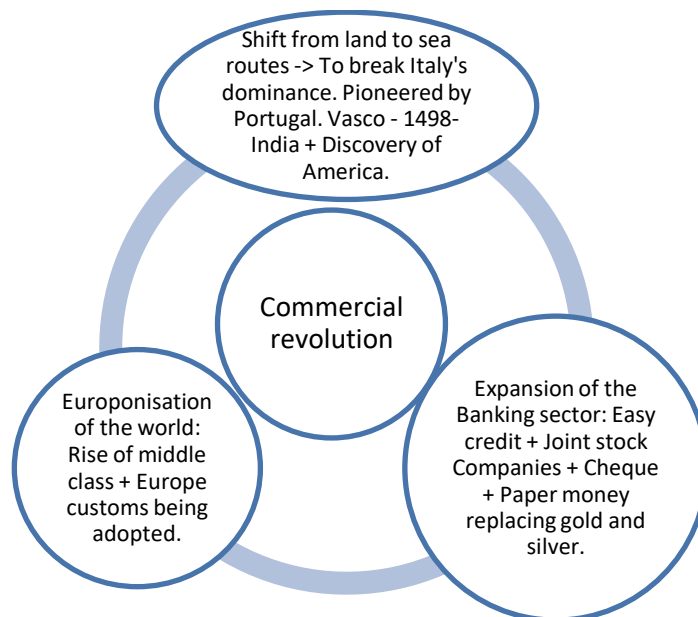# SOCIOLOGY - PAPER 1, UPSC, Civil Services Exam

Modernity and social changes in Europe and emergence of sociology
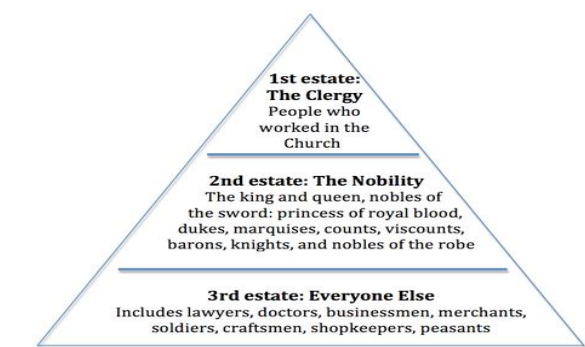
- o Emergence of sociology as a scientific discipline can be traced to the French and the Industrial revolution. Both these revolutions led to tremendous socio, economic and political changes in Europe.

- o This period is also known as the <u>enlightenment period</u>, because it embodies a <u>new spirit of awakening</u> among the French philosophers.

- o The Enlightenment Period marked a radical change from the traditional thinking of feudal Europe.

- o It <u>introduced a new way of thinking</u>. Individuals started questioning each and every aspect of life and nothing was considered sacrosanct - from the church to the state to the authority of the monarch and so on.

- o The roots of the ideas, such as the belief that both nature and society can be studied scientifically, that human beings are essentially rational and that a society built on rational principles will make human beings realize their infinite potentials, can be traced in the development of science and commerce in Europe.

- o <u>The new outlook developed as a result of the Commercial Revolution and the Scientific Revolution and crystallised during the French and the Industrial Revolutions gave birth to sociology as a discipline.</u>

- o <u>Commercial Revolution</u>

  Refers to a series of events between 1450 to approximately 1800. These events signaled to a shift from the largely subsistence and stagnant economy of medieval Europe to a more dynamic and worldwide system.

  The Commercial Revolution in this sense, signified the expansion of trade and commerce that took place from the fifteenth century onwards. This expansion was as a result of the initiative taken by certain European countries to develop and consolidate their economic and political power. These countries were Portugal, Spain, Holland and England.
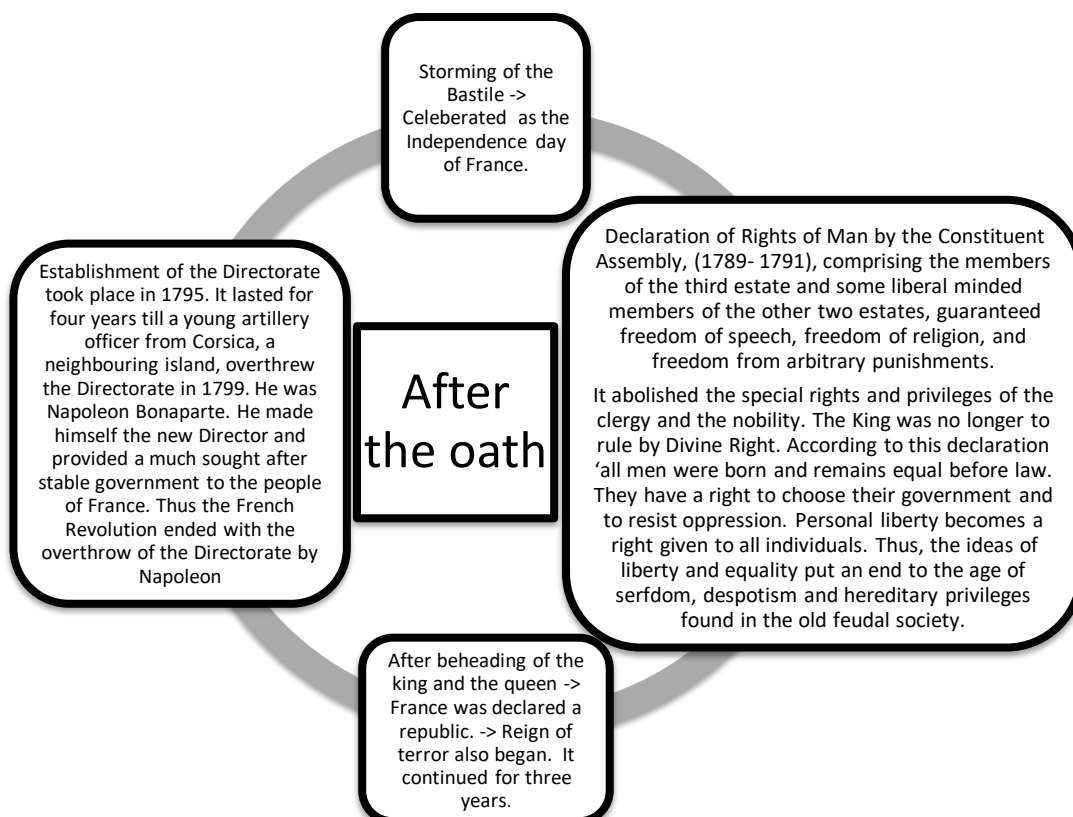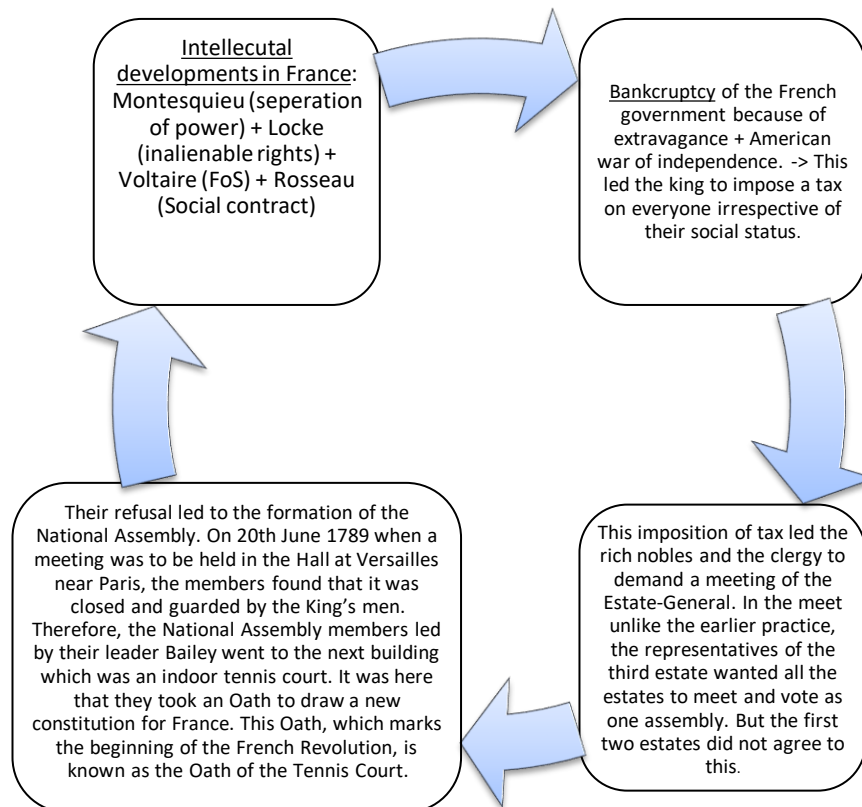
- o <u>Scientific Revolution</u>

The renaissance period saw the beginning of the scientific revolution. It was reflected in:-> Human dissection became acceptable. :-> Chemistry developed :-> developments in navigation and astronomy :-> Copernican Revolution – from geocentric to heliocentric theory.

These theories had an impact on the study of sociology. For eg: William Harvey's discovery of circulation of blood had an impact on the sociological theories of Comte, Spenser and Durkheim -> There theories had the theme of parts connected to a system.

Shift from land to sea routes -> To break Italy's dominance. Pioneered by Portugal. Vasco - 1498- India + Discovery of America.

Commercial revolution

Europonisation of the world: Rise of middle class + Europe customs being adopted.

Expansion of the Banking sector: Easy credit + Joint stock Companies + Cheque + Paper money replacing gold and silver.

o <u>French revolution</u> :-> 1789 :-> First estate (clergy) – Second estate (nobility) – Third estate (comprised of rest of the society)

1st estate:
The Clergy
People who worked in the Church

2nd estate: The Nobility
The king and queen, nobles of the sword: princess of royal blood, dukes, marquises, counts, viscounts, barons, knights, and nobles of the robe

3rd estate: Everyone Else
Includes lawyers, doctors, businessmen, merchants, soldiers, craftsmen, shopkeepers, peasants

Intellecutal developments in France: Montesquieu (seperation of power) + Locke (inalienable rights) + Voltaire (FoS) + Rosseau (Social contract)

Bankcruptcy of the French government because of extravagance + American war of independence. -> This led the king to impose a tax on everyone irrespective of their social status.

Their refusal led to the formation of the National Assembly. On 20th June 1789 when a meeting was to be held in the Hall at Versailles near Paris, the members found that it was closed and guarded by the King's men. Therefore, the National Assembly members led by their leader Bailey went to the next building which was an indoor tennis court. It was here that they took an Oath to draw a new constitution for France. This Oath, which marks the beginning of the French Revolution, is known as the Oath of the Tennis Court.

This imposition of tax led the rich nobles and the clergy to demand a meeting of the Estate-General. In the meet unlike the earlier practice, the representatives of the third estate wanted all the estates to meet and vote as one assembly. But the first two estates did not agree to this.

Storming of the Bastile -> Celeberated as the Independence day of France.

Establishment of the Directorate took place in 1795. It lasted for four years till a young artillery officer from Corsica, a neighbouring island, overthrew the Directorate in 1799. He was Napoleon Bonaparte. He made himself the new Director and provided a much sought after stable government to the people of France. Thus the French Revolution ended with the overthrow of the Directorate by Napoleon

After the oath

Declaration of Rights of Man by the Constituent Assembly, (1789- 1791), comprising the members of the third estate and some liberal minded members of the other two estates, guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom from arbitrary punishments.

It abolished the special rights and privileges of the clergy and the nobility. The King was no longer to rule by Divine Right. According to this declaration 'all men were born and remains equal before law. They have a right to choose their government and to resist oppression. Personal liberty becomes a right given to all individuals. Thus, the ideas of liberty and equality put an end to the age of serfdom, despotism and hereditary privileges found in the old feudal society.

After beheading of the king and the queen -> France was declared a republic. -> Reign of terror also began. It continued for three years.

Industrial revolution

o Began around 1760 AD in England.

o The change in economy was reflected in changes in society: Increase in population + Urbanisation + Socio-economic disparities increased.

o These changes moved both conservative and radical thinkers. The conservatives feared that such conditions would lead to chaos and disorder. The radicals like Engels felt that the factory workers would initiate social transformation.

o Significant themes of the Industrial Revolution:

　　a) The condition of labour: A new population earning their livelihood by working in the factories arose. In the early years this working class lived in poverty and squalor. They were socially deprived. At the same time they were indispensable in the new industrial system. This made them a powerful social force. Sociologists recognised that the poverty of this class of workers is not natural poverty but social poverty. Thus the working class became during the nineteenth century the subject of both moral and analytical concern.

　　b) The transformation of property: The traditional emphasis on land lost its value while money or capital became important during the Industrial Revolution. The investment in new industrial system came to be recognised. The feudal landlords became less significant while the new capitalists gained power. Many of these new capitalists were the erstwhile landlords.

　　c) Urbanisation accompanied by poverty and increasing crime rates.

　　d) Technology and the factory system

Intellectual influences affecting the emergence of sociology

　　1. Influence of the Enlightenment thinkers

　　　　A. Scientific approach to the study of society.

　　　　B. Judged social institutions on the basis of reasons.

　　　　C. Believed that human beings are capable of attaining perfection. -> By criticising and changing social institutions this level of perfection can be attained.

　　2. Philosophy of history: The basic assumption of this philosophy was that society must have progressed through a series of steps from a simple to complex stage.

On the philosophical side, the notions of development and progress. On the scientific side, it has given the concepts of historical periods and social types.

3. <u>Biological theories of evolution</u> : Sociology moved towards an evolutionary approach, seeking to identify and account for the principal stages in social evolution. It tended to be modelled on biology, as is evident from the widely diffused conception of society as an organism, and from the attempts to formulate general terms of social evolution. Herbert Spencer and Durkheim are good example of this kind of writing.

4. <u>Surveys of the social conditions:</u> It emerged due to two reasons, one was the growing conviction that the methods of the natural sciences should and could be extended to the study of human affairs; that human phenomenon could be classified and measured. The other was the concern with poverty ('the social problem'), following the recognition that poverty was not natural but social. The social survey is one of the principal methods of sociological inquiry. The basic assumption, which underlines this method, is that through the knowledge of the social conditions one can arrive at solutions to solve the social problems prevalent in society.

Protest, agitation, social movement, collective action and revolution

Add: Ideology and SM

o Collective Action:-> It is emergent and co-ordinated action by two or more people with a desire to change or resist change to some aspect of social life proposed by others.

o Blumer distinguishes types of CA:

(1) Crowd: Emotional. But can be positive (joy) or negative emotion (anger). (2) Public: (3) Mass (4) Social movement.

o Protest:->When CA Seeks a particular change.

o Protest movement ->When Protest moves to larger area + Becomes widespread.

o Agitation:->PM which is emotionally charged + Prone to turning violent.

o Social movement ->When CA with change orientation is sustained over a period of time.:->To transform from CA to SM ->It requires: (1) Ideology. (2) Organisation: flexible, not rigid. (3) Leadership: Can be charismatic or leaderless.

o Depending on nature of change orientation, SM is classified as :->

   A. MSA Rao: (1) Reform movements: Seeks limited change + use legitimate means + Doesn't question social order. They are peaceful. (2) Transform movements: Middle-level change. Challenge existing hierarchy. Can be violent or involve conflict. (3)Revolutionary movements: Seek far-reaching change. Strong resistance. Violent.

   B. Niel J Smelser: (1) Norms-oriented movements: Limited change. Don't question social order. Peaceful (2)Value-oriented movements: Question basic values of social order + Seek far-reaching change. Violent.

   C. David Aberle's: (1) Transformativemovements (2) Reformativemovements(3) Redemptive movements(rescue individuals form corrupt, decadent life) (4) Alternative movements: Eg: AA. 1+2= Societal change; 3+4= indiv change.

o Conditions for rise of SMs:

(1) Marx: Subjective awareness of Objective reality –> Class-in becomes, Class-for itself.

(2) Neil J Smelser: (a) Structural conduciveness: Overall character of the society, whether it encourages or discourages SMs. (b) Structural strain: Emergence of a

disequilibrium. :->In addition to 1 and 2 :->(c) <u>Crystallization and diffusion of generalised believes</u> + (d) <u>Formation of co-ordinated groups</u> + (e) <u>Precipitating event</u>.

(3) <u>Zald& McCarthy</u>: <u>Resource mobilisation theory</u>:->Existence of structural strain or relative deprivation can contribute to the rise of the SM <u>if it can mobile resources</u>. These can be mobilised through following methods: (1) Self mobilisation (2) Donations (3) Seeking patronage (4) Cultural resources: Specialised knowledge, skills (how to mobilise people).

(4) <u>Individual factors</u>: Who are the people initially drawn to movement. <u>Eric Hoffer</u>: Poorly integrated individuals are drawn to SMs as:->Movements becomes for them a source to resolve their inner conflicts.

o   <u>Career of a movement</u>: <u>Zald and Herbert Blumer</u>:

(a)<u>Unrest stage</u>: People are discontent & unhappy.

(b) <u>Excitement stage</u>: Unrest becomes more focussed. Causes identified & solutions debated.

(c)<u>Formalisation stage</u>: Leadership emerges.:-> Org develops :->Strategies are worked out. (d) <u>Institutionalisation stage</u>: Movement loses its flexibility. :-> Bureaucratic structure develops. :->Starts losing its dynamism.

(e) <u>Dissolution stage</u>: Movement dies. :->Eitherreplaced by a political party or fizzles out.

<u>Revolution</u>

Sudden and violent <u>political change</u>by extra-constitutional means, which may also be followed by socio-eco transformation of society.:->Became popular post-French rev.

o   <u>Types of revolution</u>:

(a) <u>Social revolution</u>: TheidaSkocpol: Rapid & basic transformation of <u>society</u>, <u>state</u>&<u>class structure</u>. And these transformation are <u>accompanied by class-based revolt</u> from below.

(b) <u>Political revolution</u>: Change with respect to who holds pol power. No socio-eco revolt.

(c) <u>Revolution from above</u>: Political change initiated by the elite. But after capturing power, there is socio-eco transformation of society.

(d) <u>Anti-colonial revolution</u>

e) Failed rev: Ex.: Recently in Turkey.

o Factors which lead to Revolution:

1. Marx:

Contradictions in capitalism: Alienation + Monopoly capitalism + Pauperisation + Homogenisation :->Subjective awareness of objective reality -> Revolution.[This applies only in case of capitalist societies. For earlier societies need to add]

2. Crain Brinton:

Unlike Marx, doesn't say it is an inevitable process.

(1) Intelligentsia deserting the ruling elite.
(2) Ruling elite initiates reforms which don't satisfy the people.
(3) This provides an opportunity to revolutionary coalition to come to power.

3. TheidaSkocpol:->

Studied Russian, French and Chinese revolution:-> Says revolutions are not made, they come. What causes them?

(1)Political crisis -> Political bankruptcy: Tsar's decision to enter World War-I, which leads to further economic shock to the Russian economy.
(2) Economic crisis of the state.
(3) Colonial regimes, military or oppressive dictatorship.
(4) Absence of any major world power intervention.

4. Chef Godwick:

After Theida'sstudy found ->Military dictatorship and colonial powers were most susceptible to revolutionwhich democracy can avoid (ex.: Nepal).

5.John Foran:
(1) Dependent development.
(2) Repressive and exclusionary state.

(3) Political culture of opposition.

(4) Economic downturn.

(5) Loss of support from 1st world countries for the ruling elite.

<u>Democracy</u>

Democracy is a condition where a community of people exercises 'collective self-determination.' It is essentially participatory , consultative, and accountable.

In its basic meaning, it is a political system in which the 'people', not monarchs or aristocracies, rule. In some societies the officially accepted version of democracy is limited to the political sphere, whereas in others it is extended to broader areas of social life.

According to <u>Schmitter</u> , modern political democracy is defined as "<u>a system of governance in which the 'rulers' are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, who act indirectly through the cooperation of their elected representatives</u>."

According to <u>Held</u>, democracy is generally seen as the political system which is most able to ensure political equality, protect liberty and freedom, defend the common interest, meet citizens' needs, promote moral self-development and enable effective decision-making which takes everyone's interests into account.

The form that democracy takes in any given context is largely an outcome of how its values and goals are understood and prioritized. Accordingly, there are two main types of democracy. a) Participatory Democracy b) Representative Democracy.

In Participatory democracy (or direct democracy), decisions are made communally by those affected by them. It is however of limited importance in modern societies, where the mass of the population has political rights, and it would be impossible for everyone to actively participate in the making of all the decisions affecting them. Another example of participatory democracy is the holding of referenda, when the people express their views on a particular issue, to inform important policy decisions. Practicalities however render participatory democracy unwieldy on a large scale, except in specific instances such as a special referendum.

Therefore , more common today is representative democracy, political systems in which decisions affecting a community are taken, not by its members as a whole, but by those they have elected for this purpose. In the area of national government, representative democracy takes the form of elections to parliaments or congresses. Countries in which voters can choose between two or more political parties and in which the mass of the adult population has the right to vote are usually called liberal democracies. Britain, the USA, Japan, Australia, India are examples of liberal democracies.

Democracy has proved itself to be the 'best' political system and is a better form of political organization than authoritarianism. As democracy is becoming so widespread, it might be expected that it is working in a highly successful way. Yet this does not appear to be the case and almost everywhere, established democracies are in some difficulty.

In established democracies such as those in the USA and Japan, democracy is in a far from healthy state.

According to Colin Crouch, there is a crisis of legitimacy as many citizens have begun to question whether the government truly represents their interests. He argues that we have entered an era of post-democracy in which the effectiveness and power of democratic institutions and processes have been seriously compromised.

Mass participation has declined , since the 1970s and the power of business and financial interests has grown. Global deregulation of financial markets has increased the power of 'finance capital' and the dominant concerns of governments have been to ensure the success of business and finance in the pursuit of overall economic growth.

Colin Crouch believes that professional lobbying by companies has largely replaced 'mass participation' in political parties. As a result power has shifted away from democratic control to a corporate elite. Because of the growing dependence of government on the expertise of corporate executives and leading entrepreneurs, and the dependence of parties on their funds, there is steady movement towards the establishment of a new, dominant, combined political and economic class.

Some academics and politicians have talked about a wider 'crisis of trust' in society. Evidence seems to confirm a 'loss of trust', at least when it comes to party politics.

Also there has been a shift in 'political values' in democratic nations from 'scarcity values' to 'postmaterialist values'. This means that after a certain level of economic prosperity has been reached, voters become concerned less with economic issues than with the quality of their individual lifestyles' as opposed to collective lifestyles, such as the desire for meaningful work. As a result, voters are generally less interested in national politics, except for issues involving 'personal liberty.'

There is to be seen in many instances what Barrington Moore calls as 'revolutions from above'.

Political, economic and military elites, in the developing world and in the former Soviet Union, often anxious to increase levels of international trade and to encourage trans - nationals to set up shop in their countries, have pursued a democratic agenda of their own. Though trans- nationals are notorious for striking deals with dictators ,they generally prefer to do business in democratic states, which tend to be more stable than other kinds of state.

Though, because of the above mentioned factors, democracy and democratic processes and institutions have begun to be questioned , yet contemporary times have been witnessing increasing democratization . A globalized media, along with advances in communications technology, has exposed inhabitants of many non-democratic nations to democratic ideals, increasing internal pressure on political elites to hold elections. Despite the limitations , it continues to be the most preferred political system.

Anthony Giddens:

o   He says modernity has moved into 'high modernity'.
o   This has four features: Capitalism, Industrialisation, Surveillance, and Military Power.
o   Corresponding to this are four types of social movements: Labour movements, Ecological movements, Free speech/democratic movements, and Peace movements.

Consequences of Social Movements:

All revolutions fail to fulfil its promises. But,

(a) Strengthens state apparatus

(b) Leads to Social development (cite Cuba: Health and education improved).But at the cost of civil rights.

<u>Future of revolution</u>:

Though inequalities are rising, because of failure of global communism, chances of Marxist revolution are rare. But, can be on the basis of religion (example: Iran)

<u>New Social Movements</u>:

The term new social movements is a theory of social movements that attempts to explain the plethora of <u>new movements that have come up in various western societies roughly since the mid-1960s</u> (i.e. in a post-industrial economy) which are claimed to depart significantly from the conventional social movement paradigm.

<u>There are two central claims of the NSM theory</u>:

a) First that the <u>rise of the post-industrial economy is responsible for a new wave</u> of social movement and,

b) Second that <u>these movements are significantly different from previous social movements</u> of the industrial economy.

<u>The primary difference is in their goals</u>, as the new movements <u>focus not on issues of materialistic qualities</u> such as economic wellbeing, <u>but on issues related to human rights</u> (such as gay rights or pacifism).

Some NSM theorists, like <u>Frank Parkin</u> (Middle Class Radicalism, 1968), argue that the <u>key actors in these movements are different as well</u>, as they are more likely to come from the "<u>new middle class</u>" rather than the lower classes. Unlike pressure groups that have a formal organisation and 'members'. NSMs consist of an <u>informal, loosely organised social network of 'supporters' rather than members</u>.

The most noticeable feature of new social movements is that they are <u>primarily social and cultural and only secondarily, if any, political</u>. :-> It is clearly elaborated by Habermas that new social movements are the '<u>new politics</u>' which is about quality of life, individual self-realisation and human rights whereas the '<u>old politics</u>' focus on economic, political, and military security. This can be exemplified in the gay liberation, the focus of which broadens out from political issue to social and cultural realization and

acceptance in life-styles of homosexuality. Hence, new social movements are understood as new because they are first and foremost social.

Paul Bagguley and Nelson Pichardo criticize NSM theory for a number of reasons, including:

1. The movements concerned with non-materialistic issues existed (in one extent or another) during the industrial period and traditional movements, concerned with economic well-being, still exist today,

2. There is doubt in terms of whether contemporary movements are specifically a product of post-industrial society.

3. NSM focuses almost exclusively on left-wing movements and does not consider right-wing

4. The term "new middle class" is amorphous and not consistently defined.

Ex: Shahbag movement (Bangladesh), Kundakulam, Occupy Wall street movement, LGTB Movements, Animal rights movements.

Power elite, bureaucracy, pressure groups and political parties

Political parties

o   Weber -> Political parties are an associative type of relationship, membership in which is rests on formally free recruitment. It operates in terms of goal-oriented, co-ordinated action and demands from its members a rational direction of their behaviour, towards commonly acknowledged goals. -> Primary goal of PP: Acquisition of pol power and holding on to it. -> Relationship between members and PP is mutually exploitative.

o   Sartori: A political group, identified by any label, which is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office.

o   Why did pol parties develop in mod societies?

