns of speech, clothing, proper etiquette, etc. is difficult and time consuming to acquire.
- The cycle of rewarding those who possess cultural capital is found in formal educational curricula as well as in the hidden curriculum (a set of values and beliefs that support the status quo, including the existing social hierarchy), which refers to the type of non-academic knowledge that one learns through informal learning and cultural transmission.
- Gramsci: Ideological Hegemony of the majoritarian state might get transferred to pupils.

### **Symbolic Interactionism and School Behavior**

- Symbolic interactionist studies of education examine social interaction in the classroom, on the playground, and in other school venues.
- These studies help us understand what happens in the schools themselves, but they also help us understand how what occurs in school is relevant for the larger society.
- Some studies, for example, show how children's playground activities reinforce gender-role socialization.
  - Girls tend to play more cooperative games.
  - Boys play more competitive sports (Thorne, 1993).
- Symbolic interactionism sees education as one way that the labelling theory can be demonstrated in action.
- A symbolic interactionist might say that this labelling has a direct correlation to those who are in power and those who are being labelled.
- For example, low standardized test scores or poor performance in a particular class often lead to a student being labelled as a low achiever. Such labels are difficult to "shake off", which can create a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton 1968).
- The labelling with which symbolic interactionists concern themselves extends to the very degrees that symbolize completion of education.
- Credentialism embodies the emphasis on certificates or degrees to show that a person has a certain skill, has attained a certain level of education, or has met certain job qualifications. These certificates or degrees serve as a symbol of what a person has achieved, allowing the labelling of that individual.