(1) Industrialisation leads to structural differentiation ->Social cleavages develop -> Different groups compete with each other to realise their interests.

(2) With Industrialisation -> People's perception about their interests have changed -> Want more say in pol decision making.

Von Beyme: Identified social cleavages which gave rise to different pol parties in W. Europe.

o Functions of pol parties:

(a) Interest aggregation ->By designing a policy framework which brings in maximum people.

(b) Interest articulation

(c) Channels of communication: Between political elite and people

(d) Political socialisation

(e) Political recruitment.

o Structure of political parties:

Maurice Duverger: Wrote 'Political Parties' -> Analysed political parties in Europe and identified four structure:

Caucus parties	Branch type parties	Cell-type	Militia-type
1) Small cohesive group at the top -> Semi-permanent and relatively closed. 2) Poor, loose knit org. 3) Members of caucus are very influential. And take decisions themselves. 4) These parties get activated during elections. 5) Don't have strong	1) Mass-based. 2) Large organisation. 3)Actively involved in mobilising public opinion. 4) More inner-party democracy. Eg: Europe	1) Innovation of communist revolutions. 2) Model followed by clandestine organisations. 3) Members of cells don't have horizontal ties. 4) Developed by Lenin.	1) Loosely organised military groups. 2) Unlike cell, don't operate in a clandestine manner. 3) Creation of fascists- Mussolini. 4) Tend to be anti-democratic.

inner-party democracy. 6) Feature of stabilised political system. Eg: Parties in USA.			

o <u>Party systems:</u>

<u>Single-party system :</u> Feature of non-democratic authoritarian societies		<u>Two-party system</u>		<u>Multi-party system</u>		
<u>Totalitarian SPS</u> Eg: China, USSR 1) State has absolute power. 2) No constitutional limits on state. 3) State can interfer	<u>Non-tot SPS</u> Franco's Spain Authoritarian without controlling social life.	<u>Distinct two party system</u> Eg: UK	<u>Indistinct two-party system</u> Eg: USA	Stable MPS. Eg: Kerala	Unstable MPS. Eg: India 1990s	One-party dominant MPS. Eg: Cong till 60s.

e in all aspects of human life. 4) Guided by an official ideology						

Interest groups:

o Group formed of people who share common interests and attitudes and want to promote them.

o They don't interfere in the decision-making process of the govt.

o What is interest grouptoday, might become Pressure Group later. And even a political party subsequently.

Pressure group:

o Organised social group whose members share common attitudes or interests, and tries to influence public policies in the light of these attitudes and interests, without joining the government. -> Like pol parties, PGs are also invention of modern political system.

o Features of pressure groups:

(1) Clearly identifiable formal structure.

(2) Members have common interests.

(3) Try to influence public policy.

(4) Don't join govt. eg: TUs, FICCI, etc.

o Why do Pressure Groups exist?Different interests exist -> Normal method of interest aggregation may not succeed.

o Almond and Powell : Types of PGs:

(1) Associational pressure group: FICCI, CII, TUs.

(2) Non-associational PGs: Feature of the 3rd world -> People don't join them, they are born into them. Eg: Caste-based lobbies, kinship-based lobbies.

(3) Institutional PGs: Part of existing institutional framework. Eg: Army in Pak.

(4) Anomie PGs: Where the PG relies on illegitimate means or violence or terrorism.

[1,2 and 3: Structural; 4: Functional].

o Advantages of Pressure Groups:

(1) Can act without public accountability.

(2) Can operate at multiple levels: Debates, discussions, etc.

(3) Not being a party not viable when numbers are low.

o Why PGs are needed: (More advantages)

(1) Allows those who are not members of any pol party to take part in the DM process.

(2) Allows altering of some part of govt policy while retaining rest.

(3) Allows public to make their views known to govt.

(4) Can help in mobilise public debate over issues which the government is neglecting.

Sociological theories of power:

o Two forms of power:->Authority: Power that is accepted as just and right. And, therefore, obeyed on this basis. Ex.: Parliament. :->Coercion: Power not regarded as legitimate by those who are subject to it. Ex: Paki army in Bangladesh.

o Max Weber's view: Definition: "The chance of a man or a group of men to realise their will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."

[Understand that class-groups and status-groups are two possible basis for group formation, collective action and acquisition of political power.]

-> Power consists of the ability to get your own way even when others are opposed to your wish -> Also referred to as conflict-view of power ->Zero-sum view or Constant Sum.

->Two main conclusions from Weber's view: (A) Those who exercise power, do so at the expense of others ->There is a fixed amount of power, if you hold it, others don't. -> Hence, Constant-sum = because the amount of power is considered as constant. (B)Power-holder will tend to use power to further his own interests. -> Hence, power is used to further the sectional interests of particular groups in society.

o Robert Dahl: Also conflict-view -> A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that he would not do otherwise.

o Steven Lukes: Definition: 'A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests.' ->Put forward a radical view, though conflict view he broadens Weber's def ->Lukes points to three dimensions of power:
(A) Decision making, (B) Non-decision making, (C) Shaping desires= manipulating the wishes and desires of the social group. Eg: Feminists say men exercise power over them by persuading women that being mother and wife are most appropriate roles for them.

o Talcott Parsons' variable-sum concept of power -> Functionalist perspective: For survival of social system -> Value consensus is essential ->From shared values are derived common goals -> The more a society is able to realise these goals, the greater the power in a society.

For ex: In West-> Value: Materialism, Goal: Economic expansion and higher living standards. Steady Eco growth and improving living stand are sign of increasing power.

Unlike Weber, who said Power will be used to promote sectional interests, Parsons says it will be used to benefit the whole of the society because the society as a whole

has a common goal -> Variable-sum= Because power can increase or decrease, it is not constant.

o <u>Parsons': Power differential necessary</u>: Because cooperation on a large scale requires organisation and direction, which necessitates position of command ->Some are therefore granted the power to direct others. :-> Justifies stratification.

o <u>Criticism of Parsons</u>:Naïve->Ignores that power is often used to only promote sectional interests than collective goals. For eg: Tobacco lobbies.

<u>Michael Mann:</u>

Tries to reconcile both these views ->Sees power as the ability to pursue and attain goals through mastery of the environment.

<u>Forms of power:-></u>

(A) <u>Distributional power</u>:->Ability of <u>individuals</u> to get others to help them pursue their own goals. :-> Individuals hold distributional power.

(B) <u>Collective power</u>: One social group exercising power over another social group. Eg: Colonisation.

<u>Ways in which power can be exercised:-></u>

(A) <u>Extensive power</u>: Ability to <u>organise large number of people in far-flung areas</u> in order to engage in <u>minimum stable cooperation</u>. Example: Roman Catholic Church.

(B) <u>Intensive power</u>: Ability to <u>organise tightly</u> and <u>command a high-level of commitment</u> from the participants. Ex.: Religious sect.

Also, two different types of power:

(1) <u>Authoritative power</u>: Deliberate commands are issued ->And to whom these commands are issued make a conscious decision to follow them.

(2) <u>Diffused power</u>: More spontaneous. No commands are issued. Ex.: Market mechanisms.

	Authoritative	Diffused
Intensive	Army command structure	A general strike
Extensive	Militaristic empire	Market exchange

Source of power:FOUR SOURCES:->

o Economic -> Imp but does give it central position as Marx does.

o Ideological (power over ideas and beliefs),

o Political (power of the state)and

o Military (the use of physical coercion).

Disagrees with Marx, and says that each power can independent of the other. -> Mann says in a particular society, two or more of the four sources of power might be monopolised by a social group. But all power never rests in one set of hands.

For ex in Poland: Much of the population appeared to attach much more importance to the ideas of the Roman Catholic Church than to the communist state.

➢ Distribution of power in society:
   A.) Marx-> Economic criteria -> Distributed along class lines -> Remove private property, power differential will also disappear.
   B) Weber disagreed -> Even in Communist countries, power differential will exist ->Because bureaucracy is hierarchical.

Power elite

➢ Elite theories see power in society as being monopolised by a small minority

➢ They see society as being divided into two main groups:
   A ruling minority, who exercises power through the state, and the ruled.

➢ However, the elite theorists differ among themselves over whether elite rule is desirable or beneficial for the society; conclusions about inevitability of elite rule; and do not agree about exactly who constitutes the elite.

➢ Classical elite theory: Provided by Getano Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto -> Both saw elite rule as inevitable and dismissed any chance of a proletarian revolution.

➢ GetanoMosca ->"The Ruling class" ->The ruling class consists of those individuals:

(1) who <u>excel w.r.t certain qualities and achievements</u> which the society values.

(2) They are also <u>better organised</u> because they are <u>small</u> in number.

(3) They <u>don't rule by force alone</u>, but make use of a <u>political formula</u> ->This formula <u>provides moral and legal justification for their rule</u> through an ideology or a set of believes (4) The ruling class has to be an <u>open group</u>, to allow newer talent to occupy place.

➤ <u>Vilfredo Pareto: -></u><u>"The Mind and the Society"</u>

-> In this <u>used the term elite</u>. -> Pareto says elite are individuals who excel w.r.t to society's values and because there are variety in values, there are variety of elites. ->They are two kinds of elites: (A) <u>Lion-like elites</u>: Excel w.r.t to Residue of Persistence of Aggregates. They are strong and decisive.(B) <u>Fox-like elites:</u> Excel w.r.t Residue of Persistence of Combinations. They are cunning. Governance requires both kind of elites. -> Hence, <u>all revolutions are circulation of elites</u> – Lions or Foxes -> A process he called <u>'Circulation of elites'</u>.

➤ <u>Criticism</u>: These theories were criticised as they were <u>used by fascists to justify their rule</u>. They were also criticised for placing <u>undue emphasis on psychological characteristics</u>.

➤ <u>C Wright Mills:</u>

Limited his analysis to the American society of 1950s. -> He <u>did not believe that elite rule was inevitable</u>. ->Unlike Pareto, did not see the masses accepting the elite rule. -> He presented a <u>conflict version</u> of the elite rule->Because the elites and the masses had different interests. This created the potential for conflict between the two.

<u>Power elite</u>: Mills <u>explained</u> elite rule <u>in terms of institutional</u> rather <u>than psychological terms</u>.->Argued that the structure of the institutions was such that <u>those at the top of the institutional hierarchy</u>, largely monopolised power. -><u>Certain institutions occupied pivotal positions</u> in society and elite comprised those who held <u>Command posts</u>

Mills identified three key positions: Major corporations, military and the federal government. -> Those who occupied command positions in these institutions formed <u>three elites</u>. -> But, in practice the <u>interests and activities of the elites were sufficiently similar</u> and interconnected to form a single ruling majority -><u>Which Mills termed as the</u>

Power elite. Thus power elite involves -> 'Coincidence of economic, military and political power'. Eg: America.

Floyd Hunter: ->Conducted a survey in Atlanta using reputational approach -> to gauge who ha power. Asked judges to shortlist 40 names. It emerged that these were mostly from the most wealthy, connected with pol parties, etc -> The results match with Mills theory.

Robert Dahl: Conducted a study 'Whogoverns' in Connecticut. Used Decision-making as the criteria ->Identified three areas of DM: Social (education), Economic (Real estate) and Political (Political nomination). -> Dahl concluded that there were few people who took decisions -> But those who dominated one area, had no say in the other area. He called them notables. -> He refers to this as Elite pluralism -> Because of democracy, even poor influences decision making. -> Criticised for being naïve and ignore those who set the agenda. They are also powerful.

Nation, state, citizenship, democracy, civil society, ideology.

Ideology

o AD De Tracy -> 1796 -> Science of ideas.
o Def: An ideology is coherent body of ideas that provides the basis of organised collective action. This collective action may be intended to pressurise, modify or overthrow the existing social order.
o An Ideology :
    1) Offers a valid world-view.
    2) Interprets the environment and projects the self-image.
    3) Codifies and organises myths, outlooks and values.
    4) Presents a model of desired future.
    5) Defines people's aspirations and directs responses to social situations.
    6) Provides the method to reach that vision of good society, so legitimises social action.

Therefore, ideology is indispensible for collective action.

- o Marx: Ideology ispart of the superstructure. And works to preserve the existing ROP -> Hence, according to Marx ideology is 'false consciousness'. -> Interestingly, with Lenin, Marxism became an ideology.
- o Mention Weber too -> How can he ignored!
- o Gramsci: Base affects the superstructure and the superstructure affects the base.
    - I. State comprises of the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities within which the ruling class maintains its dominance and also manages to win over the active consent of those over whom it rules.
    - II. He says the state is made of made of two parts: Civil society (ex.) and political society (ex.). And ideology permeates both of them.
    - III. Gramsci says when people offer their active consent to the ruling class to rule, then hegemony is achieved and the state doesn't rule by cohesion.
    - IV. He says ideology is the basis of hegemony. ->And prime function of ideology is to gain hegemony. Because of hegemony it is difficult to overthrow capitalism.
- o Karl Manhie:
    - I. Wrote 'Ideology and Utopia'. -> Uses the term ideology in a neutral sense.
    - II. Says ideology is a thought system which is used to defend a particular social order.
    - III. Agrees with Marx that it brings in the interests of the dominant class. But, there is another thought system – Utopia- which is an idealised representation of the future and implies need for radical change. Hence, utopia is the ideology of the deprived.
- o End of ideology? -> View argued in the context of advanced industrial societies. As all societies are converging in the same direction.

State

- ➤ State is a CentralisedPolitical Association.
- ➤ Features of state:
    - I. Sovereign.
    - II. Associated with public institutions ->While civil society deals with private institutions.

III. Enjoys legitimacy.

IV. Territorially bound.

V. Acts as an institution of dominance and control.

VI. Its actions may be regulated or not, depending on whether it is (un) constitutional.

➢ Different types of states:
  I. Minimalist state

  II. Totalitarian state

  III. Developmental state -> Concerned with eco dev.

  IV. Collectivised state-> State is the only entrepreneur. Eg: communist states.

  V. Socio-democratic state -> Concerned with redistribution.

  VI. Patriarchal state.

➢ Hegel: In "Philosophy of Right" tried to idealise the concept of state. -> He says there are three movements of social existence = (A) Family – Particular altruism, (B) Civil Society – Universal egoism, (C) State – Universal altruism. –>Considered state as an ethical association.

➢ Marx: In a capitalist society, state is the 'committee of the bourgeoisie' ->To serve and protect the interest of the dominant class.

➢ Nick Poulantzas -> Marxist interpretation ->As state was part of the Superstructure, it will automatically serve the interests of the ruling class. -> It was not necessary for members of the ruling class to occupy elite positions.
  -> Argues that the capitalist state best serves the interests of the capitalist class only when members of this class do not participate directly in the state apparatus. -> As a result the state was relatively autonomous. -> But why?

(1) Bourgeoisie is internally divided -> state acts on behalf of the class as a whole.

(2) State has to make concessions to the subject class, to diffuse protests and keep the demands within the framework of a capitalist economy.

(3) It is able to promote the myth that it represents the whole society.

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

Civil society

➢ Considered essential for democracy -> Provides <u>safeguard</u> against -><u>arbitrary state power</u> and <u>atomised individualism</u>-> Both of which lead to authoritarianism.

➢ <u>Fergusson</u>: "An essay on the history of civil society" ->As compared to oriental despotism, in western Europe -> Civil society was present between state and people.

➢ <u>Hegel</u>: CS was between family and state. -> It was in the sphere of universal egoism -> For Hegel, CS was the sphere of economy.

➢ <u>Marx</u>: Dismissive of CS ->As dominated by bourgeoisie.

➢ <u>Gramsci</u>: Consisted of all private institutions -> CS Helped in the development of hegemony.

➢ <u>Recent opinion</u>: Seen in positive light + Arena of debate: Where government decisions are debated, criticised and alternatives searched

➢ Internet is contributing to the development of a <u>global CS.</u>

➢ <u>CS can also be regressive</u> (ISIS).

➢ <u>Larry Diamond</u>: Functions of CS in democracy:

    I.   Limits state power

    II.   Empowers citizens

    III.   Promotes democratic attitude among people

    IV.   Functions as recruiting and leadership generating agency.

    V.   Election monitoring

➢ <u>Scholte</u>: <u>Areas were CS could advance democracy</u>:

    I.   Public education

    II.   Voice to stakeholders.

    III.   Policy inputs

    IV.   Transparency and Public accountability

    V.   Legitimacy.

➢ <u>Dangers to Demo from CS</u>: (1) CS activities may not pursue democratic goals. (2) Inadequate representation could undermine the fabric of demo. (3) CS may lack internal demo.

Democracy

- The concept initially developed in Ancient Greece, where it was used in a pejorative sense. :-> It was feared that the rule of the majority will destroy Greek society.
- After the rise of democracy in 17th century, the concept of democracy was revived again. This time, it was seen as positive.
- Yet, democracy is also used to also legitimise authoritarian rule.
- Usually, what is referred to as democracy, is liberal democracy.

- Landmarks which led to the emergence of LD:
    1. Renaissance:->Paved the way for individual freedom.
    2. Reformation :->Subordination of religion to state.
    3. Secularisation
    4. Commercial revolution :-> Led to the breakdown of feudal order -> Authority of state was strengthened.
    5. Industrialisation :-> Led to growth of political parties.

- Views of Hobbes, Locke, Smith and Montesquieu.

- Features of LD:
    a) Individualism-> Individual is considered as the basic unit. :-> Individual is assumed to be rational :-> Therefore, he should be allowed to pursue his goal with least interference.
    b) Egalitarianism:->Equality before the law & equality of opportunity, but not of outcome.
    c) Secularism:->State has no religion. It should be guided by reason.
    d) Representative & responsible govt:->Not direct democracy. + Universal adult franchisee
    e) Political pluralism:-> Tolerance for dissent.
    f) Characterised by large sub-system of autonomy:-> Media.
    g) Clear distinction between state and civil society.
    h) Constitutionally defined limit on state.
    i) Independent judiciary
    j) Constitutionally-defined state.

k) Regular elections.

➢ Merits of democracy:
   a) Government protects the rights and liberties of people.
   b) Leads to inclusion of marginalised groups.
   c) Safeguard against misuse of power.
   d) Greater transparency and accountability.
   e) Government is responsive to the needs of the people.

➢ Demerits of democracy:
   a) Democracy can be populist.
   b) Prone to Majoritarianism
   c) Heber Mass :-> Inherent contradiction between LD and market economy.

Citizenship

o Idea of citizenship dates back to Ancient Greece. But its meaning then was different.

o Citizenship means full and responsible member of the political community. As member of the political community, members are entitled to certain rights, including the right to be protected by the state. It also involves certain duties like duties of patriotism – like owing allegiance to te state.

o TH Marshall and Citizenship
  He draws a link between the evolution of citizenship rights and the development of industrial society.
  i. Civil Rights: These were the first rights which were gained. These relate to freedom of speech, religion, property, conclude contracts, and right to justice. :-> Once these rights had been acquired, people began to campaign for political rights.
  ii. Political Rights: Right to participate in the electoral process. -> With increasing grip on political power, people began to fight for social rights.
  iii. Social Rights: These are associated with the development of welfare state.

Rights assumes that there is a degree of equality among citizens. But this idea can be at odds in a capitalist society. But Marshall saw the welfare state as a way of reducing inequality.

<u>Neo-liberal view</u>

They argue for active citizenship where citizens should be self-reliant than being overtly dependent on the state.. And they should be aware of their duties.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN MODERN SOCIETY

Education and social change:

➢ Education :-> Acts both as a source of continuity and change.

➢ Definition: A formal system of communication by which knowledge of values, believes and ideas are transmitted from the older to the younger generation. When the knowledge is shared among generations -> Leads to affiliation b/w generations.

➢ Education in India (before British) was:->(a) Religious (b) Esoteric (c) Acted as a source of continuity and maintaining the dominance of upper castes.

➢ Education introduced by the British: (a) Secular (b) open to all (c) scientific ->As it challenged the then present social structure in India ->It acted as a source of change. How?

    i.   Encouraged innovation and scientific methods of experimentation.

    ii.   Broadened the scope of knowledge ->By introducing newer ideas.

    iii.   Raised expectations by changing Reference Group.

➢ Changes British education brought in India: ->(1) Led to the modernisation of India.

(2) Demand for equality (protests by Dalits, women, OBCs).

(3) Provided means for social mobility.

(4) Scientific education = secularisation of society.

(5)Because of common education = Helped in building a common consensus. -> Enabled democracy and democratic thoughts to take root.

Sociological analysis: Class and inequalities in education

➢ Education provides a framework for social interaction to take place b/w teacher and students->This interaction is shaped by the social origins of both the teacher and the student

➢ A survey by Y Singh -> Found that 80% of university teachers were from twice-born castes -> These teachers were overwhelmingly from middle-class -> Y Singh argues that during the teacher-student interaction, it was likely that these teachers will emphasise on middle-class values such as: Differed gratification, ambition, career planning, middle-class mannerisms and social etiquettes.

➢ Studies have established link between class and ethnicity of the student and his educational attainments (Studies in the US found a link between low IQ scores and

black students) -> A link has been established between <u>sub-cultures and educational attainment</u>. -> This leads to a <u>vicious circle</u> ->Because entry into modern society is determined by the quality and years of formal education.

➤ <u>Herbert Hyman</u> :The <u>values</u> of lower classes put a '<u>self-imposed barrier</u>' on excelling in education. This is because: (a) People from the lower class <u>attach less importance to formal education</u> as a way <u>for personal advancement</u>. (b)They emphasise on: stability, security and immediate economic benefit ->And tend to reject the need for investing in education as they don't see its immediate impact.

➤ <u>Barry Sugarman</u>: Tries to bring forth why the lower classes think the way they do. He says this is because->In <u>middle-class jobs</u> there are <u>enough opportunities for continuous advancement</u>. Hence, they are willing to invest time, money and energy because they are reasonably sure of success. But, for a <u>lower-class jobs</u>->There is an <u>absence of any career structure</u> -> Hence, he strives for immediate gratification.

[These arguments are also valid for lower castes and poor people in India]

➤ <u>Raymond Bourdon</u> :->Even if there were no sub-cultural difference – then too educational differences will remain – Because they start from different positions – Hence, for a lower-class boy becoming a waiter is an achievement, and 'social promotion', it will be 'social demotion' for an upper-class boy. <u>As a result, there are greater pressures + investments in the education of an upper-class boy then that of a working class-boy.</u>

Bourdon offers another explanation -> If a working boy excels in education and gets a big job -> His <u>peer-group society weaken and he has no support too</u>. Whereas, the upper-class boy is moving in his own circle. :->Bourdon argument has the implication that even if the state provides for good primary education then too differences will remain in educational attainments.

<u>Bourdon's solution</u>: (a) Provide <u>single compulsory curriculum</u> for all students. -> The more the branching points, the more the propensity in the lower-class boy to choose a lower course. (Lower branching points in USA vs. Europe). (b) Move in the direction of economic equality. -> 'The key lies outside the school than inside'.

➤ <u>Marxist argument</u>: Equality in education impossible without an equal social order. But, in Russia, inequality exists in higher education, but it is less in school education (<u>Richard Dobson's</u> study).

Education as a medium of cultural reproduction, indoctrination, social stratification and mobility

- Marxist: Education is a system of cultural reproduction (Education justifies the system of class relationship which exists in society, promotes consumerism), indoctrination and perpetuates social stratification.

- Pierre Bourdieu: In practice education only reproduces inequalities of society->The role of education is to reproduce the culture of the dominant class. He refers to this dominant culture as cultural capital because via the educational system, it can be translated into wealth and power. -> Students from the upper class have the advantage because they have been socialised into the dominant culture. -> The educational system merely eliminates the members of the working class – the dice is loaded against them, so they naturally quit.

- Al Thusser: Education serves the interest of the ruling class ->Since Ruling class requires labour -> Education performs two functions: (a) Skills the labour force (b) Socialises the workforce to be obedient. -> Since power can be held only be force, education socialises the students to believe that the existing system is just.

- Bowles and Gintis : Applied Al Thusser's argument to schools in USA to examine relationship between personality traits and examination grades. -> Found: Low grades were associated with creativity, aggression and independence – such traits were penalised by school. Whereas, high grades associated with subordinancy and discipline.
  Concluded: Schools perpetuate the relationship of subordination and dominance – needed for the survival of the capitalist economic system.

- Ivan Illich: Non-Marxist: 'Deschooling society". Schools smother creativity and imagination, induce conformity and stupefy them to accept the interests of the powerful.
  Alternative:-> (a) Skill exchanges: Teach skills needed in daily life. (b) Learning webs: Student finds a problem, then works with others to find a solution. This will increase innovation.

Educational inequality and social stratification

- The advantage of being middleclass or upper-middleclass increases with years of schooling. -> Because they have greater resources to continue studying. -> Hence, inequality increases.

- Money can buy education ->Hence, link between social stratification& education inequality.

- Upper-class ->Less pressure to leave school and start earning.

Science, technology and social change - > From Sir's notebook.

[## How is IT conducive for emergence of SMs: (1) <u>Demonstration effect</u>: IT brings people together as a result feeling of relative deprivation increases. -> Helps in mobilising people. (2) <u>Breakdown of pluralistic ignorance:</u> Makes one aware of each other's conditions and hence unite.

Agents of social change

Emile Durkheim	Population increase + Increase in interaction leads to change in division of labour.
Spenser and Parsons	Change in environment, leads to change in social system through structural differentiation/integration.
Diffusionists	Culture tends to move from the deficient to the dominant through cultural borrowing. There is also sometimes backlash, referred to as contra acculturation. (eg: Religious fundamentalism).
Max Weber	(1) Ideology :->Changes in values, ideas, beliefs, etc. :-> Neil J Smelser :-> Ideology of nationalism contributed to modernisation of societies. (2) Charismatic leadership :->Because of its

|	ability to renounce the past and transcend the rational norms.
Lewis Morgan, Karl Marx, Leslie White and Gordon Childe	Role of technology
Social movements	SNDP, Dravidian movement, Mahars in Maharashtra, and Naxalbari in Bengal.
Fortuitous factors	Black death in England -> Led to shortage of labour -> End of feudalism -> Development of industry.
Emergence of common purpose, backed by state action	Planning process in India.

Development and dependency

o Explains why certain 3rd world countries continue to be poor and underdeveloped.

o Distinguishes between un-development and underdevelopment.

o Locates the primary cause of underdevelopment in external relations -> i.e. relations between rich and poor countries.

o Ausvaldo Surkan: Dependency is defined as an explanation of economic development of a state in terms of external influences – namely political, economic and cultural, on the national development policies.

o Dos Santos: Dependency is a historical condition which shapes the world economy in such a way that it favours some countries to the decrement of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies.

o Vincent Farerro: There are certain points common to all dependency theories:

1. Underdevelopment is different from un-development.

2. Poor countries not poor because they lack HR, S&T -> But because they have been coercively integrated into an economic system where they are producers of raw material and repositories of cheap labour for the developed countries.

3. The developed countries do not allow the developing countries to pursue policies which will lead to competition to the developed countries.

4. The model of economic development of the rich countries cannot be the model for the poor countries ->Because they have grown rich at the expense of the poor countries.

5. Repudiate the views of neo-classical economics that growth will trickle down.

o Paul Prebisch, director, UN Economic Commission for Latin America -> Economic development in rich countries lead to serious economic problems in the poor countries. Rostov's model had suggested -> 3rd world countries are poor because they were late in joining the race of industrial development, they will catch up when the learn the methods.

o Andre Gundrefrank&Walerstein – both Marxists- agreed with Presbich:

1. Because of the present nature of economic relationship between rich and poor countries ->The poor countries were unlikely to catch up.
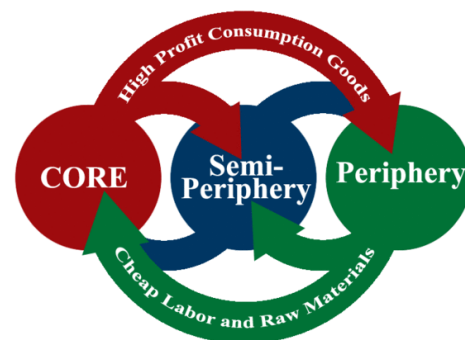
Wallerstein's World System Theory Model

2. At best, the nature of relationship between the two will lead to -> Dependent development, i.e., few pockets of development will be created in these poor countries.

3. Agreed that capital & tech flows from the rich to the poor countries-> But it was used in a manner that it benefits the rich counties. And a small minority elite in the poor country

4. Poverty has persisted in the same areas for centuries. Eg: Latin America, while Europe has remained prosperous.

o Wallerstein's World System Approach

1. World is one integrative system

2. This system is a mechanism through which resources are redistributed from the periphery to the core.

3. Core: ->Has most favourable relationship. -> Consists of those countries which are not dominated but dominate others.

And in the same way -> Explain semi-periphery and periphery (wholly dominated.)

4. <u>Attributes of core:</u> (Remember USA and write) Economically most developed -> Militarily powerful -> Industrialised -> Specialises in Information, Finance and Technology -> Produces manufactured goods ->Technology breakthroughs occur in core -> Very effective and powerful state institutions that manage external and internal economic affairs ->Free from external control -> Control semi-periphery and periphery through various methods.

5. <u>Attributes of periphery:</u> (Remember colonised India) Least economically diversified ->Specialise in primary production -> They are targets for investment for core countries ->Overwhelming majority of people are poor and lack skills -> Sharp inequalities -> State is weak -> Core nations can easily influence their policies.

6. <u>Attributes of semi-periphery:</u> Between the two.

7. <u>Marx talked about class system in a society, Wallerstein talks of a class system within the world.</u> Says core has always dominated by hegemons.

8. 1450: Spain and Portugal colonised S. America -> From 1600 England colonised ->After 2nd world war, America emerged -> In 21st century, America is declining.

o <u>Andre Gunder Frank:</u>
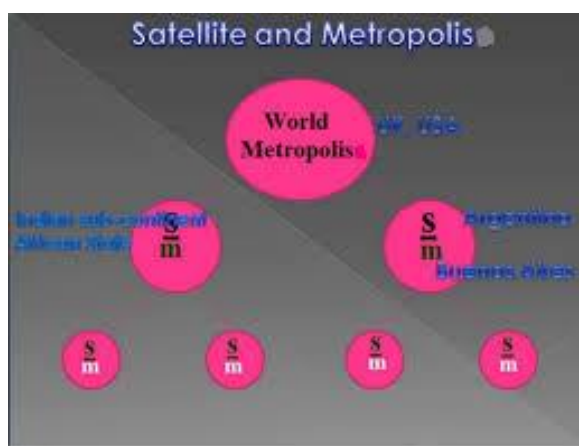
1. Dependency relations is not limited to external arena, but permeates within the country too. -> Cities become metropolis and small tows/villages become satellites.

2. In the global economic system, metropolitan countries develop by expropriating the economic surpluses of the satellites and perpetuate their underdevelopment.

3. This relationship is found not only between the rich metropolitan countries of the West and the poor satellite countries of the world but within a country too where the hinterland supplies to the city and is exploited by it.

4. The city is the key in AGF's theory -> Metropolis use cities to govern these counties but also for draining them of their surplus. -> In this the ruling elite of the city helps the metropolis by exploiting their satellites. -> As a result a global chain up to the level of the village is formed. -> In return, developed countries tolerate dictators because they are able to use force to exploit the countryside.

5. Solution: (a) 3rd world countries: Form your own block like OPEC. (b) Breakaway from the metropolis when it is weak, as China did after WW2 and work in isolation. -> AGF says this may require socialist rev to overcome comprador class.

Methods of controlling dependency: Promotion of domestic industry ->Limit on imports -> Restrict Foreign investment -> Nationalisation.

Criticism of dependency theories

1. Ignores that nations can develop on their own too in certain cases.
2. World is not so well integrated into C/S-P/P or Metro/Satt.
3. Simplistic.
4. Globalisation -> Capital and Tech flows have resulted in dev of countries. Eg: Asian Tigers.
5. Latest tech is being transferred.

Optimistic view of dependency theory: Fernando Cordoso + E falsetto :-> Better tech + Better Managerial capacity + Indigenous middle-class -> Creates local middle-class, use local capital -> Economy takes off. Eg: Asian Tigers.

Sociological theories of change:

Distinction between Change, Evolution, Development and Progress

Evolution: Descent with modification.

<u>Development</u>: LT Hobhouse :-> Involves: [FEMS] :-> <u>Increase in scale, efficiency, mutuality and freedom</u>. :-> In ordinary usage, development means gradual unfolding, a duller working out, of the details of anything – the growth of what is in the germ.

<u>Social Progress</u> : LT Hobhouse distinguished between social evolution and social progress. As per him, evolution is any sort of growth, while progress is the growth of social life <u>in respect of those qualities to which human beings attach value</u>.

Sociological theories of change can be divided into two categories:

1. Linear theories
    i) Classical evolutionism:-> BECAUSE OF CONSENSUS
        (1) August Comte -> Idealist conception of evolution
        (2) Herbert Spenser -> Naturalist concept of evolution
        (3) Lewis Morgan -> Materialist concept of evolution
        (4) Emile Durkheim-> Socialistic concept of evolution.
        (5) Ferdinand Toennies -> Evolution without progress.
        (6) Lester Ward -> Evolution of evolution

    ii) Neo-evolutionism:

        1) Leslie white -> Technological determinism.
        2) Julian Steward -> Multi-lineal evolution.
        3) Marshall Sahlins and E Service -> Distinction b/w general and specific evolution.
        4) Gerhard and Jean Lenski -> Ecological-evolutionary approach
        5) Parsons and extended theory of differentiation.

    iii) Historical Materialism -> BECAUSE OF CONFLICT.

2. Cyclical Theories.
    i) Nikolai Danilevsky
    ii) Oswald Spengler
    iii) Arnold Toynbee
    iv) Pareto -> Circulation of elites
    v) Sorokin -> Rhythms of cultural change

<u>August Comte -> Idealist conception of evolution</u>

- Driving force of change is in the mind ->How people comprehend the world affects all other aspects of social life: economic, political and military. -> Based on this human civilisation passes through three stages: Stage 1: Theological (People invoke supernatural things to explain phenomena on earth), Stage 2: Metaphysical (replace God with abstract causes and reason -> Concepts of sovereignty, rule of law, etc., develop in political life), and Stage 3: Positive stage (People explain things based on empirical evidence, observation, etc.)

Herbert Spenser ->Naturalist concept of evolution

- Borrows from biology ->Society evolves by means of structural and functional differentiation. -> From simple society (all members perform similar activities, no role specialisation, no specialised political organisation) ->To complex (DOL among individuals emerge, pol org appear) ->To doubly complex (possess common territory, a permanent Constitution and system of laws) -> Civilisation (modern nation states).

Lewis Morgan -> Materialist concept of evolution

- Technological deterministic -> Explained evolution through change in technologies. -> Humans have needs-> These needs provide stimuli to search for means to satisfy these needs -> Leads to tech innovation -> Once new tech emerge they change the whole character of society.-> Human history passes through 3 distinct phases: Savagery (gathering of fruits and nuts), Barbarianism (discovery of fire and fishing, till production of iron tools) and Civilisation (discovery of writing). Each is associated with technological breakthrough.

Emile Durkheim->Sociologistic concept of evolution

- Increase in population leads to increase in demographic density -> Leads to increase in intensity of interaction, hence, increase in moral density -> As a result society moves from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity.

Ferdinend Toennies -> Evolution without progress

- Rare example of an evolutionist who does not believe that evolution leads to progress. -> Says evolution runs counter to human needs, leading to deterioration rather than improvement in human life.

Trait	Gemeinschaft	Gesellschaft
Social relationships	Kinship	Economic exchange
Typical institution	Family	State and economy
Central institutions	Village	City
Form of wealth	Land	Money
Social control	Folkways, religion	Law & public opinion

Lester Ward -> Evolution of evolution

➢ Mechanism of evolution is not constant, itself undergoes change ->Broadly divides evolution into two types: Genesis: This is the period of spontaneous, natural evolution. And Telesis: Relatively recent period of human history, this relates to goal-oriented evolution.

➢ Telesis is unique because it is guided by awareness and purposefulness of human action.

➢ Genesis consists of: Consmogenesis, biogenesis (humans appear) and anthropogenesis (Human mind and consciousness appear).

➢ As these three processes are unfolding, humans develop the concept of society ->Sociogenesis (Associated with Telesis). All four processes together lead to continuous evolution.

Common core of evolutionist theories:

1. Human history has a pattern. :-> This pattern can be discovered. :-> The goal of the evolutionary theory is to reconstruct this pattern. :-> It will provide understanding of the history and prediction of the future.

2. The whole of the society evolves together not in fragments (religion, economy, tech).

3. Evolution is seen as progress. Exception: Tonnies.

4. The evolutionary trajectory is divided into distinct stages, phases or period :->which follow a constant sequence and cannot be skipped.

5. The change is seen as direction :-> From primitive to developed. :-> From simple to complex. :->From dispersed to aggregate. :-> From homogeneity to heterogeneity.

6. This movement is consistent and irreversible.

7. No earlier state repeats itself. And each later state is higher on the scale of complexity and differentiation.

Weaknesses of the classical evolutionists

1. Historians disagree that history has patterns.

2. The assumption that whole of history undergoes evolution together has been put in doubt by the growing evidence of plurality and heterogeneity of human population.

3. Evidence suggests that a long period of history was stagnant. The absolutism of change has a bias of the modern epoch.

4. Disagree that there is a direction of change.

Neo-evolution theories:

➢ In the 1950s, the evolutionary theories re-emerged.

➢ This time they relied more on disciplines such as archaeology, palaeontology, anthropology – these disciples were backed by empirical evidence. Earlier theories were more philosophical.

➢ How neo-evolutionists differ from evolutionists:

    i. Don't comment on the whole of human society -> Instead their area of study is more limited.

    ii. Main concern is what caused evolution, then what will be the sequence of evolution.

    iii. No moral judgments.

    iv. Probalistic rather than deterministic.

    v. Incorporates insights from other branches.

    vi. Don't think every stage has to be followed in that order.

Leslie White -> Technological Determinism

- Culture develops and advances through the increase of the <u>type of energy, amount of energy harnessed per capita/per year, and the efficiency with which the energy is utilised.</u> ->First human physical energy is utilised -> Then animal energy through domestication ->With agriculture revolution, energy of soil is utilised ->With discovery of fuels, hydrocarbon energy is utilised -> Finally, nuclear energy.

Julian Steward -> Concept of Multi-lineal evolution

- Doesn't develop any one single theory of evolution -> Instead studies different cultures. As evolution affects these cultures differently.

- Treats evolution as multi-lineal in two senses: (a) <u>In the inter-societal sense</u>: Evolution runs along different paths in different societies, because of the unique conditions in each society. (b) <u>In the intra-societal sense:</u>Evolution of various social fields (culture, economy, polity) follow different course.

- But in spite of these differences, <u>there are some commonalities: Preponderance of techno-economic factors</u> ->But this <u>should not be equated with technological determinism.</u> The core of the society is affected by tech-eco factors, socio-pol orgs and ideology (In decreasing importance).

Marshall Sahlins and E Service -> Distinction b/w general and specific evolution

- <u>General evolution</u>: -> Overall direction of humanity.
- <u>Specific evolution</u>:-> Evolution to adapt to specific environments. -> Leads to diversity among cultures and societies.
- <u>Conflict</u>: ->The society or culture may become so adapted through specialisation to its environment, so well adjusted to its ecological niche, that it is no longer able to innovate or leap forward to higher levels of tech and social organisation. -> This will lead to stagnation than change.

Gerhard and Jean Lenski -> Ecological-evolutionary approach

- Influence of biology is evident.
- There are patterns and trends in human history.
- The most significant trend is technological advance ->But underneath technological advance is amount of information available to control the environment. As this information increases, society evolves.

- Sequence of change: Tech – eco- pol – distributive system
- They use tech to classify society into periods: (a) Hunting and gathering (up to BC 7000) (b) Horticulture (BC 7000-3000) (c) Agrarian (BC 3000– 1800 AD)(d) Industrial (1800 AD onwards)

Parsons and extended theory of differentiation

Write about his cybernetics theory.

Cyclical Theories (IMAGINE AS A CIRCLE)

- Social change does not move in a line, but in a circle
- Instead of persistent direction, see recurrence.
- Instead of novelty, see repetition.
- Instead of unlimited possibilities :-> See periodical exhaustion of potentialities.
- Temporary return to the beginning of the process.

Nickolai Danilevsky

- "Russia and Europe"
- Argues civilisations emerge -> Develop their own values and culture -> Then pass away without being continued in their essential form by any other civilisation.
- Identified three types of historical agents: Positive, negative & simply ethnographic material.
- Identified 10 civilisations as positive, includes, Hindu, Roman and Egyptians. While, Hun, Mongols and Turks as negative as they destructed civilisation.
- Three stages in the life course of great civilisation:-> Period of emergence -> Period of blossoming -> Period of dissolution.

Oswald Spengler

- No linear progress in history :-> But a life-story of "high cultures".
- Each culture follows a lifecycle of: Childhood, youth, manhood and old age.
- Identified eight "high cultures": Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, Chinese, Graeco-Roman, Arabian, Mexican and Western. :->Each of these cultures has its dominant theme.
- Each of these cultures emerges, grows, and after fulfilling its destiny, dies.

Arnold Toynbee

- Singles out 21 civilisations with independent themes & life cycles.

- Each civilisation has a dominant theme. For ex, it is religion in Hindu civilisation, while S&T in western civilisation.

- Civilisations arise because of the presence of two factors :-> Creative minority + Environmental conditions.

Vilfredo Pareto :->Circulation of elites.

Pitrin Sorokin

[Difference between Sorokin and others is that while others look for differences, he searches for common pts.]

- Non-linear theory of social change.

- Also referred to as social realist -> Referred to himself as an INTEGRALIST.

- Collected data on Western civilisation from 600 BC to 20th century ->Because was searching for patterns in history. -> Supplemented his data with India, Chinese and Arabic history.

- Takes socio-cultural system as the unit of analysis for the study of change. ->These are taken as the source of analysis because they constitute an integrated whole. ->Doesn't take national communities as the unit of analysis.

- These integrated wholes are woven around a central theme. ->He referred to them as Weltanchauung.

- Because the central theme of the socio-cultural system is centred aroundthe Weltanchauung, therefore, the Weltanchauung also influences law, art, science, culture.

Sorokin then surveyed world history and identified three Weltanchauung:

1. Sensate Weltanchauung : Relates to senses- > From the beginning of the history – to arrival of Christianity.

2. Ideational Weltanchauung: From arrival of Christianity.

3. Idealistic Weltanchauung: Rational combination of sensate and ideational. -> From 13th century, Starts with renaissance.

4. <u>Sensate Weltanchauung:</u> At present, Sorokin says Sensate Weltanchauung is on. But it is peaking-> Russian Revolution, and WW1 &2 are examples of crisis. -> And this Weltanchauung is in the declining phase.

➢ From Sensate Weltanchauung , society will move to idealistic Weltanchauung.

➢ <u>Principles which govern Weltanchauung:</u>

(a) Principle of <u>Limit of Weltanchauung</u> -> Each Weltanchauung develops till it reaches a peak and then it declines.

(b) Principle of <u>Imminent Change</u>: Change is bound to happen, after peak.

(c) Change from one W to another is not smooth -> Accompanied with crises.

➢ <u>Criticism:</u> (a) Theory can't be tested ->As his predictions will take centuries to come true. (b) Deterministic -> Man has no control over the world. (c) Doesn't explain the future order of Weltanchauung.

- Kinship:->Kinship system refers to a set of persons recognised as relatives either by virtue of blood (consanguine) or by virtue of marriage (affinity) .

  So, KINSHIP = AFFINITY + CONSANGUINITY

  Social recognition of these relations is more important than existence of biological ties.

  Kin relations provide a method of passing status & property from one generation to next.

  Consanguinity:-> Blood relations

  Affinity: Marriage relations. Example: Father-in-law.

  - o Descent group: Groups formed on the basis of consanguinity alone are referred to as descent groups.:->Includes both lineal and collaterals.(Remember: Members of these have same descent. Like born from the same tree):->It does not include affine.

- Types of descent groups:
  - a) Patrilineal unilineal descent:-> Descent is traced from father's line.
  - b) Matrilineal unilineal descent :->Descent is traced from the mother's line. This is rare, exists among the Nairs of Kerala and certain tribes of Meghalaya)
  - c) Cognate (bilateral) :->Attributes are transmitted equally through both the parents. This is a feature of modern society.
  - d) Double descent group :-> When descent is traced from both father's and mother's line for different attributes. For ex: Movable property in one line, immovable in another. In Yako of Nigeria.
  - e) Parallel descent. Eg: Red Indians of Brazil.
  - f) Cross or alternative type of descent

- Functions of descent groups

Functions of descent group:

o **Exogamous**: Strong sense of shared identity

o **Cultural function**: come together for ritual and ceremony functions

o **Propertymanagement**: descent group will have a **built-in authority structure**, with power normallyexercisedby senior males, and it may well own corporate property

o **Rolesharing**:An individual's economicrights & responsibilities defined by his/ her position

o **Jural Units**: many societiesunilineal descent groups internally decide their own disputes.

Descent and Inheritance:

- Rules of inheritance co-ordinate with descent in most societies, but not always in a 1 to 1 manner

- In most parts of India, in past, immovable property such as land wasinherited only by sons. In absence of sons, except under rare circumstances, by nearest male relatives on the father's side. One other hand, movable property inform of cash and jewellery was given to the daughter at time of her marriage, with a certain amount of jewellery also passing from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law.

- In addition to property of various kinds, rights and obligations, esoteric knowledge,crafts and skills, etc., might be passed on in accordance with kinship roles, successionto office to chieftainship, kingship, dynasty politics etc. In such cases, individual's status is saidto be 'ascribed', not 'achieved'.

- Though it's not much of a feature of modern societies, oneshould not underestimate the importance of kinship connections in modernsocieties too. Often one finds that in a family if father is a doctor or lawyer the son ordaughter is also likely to choose the same occupation.

Clan:

A social group which traces its descent from a mythical ancestor. Like Hindu Gotra. :-> It is a large and diverse group.

:->Common interests or actions do not characterise the relationship among clan members because they are scattered over a large territory.

:->A clan becomes significant only in the context of marriage.

:->It performs two functions: (a) Regulation of marriage :-> Members of the same clan do not intermarry. (b) Worship the same totem god.

- Lineage: (A smaller sub-group of Clan)

  Social groups formed on the basis of having descended from a common ancestor. :->Clans are divided into lineages i.e. a sub-group of clan.

  :-> Members of the lineage live in close proximity so have greater occasions for cooperation or conflict.

  :->Clan is a highly functional group

  :-> Performs two functions: (a) ECONOMIC FUNCTION: In simple societies land was assigned to a lineage. Members cooperated to produce food. In tribal societies, slash-and-burn agriculture performed by members of a common lineage. (b) POLITICAL FUNCTION:Earlier, the head of the lineage would govern the community. E.g.:->Nuer of Sudan.

- Modernisation and industrialisation has led to breakdown of clan and lineage ties.

- Family: A social group consisting of both affine and consanguine.

  :->Basis of family is the institution of marriage.

  :->Though the institution of family is considered universal. :-> There are several variations. :-> Hence, no single definition exists which defines all forms of marriage.

- GP Murdock:->Claimed some form of family existed in every society :-> And concluded that family is universal

  :->Defined it as :"A social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation, and sexual reproduction. It consists of adults of both the sexes, at least two of whom maintain socially approved sexual relations. And the children born to or adopted by the sexually cohabitating adults."

  Exceptions to Murdock's definition :->Nayars, Black families in USA, Gay and Lesbian marriages

  :->Yanina Sheeran:-> Argues that female-carer core is the most basic family unit. :->Exception:->Oceania in Pacific. :->Women stay till child is born and then move to the next husband.

- Family: Functionalist perspective:

a) Murdock: Family performs <u>four functions</u>: Sexual, Reproductive, Economic (Husband: Hunts, Wife: Cooks)and Educational. :->Because of this immense utility of a nuclear family, it is universal.

<u>Criticism:</u> (1) Murdock's description of family is like a multi-tool, indispensible boy-scot knife. (2) Does not search for whether other social institutions can perform the functions of the family. (3) Families are not as harmonious as Murdock makes it out to be.

b) <u>Parsons:</u>->(1) <u>Primary Socialisation</u>: Internalisation of society's culture + Structuring of personality to be in line with the culture:->According to Parsons, <u>families are factories which produce human personalities</u>. The second function is (2) <u>Adult Personality Stabilisation</u> :-> As a counterweight to the stresses and strains of everyday life which tends to make personality unstable + Family allows them to act out childish elements of their own personalities.

<u>Criticism:</u> (a) Idealised picture of family (b) Based on America middle-class families :-> ignores other classes, regions, religions, etc. (c) Fails to explore functional alternatives to family. (d) Ignores two-way interaction between parent-child. (e) Feminists criticise it.

c) <u>Marxist:</u> <u>Advocated by Friedrich Engels</u> :-> Argued that as the mode of production changed, so did the family :-> During <u>primitive communism:</u> Sexual promiscuity and society itself was family. :->Private property :->Emergence of nuclear family and restriction on women. <u>Criticism:</u> Researches have shown that many hunting and gathering families are nuclear. But K. Gough says thought it is not a group marriage – In Engles' sense, marriage has a group character.

d) <u>Feminist perspective</u>: They have highlighted the harmful effects of family on women. :->They have introduced the study of areas of family life such as housework and domestic violence into sociology. :->They have challenged the male dominance of family life and have questioned the view that family is

becoming egalitarian. :-> They have also highlighted the economic contribution to society by women's domestic labour within the family.

- Nuclear families: :-> Smallest family unit :-> Consists of husband, wife and their immature offspring. :-> Murdock found that nuclear family existed in all societies he studied.

  Features: :->
  (1) Associated with bilateral descent :->
  (2) conjugal bonds important :->
  (3) Relationship between husband and wife tends to be egalitarian. :->
  (4) Joint role in household :->
  (5) Decision-making collective :->
  (6) Characteristic of industrial society. :->
  (7) Marriage alliance based on compatibility.

- Extended families:-> Units larger than the nuclear family are known as extended family. :->Can include horizontal or vertical extension of nuclear family.

  Features :->
  (a) Associated with uni-lineal descent. :->
  (b) Characterised by subordination of conjugal bonds to consanguine bonds. :->
  (c) DoL based on sex :->
  (d) Marriage alliances based on family compatibility than individual compatibility. :->
  (e) Authority in family characterised on gerentocratic principle.

- In between nuclear and extended families is compound family (Polygyny and polyandry-based families) and stem family (In Europe:-> Where younger son moved out, after elder son's marriage).

- Marriage:

It is defined as a social arrangement through which individuals or groups acquire certain special rights over each other. :-> Also referred to as social recognition of sexual relations

:->These rights are both kinship rights and domestic rights. :->(A)Kinship rights are: (1) Sexual rights :->Right to seek sexual gratification. (2) Right to bear or beget children. And (B) Domestic rights:->Right to seek cooperation for management of household.

➢ Household:

A domestic group whose members share common residence and cooperation at the domestic level.[Family is a kin group].

➢ On the basis of rights, Marriage can be divided as:

a) Monogamous rights:->Exclusive rights:-> Rights vested in a single individual.

   i. Straight-life monogamy:->Allowed to marry only once. Eg: Women in A India.

   ii. Serial monogamy :->Divorce & marriage permitted. Eg: Eliz Taylor.

 b)Rights are shared:->

   i. Polygyny: A husband has many wives :-> Hence, women share rights. Eg: Kulin Brahmins in Bengal.

   ii. Polyandry: Rights are shared among males. Eg: Todas of Nilgiris.

➢ Preferential marriage :->Eg: Cross-cousin marriage in S India.

➢ Rules of residence: Virilocal, uoxrilocal, neolocal, fratrilocal and Amitalocal(Move to father's sister's house, after marrying father's sister's daughter.

Patriarchy and sexual division of labour:

➢ Patriarchy's literal meaning:-> 'Rule of father'. :->Means: Exercise of power of men over women.

➢ Patriarchy is closely connected with Division of Labour in Society.

- It involves women being subject to compulsory domesticity + being denied control over productive resources + becoming dependent on men = This gives rise to gender inequality. [CD^2= GENDER INEQUALITY]

- Sex and Gender

- That sex marks a distinction between two physically and genetically discrete categories is called Sexual dimorphism. Beginning in 1960s, writers began to question sexual dimorphism and said that differences between men and women were as much social as biological.

- Robert Stoller was the first person to make a distinction between sex and gender. -> Stoller said that the term Gender has psychological and cultural connotations – if the proper terms for sex are male and female, then the corresponding terms for gender are 'masculine' and 'feminine' – These might be independent of sex. -> Implies that being a woman does not mean being feminine so does not have to be caring and compassionate.

- Ann Oakley:

  Gender-> Socially and culturally constructed roles that men and women play in society.

  Oakley rejects that behaviour of men and women in society is based on sex, but says it is culturally and socially determined.

- Hormones:

  Some scientists believe :-> Variation in the behaviour and social roles of men and women can be explained in terms of hormones and brain differences. :-> Some scientists have drawn a link between levels of testosterone and aggression. Criticism: None of these studies are conclusive.

- Brain lateralisation thesis: Left hemisphere specialises in verbal and language skills, while the Right hemisphere specialises in visual-spatial activities. :->In women, left hemisphere is more dominant, while in men, the right hemisphere is more dominant.

- Sociobiology: They say they take forward Darwin's theory. :-> And evolution is not just limited to physical characteristics, but affect even behaviour. :-> Males produce of millions of sperms :-> This makes them promiscuous. Whereas, woman produce much less eggs, hence they are more circumspect in picking their spouse.

- Fox and…

- GP Murdock: The <u>gender roles were determined on the basis of biology</u>because it was the most practical thing to do :-> Men were physically stronger while women bear children. :->And therefore men had to perform physically strenuous tasks (hunting, lumbering, mining, etc), while women because they gave birth to children and could only feed them, did the household work. <u>Murdock found that sexual division of labour was present in all societies in his sample</u>, and concluded that this is because of the advantages associated with DOL based on sex.

- <u>Talcott Parsons</u>: Said nuclear families in modern society performed two functions: (a) Socialisation of the young. (b) Stabilisation of adult personalities. Women was primarily responsible for socialisation of the young because due to child bearing and nursing, mother-child develop a strong bond towards each other. And, second, since she trained to give warmth & care (Parsons uses the term expressive)she could extend it to the older male also.

  Parsons argued that there had to be a clear cut sexual DOL for the family to operate efficiently as a social system, and that the instrumental and expressive roles complemented each other and promoted social solidarity.

- <u>Ann Oakley</u>: Rejects Murdock's and Parsons' argument. :->Murdock had argued that sexual DOL was universal. :-> Oakley rejects this. She looked at Murdock's own data and found support <u>to argue that sex did not determine DOL</u>. She found societies where lumbering is done exclusively by women; also societies where women do land clearing and where cooking is shared between both the sexes. Other examples: Women work on building sites in India; Part of military in Israel; Mbuti Pygmies (in Congo rainforests) both man and woman share the responsibility of childcare.

On Parsons :->Expressive housewife-mother role is not necessary for the functioning of the family unit -><u>It merely exists for the convenience of the men.</u>

Oakley: Four main ways through which socialisation into gender roles take place:

1. Child's self-concept is affected by <u>Manipulation</u>. -> Mothers pay more attention to girls' hair.

2. Differences are achieved through <u>canalisation</u>, involving the direction of boys and girls towards different objects. Ex: Type of toys, girls get dolls, boys get guns.

3. Use of <u>verbal appellations</u>, 'You are a naughty boy', 'You are a good girl'.

4. Male and female children are exposed to <u>different activities</u>. For example, girls are encouraged to take domestic tasks.

➢ <u>Shulamith Firestone</u>: "<u>Dialectics of Sex</u>": Says <u>sexual class system</u> was the <u>first form of stratification</u>. Criticised Marx and Engels for ignoring this. <u>:-> Inequalities and the division of labour between men and women arose directly from biology</u> :->Biological differences produced a form of social organisation, which Firestone called <u>biological family</u>.

<u>The four characteristics of a biological family</u>:

a) Pregnancy and breastfeeding make women dependent on males.

b) Compared to infants of other species, human infants are dependent for a longer period ->And because of this, women become dependent on men for longer.

c) This dependence leads to unequal power relationship between the two sexes.

d) This leads to inequality in other fields.

<u>As the sexual class system is the basis for other class systems, Firestone believed that it must be destroyed before any significant progress can be made towards equality.</u> -> Further, true liberation for women will come when babies would be conceived and developed <u>outside the womb</u> -> Then women will cease to be dependent on males.

➢ <u>Kate Millet</u>: "Sexual Politics":Cited following factors for the existence of patriarchy:

1. <u>Biology</u>: Superior male strength has played some part in the unequal relationship, <u>but early socialisation even more imp</u> as it encourages males to be aggressive and females to be passive.:-> Males and females are taught to behave and think in ways which reinforces their biological differences.

2. <u>Ideological</u>: Men socialised to have a dominant temperament.

3. <u>Sociological</u>: Family main institution which helps maintain patriarchy.

4. Educational: Women are given low-status jobs + Women tend to not study high-status subjects such as science that lead to best job opportunities. – Missing from STEM.

5. Myth and Religion: Used to maintain patriarchy.

6. Physical factors: Patriarchy is backed up by force. Ex.: Stoning of adulteress woman.

o Sylvia Walby: "Theorising patriarchy": There are six patriarchal structures that restrict women and help to maintain male domination. These are:

1. Paid work: Men get best jobs + Women get less imp jobs + Pay differentials continue to exist between the two.

2. Patriarchal relations within the household: Free labour + Childcare + Abuse. Things are changing because of easy divorce + Black women see family as less exploitative.

3. Patriarchal culture: Culture distinguishes between men and women. And expects different behaviour from them.

4. Sexuality: Women's sexuality is subject to stricter control than men. But changing…

5. Male violence towards women

6. The state: While a lot of things have changed wrt, the state is yet not very active.

o Walby says in the 19th C, patriarchy was predominantly private. In 20th C, became public:

Forms of patriarchy	Private	Public
Dominant structure	Household production	Workplace/State
Wider patriarchal Structures	Employment, state, sexuality, violence, and culture	Sexuality, violence and culture.
Mode of expropriation	Individual	Collective
Patriarchal strategy	Exclusionary	Segregationist
Period	19th century	20th century

- Marxist perspective :->Engels :->Savagery: Men and Women equal. Free sex. Men were not sure about their children. :->Barbarism: During this period, women suffered a 'world-historic defeat' :->Men gained an upper-hand when animals were domesticated and this became the source of private property. And overthrew the dominance of women. :-> To ensure the identity of their children, men put restricts on women. :->Civilisation: Monogamous marriage was established. Patriarchal family emerged.

Contemporary trends in marriage

- Pre-industrial society:

  Encouraged extended families because of its advantages:

  (a) Agrarian societies have high mortality rate.

  (b) Absence of a welfare state :->Upkeep in old age.

  (c) Since agriculture is labour intensive :->Provides labour.

  Types of families in pre-industrial society:->

  a. In many small-scale, non-literate societies :-> Families are large kinship groups.

  b. 'Classic extended family':->Husband, wife, children, ageing parents and any unmarried brothers and sisters.:-> Together work as production unit. Eg: Irish farmers.

- Peter Laslett:

  Doesn't agree that pre-industrial Britain or America had either kinship-based or classic-extended family. :->B/w 1564 & 1821 – only 10 % families had kin beyond N-family. :-> This percentage is same in 1966 Britain. Similar picture emerges in USA too.

  :-> Says there was a distinctive 'Western Family' : Little gap between spouses' ages; children were born late :->In contrast, Eastern Europe had extended families. Reversed the common argument that industrialisation led to emergence of nuclear families :-> He said nuclear families had social, political& economic consequences that led to industrialisation of Western Europe.

- Michael Anderson:

Showed that emergence of industrialisation did not lead to elimination of extended families. :->In 1851 in Preston = 25% families contained kin other than the nuclear family. :->Argued that in the absence of a welfare state, extended family was performing important functions.

- o Michael Young and Peter Willmott:

   Family has passed through three main stages:

   1. Stage 1: Pre-industrial family :-> Continued till 19th century :->Family is a unit of production. The husband, wife and children work as a team. Though significantly reduced, it continued even after the arrival of the Industrial Revolution, this type of family continued and is seen in farming families.

   2. Stage 2:Early industrial family:->From 19th century – early 20th century :->Family ceased to be a unit of production :-> Since individual members were employed as wage earners. :-> As an insurance strategy, women became close to their mothers and expanded the family beyond the nuclear family :->Conjugal bonds became weak :-> Men took to pub as their defence. :-> Families were often headed by female. :-> They did their study in Bethnal Green, an East London suburb.

   3. Stage 3: The symmetrical family :->Husband returns to the family :-> 'Trade union' of women is disbanded :-> And family is characterised by separation of the nuclear family from the extended family. :->Symmetrical because opposite parts are similar in shape and size :->Husbands help in childcare :-> Women work :-> Why this change? :-> (a) Women employment has increased (b) Wages have improved (c) Increased geographical mobility ->Severed kinship ties (d) As incomes improved -> Husband drawn to family.

      Class and family -> According to Young and Willmott ->Home-centred symmetrical life more typical of working class ->Because their life is less work-centred. -> Middle-class tend to be less symmetrical because men earn well and are work-centred, and women are expected to be at home taking care of children. ->Willmott later conducted a survey and did not find that working class were adopting middle-class culture. Stage 4 will emerge when the lower-classes will also adopt it.

- Margaret O'Brien and Deborah Jones ->Pluralisation of lifestyles ->Conducted their study in East London and compared their findings with the survey conducted by Willmott and Young in 1950s -> Compared to 50s, they found more variety of families and households->More number of single-parent, step-parent, dual-earner families. But in spite of the increase in number of families ->Families gave a lot of importance to kinship. -> They concluded there had been a pluralisation of lifestyles.

- British Social Attitude Survey, 2006->The survey found that most of the adult children were frequently seeing their mothers and fathers, and meeting their siblings. -> The survey in 2006 reported that for most people family came over friendship.

- Dispersed extended family ->Willmott claims that dispersed extended family is becoming dominant in Britain -> This type of family consists of two or more related families who cooperate with each other even though they remain some distance apart. -> Most of the time, the nuclear family is sufficient but in times of emergency the existence of extended kin might prove invaluable.

- Parsons:->Isolated Nuclear Family: Typical family in modern industrial society. :-> Evolution of society involves a process ofstructural differentiation :->As a result, both forms and functions of family change. :->Most of the functions of the family are taken over by specialised agencies. :-> And family performs only two functions – PS & APS.

  Parsons says there is a functional relationship between the isolated nuclear family and the economic system in the industrialised society. :-> The isolated nuclear family is shaped by the requirements of the economic system. :-> How?

  (a) In tune with requirementof geographical mobility.

  (b) Industrialised society is achieved rather than ascribed :-> And status is judged on the basis of universalistic values :->Whereas in family status is ascribed based on particularistic values :-> Hence, INF is the best form of family structure based on achieved status because conflict will arise in any family unit larger than the isolated nuclear family. :-> Leads to strengthening of conjugal bond :->And of stabilisation of adult personalities.

- o William J Goode:->General trend of all family types moving towards nuclear families. Reasons: (a) High geographical and social mobility.

  (b) Structural differentiation

  (c) Conflict in values: Industrial societies emphasise on individualism:->autonomy in lives :-> Non-interference from kins :->Also, in Industrialised societies, individual can achieve success without family's support. :-> Goode says there is a trend towards role-bargaining = People look at obligations and control exercised by the kinship in terms of self-interest.

- o Types of diversity in family ->Identified by Robert and Rhona Rapport
    1. Organisational diversity ->Means there are diffs in: -> Family structure + Household type + Patterns of kinship networks + differences in DoL within home. +>For example there are differences among the increasing number of one-parent family, dual-worker family, reconstituted families, etc.
    2. Cultural diversity ->Diffs based on different ethnic origins and religious beliefs – Hindu, Muslim, Catholic families. Also, Asian, West Indian and English families.
    3. Class diversity -> Diffs between working class families and middle-class families in terms of relationships between adults and how children are socialised.
    4. Different family cycles ->There are differences which emerged depending on the stage of marriage. For instance, newly married couple without children might have a different family life than a couple with children.
    5. Cohort: This refers to the period during which the family passed through. Cohort affects the life experiences of the family.
- ➢ Demographic changes contributing to increase family diversity (Alan and Crow):
    a. Divorce rates have increased.
    b. Lone-parent households have increased.
    c. Cohabitation outside marriage is increasing.
    d. Marriage rates have declined.
    e. A big increase in the number of stepfamilies.
- ➢ Other reasons

Beck and Gernsheim see changes in family life as both the cause and a consequence of greater individualisation in society. :-> The society is increasingly characterised by individual choices.

1. Traditional family roles & relationships are becoming unclear – Like the roles of husband and wife in the family are undergoing change.
2. Official stats don't use categories which accurately distinguish between different lifestyles. For example, the term single can mean many things.
3. Growing acceptance to bring up children in variety of domestic settings other than the father-mother-child unit.
4. Advances in medicine ->Sperm donor and surrogate mother may be biological parents but have no responsibility for the children.
5. Changes in family law. For example, family name does not denote the family.

o Changing functions of family :->

   a) Parsons' :-> Family is almost 'functionless' :-> Doesn't perform economic, political and educational functions it earlier performed :-> But it has not become less importance on the contrary has become more important :-> Because it performs specialised functions like APS and PS.

   b) Ronald Fletcher :-> Family is performing more functions than before. :-> Parents are much more involved in their children's education + Parents are more concerned about their children's health :-> And even though Fletcher agrees that family has ceased to be a unit of production :-> It still performs a vital eco function as it has become a unit of consumption.

   c) Young and Willmott:-> Workers in order to fulfil their family desires work :-> As a result, they provide labour and also become consumers of products.

   d) Feminists :-> Disagree that family is no more a unit of production :-> They cite the unpaid work done by wives in their home to drive their point.

Stats on family life in India:

1. Age at marriage:

MEAN AGE OF MARRIAGE FOR WOMEN

YEAR	INDIA	J&K
1961	15.7	17.5
1971	16.7	20.1
1981	17.8	21.1
1991	18.7	21.0
2012	21.2	24.6
2014	22.3	25.2

THE HIGHEST AND LOWEST, 2014

Jammu & Kashmir	25.2
Kerala	23.8
Jharkhand	21.0

Read all figures as 'years.months', and not as arithmetic decimals.
Source: Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation

91 per cent of the women were married by the age of 25 (census 2011).

2. <u>Divorce rate has increased from 5 per cent in 1980 to 14 per cent at present.</u>

3. Decline in child marriages -> From 41 per cent in 2001 to 30 per cent in 2011.

4. There were 1.5 million girls who were married before the age of 15.

5. <u>Link between marriage and education</u>: Among illiterate girls, 38% were married off before 18 years but among graduates or above, just 5% got married below the legal age.

EDUCATION IS THE BEST PREVENTION

% share of girls married before legal age (18 yrs) by educational level

■ 2011 ■ 2001

All	Illiterate	Literate	Below secondary	Graduate & above
30 / 44	38 / 51	23 / 33	25 / 34	5 / 7

Source: Census 2011, 2001
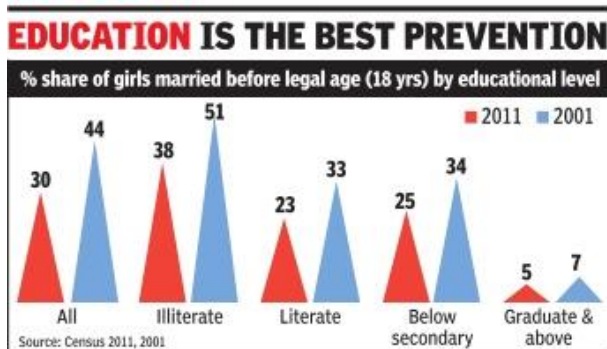
6. <u>Marriages last longest in North India</u> where the proportion of couples married for 40-plus years is considerably high. This is more to do with customs + Age at marriage.

HARYANA, MAHA, UP TOP LIST

SHARE OF COUPLES MARRIED FOR 40 YEARS OR MORE (%)

LONGEST 5		SHORTEST 5	
Haryana	11.6	D&N Haveli	5.4
Maharashtra	11.6	Assam	5.2
Uttar Pradesh	11.6	Nagaland	4.8
MP	11.5	Arunachal	4.7
Rajasthan	11.2	Meghalaya	4.1

DELHI: 8 | ALL INDIA: 10.2

7. <u>13 per cent households are headed by women</u> + <u>Among those married – only 4 per cent of the houses are headed by women:</u> Lakshadweep has the highest proportion of such households. It is followed by Kerala, Goa, Meghalaya and Himachal Pradesh. Apart from the matrilineal tradition, there are other social and economic reasons behind the presence of femaleheaded households. These include widowhood, divorce, separation, migration of male members for long periods and loss of economic ability of males because of disability.

- **Divorce/Marital breakdown:**
  - 3 main categories- **divorce, separation & shell marriages**
  - <u>Macionis</u>: Reasons for **high divorce** rates in west
    - Individualism on the rise
    - Economic independence- acquisitive spirit
    - Legally easier to get divorce
    - Social acceptance to divorce
    - Greater overall prosperity- easier to set individual h/h
    - Measuring scale for marriages tougher.
  - <u>Giddens-</u> Divorce rate does not indicate rejection of a marriage but indicates to rising expectation from married life. **Parsons & Fletcher also second him** by indicating that **increased rate of remarriage** supports this argument
  - <u>Nicky Hart</u>- 'when marriage ends'- identifies 3 factors:
    - Affecting values attached to marriage: Increased expectation from marriage
    - Affecting degree of conflict: dual roles and strain on marital r'ship
    - Affecting opportunities to escape from wedlock: legally easier & social acceptance

    Says, conflict between worker role of female and normative expectations of family also lead to marital breakdown.
  - Visits to kin reduced. **Mobrien and Deborah** stuy of East London families- 14% lone parent families; 14 % step parent families; 62% dual career families. Visited parents: 60% financeial purposes and 80% babysitting purposes.
  - **Wilmott** uses the term **dispersed extended family**
  - **Rapoport and Rapoport:** Diversity in families:
    - **Symmetrical nuclear** (roles same- both go to work. Both take care of kids etc)
    - 1/3rd **single parent** families
    - **Cohabitation** without marriage
    - **Reconstituted families**
    - **Homosexual families**
    - **Communal living families:** increasing divorces. All living together

Sociology and other social sciences

Sociology Vs. Anthropology (PASS-DOOR-PASS)	Sociology Vs. Psychology
➢ The statement that sociology and anthropology had different origins but are now indistinguishable ->Is an aspiration than a fact.	➢ The relationship between sociology and psychology is unsettled and difficult. It is represented by two extremes: J S Mill and Durkheim.
➢ This is because - the interests, methods of investigation and concepts – of sociology and anthropology are widely different.	➢ JS Mill:-> No social science can be said to be firmly established until its inductively derived generalisations can also be shown to be logically deductible from the laws of the mind.
➢ A relationship of PASS-DOOR-PASS:->In the 1st phase: Individual work of a sociologist or an anthropologist could not be separated.	➢ Durkheim:->Made a conscious decision to separate socio from psychology. :-> He said social facts are external to the human mind :-> And their explanation has to be done in terms of other social facts and not psychological facts.
➢ But in the 2nd phase there was wide divergence:->Where functionalist approach was adopted in anthropology whereas sociology was historically dominated concerned with the problems of social development. :-> These difference had also emerged coz anthropologists were studying small societies and these societies were studied as functioning wholes.	Radcliffe-Brown :-> Sociologists study social systems, while psychologists study mental systems ->These two cannot be combined.
➢ In the 3rd phase:-> These two disciplines are coming together again. This is coz, many primitive societies are changing under the influence of western ideas and	➢ But in spite of these, most sociologists have adopted an intermediate position. Sociologists such as Max Weber, Erich Fromm, Ginsberg and others have used psychological explanations in their work. :-> They have said that this gives a better understanding of the subject at study. :->

tech. And social and political mvts are developing in these societies which are leading the anthropologist to answer similar questions as the sociologist.

- ➢ But there is yet another kind of society: Which is neither primitive nor industrially advanced. :-> Ex: India :->Here there is no major difference between sociologist and anthropologist. Village studies is an ex. of sociologist and anthropologist coming together.

- ➢ Conclusion :->Though anthropology and sociology are separated by diff methods and concepts. Yet, they are increasingly coming together. :->The growth of social sciences in developing countries will further this trend.

For example: Erich Fromm's concept of 'social character' is intended to relate individual's psychological characteristics with those of a particular social group.

- ➢ In spite of this recognition, however, in practice, there is still less cooperation. For ex: social psychology is more in the domain of psychology than sociology. Also, on subjects such as conflict and war, social stratification, sociology and psychology have divergent opinions.

- ➢ There is small effort to bring the two disciplines together :Gerth and Mills concept of 'role' tries to bridge the gap.

- ➢ Conclusion: :-> More rigorous attempt must be made to bring the two disciplines together.

Sociology Vs. Economics	Sociology Vs. Political Science
[For this only, refer to autosaved] ➢ There are exchanges between both the disciplines. Sociologists have critically examined the limitations of eco theory. These criticisms can be subdivided as: (a) Sociologists have attempted to show that economics cannot be an entirely autonomous science.	➢ Political science had little generalisation. ➢ The influence of socio in the field of pol science has been to direct attention towards political behaviour and encourage scientific generalisations and explanations. ➢ To explain who controls power and why he controls power :->This can be seen in the works of Pareto,

A Lowe has shown that sociological principles underlie economic laws. Also, Weber's 'Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft' – brings together the 2 disciples.

(b) Sociological studies concerned with the problems of economic theory
Ex: Barbara Wooton's work first shows the inadequacies in the classical economic theory of wages. And then presents a sociological analysis of the determinants of wage.

(c) Sociological works concerned with the general features of economic systems :->This the area where most plentiful work is found. Eg- Marx's Das Capital.

➢ In recent years, sociology and economics have again come together :->This is attributed to two main reasons:

(a) Shift in interest in eco from market mechanisms to GNP and NI :-> This has encouraged economists to examine the social factors influencing eco growth.

Michels& Weber.

➢ In recent years, the influence of sociology in pol science has increased :-> There has been a direct borrowing of explanatory schemes & models. For ex: Political science has made use of concepts such as functionalism and social systems.
:-> There has also been a revival of Marxist sociological ideas by revolutions in some developing countries and emergence of NSM.

➢ The need for better policies of development among the newly decolonised nations has also brought together sociologists and pol scientists. Eg: In India.

➢ The trend has been towards greater integration between socio and pol sc.

(b) Application of the theory of games to economic phenomena. :-> This has led to construction of models of social action.

Sociology Vs. History	Sociology Vs. Philosophy (PAST. PRESENT. FUTURE)
➢ <u>Historians frequently provide the material</u> which sociologists use. :-> This is especially the case with comparative method and historical sociology.	➢ Sociology originated in the philosophical ambitions: To account for the course of human history, to explain the social crisis in 19th century Europe, &provide a social doctrine which would guide social policy.
➢ Historians also use socio. <u>Historian takes his clues</u> to important problems and ideas increasingly from socio. (earlier it was philosophy he turned to).	➢ While sociology no more holds such goals, there is still cooperation between sociology and philosophy.
➢ How do they differ? 1). The statement that historian describes unique events, while socio produces generalisations is not true. :-> As many historians have generalised while sociologists have been concerned with describing unique events.	1. <u>Philosophy of sociology</u>:->This relates to philosophical scrutiny of the methods, concepts & arguments used in sociology. 2. <u>Sociology & Moral and social philosophy</u>: Subject matter of socio is human behaviour, which is directed by values :->To analyse values and to distinguish values from facts :-> A sociologist must be trained in social
➢ Rather it is said that whereas the historian usually sets out to examine a particular sequence of events, the sociologist usually begins with a generalisation which he proposes to test by the examination of a number of unique events. -> In short, their intentions are different.	philosophy which draws the two disciplines together. 3. Durkheim noted that <u>Sociology leads to philosophical thought</u>.
➢ <u>HR Trevor-Roper</u>:-> A historian is concerned with the interplay between personality and social	➢ Marx's work is an example of close cooperation between philosophy and sociology.

forces. Whereas, the sociologist is concerned with the social forces themselves.

➢ Both sociologist and historians deal with the same subject matter :-> Men living in societies, sometimes from same and sometimes from different point of view.

➢ It is of the greatest importance for the development of social sciences that the two subjects should be closely related and borrow extensively from each other.

Sociology and Common sense

o Common sense equates to <u>knowledge and experience which most people have</u>, or which the person using the term believes that they do or should have.

o Since common sense ideas are things which everyone knows to be true, <u>there validity cannot be questioned</u>. As a result <u>the argument is closed-down in favour of conformity or belief</u>. :-> This sociologists argue, impedes understanding and progress.

o Sociological knowledge on the other hand has <u>greater validity</u> as it has been tested.

o Sociologists <u>base their knowledge on evidence than on assumption.</u>

o Therefore, sociological knowledge <u>is based on observation and facts</u>, and <u>not mere assertion of a statement</u>.

o Sociological perspective is a <u>particular way of approaching a phenomena</u> :-> It involves <u>maintaining objectivity by critically evaluating and testing ideas</u>:-> Which may even be surprising and displeasing based on the evidence.

o Common sense on the other hand is <u>based on very limited evidence or observation.</u>

o Sociological knowledge involves questioning what is considered as 'obvious'. :-> It might lead to confirmation of common sense or refuting it.

o Sociological perspective allows to identify common patterns and based on it to generalise. :-> It means <u>going beyond the individual and understanding how structural forces shape individuals and their actions</u>.

o Ex:

    1. Durkheim through his study of suicide showed that social causes were behind suicide rates than psychological factors. :-> One of his remarkable finding was that suicide rates go up not just after an economic crash, but also boom.

    2. By teaching children about sexual relationships, the education system encourages younger people to experiment sexually, leading to increase in teenage pregnancies. Socio explanation: Contrary to this, studies have shown that teens who have had sex education classes tend to wait until they are older to have sex and practice safer sex.

o <u>Ronald Fletcher</u> :-><u>Common sense is not different from science, it is science in embryo</u>

CS is not lowest common denominator of simple-mindedness :-> It is a set of rudimentary theories about experience expressed in everyday words.

Already, in common sense, we know that all aspects of nature are intricately interconnected and interwoven with each other; and that some events, in particular, seem always to cause others – but it is when we need to know, what exactly these interconnections are, what events exactly cause others that out common sense experience fails us. -> This forces us to think more critically ->These methods of critical analytical thought, careful observation, recording and description, and this testing of theories against facts are science.

-> Therefore, CS is science in embryo.

o <u>Andre Beteille's conclusion</u>: <u>Sociology has to steer an uneasy course</u> between two unfaithful alternatives: Submergence in the common sense of the scholar's own environment, and absorption in narrow and self-satisfying technical virtuosity unconnected [he means: Technical jargon] with the substance of social enquiry.

Sociology	Common sense
Has a body of concepts, methods and data. Such as survey research, statistical analysis, participant observation and case studies.	Does not have
Aims to be general and universal	Particular and localised
Not variable	Highly variable, subject to the constraints of time and place. As well as social constraints. (CS of India is different from USA. Within India, it varies too.)
It does.	It is unreflective since it does not question its own origins and presuppositions, at least doesn't do so deliberately & methodically.
	It is based on a limited range of

	experiences of particular people in particular place and time.
Distinguishes between values and fact	Often values intrude fact.

Science, scientific method and critque

<u>Science</u>:-> Certified and changing knowledge based on observable facts.

<u>Elements of scientific method:</u>

1. Based on <u>observable fact</u>
2. <u>Body of concepts</u> in science
3. <u>Set of procedures</u> for carrying out observations
4. Not a random search for facts, but <u>a guided search</u>.

<u>Hypothesis</u>:-> It is a tentative statement which postulates <u>a logical relationship</u> between two or more variables.

<u>Generalisation in science</u> (DETERMINATE RELATIONSHIP)

Generalisation is an <u>explanatory statement</u> which postulates a <u>determinate relationship between two or more variables</u>. Thesis (generalisation supported by facts):-> Theory (when hypothesis is repeatedly tested):->Law (universal).
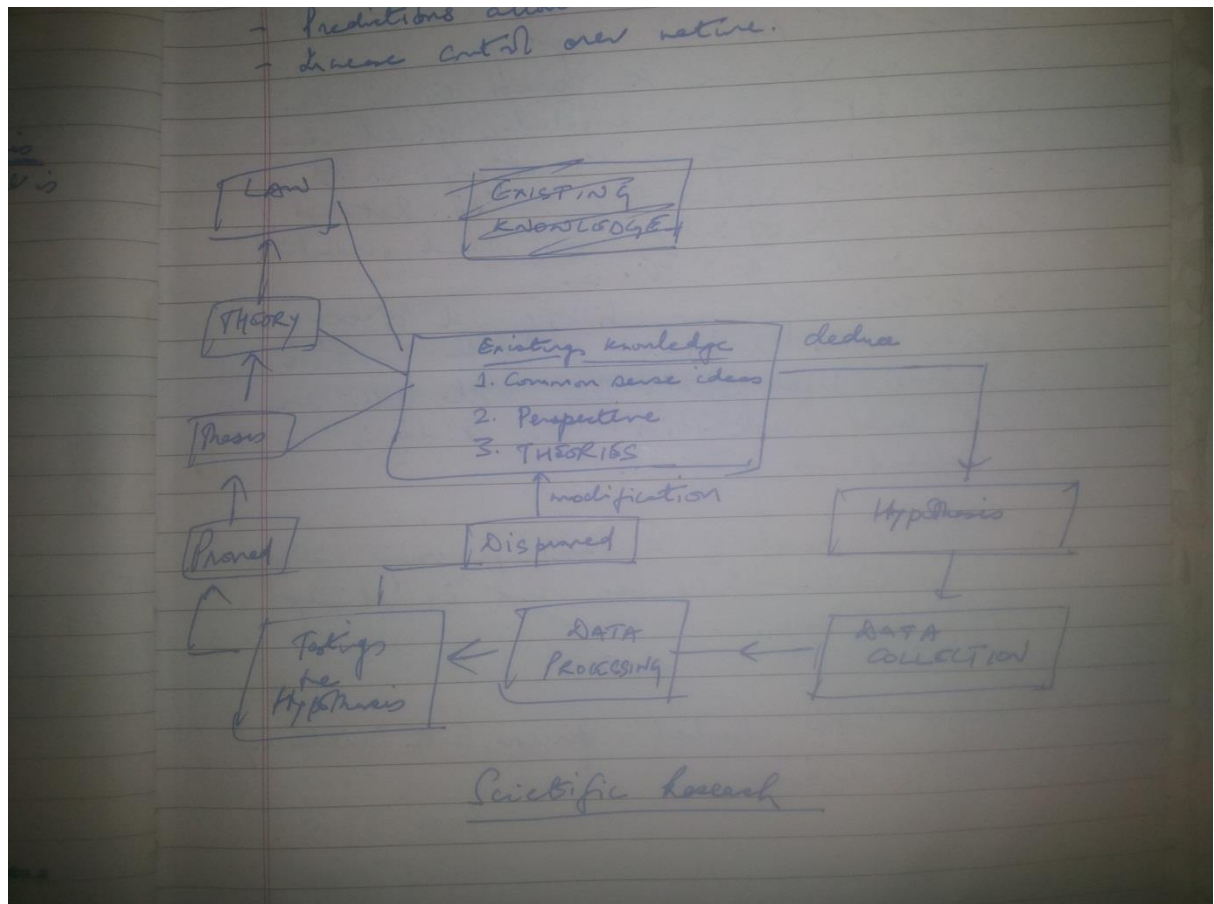
<u>Need for generalisation</u>

a) Makes knowledge meaningful and useful.
b) Allows prediction.
c) Prediction allows control.
d) Increases control over nature.

<u>Critique of scientific method:</u>

1. Criticism of positivism, especially for not being objective.
2. Karl Pooper :-> Denies the very existence of evidence and of scientific method. :-> Pooper holds that there is only one universal method of acquiring knowledge :->The negative method of trial and error.

- Predictions and
- [...] Control over nature.

LAW   EXISTING KNOWLEDGE

THEORY

Existing knowledge   deduce
1. Common sense ideas
2. Perspective
3. THEORIES
modification

Thesis

Disproved   Hypothesis

Proved

Testing the Hypothesis ← DATA PROCESSING ← DATA COLLECTION

Scientific Research

Positivism and its critique

➢ Positivism is defined as a set of ideas which speak that the <u>behaviour of a man can be studied in the same way as the behaviour of matter in natural sciences</u>.

➢ The positivist approach in sociology argues that <u>factors which cannot be directly observed</u>, such as meanings, feelings and purposes should be ignored as these <u>can be misleading</u>.

➢ Therefore, like the natural scientists, the positivists believe <u>human beings simply react to external stimuli</u> and their behaviour can be explained in terms of this reaction.

➢ There are <u>three main assumptions</u> which the positivists make:

1. Behaviour of man – like behaviour of matter – can be objectively measured.

2. Methods of measurement can be devised for human behaviour.

3. Based on 1 and 2 :-> A statement of cause and effect can be produced.

➢ <u>A bit of history about positivism</u>: Positivism emerged in the works of Quetlet, Le Play and Saint Simon. :-> It got a formal recognition through the writings of August Comte. And

later in the work of Herbert Spenser and Emile Durkheim (but he advocates even considering things in sociological analysis which cannot be directly observed).

➢ The <u>emergence of positivism owes to the changing socio-economic conditions of the 19th century Europe</u>, rapid technological development. The developments in the area of natural sciences had led to the growing conviction that science can triumph over nature created problems. :-> This thinking did not leave the philosophers of the day untouched. They started looking at poverty, unemployment, as socially created problems and its proper objective examination can lead to their eradication.

➢ Briefly, <u>the major principles of positivism are</u>:

1. <u>Objectivity</u>:-> Adheres to the notion of objective reality and absolute truth. It discourages subjectivity in sociological research.

2. <u>Empiricism</u>.

3. <u>Value-neutrality</u> :-> Facts can be kept apart from values.

4. <u>Quantitative</u>

5. <u>Determinism</u>:-> The world is deterministic. It follows strict causal laws. And if these laws are discovered then social life can be predicted and controlled.

➢ <u>Marxism</u> has been regarded as a positivist approach since it argues that human behaviour is a reaction to the stimulus of economic infrastructure. S

➢ <u>Critique of positivism</u>:-> 1. Phenomenology.

2. Symbolic interactionism

3. Feminists:->

(A) Science argues that it is objective, value-free and apolitical. But acc to feminists, <u>science is masculine and androcentric</u> (Placing male point of view at the centre of one's world view and its culture and history).

(B) The positivist science epistemology is based on <u>liberal ideology which posits 'rational man' producing objective knowledge</u> of the natural world through scientific endeavour. :-> Science <u>has excluded the possibility that women could be the agents of knowledge</u>.

(C) The androcentrism has resulted in exclusion of women-related issues from research.

4. Frankfurt school:->

Neo-Marxists:-> Argue that positivism implies that problems of society can be solved by reforming parts of the society. They criticise positivists for not been able to see that

these social problems have been created because of the way the whole society is structured.

Other criticisms of positivist methodology which can be extended to scientific methods too:

1. Experiments cannot be performed on humans.
2. Difficult to control the thinking of humans.
3. Quantification is difficult as only limited data is available.
4. Prejudices and biases often intrude into research.
5. Generalisation is difficult as human behaviour cannot be predicted.

Should social science be positive science

➢ The basic goal of social science and natural science is different. Natural science is satisfied with establishing relationships between variables. However, social science work at the level of meanings, motives, etc.
➢ Present both sides of the argument and conclude with Weber.
➢ Max Weber took the middle-path and conceded that human beings had "geist" – consciousness. Because of its presence, humans attach meanings to their behaviour :->Hence, positive methods alone are insufficient :-> Sociological methods should consist of positive methods and other methods. :-> In social science only very limited generalisation is possible.

Fact, value and objectivity

FACT :-> "WHAT IS" :-> Facts are empirically verifiable statement.:-> They are: Definite, certain, and their meaning is self-evident. Facts are considered objective.

VALUE:-> "WHAT OUGHT TO BE" :->Often moral judgments.:-> They are considered to be subjective, as they involve emotional feelings, value judgments.

OBJECTIVITY :->Means the ability to see the facts as they are and not as one might wish them to be.:-> The conclusion must be free of biases. :-> To use Weber's term :-> Sociological study should be "value neutral". :-> Value neutral means that the sociologist should not make value judgments, that is, they should not state what aspects of society they found desirable or not desirable.

Robert Bierstedt defined objectivity as: "Objectivity means that Conclusion arrived at as the result of inquiry and investigation are independent of race, colour, creed, occupation, nationality, religion, moral preference and political predisposition of the investigator. If his research is truly objective it is independent of any subjective elements, any personal desires that he may have. "

Relationship between Fact, Value and Objectivity: Four views on this subject

1. Fact-value dichotomy approach:-> Adopted by positivists.

2. Fact & value are inseparable:-> Values intrude into sociological research willingly or unwillingly.

3. Try to be value-neutral:-> Although, values do intrude into facts. But a sociologist must still try to remain value-neutral.

4. Recent view:-> Complete objectivity is neither possible nor required in sociology.

➢ Fact-value dichotomy :-> Why it is difficult

a) Science involves standards ->Which are nothing but values.

b) Science involves sorting true facts from false, certain from uncertain, interesting facts to those which tell us nothing, promising lines of enquiry to probable dead-ends. These are often based on values.

c) Michael Polanyi :-> Addresses the value-laden nature of peer evaluation of scientific activity. Identifies three criterion on the basis of which the decision is taken: Plausibility, Scientific Value and Originality.

d) For a scientist, from a given data set many types of theories can be constructed. Instead, of presenting all these theories, they apply value-based criteria that permits them to shortlist theories.

e) Values help to work out the conflict between theory and fact, and theory and theory.

f) The decisions on which methodology to be used and which process to be followed is based on values. Hence, values influence which experiments will be performed and which will not.

g) Some values are objective :-> An external source of values such as those identified from the natural law or Biblical revelation provide an independent and external standard for making objective value judgments. Thus, while some value judgments might be merely

subjective, other value judgments which rely on objective criteria are objective. ("Sacrificing babies demons is wrong")

Conclusion:

a) Facts and values instead of being separable are often entangled.

b) Both facts and values can be discussed and handled rationally.

c) Value statements can be objective.

d) It is incorrect to assign all non-empirical statements to the realm of values.

Max Weber on fact, value and objectivity in sociology

Once a value, end, purpose or perspective has been established then a social scientist could conduct a value-free investigation.

Can sociology be value-free

o Weber uses the term 'value neutrality' to refer to the objectivity which researchers need while investigating problems in social sciences.

o Though Weber says that VN is the desired goal of social science, he also recognises that no science can be completely neutral ->Because there is link between the researcher's values and the methods he adopts or the questions he asks.

o The concept of value-free sociology has its roots in the rise of positivism and the scientific methods of the mid-19th century. -> Positivists believed that discovering laws of social development could create better society. ->And advocated complete separation of facts and values.

o Weber asserted that there cannot be any such thing as absolutely 'objective scientific analysis -> Weber is trying to say that FACTS DO NOT SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. That social facts do not exist in their own right. -> What counts as social facts is determined by the 'moral spectacles' through which we view the world.

o Weber was of the view that a sociologist could distinguish between empirical knowledge and value judgments.

o To acknowledge that sociology could not be value-free but argue that deliberate dissemination of personal values could be avoided.

Variables, sampling, hypothesis, reliability and validity

Variables:

➢ Characteristics or conditions that are manipulated/controlled/observed by the experimenter.

➢ There are two types of variables: Dependent Variable and Independent Variable :->DV= The thing which is caused. The experimenter is usually studying D.Vs. :->I.V = The factors which cause the DV. These are manipulated. For example: Impact of MGNREGA on a village's life. Here, Village life is DV, whereas MGNREGA is IV.

➢ Variables are also divided into: Qualitative variables. Eg: race, religion, etc. And Quantitative variables. Eg: No of suicide deaths.

➢ Tuckman's advice on how to select variables: (a) Variable should be related to the research (b) Should be consistent with the design of the experiment (c) Practical considerations should be taken into account. :-> If these are kept in mind, then the validity of the research increases.

➢ Multivariate analysis:->To overcome the problem of spurious or indirect correlation, Durkheim devised a technique known as multivariate analysis. :->This involves trying to isolate the effect of a particular independent variable upon the dependent variable. :->So, one IV is held constant and the other is changed, to see which has what effect on the DV.

Statistical significance:-> Use of computers to estimate that the relationship identified by the researchers are genuine and not a result of chance.

Sampling:

➢ Once the sociologist has picked his topic of research and the method he will use to conduct the research, he is next concerned with the sample he will use to conduct the research. Hence, all researches involve sampling.

➢ A sample is a part of a larger population. :->It is usually selected to be representative of that population. :->Those who are included in the sample are chosen as a cross-section of the larger group. :->The use of the sample saves the researcher time and money, since It reduces the number of individuals to be studies:->. If the sample is chosen carefully it is possible to generalise from it.

> Types of sampling:

1. Random and systematic sampling: In random sampling, a number is assigned to each sample unit and the samples are picked randomly. :-> Simplest :-> Each sample has an equal chance of being chosen. :-> In systematic sampling:->Slightly less random. :-> In this say every 10th or 20th number is picked.

2. Stratified random sampling:->The researcher identifies important variables which need to be controlled. :-> Then he divides the sample into groups. From these he randomly picks. :->Often it is not practical as often info is not available to divide sample into groups.

3. Quota sampling:->Researcher knows who he wants :-> He goes and looks for them and then picks from this pool :->But criticised for being not random as each person within the grp doesn't have an equal chance of being picked. :-> It has an inherent bias. As the interviewer is likely to meet people in a shopping area, it will be dominated by particular class :-> Might become difficult to fill quota from among the minority people.

4. Multi-stage sampling:->Select a sample from among a sample. :->Saves researcher time and money. For ex: Pollsters use it to predict election results.

5. Snowballing:->Involves using personal contacts to build a sample of the group to be studied. :-> This is only used when other methods are not practical. Eg: Laurie Taylor used it to persuade John McVicar, a former criminal, to obtain introductions to members of the London underworld. He then used these to het intro to more criminals.

6. Volunteer Sampling:->People are invited to come and take part in the research. Adv: Participants will be keen and hence be more participative in the research process.

7. Non-representative sampling:->

   A convenience sample is a sample that is easily available and accessible to the researcher. It doesn't claim to be representative:-> However, sometimes there might be a reason for choosing a non-representative sample. In such case it is referred to as a purposive sample :-> For ex: Pooper's falsification thesis. :-> Ann Oakley used it to falsify Murdock's theory.

Reliability

- o If other researchers using the same method arrive at the same result, then the data is said to be reliable.
- o Generally, quantitative methods are said to be more reliable than qualitative methods.
- o Explain why? Qualitative methods use methods that can be unsystematic and the results are rarely quantified. And there is no way of replicating a qualitative study and checking the reliability of its findings.

Validity

- ➢ Data is valid if it provides a true picture of what it is studying. :->Data can be reliable without being valid.

- ➢ Alan Bryman has outlined four types of validity:
    1. Measurement validity :->Concerns itself with checking whether the study really measures what it claims it is measuring. For ex: Do IQ tests really measure intelligence?
    2. Internal validity:->Relates to causality. :->If one thing is said to 'cause' another, this explanation is internally valid if that causal relationship seems to be true.
    3. External validity:->Concerns with whether the results of a particular study can be generalised to groups or situations other than those of the study itself.
    4. Ecological validity:->Refers to how closely a research study mirrors the normal or natural setting of people's real experience. The more unnatural a research setting and more distant it is from everyday life, the more its ecological less valid.

- ➢ Supporters of qualitative methods :-> Argue that quantitative methods lack validity.

- ➢ Some qualitative researchers advocate the use of respondent validation to overcome problems of validity, this involves respondents checking research findings so that they can correct any misinterpretations or inaccuracies. However, this is not agreed by others who argue that because of access to more info, the researcher might be in a better position to judge the data than the respondent.

Hypothesis

- ➢ Hypothesis is a tentative statement which postulates a logical relationship between two or more variables.

- ➢ An hypothesis should be: (a) Brief (b) Simple (c) Specific. :-> So that it can be tested.

- If hypothesis is supported by facts during tests ->Then it is referred as <u>thesis</u>. :-> When the hypothesis is proved repeatedly it is referred to as <u>theory</u>. :-> When it has universality, it is referred to as <u>law</u>.
- Use of hypothesis:
1. Forms starting point of investigation.
2. Makes observation of experiment possible.
3. Aids in explanation.
4. Makes deduction possible

Quantitative methods (OSCC)	Qualitative methods
Sociology developed in 19th century Europe :-> When industrialisation had led to widespread <u>social change</u>. :-><u>Accompanying this was intellectual change</u> – natural science started to enjoy higher reputation than ever before.	They do not agree with proponents of quantitative methods. According to them, a study of human behaviour cannot be carried out in the same way as you study physical and chemical phenomena. :->This is because humans have 'consciousness', and they don't mechanically react to external stimuli.
<u>Science</u> was seen as a discipline which could <u>produce objective knowledge which could be used to solve human problems</u>.	<u>Interpretative approach</u> They argue that the main aim of sociology is to interpret social action -> And social action can only be understood by <u>interpreting the meanings and motives</u> on which the social action is based. ->And there is little scope to interpret these meanings and motives based on quantitative methodology.
Hence, it was natural for the fathers of sociology to turn to science for a methodology to base their new discipline upon.	
<u>Positivism, Durkheim and social facts.</u>	
A.) <u>Social facts:-></u>	Some interpretative approach point out that the <u>subject matter of sociology and other natural science is different</u> – Natural Sc. study matters which lacks consciousness and it simply reacts to the external stimuli. -> People do not react automatically, as positivists claim. Instead they interpret the meaning of the stimulus before reacting to it.
<u>Comte</u>: According to him, scientific study of society should be confined to collecting information about phenomena that can be <u>objectively observed and classified</u>.	
Comte argued that sociologists <u>should not be concerned with inner meanings, motives,</u> feelings and emotions of	

individuals, because these cannot be objectively studied.

Durkheim: Agrees that sociologist should be concerned with studying social facts, which are things external to the person.

:-> But in a significant departure from Comte (hence, also not strictly a positivist), Durkheim says that social facts also consist of things which cannot be directly observed or measured. For instance, Durkheim considers belief systems, customs as social facts. These though exist in the consciousness of the individual, yet they cannot be changed at will and constrain the behaviour of the individual.

B). Statistical facts
Positivists believe that social world can be classified in an objective way. For ex: Durkheim's study of suicides.

C). Correlation
Positivist methodology advocates searching for correlation between different social facts. For ex: Durkheim found relation between Protestantism and high suicide rates.

D.) Causation: Searching for causal

Three qualitative interpretative sociological approach:

A.) MAX WEBER
1. Sociology is study of social action ->And action is social when it takes into account other members of society ->Weber said an explanation of social action necessitated understanding the meanings and motives that underlie social action.

2. Weber said motives could be understood through the approach of VERTEHEM -> Placing yourself in the position of the person whose behaviour you were seeking to explain.

3. For instance, in PESC, he tries to interpret the beliefs and motives of the early Calvinists.

4. But Weber was not concerned with understanding motives just for sake of it. He wanted to use it to explain social action and social change. -> He was interested in causality. [So Weber does what SI and Phenomenologists reject.]

B.) Symbolic interactionism
1. Do not reject the attempt to establish causal relationships within sociology :->

connection between social phenomena.

E.) Laws of human behaviour: The positivists consider this as their ultimate goal. Durkheim claimed to have found the law that guided suicide rate. Comte claimed that he had found that human societies passed through three stages: theological, metaphysical and positivist.

Karl Pooper: Falsification & Deduction

Positivists follow inductive methodology. Pooper advocates deductive approach. :-> Start with precise hypothesis -> Make prediction -> And then constantly try to disprove the theory.

Why sociologist don't use lab experiment?
Positives: (a) Allows Pooper kind of study where IVs can be manipulated to see effect on DV. (b) Allows replication.

1.) Labs are unnatural settings --> May alter the behaviour of the individual -->The results may lack external validity.
2.) If they are not informed that they are being studied/observed, it raises ethical issues.
3.) In most studies, sociologists cannot manipulate independent variables.

Agree that establishing causal relationship is important.

2. But not great enthusiasts of statistics, as they argue that it does not provide any great insight into human behaviour.

3. Self-concept:->Interactionists believe that humans possess a self-concept or image of themselves which is built up, reinforced or modified in the process of interaction :-> Human beings have an image of what sort of person they are and they will tend to act according to that image.+ Labelling theory : The label works overtime to prove itself.

4. For example, Herbert Blumer referring to the sociological theory put forward by some scholars that industrialisation caused the replacement of extended families with nuclear families objects to the procedure of isolating variables and assuming that one causes the other – with little or no reference to the actor's view of the situation.

Instead, Blumer says the sociologist must immerse himself in the area of life he seeks to interpret.

4.) Not practical, as it's not possible to fit a community in a lab.
Nor is it possible to carry out a lab experiment over a sufficiently long time span to study social change.

Field experiment
Because of these difficulties, when sociologists carry out experiments they carry out outside the laboratory. Such experiments are known as field experiments.

For ex: In a sociological study, the IQ scores (IV) were manipulated to test the hypothesis that self-fulfilling prophesies could affect educational attainment. -->

Sissons'study outside London's Paddington station, reaction: Businessmen and labourer.

Natural experiment --> Influence of TV in a remote island in Atlantic --> No effect on violence.

Shortcomings of field experiment-->(a) Though they overcome the shortcoming of unnatural setting. It is not possible to control the variables as closely as in the lab. (b) Hawthorne effect -> The fact than

C.) Phenomenology
[Break the word down -> Phenomenology is linked to phenomena.]:-> Phenomenology studies the phenomena from the perspective of the those who experience the phenomena.

Most radical departure from the quantitative methodology.

1. Reject causal explanations of human behaviour.

2. To phenomenologists :-> Human beings understand the world by imposing meaning and classifications upon it. :-> These meanings and classifications make up social reality – there is no objective reality beyond these subjective meanings. And the sociologist must examine these meanings only.

3. In Cicourel's study of juvenile justice :->He found that police and judicial officers had the problem of classifying the behaviour of juveniles into delinquent or non-delinquent categories. :-> How they classified these, Cicourel did not find objective. It was largely depended on the stereotypes held by the officials of who a delinquent was. :->Therefore, the

an experiment is taking place can affect her results. – Avoiding it raises ethical questions. (c) Can only study small samples.

Comparative method

It is based on the analysis of what has happened or is happening in the society, rather than upon situations artificially created by the researcher. -> It can be used to isolate variables and see the effects.

Advantages over experimentation:
(a)Moral problems are less; (b) Researcher is less likely to affect artificially the behaviour of those being studied. (c) Allows the researcher to study large-scale societies and observe changes over a long period.

ThedaStockpol used it to study what causes revolutions by comparing revolutions. Marx, Durkheim (suicide) and Weber (PECS) used it.

meanings are the reality that the sociologist must examine.

4. Phenomenology is an e.g. of a sociological approach that sees the social world, and knowledge about it, as a social construction. These types of approach are often referred to as constructionism or constructivism.

Combining methods (methodological pluralism) and triangulation:

o In practice, sociologists often combine quantitative and qualitative methods. And the difference between the two is not that stark.

- For example: (An example of how triangulation helps researcher) -> A questionnaire might be submitted to a large number of people to re-check the findings which were reached on the basis of in-depth interviews.

  Or P.O might be used to generate ideas which could produce questions for questionnaire.
- Advantages (just read)
  1. Increases confidence in research findings.
  2. Qualitative methods useful in generating hypothesis to be tested in quantitative research.
  3. Quantitative methods (such as questionnaire) also facilitates qualitative. For ex. Help in identifying which people can be used for in-depth of interviews.
  4. Fill in the gaps.
  5. Since qualitative methods have small samples, quantitative methods can be added to produce generalisations.

Conclusion: Generally, quantitative data tends to produce static picture, but allows to look at the broad theme. Qualitative is less useful in producing the overall picture but allows for richer and deeper understanding.

Critical social science

- Main thinker: Lee Harvey
- This approach does not believe that either quantitative or qualitative methods will lead to discovery of truth.
- Instead it believes that knowledge is a process through which you understand the social world.
- Knowledge is never completed – never finished – as the social world is constantly changing.
- They believe that knowledge can never be separated from values. As a member of the social world, values of the society influences the researcher. However, the aim of the researcher should be go beyond his values and look underneath the surface.
- Thus the way the society appears can be misleading. Hence, things need to be seen in a different light so that the true values underlying them can revealed.

- o Ex: Feminists have shown that housework is just as normal work for which males get paid.
- o CSS are concerned with revealing oppressive structures so that they can be corrected.
- o Harvey says Marx's work is an example of CSS.

Criticism: CSS focus on the oppressed. But the oppressor might be oppressed too. A fact that CSS ignore. :->needs, interests and oppression are subjective judgments.

<u>Feminist methodology</u>

There are three approaches:

I. <u>Criticism of 'malestream' research</u>: This involves criticism of male-dominated, mainstream research. Feminists argue that these researchers are based on patriarchal principles.

II. <u>Need for distinctive feminist methodology</u>: This approach argues that the more conventional scientific methodology used by men are not good at helping the researcher understand social reality, especially that of women.

III. The claim that feminism <u>can reveal a distinctive epistemology</u> which is superior to other epistemologists.

Case studies

o A case study is a detailed examination of a single example of something. -> And therefore lacks external validity. -> Ex. Ken Pryce's study of West Indian community in Bristol.

o Uses of case studies:

   a) Falsify a theory -> KG's study of Nair community showed that family based on marital bond was not universal.

   b) To produce typologies

   c) To generate new hypotheses

o Different types of case studies:

   1. Critical case study-> Used to test a hypothesis.

   2. Extreme or unique case study->Where there is only one known example of something. For ex. Margaret Mead's study in Samoa.

   3. Revelatory case study->Gain an access to previously inaccessible aspect of social life.

   4. Longitudinal case study->Provides a chance to study the case at two or more pts in time.

o Drawback -> Impossible to generalise based on the case study ->One way to overcome this is to use a number of case studies to study a phenomena.

Life histories

o These are particular type of case study. -> The whole study concerns one individual's life.

o It is also sometimes known as biographical method.

o Carried out usually in the form of unstructured interviews.

o Ex. Study of Jane Fry, a transsexual – by Robert Bogdan.

o A number of life histories can be used to develop a theory + Test a theory + Or refine one. Ken Plummer refers to this as 'analytical induction'.

o Life histories can be used as sensitising tool – To help the researcher become aware of the topic his studying.

o It allows the researcher to see the world from the social actor's point of view.

o The rich detail of life-history data can help cut through the 'dense jargon'.

o   Some feminist researchers argue that life history research is useful for helping women to understand their situation, and once they have understood it, changing it. For instance, women who have experienced violence through life histories realise that what happened with them was not because of their bad luck. But that their is an objective social basis for this violence by men against women.

Pilot studies

o   It is a small-scale preliminary study carried out before the main study. In order to check the feasibility or improve the design of the research.

How is it useful?

1. Questions can be tested.
2. Help develop a rapport with the respondents.
3. Help develop research skills of those participating in the research.
4. Determine whether to go ahead with the research or drop it.

Social Surveys

o   Defined as research projects that collection standardised data from large number of people.

o   This may be collected either through questionnaires, interviews or observations. Of these, questionnaire is found to be the most practical and least time consuming process.

o   Three main types of social surveys are:

I.   Factual survey

   • Collects descriptive information.
   • Ex. Government census reports.

II.   Attitude survey

   • To discover the subjective state of the individuals.
   • Ex. Voter surveys.

III.   Explanatory survey

   • Trues to test theories and hypothesis and produce new theories.
   • Ex. Have white collar workers become proletariatised?

Questionnaire

- o Pre-set questions. :-> The same questions given to respondents in the same order so that same information can be collected from every member of the sample.
- o How can it be done:
  - Structured interview. :->Disadv: Interviewer bias (coz of interviewer's presence).
  - Postal questionnaire :->Disadv: Low return :-> This may bias the result in favour of those who return.
  - Administer to a group :->Less expensive. But it must be ensured that the answers are not discussed among the members.
  - Over telephone :-> Hard to establish rapport + Disadvgrps are represented less + Difficult to ask sensitive questions.
  - Email or other online methods.
- o Advantages of questionnaires
  1. Practical and fast.
  2. Large sample can be studied.
  3. Easily quantifiable results.
- o Disadvantages of questionnaires (by phenomenologists)
  1. Different people might interpret the question differently.
  2. Respondent cannot answer what is not asked or give information which is not sought.
  3. Researcher imposition ->As he sets the narrative by deciding the questions.
  4. No method to check whether the respondent is lying.
  5. Meaning and motives are not understood.

Interviews

- o Types of interviews:

  Structured interview: The interviewer administers a set of fixed questions. :-> He does not deviate from the questions. :->Allows for clarification to the answers submitted by the interviewee.Unstructured interview:->The interviewer has no fixed questions. It takes the form of a conversation. :->There are no predetermined questions. Most interviews fall between structured and unstructured interviews.
- o Styles of interviews:

Interviews can be <u>non-directive</u>: To refrain from offering opinions, to avoid expressions of approval and disapproval. This helps extract info on the premise that the interviewee feels assured that he is not being judged. :-><u>Howard Becker</u>disagrees and says that in certain cases a more active and aggressive approach can provide much filler data. :-> Others like <u>Ann Oakley</u> though reject non-directive approach advocate that the interviewers should be empathetic towards the interviewees rather than aggressive.

o <u>Individual and group interviews and focus groups:</u>

<u>Individual interview</u> is favoured as it allows for (1) Easy rapport to be established. (2) Confidentiality is ensured. (3) Respondent is not distracted or influenced by the presence of other interviewees.

<u>Group interviews</u> are considered as valuable because: (1) Allow diverse opinions to emerge (2) Participants think more deeply before answering.

<u>Focus groups</u>: Several members discuss a topic that has been carefully specified. :->Using the participants' reaction and responses to each other, the researchers conclude what the group thinks. :->Fits well with the symbolic interaction theory. As allows researchers to observe how a group of people, through interactions with each other, arrive jointly at meaning and understanding. :->This method is used by political parties who want more in-depth data on public opinion than provided by opinion polls. :-> On-line chat groups and on-line forums can be used to study online focus groups.

o <u>Advantages of interviews:</u>

1. Interviews offer a kind of compromise between questionnaires (which are more structured) and participant observation (which are more in-depth). :-> Hence, they <u>offer a balance between depth and what is practical</u>.

2. As compared to P.O, quantitative methods supporters prefer interviews as <u>they can utilise large samples</u> – from which statistical data can be produced, research can be replicated, and generalisation is possible.

3. As compared to questionnaires, qualitative methods supporters prefer them as they <u>allow for clarification</u>. Also, issues can be explored in greater depth and the researcher does not limit the response to fixed choices.

4. More <u>practical</u> and <u>flexible</u> method than other methods.

5. Allows research to carried out into groups that <u>might not otherwise consent</u> to being the subject of research. :-> For ex, Laurie Taylor used it to study professional crime in Britain.

6. Can produce out suppressed views and sensitive issues, which can be teased out as trust between interviewee and researcher grows.

7. Allows for critical reflection, so that interviewees/interviewers can examine and sometimes change their perspective.

8. Can help in creating new knowledge.

o <u>Disadvantages of interviews:</u>

1. The information may neither be valid nor reliable. :-> As the interviewee might by lying, pretending or does not have the information.

2. Reflecting on past experiences, might alter their answer in light of subsequent events.

3. Interviews can be influenced with the researcher's presence. (Black kids vs. white man).

4. In an unstructured interview, the interviewer may direct the interviewee towards the answers he wants to hear. :-> Consciously or unconsciously they might give the answers which they believe the interviewer wants to hear. This is known as <u>Interviewer bias</u>. :-> It can never be totally eliminated from interview research, because interviews are interaction situations.

<u>Ethnography</u>

o It is a study of the way of life of people (the terms relates to ethnicity).

o It was introduced by anthropologists who studied small-scale, pre-industrial societies.

o Malinowski's study of Trobriand Islands is an example of ethnographic study.

o Among the methods used in ethnography, <u>participant observation is the most common</u>.

<u>Participant Observation</u>

o Researcher can be Overt Observant / Covert P.O/ Partially overt or covert.

o Adv of overt:->(1) If covert and discovered, then research is ruined. No such risk in overt PO :->(2) Can refuse to take part in an act (esp. when study criminal

delinquents). :-> (3) Can ask questions without raising suspicion. Disadv :-> May affect the behaviour of those being studied. [This is therefore an advantage of Covert P.O.]. :-> Being covert can also lead to loss of objectivity because of 'going native'.

- o Advantages of Participant Observation :->
  1. Provides the best means of obtaining a valid picture of social reality :->Since the sociologist is unlikely to impose their reality on the social world.
  2. Much more difficult to lie or mislead the researcher.
  3. Increased validity of the data+ Ecological validity.
  4. Can provide new hypothesis as it gives newer insights into the area of research.

- o Disadvantages of Participant Observation :->
  1. Critics argue that PO lacks objectivity and depend too much on the interpretation of the observer.
  2. Very time consuming.
  3. Can study only a very small group and have to be physically present. :-> Therefore, generalisation is difficult.
  4. Limits on who can be studied: High-class + rich might refuse.
  5. In case of covert :-> Raises ethical questions.
  6. Studies cannot be replicated, hence studies cannot be checked.
  7. Validity can be affected by the presence of the researcher. :-> Some argue that this can be reduced through Member Validation. + Another suggestion Grounded Theory & Triangulation (involves the use of different methods to check the validity of data. :-> For instance, PO can use used to check data from interviews).

- o Critical ethnography

  It is a sort of ethnography advocated by advocates of critical social science. :-> It uses research to strive for positive social change by exposing the hidden and oppressive structures of unequal societies. :-> Ex.: Paul Willis' study of the transition from school to work of working-class 'lads'.

Longitudinal research (Also known as Panel Studies)

- o Studying a group for a long period of time – collecting data on them at regular intervals.

- It is used to measure things such as changing public attitude. As it said to be a better measure to gauge the trend than going out and searching for a new sample each time.
- Ex." The Child Health and Education Survey tries to follow the development of every child born in Britain between 3rd and 9th March, 1958. Notes: Education, employment, etc.
- These are usually large-scale quantitative studies.
- <u>Advantage</u>:->Ability to spot long-term trend. :->Supporters see it more likely to produce valid data than other types of research.
- <u>Disadvantage</u>:-> Need to find such people who are <u>accessible and willing to cooperate</u> over an extended period. :-> Size of the sample may reduce if some people refuse to cooperate or are not traceable. :-> Subjects of the research are conscious that they are being studied.

Secondary sources

- Secondary sources consist of data that have already been produced, often by people other than sociologists.
- Sociologists often use secondary data produced by the government, TUs, Cos, etc.
- Also includes: Diaries, autobiographies and letters.
- This data can be contemporary or historical. Qualitative or quantitative.
- Secondary sources have high practical value as it saves time and money. And provides access to historical data which cannot be produced using primary research,.
- But, the validity and reliability of secondary sources is open to question.

Official Statistics

- Government produces a wide range of statistics.
- Sociologists use various official statistics such as crime, unemployment, suicide, etc.
- Sociological inquiry would have been seriously impaired in the absence of the official statics as sociologists lack power and resources to collect such detailed data.
- Relatively unobtrusive – as respondents do change their decision unlike in other methods.

- Earlier, sociologists accepted official statistics uncritically. For ex. Durkheim relied on them for his study of suicide.

- But today sociologists are more cautious about using official statistics, especially in areas of social life such as suicide and deviance.

- This problem can be overcome through <u>victimisation or self-report studies</u>. -> These use questionnaires administered to members of the population to determine the extent of reported and unreported crime. But this is questioned on the basis of validity as respondents might either exaggerate their response or underreport.

- Phenomenologists [WRITE THAT CICOUREL AND ATKINSON ARE THE MAIN THINKERS]do not accept the use of official statistics. -> They say that statistics are socially constructed rather than a description of an external reality. :-> But they believe they are useful to analyse how these statistics are produced. -> For instance, Cicourel says that stereotypes held by police and juvenile lead to youths from lower social classes being more likely to be seen as delinquent. -> Cicourel's view becomes less convincing when applied to such data as age and sex distribution of population.

- <u>Conflict view</u> -> Statistics are not complete distortions but are produced to favour the interests of the powerful. They cite the example of Margaret Thatcher. :-> Cite: The controversy around GDP data in India.

- <u>Conclusion:</u> Despite all the above problems, most sociologists do regard official statistics as providing some useful data on the phenomena they measure. As suggested, some statistics, such as those on births, deaths, marriages, can be considered as both valid and quite reliable. + Alan Bryman says OS are <u>unobtrusive measure</u> of social life. -> Avoids REACTIVITY.

<u>Historical sources</u> (These points can be reproduced in the History versus Sociology debate)

- Provide information about past events. -> Hence widens the scope of sociological inquiry.

- These can be qualitative or quantitative.

- They become important because often they are the only way of knowing about the past even. – Depending on the nature of the material they are classified as primary and secondary.

- Ex. Peter Laslett's study of family in pre-industrial Europe Also, Michael Anderson.:->And Weber's study of religion.
- Can be unreliable (as history tends to be subjective sometimes) and can reflect the ideologies of those who produced them. Hence they are open to multiple interpretations.

Life documents

- Life documents are the personal account of individual's experiences and social action.
- Tends to be qualitative.
- Biographies, suicide notes, diaries, letters, etc.
- Made popular by Thomas and Znaniecki's study: The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. – Through letters written by polish farmers, letters to the editors, etc, they tried to explain the experience of migration of Polish people who moved to America in the early years of the 20th century.
- Less used now. – Too subjective + Can be written with the reader in mind + Difficult to obtain + Can be unrepresentative.
- Advantage: Give much deeper understanding of the subjective state of mind.
- Latest addition emails.

Content analysis

Both visual media and textual material is often combined in mass media sources. :-> These are widely used in sociological research. :-> Although mass media might provide sociologists with useful data their main importance is as objects of study. :-> Mass media reports can be used to analyse the ideologies of those who produce them.

Ray Pawson analyses the four main approaches to carry out content analysis:

A. Formal Content Analysis: A sample of text is collected for study :-> A classification device is devised to identify different features of these texts. For ex: Analysing the words used by presidential or prime ministerial candidates in their election speeches. Or content of different newspapers on a particular debate. Ex: What kind of healthcare system is need.

Advantages: Objective and reliable.; Disadvantage: There is an assumption that audiences are passive listeners, there is little attempt to examine how the audience actually interprets the text.

B. Thematic analysis:-> Aimed at discovering the ideological bias of the author. :-> It aims at understanding why the author wrote what he wrote and why he picked a particular style. :-> Ex: Sylvia Walby's study of reporting of sex crimes by newspapers. She found that less emphasis was placed on prevalence of rape by partners and friends of victims and the wider context of patriarchal power within which rape takes place. Instead newspapers gave wider coverage to rape in public places.

Disadvantage :-> Less emphasis is placed on how the reader interprets + Criticised that examples are picked to prove the story. Hence, less scientific.

C. Textual analysis:-> How usage of particular words in the text can influence the interpretation of the text. :-> Ex: Glasgow Media Group's study of television reporting of strikes. :-> Strikers tended to be described with words such as 'claim' or 'demand'; while management with words such as 'offered' and 'proposed'. Hence, the reader could find the striker as unreasonable while the management reasonable. Textual analysis involves the use of Semiotics:-> Semiology involves analysing the meaning of signs. Ex: Saluting of the Algerian boy (interpreted as to the French Flag). Disadvantage :-> Similar to previous.

D. Audience Analysis:-> Overcomes earlier disadvantages by focussing on the responses of the audience as well as the content of the mass media.

Internet

o Read from Haralambos.

Robert K Merton: Latent and manifest functions, Conformity and deviance, and reference groups

Theory of reference groups

Reference group:

It is a group to which you always refer to in order to evaluate your achievements/ role-performance/ aspirations/ and ambitions. :-> ==Both membership group and non-membership groups can act as reference groups==.

Concept of relative deprivation:

"American Soldier". :->Married soldier w.r.t. the unmarried soldier. Married soldier w.r.t. married civilians. :->According to Merton: deprivation is not absolute, it depends on scale of measure and frame of reference. (The married soldier is not asking what he gets, but what he is deprived of.)

Concept of group and group membership:

Three characteristics of group and group membership:

1. Frequency of interaction: People in the group frequently interact with each other.
2. Interacting persons define themselves as members. :->Members of the group have patterned expectations or forms of interaction which are morally binding on members.
3. Persons in the group are defined by others as belonging to the group.

Group Vs. Collectives: All groups are collectives. But all collectives are not groups. :-> The collectives that lack the criteria of frequent interaction among members are not groups. :-> Nation is an example of collectives, and not of group.

Non-membership: Those who do not meet the criteria of frequency of interaction and of patterned expectations. :->Non-membership can be of three types:

(a) Those who aspire for membership of the group :-> As per Merton, the NMG then becomes Positive Reference Group. Alternatively, PRG is defined as the RG which one likes and takes seriously in order to shape one's behaviour and evaluate one's achievements and performance.

(b) Those who remain motivated to remain unaffiliated with the NMG: Then NMG = NRG. NRG is defined as RG which one dislikes and rejects.

(c) There would be some who will remain indifferent too.

Anticipatory Socialisation:-> Used in the context of non-membership RG. :-> It refers to preparing oneself for the group to which the individual aspires but does not belong. :-> It includes adopting the values and lifestyle of the non-membership reference group.

In a closed system, anticipatory socialisation can be dysfunctional too: If he is not admitted in the NMRG, then his anticipatory socialisation might lead to him being disliked by his own group. As per Merton, he will be reduced to being a 'marginal man'. :-> Merton says AS is functional in an open system, dysfunctional in a closed system.

Merton says :-> Individual likely to feel more deprived in an open system, then a closed system.

Under what circumstances is non-membership group chosen as RG:->

1. Capacity of the RG to confer prestige.
2. Isolates: Because of their sensitivity or rebelliousness or because of their intense urge for mobility do not remain content with the groups to which they belong. :-> As a result, they would be stimulated to adopt values of the NMG.
3. A social-system which encourages social mobility :-> Will tend to make far widespread orientation to non-membership group as reference groups.

Non-conformity Vs. Deviance

It should not be equated with deviance, because: (a) Unlike a criminal, a non-conformist announces his dissent. (b) The non-conformist challenges the legitimacy of norms and expectations and rejects them. But a criminal does not have the courage to reject their legitimacy. (c) The non-conformist believe they are gifted with a higher morality and want to alter the norms accordingly. :-> The fact that non-conformists 'tend to elicit some measure of respect' implies that the membership group begins to become uncertain about its norms and values. :->The non-conformist's conformity to the non-membership group is the beginning of conflict and tension in membership group. :-> This initiates the possibility of change and conflict in their own membership group.

Role set

Merton says a particular social status involves not a single associated role. But an array of associated roles. This is called role-set. :-> An understanding of role-set is important because it makes you realise how difficult it is to satisfy everyone in the role set. It is in this context that Merton speaks of structural sources of instability in the role-set.

Mead: Self and Identity

Symbols

➤ In Mead's view, human thoughts, experiences and conducts are essentially social. :->They are social due to the fact that human beings interact in terms of symbols – the most important of which are contained in the language.

➤ Symbols provide the means using which humans can interact meaningfully with their natural and social environment. Without symbols there would be no human interaction and no human society.

➤ Symbolic interaction is necessary since humans have no instincts to direct their behaviour. Therefore, in order to survive they must construct and live within a world of meaning.

➤ A symbol doesn't simply describes an object or an event. :-> It also indicates a response to it. For example: Chair, also indicates the line of action: sitting. When they define an object, they exclude other possible meanings.

➤ Symbols are human-made and refer not to the intrinsic nature of objects and events but to the ways in which people perceive them.

Role-taking

Symbols provide the means for interaction. But for a successful interaction to take place 'role-taking' is needed. Mead says role-taking is a process where one person takes the role of another by imaginatively placing themselves in the position of people with whom they are interacting.

The self

Mead argued that through the process of role-taking, individuals develop a concept of 'self'. By placing themselves in the position of others they are able to look back upon themselves.

Mead claimed that the idea of a self can only develop if the individual can 'get outside himself in such a way as to become an object to himself'.

The concept of self provides the basis for cooperative action in society. Individuals become aware of what is expected of them and will tend to modify their actions accordingly. :-> From this perspective, thought becomes an inner conversation going on between this generalised other and the individual. Thus people are constantly asking what other people will think and expect when they reflect upon themselves. :-> In this way, the conduct is regulated in terms of the expectation and attitude of others.

Mead distinguishes between two aspects of self: Me and I.

ME:->YOUR DEFINITION OF YOURSELF IN A SPECIFIC SOCIAL ROLE.

For example: I might see myself as a 'good parent' or a 'good son'.

I:->YOUR OPINION OF YOURSELF AS A WHOLE.

The 'I' can also be called as the 'SELF-CONCEPT'. It is built up from the reactions of others to you, and the way you interpret those reactions. For example, if you see yourself as coward then you are unlikely to act in a difficult situation.

The notion of self is not inborn. It is learned during childhood. It has two main stages:

A. PLAY STAGE:->[LEARNING ROLE TAKING]Children play the roles that are not their own. For example, children may play being a parent, a doctor or a nurse. :->In doing so they become aware that there is a difference between themselves and the role they are playing. :->Through this the idea of the self is developed as the child takes the role of the other.

B. GAME STAGE:-> They begin to see themselves from the perspective of the 'generalised other'. In playing a game, children come to see themselves from the perspective of the other participants. :-> In order to play a game like football or cricket, children must become aware of their relationship to the other players. :->

They must place themselves in the roles of the others in order to appreciate their own particular role in the game.

➢ Mead says although the existence of <u>culture and social roles does shape human behaviour to some extent, humans still have considerable choice</u> as to how they behave. Mead gave following reasons:

- Many cultural expectations are not specific. (Society asks to wear clothes, not which)
- Individuals have considerable choice as to which roles they enter.
- Some social roles encourage a diversity of behaviour. (fashion designers)
- Society does not have an all-embracing culture.

<u>The individual and society</u>

➢ Mead's view of human interaction sees humans as both actively creating the social environment and getting shaped by it.

➢ The individual and the society are regarded as inseparable and the individual can only become a human being in a social context. :-> In this context, individuals develop a sense of self, which is a prerequisite thought. :-> They learn to take the roles of others :->Without communication in terms of symbols whose meanings are shared, these processes would not be possible.

➢ Humanity therefore lives in a world of symbols that gives meaning and significance to life and provide the basis for human interaction.

<u>Herbert Blumer</u>:->Basic premises of symbolic interactionism:

1) Human beings act on the basis of meanings that they give to objects and events rather than simply reacting either to external stimuli such as social forces or to internal stimuli such as organic drives.

2) Meanings arise from the process of interaction. They are not fixed or pre-formed. In the process of interaction actors do not slavishly follow pre-set norms or mechanically act out established roles.

3) Meanings are the result of interpretative procedures. By taking the role of the other, the actor interprets the meanings and interactions of others.

<u>Criticism</u>

1) Ignore the historical and social context in which interactions take place.

2) Mead sees social life as too consensual – while traditional societies might have a lot consensus, present day societies are characterised by mutual coexistence of distinct cultural norms.

3) Downplay the social constraints on action.

4) SI don't adequately explain the source of meaning to which they attach such importance. – As per Marxists, meaning that operate in face-to-face interactions are largely the product of class relationships.

Conclusion:

1) SI have shown the usefulness of micro sociology in understanding everyday life, particularly the dynamic of small groups.

2) The labelling theory of Howard Becker transformed the study of crime and deviance.

<u>Karl Marx: Historical Materialism, Mode of Production, Alienation, and class struggle</u>

<u>HM</u>:->Represents Marx's perspective. It contains the blueprint of his methodology.

<u>MoP</u>:->Show Marx's view of nature of society.

<u>Class struggle</u>:-> Is the application of HM.

<u>Historical Materialism</u>

o Marx: "The first historical act is – Production of material life." :-> Hence, history begins when humans actually produce their means of subsistence, when they begin to control nature.

o Marx never used the term. :->He used the term <u>materialistic interpretation of history</u> :->Term coined by Plakenov.

o Definition: "HM designates that course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society and in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, and in the consequent division of society into distinct classes and in the struggle of these classes against one another."

o Based on the definition :-> Characteristics: (1) Causes of change in the economic development of society. (2) How change occurs? When society gets divided into two… EXPAND THE DEFINITION IN EXAM.

o Marx was the first to discover this nexus.

o <u>Application</u>:->AR Desai uses it to explain character of Indian nationalism.

<u>Modes of production</u>

o <u>Definition:</u>"In the social production which men carry on, they enter into relationships which are indispensible and independent of their will. These relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of product constitute the economic structure of society. The real foundation on which rises legal and political superstructures and which corresponds to definite forms of social consciousness. The modes of production in material life determines the general character of social, political and spiritual processes of life. At a certain stage of their development, these material forces of production come into conflict with the existing relations of production, - or what is but a legal expression of

the same thing, i.e. with the property relations, within which they had been at work earlier. From forms of development of forces of development, these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution."

o Influenced by Hegel's dialecticism (but disagrees too).

o Marx says the distinct character of human is to produce, to satisfy his needs. :-> Labour is the <u>creative interchange</u> between man and his environment. :->Through labour, man transforms the environment. But in the process, gets transformed himself too. :-> Marx called this the idea of <u>social praxis.</u> :-> As man gets transformed, this gives rise to newer needs. :->So, change is a fundamental character of human life. :-> Marx says this <u>change is dialectic</u> in nature.

o <u>How does this dialectic unfold?</u>

  1. Need for production leads to humans entering into social relations.

  2. Continue with the definition -> How M.O.P determine the superstructure, etc.

  3. MoP is restrictive and not prescriptive.

  4. <u>FoP are dynamic</u> :-> But <u>RoP resists change.</u>

  5. <u>Repeat the pts in class struggle about development of two resultant classes, etc.</u>

  o <u>Criticism</u>:->(1) Mono-causal economic determinism. (2) Lenin used ideology during the Russian revolution. Hence, super-structure can also influence base. (3) As per David Mclenna, in Grunderisse -> Max accepted that SS can influence Base.

<u>Class struggle</u>

o Comm. Manifesto:"History of hitherto all existing societies has been a history of class struggles".

o Class has been used as a <u>conceptual tool</u> by Marx to account for conflict and change in society.

o <u>What is class</u>? According to Marx, class is a group of people who share <u>common relations to FoP</u>. :->As a result: There are <u>two class</u>: (a) <u>Ownership class</u>: Those who own and control the FoP.

(b) <u>Non-ownership class</u>: Those who do not own the FoP.

o Marx has used class in two senses: <u>Descriptive sense</u> ('Revolution and Counter Revolution in Germany' – Marx identifies 7 different classes; Similarly, in 'Class Struggle in France' – Marx identifies 6 different classes) – Aware of the complexity of the class

system. And in <u>Sociological sense</u>: Here he is using class as a conceptual tool to account for conflict and change in society. Hence, identifies two classes: Ownership and Non-ownership.

o <u>Class-in-itself</u>: It is a mere category. :->Non-owners are unaware that they belong to a common category and have common interests. :-><u>Has the potential</u> of being an agent of conflict and change. But it <u>remains dormant</u>.
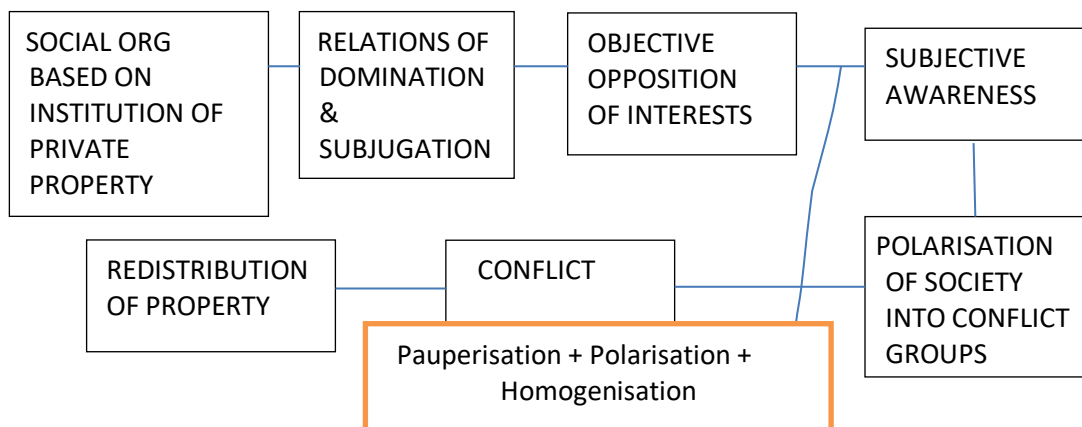
o <u>Class-for-itself</u> : When members of the class develop <u>subjective awareness of their objective reality</u>. :-> Then they transform from class-in-itself to class-for-itself.

o As per Marx, history of the world has passed through four epochs: Ancient Society transforms into Feudal Society → Marx does not explain how this change occurs without class struggle→ The Feudal Society is divided into Masters (Ownership) and Serfs (Non-ownership)→ Marx says Serfs did not get into conflict with Lords because they lacked subjective awareness of their objective reality and were a C-I-I→Then Industrial capitalism gradually began to develop within the framework of the feudal society. → In order to develop fully, it required 'free wage labourer who sells his labour-power to capital'. → This provides a mobile labour force that can be hired and fired at will → However, the feudal relations of production – which involved 'landed property with serf labour chained to it' – tended to prevent development of wage labourers. →Eventually the FoP of capitalism developed sufficient strength and impetus to lead to the destruction of the feudal system. → The bourgeoisie became C-F-I and overthrew the feudal RoP.

o But the resolution of old contradictions does not mean an end to contradictions in society :-> The transition from feudalism to capitalism merely means the replacing of old set of contradictions by new set.

o Marx says in capitalism we will not have to wait for new forces of production for class conflict to emerge. Instead, because of the contradictions in capitalism, a subjective awareness of objective reality will emerge among the capitalists.

o <u>What are these contradictions</u>:

(1) <u>Socialisation of production and privatisation of control</u>: This leads to alienation.

(2) <u>Monopoly capitalism</u>: More efficient firms will drive out less efficient.

(3) <u>Pauperisation thesis</u>:-> Pay less + Retrench works :-> Inequality increases.

(4) <u>Polarisation</u> :-> Middle classes + Petty bourgeoisie will join proletariat. Only 2 classes will remain.

(5) <u>Homogenisation thesis</u>:-> As the proletariat will become more homogenised, they will be subject to similar conditions at work. Hence, their class position will be alike and they will behave they have common interests. :-> The proletariat will develop subjective awareness and will transform into CFI. :-> This will lead to development of conflict. :-> As per Marx, this conflict does not have to be violent in democratic countries. :-> But in other countries, bourgeoisie will use state violence against the proletariat to suppress them. In that case, proletariat will have to use violence too. :->Eventually, the proletariat will win. They will overthrow the capitalist system and will destroy the institution of private property. :-> All FOP will be owned and controlled by the society as a whole. :-> And there will be no class divisions. :-> State will be dominated by one-party. (In democracy: Party represents class interests). :-> There will be <u>dictatorship of the proletariat</u>. :-> Eventually, it will be a state-less society,

ABOLISH PRIVATE PROPERTY → CLASS DISAPPEARS → STATE DISAPPEARS
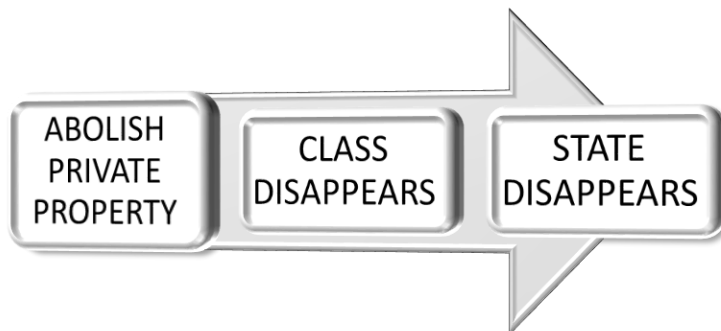
JONATHAN TURNER'S MODEL OF MARX

SOCIAL ORG BASED ON INSTITUTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY → RELATIONS OF DOMINATION & SUBJUGATION → OBJECTIVE OPPOSITION OF INTERESTS → SUBJECTIVE AWARENESS

REDISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY — CONFLICT — POLARISATION OF SOCIETY INTO CONFLICT GROUPS

Pauperisation + Polarisation + Homogenisation

Critical evaluation of class and class-conflict

➢ Max Weber

1. Disagrees with Marx's definition of class:-> He says class consists of a group of people who share a common market situation. :->Therefore, class divisions emerge only when there is a market system of exchange. :-> Market economy exists only in a capitalist economy. Thus, as per Weber, in earlier society there was no class division as there were status groups.

2. Disagrees on number of classes:->Weber says in contemporary society there are not two, but four classes. And number of classes will increase, unlike what Marx says in his homogenisation thesis. The four classes identified by Weber are: Propertied upper-class, White-collar workers (will grow with the growth of capitalism. They are non-owners but market situation is favourable for them), Petty bourgeoisie (this might get educated and become part of WCW. Disagrees with M that they will become part of P), and Manual working class (Contrary to Marx, he says this class will decline as machines will substitute workers. :-> This class will get further fragmented in terms of skilled, semi-skilled, etc. Hence, will become heterogeneous than homogenous).

3. Weber says economic inequality will generate conflict but it is not necessary that this conflict will lead to revolution. Only under a rare condition will there will be a chance of revolution.

➢ Clarck Kerr and Jessi Bsernard :-> In advanced industrial society, as white-collar workers are increasing there is an embourgeoisiment of working class.

➢ Gold Thorpe and Lockwood:->Found embourgeoisement to be partially true as: (a) Workers have accepted inequality as normal feature. (b) Workers have become home-centred than TU-centred.

➢ Crain Brinton:->Says there is no inevitability of revolution, they just occur in certain situations: (1) Inefficiency of existing authorities. (2) Dissertation of the intelligentsia of the ruling elite. (3) Political bankruptcy. (4) Emergence of charismatic leadership.

➢ Ralf Dahrendorf :->Marx theory correct for the conditions of 19th century. Argues that capitalism is destroying itself not into socialism, but into post-capitalism. Why? (1) Decomposition of capital (2) Decomposition of labour (3) Rise of the welfare

state. (4) Increasing social mobility (5) Expansion of white-collar middleclass. (6) Institutionalisation and Insulation of conflict.

<u>Some recent events that seem to suggest that marx's ideal may still have something to offer:</u>

1) Karl Marx view that capitalism was inherently unstable and that it would be prone to crisis seem to be supported by the global financial and economic crisis of 2008.

2) Economists have shown that since 1970 wealth has been concentrated in the hands of few.

3) David Harvey argues that the world current currently has many characteristics that suggest that capitalism is running out of steam and its long-term future is under threat. He says that there is widespread poverty in the world, environmental problems are out of control and the rich are getting rich and the livers of are so closely controlled by then it is difficult to introduce changes which might help to save them.

<u>Alienation</u>

✓ Alienation is <u>a social-psychological condition</u> in which a man becomes estranged from himself. :-> He is not able to identify his true character.

✓ <u>Hegel</u> say alienation is inherent in the nature of all spiritual creation. :-> Rejecting alienation to be natural, Marx says alienation is <u>man-made.</u>

✓ Marx: Alienation is not absent in earlier stages of society, but it reaches its zenith during the capitalist Mode of Production. :-> Marx says the root of all alienation is Economic Alienation.

✓ Marx attributes economic alienation in Bourgeoisie society to: (A) Private ownership (B) Anarchy of market forces.

✓ <u>Alienation of proletariat</u>

1. <u>Alienation from product</u> :-> Worker lacks control over the product, since what he produces is appropriated by others. :->He lacks control over the fate of his produce.

2. <u>Alienation from process</u> :->The work task is not satisfying. :->Work becomes an end in itself, rather than a means to an end.

3. <u>Alienation from human being</u> :->Workers become a commodity of exchange. :->Instead of creating objects, it becomes an object.

4. <u>Alienation from species being</u> :->Alienated labour reduces the human productive activity to the level of adaptation to, rather than active mastery of the nature. -> This detaches the human being from his species being – from what makes the life of human being distinct from that of animals.

✓ <u>Alienation of the bourgeoisie:</u>

Bourgeoisie is also alienated due to the anarchy of market forces. :-> He does not produce what he wants to, but what the market wants him to produce. :->His enjoyment is mere satisfaction of capital accumulation.

✓ <u>Solution:</u>

1. Will only end with an end to private property.

2. Even socialistic MoP will have some degree of alienation.

3. Although capitalism cannot eliminate alienation, it can be reduced by: (a) Humanising conditions of work. (b) Labour time is reduced and leisure time increased.

o <u>Weber on alienation</u>

   ✓ Modern industrial society consists of large-scale production.

   ✓ This needs greater coordination & command. -> This gives way to bureaucratic organisation.

   ✓ The strict adherence to <u>formal rules</u> leads to formalistic impersonality. -> Feeling alienation.

o <u>CW Mills</u>

   ✓ Expansion of the tertiary sector of the economy has led to a shift from skills with things to skills with persons.

   ✓ Just as earlier people sold their skills with things in the market, now they sell their skill with persons. :-> Mills refer to this as the '<u>PERSONALITY MARKET</u>'.

   ✓ Because personality is sold like any other commodity <u>:-> People become alienated from their true selves</u>. Ex.: Sales girl – because her personality becomes an <u>instrument for an alien purpose</u>.

o <u>Andre Gorz and Herbert Marcuse:</u>

   ✓ Just as capitalism shapes the working day of a man, it also shapes his leisure activities.

- He begins to find satisfaction in consuming the products of manufacturing and entertainment industries.
- As a result, his basic needs are not fulfilled and he remains dissatisfied.
- Thus, in a capitalist economy, man is alienated from both his work and leisure.

o Criticism of Marx:
- Marx's theory is based on what he thinks man ought to be. -> Value-bias?
- Marx and Marxists tend to ignore the meanings held by members of society.
- Do not differentiate -> Make a common argument for all occupations.

o Robert Blauner – Alienation and Technology:
- Doesn't agree with Marx that all workers in the capitalist economy are uniformly alienated.
- Blauner associates alienation with the type of technology rather relations of production.
- Looks at Workers' attitude to gauge the degree of alienation -> If Workers are satisfied with their work then they are not alienated. Otherwise, they are.
- He looked at workers from: Printing, textile, chemical and automobile industries.
- He found that printing industry workers were least alienated, while those in the automobile industry were most alienated.

o Goldthrope and Lockwood
- Don't see a link btw production technology and the attitude and behaviour of the people:->Instead they see how people look at their work as defining their attitude and behaviour.
- They found that people looked at worked as a means to an end. In this case, to earning money and raising their living standards. They argue that this kind of thinking does not arise from alienation of work- but from culture or social structure which produces this 'consumption mindedness'.

o M Seeman :-> Looked at the psychological facet of alienation: These were:
1. Powerlessness: Feeling that they cannot influence their social surroundings.
2. Meaninglessness: Illegitimate means are required to achieve valued goals.
3. Isolation: When people feel estranged from the norms and values of the society.
4. Self-estrangement: Inability to find activities that are psychologically rewarding.
5. Normlessness: Refers to conditions which perceives absence of norms.

<u>Durkheim's anomie</u>

o Durkheim says anomie is absence of norms or disintegration of norms.

o He says that in fact norms are present, they are not absent. But the individual perceives them to be absent.

o Durkheim invokes the concept of anomie after talking about organic solidarity. He says that there are certain <u>pathological traits</u> in modern society, and anomie is one such psychological trait.

o Durkheim says that the reason for presence of anomie is that because of increasing division of labour, individualism has increased -> This individualism, as per him, is the cause of anomie. -> He says that human desires are kept under check because of collective conscience, which has declined due to growth of individualism.

o Durkheim showed the presence of increased anomie in -> High rate of suicide, increase in marital break-up, and industrial conflict.

o Durkheim says the immediate solution is reintegration into family, politics (state), and religion. But Durkheim dismisses these.

o He says suicide rate rises as rapidly in the married people as single people, moreover the role of family is declining in modern society. :-> The state is too far from the individual. :-> Religion is too unable to do away with anomie as it has its function of social constraint.

o Therefore, the only social group that might foster the integration of the individual in the collectivity is the professional organisation, or to use the other term, the corporation. :->By corporations he means professional organisations which would include employees and employers.

o <u>RK Merton</u> :-> Deviance results not from pathological personalities but because of the culture and structure of the society.

o <u>Albert Cohen</u> :-> Two major criticism of Merton :-> One, delinquency is collective rather than individual response. Two, Merton fails to account for non-utilitarian crime such as vandalism, joy-riding, etc.
<u>Cultural deprivation -> Lack of education -> Status frustration -> Resolve their frustration by turning to crime -> They replace existing norms with alternative norms and values. -> Results in delinquent sub-culture.</u>

- o Cloward and Ohlin: Accept Merton's theory but say he does not explain when who will become what. :-> Merton explains legitimate opportunity structure but does not explain illegitimate opportunity structure. :-> Criminal subculture, conflict subculture (does not access to illegitimate subculture), and retreatist subculture (failed in both).

- o Walter Millers -> Rejects Merton's view that anomie represents an alternative means of achieving mainstream goals -> Rejects Cohen's argument that it results from a delinquent sub-culture which is a result of failure to attain mainstream goals.

  There is a 'distinctive cultural system' which may be termed as lower caste -> It includes number of focal concerns, these are: Toughness, smartness and excitement.

  Two concerns exaggerate the focal concerns for the lower class: Tendency to belong to peer-group + Concern of young people for status which is achieved in terms of peer group norms.

  Miller says that delinquency is simply acting out of focal concerns of lower class subculture.

Modes of production

- ✓ It is the relationship between the forces of production and the relations of production.
- ✓ According to Marx, each society has two aspects- Infrastructure and Super-structure.
- ✓ The infrastructure consists of : (a) <u>Forces of production</u>: This relates to the technology.
  (b) <u>Relations of production</u>: This relates to the relations between owners and non-owners of the means of production.
- ✓ The different MoPare: Primitive Communism, Ancient society, Feudalism, and Capitalism.

Max Weber: Social Action, Ideal types, authority, bureaucracy, protestant ethic & spirit of capitalism

Weber's social action theory

- ➤ In <u>ECONOMY AND SOCIETY</u>: Weber says "Sociology is the <u>science</u> concerned with the <u>interpretative understanding of social action</u> and thereby the <u>causal explanation</u> of its course and consequence."

- ➤ To Weber an action was social if:

1. The Actor attached meaning to the action.

2. Takes into account behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course.

Thus, an action that a person does not think about cannot be a social action.

- ➢ Based on four types of meanings, Weber classified four types of actions:

    1. Goal-rational action: Using efficient means to attains practical goals.

    2. Value-rational action:Means are rationally chosen, but goals are dictated by values. Eg: LTTE

    3. Traditional action: Sole motive of acting out the action is to maintain the tradition.

    4. Affective action:Motive is to convey the feelings and emotions.

Weber's methodology

A. Verstehen

   o After Weber identified social action as the subject matter of sociology. He went on to describe how to interpret the meaning attached to social action by the actor. Without the meaning, course and consequence of the social action cannot be established.

   o Weber defines Verstehen as interpretative understanding of social action through emphatic liaison, in order to build a sequence of motives and thereby trace the course of social action.

   o As per Weber, there are two steps involved in Verstehen,

   (A) Direct observational understanding: Eg, looking at someone's face reveals whether he is angry or not + Also involves empirical observations.

   (B) Motivational understanding: To interpret the motivation behind the social action. Under this, it is necessary to put yourself in the shoes of the person whose behaviour you are examining. For eg, why is the person angry?

   o Weber has applied the Verstehen approach in only PESC.

   o Anthony Glidden's and Stephen Karlberg : The meaning in Weber's definition consists of both culturally-shaped meaning and unique meanings. While in the case of Parsons and Durkheim it only consists of culturally-shaped meanings. Therefore, Weber's approach can be used to bring about micro and macro integration. Hence, Verstehen can be applied at both the levels.

B. Ideal-types

- o A methodological device developed by Weber.
- o "An ideal-type is formed by one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view. And by the synthesis of great many diffused, discrete, more-or-less present, occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to the one-sidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified, analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. "
- o Characteristics of ideal-types:

    1. An ideal-type is not an average type.

    2. Not ideal in an ethical sense. It is called ideal because it exists in the realms of ideas.

    3. Not a faithful description of reality, but a rational construction. :->Which is constructed keeping certain viewpoints in mind.

- o Methodological utility of ideal types:

    1. As social reality is complex :->Selectivity becomes unavoidable.

    2. Ideal-type acts as a classificatory device.

    3. Social science equivalents of experiments in natural science.

    4. Used for building logical interconnections b/n different social constellations.
    Eg: PESC

    5. Limited role in predictions. Eg: Marx :->If SAOR -> Revolution.

    6. Acts as a source of hypothesis for further research.

C. Value-neutrality
- o In scientific research :-> Facts and values should be set apart.
- o Value neutrality is the desirable goal of sociology but at a certain level values cannot be completely done away with. For e.g.: Choice of study of subject is influenced by values, the research method used is influenced by values, interpretation of data is influenced by research. :-> Where values are unavoidable Weber calls it value relevance.
- o How can value neutrality be maintained:

    1. Ideological assumptions should be avoided to the extent possible.

    2. Moral judgments should not be passed on as facts.

    3. Indifference to moral implications of research.

4. Research should not be an opportunity for advocacy or for promoting values.

5. At the end of the research, one should be value frank.

D. <u>Causal Pluralism</u>:-> No single explanation can adequately account for a phenomena. Every explanation should be seen as one of the plausible explanations. Eg, PESC.

<u>Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism</u>

➤ <u>Functionalists</u> argue that religion promotes social integration, while <u>Marxists</u> argue that it impedes social change. In contrast, <u>Weber</u> argued that in some circumstances :->Religion can actually lead to social change.

➤ Further, while Marx argues that the mode of production determined the type of religion, Weber said in some cases it can be reversed, i.e. religion determines the economic system.

➤ In his book, PESC, Weber <u>analyses the relationship between certain forms of Protestantism and the development of western Industrial capitalism.</u>

➤ In the first part of his argument -> Weber tries to demonstrate that a particular form of Protestantism – Calvinism – preceded Capitalism.

➤ Second, he tries to demonstrate that capitalism initially developed in areas (Western Europe & North America) where this religion was influential. :-> Other areas such as India and China possessed many of the prerequisites required to develop Industrial Capitalism, yet it did not develop because they lacked – according to Weber – a religion which encouraged the development of Industrial Capitalism.

➤ <u>What was so special about Calvinism?</u>
   o Put forward by John Calvin in the 17th century :->Calvin though that there was <u>distinct group of the elect</u> – those chosen to go to heaven – and that they had been chosen by the God even before they had been born.
   o Those not among the elect, could never go to heaven, however, well they behaved.
   o At first, the <u>doctrine of predestination</u> seemed unlikely to produce capitalism. But Weber said it did produce capitalism because <u>the Calvinists did not know they were among the elect</u>. They suffered from a kind of <u>inner loneliness and uncertainty about their status</u> :-> And their behaviour was not an attempt to earn a place in heaven, but rather to <u>convince themselves that they had been chosen to go there.</u>

➤ <u>The protestant ethic:</u>

- Ascetic: Abstinence from life's pleasures. :-> It produced individuals who worked hard in their careers/callings with a single-minded pursuit.
- Industry and frugality :-> The money earned was not to be spent on luxuries or entertainment but in 'glory of God' :->Which meant reinvesting profits in the business.
- Attacked time-wasting, laziness, idle gossip and excessive sleep
- Sports and recreation only for improving fitness and health. Condemned if pursued for entertainment.
- Living life in terms of these guidelines signified that the individual had not lost the grace and favour in the sight of God.

➢ The spirit of capitalism
- Weber says the traditional money seekers engaged in speculative projects and if successful they tend to spend their money frivolously on personal consumption. :->They were not dedicated to make money for its own sake. :-> They did not feel the need to push themselves harder to make more money.
- In contrast, Weber said the essence of capitalism was 'the pursuit of profit and forever renewed profit'.
- Underlying the practice of capitalism is the spirit of capitalism – These are a set of ideas, values and ethics. Weber illustrates the spirit through two quote from Benjamin Franklin: 'Time is money': Time-wasting, idleness and diversion lose money.
- And, 'Credit is money': A reputation for 'prudence and honesty' will bring credit, as well as paying debts on time. Further, business people should behave with 'industry and frugality' and 'punctuality and justice' in all their dealings.
- Weber argued that spirit of capitalism is not simply a way of making money. But a way of life which has ethics, duties and obligations. And the evolution of this spirit of capitalism was linked to Protestantism. :-> Making money became both religious & business ethic.
- Weber claimed that Protestantism encouraged two major features of capitalist industry: (a) Standardisation of production. (b) Division of labour. The protestant uniformity of life aids the capitalist in the standardisation of production.:->The

importance of "fixed calling" provides ethical justification of this modern specialised division of labour.

Also, the protestant emphasis on creation of wealth and restrictions on its spending, encouraged saving and reinvestment.

➢ Salvation could be achieved either through engagements within the world or outside the world.

	Mysticism	Asceticism
Outside the world	Other-worldly mysticism. E.g.: Buddhism	Other-worldly asceticism. E.g.: Roman Catholic/Hindu
Inside the world	Inner-worldly mysticism. E.g.: Taoism	Inner-worldly asceticism. E.g.: Calvinist Protestantism

➢ Hinduism also ascetic, other-worldly. :-> Caste-system which discouraged social mobility as the main impediment in the growth of capitalism. Says Jainism had the potential to produce social change but Weber says economic conditions in India were not fertile ground for capitalism as: Caste system discouraged rationalisation, Mughal leaders were more concerned with military aspects than economic aspects, nobility did not enjoy private property.

➢ But Weber said Calvinistic Protestantism was not just the sole factor which determined the emergence of capitalism. He said there were other factor also, such as: Presence of technology, skilled labour, investment, political centralisation, private property, market economy, rationalisation of law, joint-stock company, systematic accounting standards, etc., in the country in which capitalism developed.

➢ Weber says the Protestantism contributed to the emergence of modern capitalism, along with which Rationality also emerged. Since producing maximum possible profit required weighing different courses of action – and selecting the one which was likely to generate maximum profit. Weber distinguished between two forms of rationality: Formal rationality (best means to achieve given end, calculations had to be in numerical form) and Substantive rationality (action designed to meet goals such as justice, equality

or human happiness.) Capitalist behaviour put primary emphasis on formal rationality, and substantive rationality tends to fade away into the background. :-> This rationality will not remain confined to capitalist system but will lead to emergence of a rational legal system, separation of home and workplace, rational financial management. :-> In the rationalised world, it will be difficult for followers of religion to be able to maintain their faith. :-> Weber says religion might continue to exist but it will lose its social significance.

➢ In short: PROTESTANTISM → Contributes to the growth of capitalism →Which requires a rational approach to social life → Which would in turn undermine religion. → Protestantism therefore contained the seeds of its own destruction.

➢ Criticism of Weber:
   o Empirical studies have shown that wherever there is inner-worldly asceticism there will be capitalism → Studies have confirmed this on Zoroastrians, Sikhs and Jains.

   o Sombart: He says Calvinists were against greed and the pursuit of money for its own sake. Weber countered this criticism, he said it was not important what the beliefs of the Calvinists were. The doctrine of predestination was not intended to produce rational pursuit of profit, but its rational pursuit was an unintentional consequence.

   o There are areas of the world (Switzerland, Hungary, Netherlands) where Calvinism existed but capitalism did not emerge until much later. :-> Gordon Marshall dismisses this claim he says Weber did not claim that Calvinism was the only factor necessary for development of capitalism. In the case of Scotland, Marshall points out that they had the capitalist mentality but were held back by lack of investment and skilled labour.

   o Sombart says another important factor was the colonisation of Latin America by Spain and Portugal. :->In flow of bullion (silver and Gold) played an important role in the development of coinage which facilitated international trade for Europe.

   o Marxist critics such as Kautsky argues that capitalism preceded and largely determined Protestantism. In his view, the capitalists used Protestantism as an ideology to legitimise their position.

- Another criticism of Weber questions whether it was the religious beliefs of Calvinists that led to them becoming business people :->As per them, the non-conformist Calvinists devoted themselves to business because they were excluded from holding public office and joining certain professions such as law.
- Demand-side of capitalism is not explained by Weber.

Authority and Bureaucracy

- Weber :-> Power is referred to as chance of a man or a group of men to realise their will in a communal action even in the face of resistance by others. :-> Society is characterised by opposition of interests. :-> Power is therefore used to overcome resistance. :-> This is referred to as 'zero-sum concept' of power.
- Authority or legitimate power:->When people begin to recognise the power being exercised over them as fair and just.
- The manner in which power is acquired shapes the authority's character – Refers it to as Herrschaft. The three possible ways in which legitimacy may be acquired, based on three types of social action:
- Traditional Authority
  - It is based on the belief in the sanctity of age-old rules and powers.
  - Can be of two types: Patriarchy and Patrimony.
  - Patriarchy:->In many small rural communities, authority is held by village elders – those who are the oldest and steeped in traditional wisdom, and therefore, most qualified. This is also referred to as gerontocracy. Power is exercised through staff which often lacks specialised knowledge. :->Administrative staff if it exists, is based on the personal relations with the master.
  - Patrimony :->Rooted in the household dimension of the ruler. :->The intermingling of courtly life and govt functions is its distinctive feature. :->Clear distinction between ruler and the subjects. :->Administrative staff consists of personal loyalists and favourites. :->There is no clearly defined limit on authority, except what the customary rules define. :-> No well-defined system of rewards for the admin staff.
- Charismatic Authority

- It is based on the perceived charisma of the leader :-> Who is considered exceptionally-gifted individual, with super-human qualities.
- Because of their faith in the leader, people develop a sense of loyalty and obey the orders of the leader.
- Charismatic authority has the special power of going against the tradition and reject the past.
- It is not bound by any rules. It can also go against rational rules.
- Weber says Charismatic Authority has great revolutionary potential.
- The administrative staff, consists of people, who share the charisma of the leader. :-> As a result there are no formal appointments, no proper definition of the sphere of the authority of the leader.
- Weber says the CA is inherently unstable. :->It suffers from the problem of discontinuity. This problem is solved when the leader nominates a successor.
- "routinisation of the charisma": Eventually, CA transforms into either TA or RA.
- Followers of Jesus Christ based on CA, Church is either TA or RA.

o Bureaucracy:-> Based on rational action.
- As the society undergoes change, like industrialization, introduction of modern technology, planning, a need was felt for rational accounting procedures and a universal legal system. :-> This leads to the development of legal-rational authority.
- Weber built an ideal-type of this legal-rational authority which he called Bureaucracy: It is defined as large-scale organisation, rationally-designed, to co-ordinate the activities of many individuals in the pursuit of organised goals.
- Characteristics of Bureaucracy: **HOP & DRIFT**
  1. Offices are organised in an hierarchical order.
  2. Work is organised in the form of offices.
  3. The private life and official functions of the bureaucrat are separated.
  4. There are a set of official duties.
  5. Official decisions are taken on the basis of impersonal, rational rules.

6. Bureaucrat is supposed to function with an attitude of formalistic impersonality.

7. Work in the bureaucracy is a full-time career.

8. Bureaucrats are recruited on the basis of technical skills or merit. Not on the basis of personal loyalties.

- Weber said bureaucratisation was inevitable as industrial capital developed. As bureaucrats were chosen on the basis of : Technical superiority & Bureaucrats work on the basis of rational rules.

- But Weber saw the negative effects of Bureaucratisation: (i) Can stifle creativity -> 'SPECIALISTS WITHOUT SPIRIT' AND Bureaucratic organisations produce an iron cage that imprisons and restrict people. (ii) Aligns with vested interests. (iii) Tends to be status-quoist. + In times of crisis, bureaucratic leadership will be ineffective as it is tradined to follow orders and conduct routine operations rather than to make policy decisions and take initiatives in response to crisis.

- To Weber, the process of rationalisation, for which bureaucracy is the prime expression, is basically irrational. It is ultimately aimless, since it tends to destroy the traditional values that give meaning and purpose to life.

- Can bureaucracy be controlled? :-> Weber says it can be controlled by subordinating it to a political head.

- Problem: Bureaucrats understand the system better than the politicians + Politicians lack the technical expertise.

- He believed that strong partilamentary control could control state bureaucracy. Parliamentary committees needed which systematically cross examine the civil servants. => Therefore, it is said that Weber view of bureaucracy is ambivalent.

- Seymour Lipset :-> He found Weber's optimism misplaced. :->He studied the Saskatchewan area of Canada and found that while the political party governing the area changed from a right-wing to a left-wing party :-> The bureaucracy remained unaffected and continued to function as it did before. :-> This argument extends to India too, especially in the case of Land Reforms.

- R K Merton:-> He said a rules-bound system be efficient for routine tasks. But, are unsuited for tasks which involve innovation and improvisation. :->

Bureaucracy can also be dysfunctional when people want sympathy, especially coz of Bureaucracy's insistence on formalistic impersonality and adherence to rules. E.g.: Hospitals, schools, etc.

- Study of a gypsum plant showed that while bureaucratic functioning could work in the processing unit of the plant. :-> It was less effective in the mining unit of the plant.

- Burns and Stalker:-> After studying electronic firms in Scotland, classified organisations as: Mechanistic and Organic. As opposed to the mechanistic organization, it has the least hierarchy and specialization of functions. Organic organisation can react quickly and easily to changes in the environment, thus it is said to be the most adaptive form of org.

- Japanese Organisations :-> Did better coz of a mix of formal and informal org structures.

Talcott Parsons

Structure of Social Action

UTILITARIAN (Bentham, JS Mill)	POSITIVISTS (Spenser, Durkheim)	IDEALISTS (Kant, Weber)
Positives: Economics most successful in developing theoretical generalisations. (theory building)	Positives: Have been successful in building generalisations.	Positives: They have highlighted the importance of subjective dimension of human behaviour.
Negatives: Make overly simplistic assumptions about the nature of man. ->Consequently , economic behaviour has been studied, divorced from culture.	Negatives: They have failed to take subjective meanings into account.	Negatives: Have neglected generalisations.
Borrows from them: Sociological theory:-> Must take cognisance of the principle of emergence. i.e. At different levels of organisation complexity, systems emerge which have to be treated as unified wholes.	Borrows from them: Sociological theory must be general theory: i.e. human behaviour has patterns.	Borrows from them: Sociological theory must be a voluntaristic theory of action. i.e. Humans attach meanings to their actions.

Theory of Action

For any situation to become social it requires: These 3 components:

SOCIAL ACTION

SOCIAL ACTION INVOLVES AN ACTOR

CULTURAL OBJECTS: Values, norms, beliefs, etc. :-> (1) It provides the means to be adopted to attain the object. :-> (2) Also, provides for interpretation of meaning.

- Basic unit of social life is social action.
- It is meaningful response to an external stimuli.

- Actor is the agency which assigns meaning and acts out the behaviour.
- Can be individual/ collective
- Being an actor means being in a situation. The situation consists of means and conditions.
- Means are things the actor can change, while those which he cannot change are conditions.

SOCIAL OBJECTS: For a situation to a social situation, other actors need to be present. It is not important whether the actors are physically present or not.

Physical objects

In reality, an isolated social action does not exist. Every action is a part of an interconnected chain of actions. The chain of actions is referred to as social interactions.

Characteristics of system

1. <u>United whole</u>: System is made of interconnected parts called subsystems. These subsystems are also a system.

2. <u>Stable pattern of relationship</u> exists between subsystems. So, system is <u>structured</u>.

3. <u>System has goals</u>. And based on these goals there is a boundary, beyond which there is an environment. The environment consists of activities not directly related to the goal.

4. <u>System has needs</u>.:->These needs have to be fulfilled for the system to survive. There are two kinds of needs: Derived needs and Universal needs (later Parsons referred to it as Functional prerequisites).

   <u>The four universal needs/functional prerequisites are</u>:

   1. Adaptation.

   2. Goal attainment.

   3. Integration.

   4. Pattern maintenance and tension management.

o In the second edition of his book, Structure of Social Action, Parsons moved away from voluntarianism towards normative action – action shaped by norms of society.

o Argues that there are "need dispositions" which give rise to motivations. [From PK's notebook: Modes of orientation = Motives + Values. MoO are totality of person's interests and attitudes.]

MOTIVATION	VALUE ORIENTATION (Culture provides response to these motivations.)	Type of action
Cognitive motivation (Information need)	Cognitive standards (Evaluation in objective standards)	<u>Instrumental action</u>→ Institutionalised pattern of interaction based on IA leads to <u>Personality system</u>.
Cathatic motivation (Emotional need)	Appreciative standards (Evaluation in aesthetic standards)	<u>Expressive action</u>→ Institutionalised pattern of interaction:-> Social system
Evaluative motivation	Moral	<u>Moral</u>

(Need for assessment)	Standards(Evaluation in absolute standards)	action→Institutionalised pattern of interaction-> Cultural system

o Through this process, Parsons explains how culture shapes action. As because of need-disposition → Motivations arise →Which gives rise to a culturally-shaped response.

Social Change as per Parsons

o Functionalists have often been criticised for failing to provide an adequate explanation of social change. -> If the system is in equilibrium, with its various parts contributing to order and stability, it is difficult to see how change will occur.

o Parsons answered this question by stating that in reality no social system is in perfect equilibrium. Although a certain degree of equilibrium is essential for the survival of societies.

o The process of social change can be viewed as a 'moving equilibrium'.

o For ex, if either of AGIL change – then the system (other parts) will work to restore the equilibrium. -> This reaction of the others will cause change in the system as a whole.

o Although social systems never attains complete equilibrium, they tend to move towards this state. Social change can therefore be seen as 'moving equilibrium'.

Social evolution and pattern variables

o Parsons viewed social change as a process of 'social evolution' from simple to complex forms of society.

o He regarded changes in ADAPTATION as a major driving force of social evolution.

o The history of human society from the simple hunting and gathering band to the complex nation state represents as increase in the 'general adaptive capacity'. -> As societies evolve, the control over the environment increases.

o While economic changes might provide an initial stimulus, as per Parsons, in the long-run – changes in values – determines the broadest patterns of change.

o Parsons identified two sets of cultural values – which he called pattern variables A and pattern variables B. These pattern variables consist of the ways through which society

For ex: For should rewards be allocated to individuals?; Should members just look at their own interests or those of the society?

o Therefore, Social change requires movement from PV-A → to → PV-B.

o Says PV-A will not disappear completely in an advanced industrial society, but will exist within the family as it will provide emotional security.

PV-A (Parsons says it is typical of simple societies)	PV-B (Typical of advanced industrial societies)
ASCRIPTION Status is ascribed -> Determined by birth.	ACHIEVEMENT Status is achieved through person's own effort.
DIFFUSENESS People enter into relations with others to satisfy large no of needs. Ex.: Mother & child.	SPECIFICITY People enter into relations to satisfy particular needs. Ex.: Shopkeeper and customer
PARTICULARISM Individuals behaviour is particular specific. For ex: Loyalty to family vs. strangers.	UNIVERSALISM Act equally. Ex: Equality before law.
AFFECTIVITY Gratification is immediate. People act to gratify their desires as soon as possible.	AFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY Gratification is deferred. Ex: Saving money.
COLLECTIVE ORIENTATION People put interest of the social group above their interests	SELF-ORIENTATION People pursue their own interests first.

o LHS – Gemenschaft, RHS – Gezelschaft.

o Social evolution involves a process of differentiation :-> The institutions and roles that form the social system become increasingly differentiated and specialised in terms of their function. -> Thus, religious institutions become separated from the state, and the family and the economy become increasingly become differentiated, each specialising in fewer functions.

o This produces the problem of integration :-> As parts society become specialised and distinct, it becomes increasingly difficult to integrate them in terms of common values. :-> This problem is resolved by <u>generalisation of values.</u>

o Therefore, values become generalised and diffused, less specific and particular.

o How equilibrium is maintained is the central issue which Parsons is concerned with. He explains it through S-F analysis : Needs -> Parts -> Parts fulfil needs -> Equilibrium reached.

o Needs:

A: Harmony with environment.

G: Mobile resources in direction of goal.

I: System is unified whole.

L: Pattern maintenance and tension management: Occurs because of internalisation of values, hence, referred to it as latency.

o <u>Functional paradigm of system of social action: AGIL → OPSC</u>

<u>Social system</u>

o Developed the theory of social system is his book, Toward a General Theory of Action.

o Social system is subject-matter of sociology.

o Social system refers to plurality of patterned interaction, associated with functional activity.

o <u>How does social system develop?</u>
Basic unit of social life is social action :-> Social action involves an actor. :-> Actors are not isolated individuals. :-> They <u>occupy definite position in society called status</u>. :->And the behaviour of the actors is according to status, i.e. guided by cultural norms. :->The norms perform two functions: (a) Define expectations between actors. (b) What sanctions should apply in case an actor deviates from the normative expectations. :-><u>Role-reciprocity</u> exists in society, i.e., my ability to perform my role and fulfil your expectation, depends on your ability to satisfy my expectation. :->This situation is called <u>double contingency</u>. :-> Because of this, there develops a <u>mutual-steering mechanism</u>. :-> This is how social system develops – which is plurality of patterned interaction, associated with a functional activity.

o Since, social system is also a system – the question is <u>how does it achieve equilibrium?</u>

AGIL → England Played SA in Final

Adaptation: Takes care of acquiring sufficient resources.

Goal attainment: Takes care of the problem of setting and implementing goals.

Integration: Takes care of the problem of maintaining solidarity or coordination among the sub-units of the system.

Latency: Takes care of the problem of creating, preserving and transmitting the system's distinctive culture and values.

o No social system has perfect equilibrium, but a working order can be managed ->This he referred to as Hobbesian Problem of Order. :-> The mutually-steering mechanism can only work if the society is able to build a value-consensus.

o Threat to order comes when there is a clash between individual and societal goals. This can create disorder. :-> Every society has to devise ways through which individual goals can be harmonised with societal goals :-> Referred to it as Motivational problem of order. :-> Another threat to order may come from subsystem incompatibility.

o Parsons says:-> Stratification, sexual division of labour, religion (as they provide sanctity to the values of the society) :-> These strengthen the value consensus of the society.

o Criticism:

1. Not a theory but an ideology.

2. Not based on any research.

3. Parsons is unable to explain conflict and change.

4. Jesse Bernard: Male personality stabilisation.

Refer to Vision IAS question on why social system is criticised as a veiled status quoist ideology.

Cybernetics theory

o Parsons later became interested in the relationship between different subsystems. :-> In his book 'Economics and Society' :-> Transplants the idea of hormones in sociology. :-> He says similar role is performed by Money in the Economic System :-> By Power in the Political System. :->Influence in the case of Societal Communities. :-> Value-commitment in the Fiduciary System.

o Also borrowed the concept of 'cybernetics' from biology :-> Argues that a system high in information, control the system high in energy.

o CS is high in information, while OS is high in energy.

Latency	Cultural system
Integration	Social system
Goal- attainment	Personality system
Adaptation	Organismic system

o Each subsystem, controls the subsystem below. :->There is also mutual interdependence between energy and information. :-> If there is an increase in energy, it will exert pressure on information. :->Change therefore can be triggered either by an increase in energy or info.

o Parsons cites Spenser to argue that Structural Differentiation:-> Leads to increase in Energy. :->Leads to increase in Adaptational upgrading.:->Leads to Demand for integration. Hence, change can be triggered in two ways: Either by increase in differentiation or integration.

```
┌────────────────┐     ┌────────────────┐     ┌────────────────┐
│  STRUCTURAL    │ →   │  ADAPTATIONAL  │ →   │    DEMAND      │
│ DIFFERENTIATION│     │   UPGRADING    │     │      FOR       │
│                │     │                │     │  INTEGRATION   │
└────────────────┘     └────────────────┘     └────────────────┘
                                                       │
                                                       ↓
┌────────────────┐     ┌────────────────────────────────┐
│ GREATER        │ ←   │      VALUE GENERALISATION       │
│ INCLUSION      │     │                                 │
└────────────────┘     └────────────────────────────────┘
```
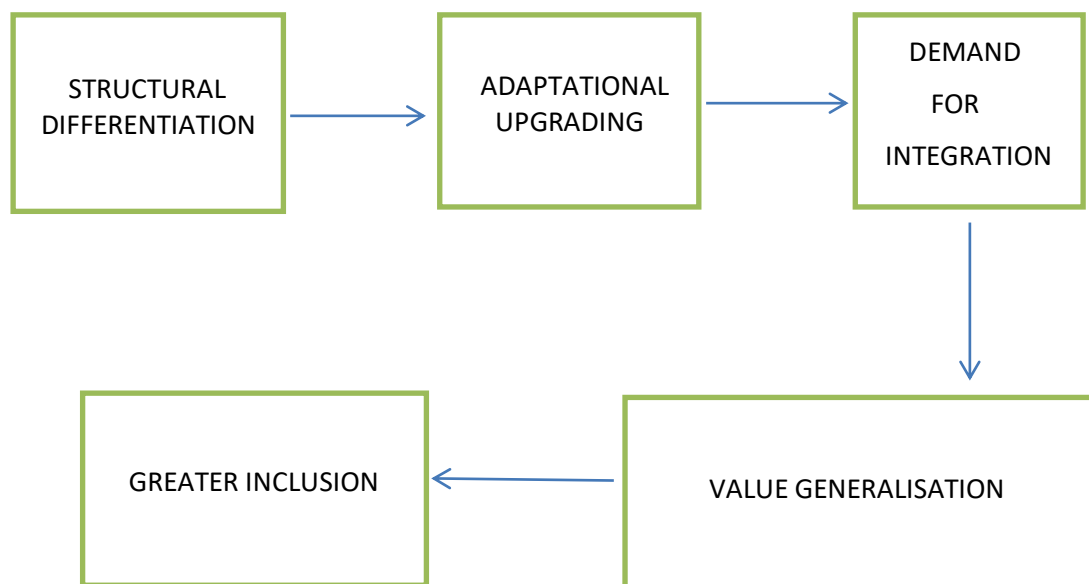
[Social evolution involves a process of social differentiation. -> The institutions and roles that form the social system become differentiated and specialised in terms of their

functions. Thus, religious institutions get separated from state; family and economy become separated.

This though produces problems of integration ->Because as parts become more specialised and distinct, it becomes increasingly difficult to integrate them in terms of common values. This problem is solved by the generalisation of values.

Values become more generalised and diffused, less specific and particular. ->Thus, despite increasing social differentiation, social integration and order are maintained by the generalising of values.]
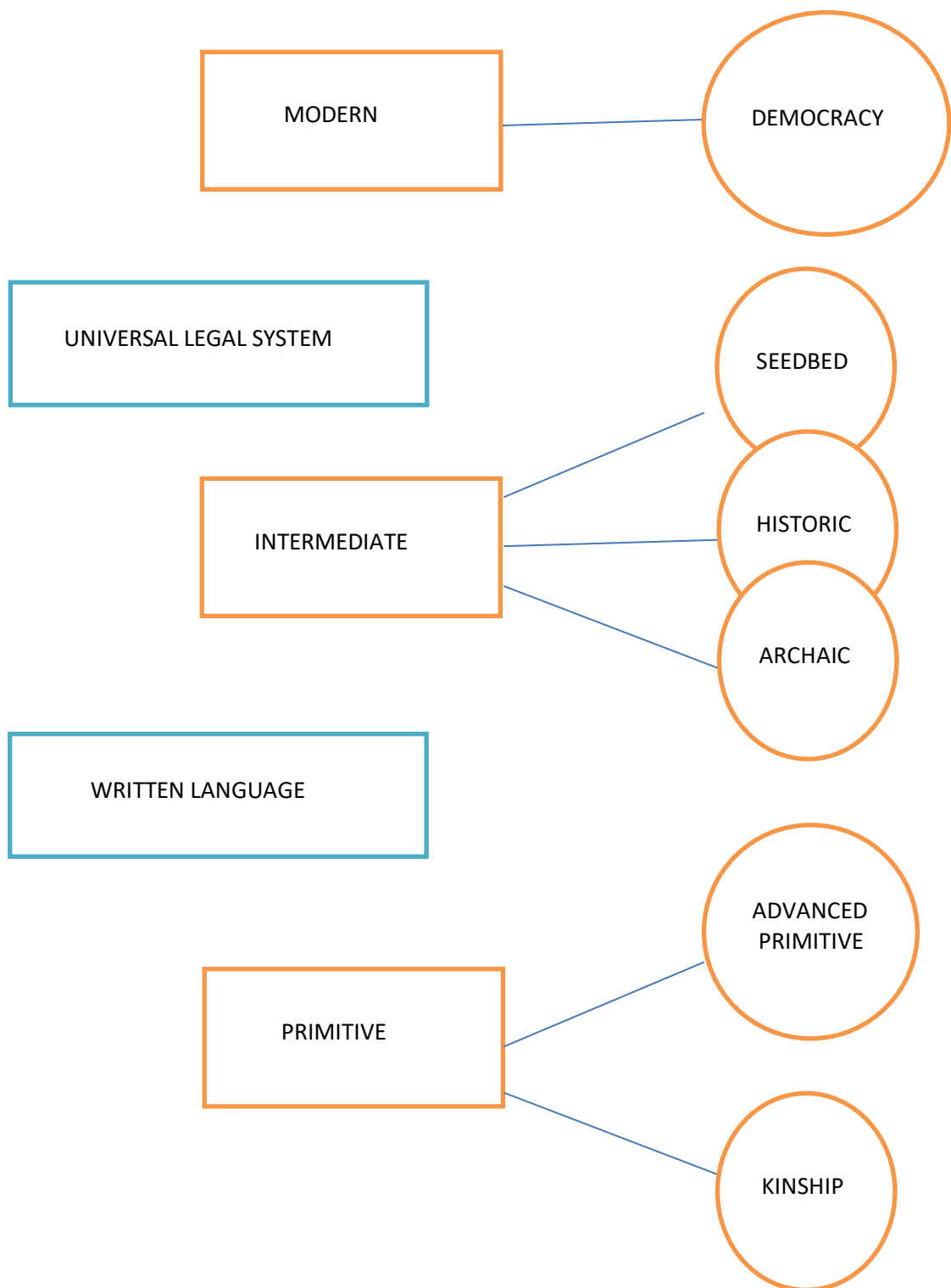
[Moving equilibrium: AGIL are interrelated. -> A change in one will produce response in others -> And subsequently the total system will want to return to a state of equilibrium -> But SS never attain complete equilibrium they tend to move towards that state. Hence, social change can be seen as a 'moving equilibrium'.]

[Roles: Provide the means whereby values and goals are translated into action.]

Evolutionary universal

- o Definition :-> "Evolutionary universal refers to any organisational development [can be integration or differentiation] sufficiently important to further evolution that, rather than emerge only once, is likely to be hit upon my various systems operating under different conditions".

- o In primitive society:-> Differentiation is on the basis of age and sex, members of the society are equal. :-> Because of population + technological change :-> Some section of people appropriate surplus. :-> They become rich and powerful, and inequality develops. :-> Social stratification (Hence, EU, along with differentiation) develops and the society transforms into Advanced Primitive.

- o To legitimise their superiority, the powerful class claims allegiance to ancestors and they become the priestly class too. :->The society is now divided between: Commoners and the priestly class. :->The priestly class lives off the tributes/taxes and develops into a leisure class. :-> They devote themselves to learning and script develops.

- o The development of written language (also EU) :-> Catapults the society from Primitive to Intermediate stage.

- Written language :-> Has great integrating potential. :->As written rules + Uniform taxation system can be developed. The three sub-stages of intermediate stage:

- Archaic stage:->Ancient Egyptian civilisation. :-> As the size and population of society increases:-> Differentiation increases. :-> Society gets divided into: (1) Ruler + royal lineage. (2) Middle priestly class of administers. (3) Commoners.

- Historic stage:->Differentiation further increases. :-> Separation of religious and political power. (This acts as the EU):-> Ex. India. :-> In China, there is further differentiation. The political power gets divided between king and bureaucracy. :-> After reaching this historic stage, India and China cease to evolve further. Why? Because of world-rejection ethos.

- Seedbed :->The idea that all are equal before the God, evolved into everyone is equal before the king. :->Hence, equality of law. :-> Ex. Ancient Greece. Historic factors prevented further evolution.

- Modern:->Renaissance:-> Revival of the idea of equality before law. + From China: Acquire S&T. :->Protestantism = Developed world-affirmation ethos. :-> Hence, universal legal system based on equality before law was the EU. :-> Thus transition is complete with the establishment of democracy.

- Parsons called neo-evolutionist.

- Criticism:-> Static: Doesn't explain if the process is smooth or violent. And how it happens.

- Lead society:-> Evolutionary universals required for modernisation developed only in the western world.

MODERN —— DEMOCRACY

UNIVERSAL LEGAL SYSTEM

INTERMEDIATE —— SEEDBED
—— HISTORIC
—— ARCHAIC

WRITTEN LANGUAGE

PRIMITIVE —— ADVANCED PRIMITIVE
—— KINSHIP

Emile Durkheim

Social Facts

- o Definition of social facts: Those ways of acting, thinking and feeling which are capable of exercising an external constraint on the individual, which are generally diffused through a given society, and which can exist in their own life, independent of individual manifestation.
- o Refer Pg 879 of Blue Haralambos

Religion and Society

Sociological theories of religion

Functionalist perspective:

Examines religion from the perspective of society's needs :-> Concerned with how religion helps in meeting those needs.

Society requires certain degree of social solidarity, value consensus, harmony, and integration among its parts:-> The function of religion is the contribution it makes in meeting such functional prerequisites.

Includes: Emile Durkheim's Sacred and Profane:-> All societies divide the world in two categories: Sacred and Profane. :-> Religion is based on this division. He defined religion as 'unified system of beliefs and practices related to the sacred, that is things which are set apart and forbidden."

:-> Society: Sacred; Humanity: Profane :-> Why doesn't humanity worship the society itself? Because it is easier for a person to 'visualise and direct his feeling of awe towards a symbol than towards so complex a thing as a clan'.:-> Social life not possible without shared belief and moral values which form C.C. :->Religion reinforces C.C. :-> By worshipping society, the values and beliefs that form the basis of social life get strengthened. :->By defining them as sacred, religion provides them with greater power. :->Durkheim emphasises the importance of collective worship as its charged atmospheres integrates the society further.

Malinowski :-> Trobriand Islands :->Agrees with Durkheim that religion promotes social solidarity by reinforcing norms and values, but does not see religion as worship of society :->Argues that religion promotes social solidarity by dealing with situations of emotional stress (death, deep-sea fishing) that could threaten the stability of society.

Parsons:->Human action is directed and controlled by 'norms' provided by the Social System (SS):->Religion forms the basis of these norms. :-> Says religion helps in dealing with distress situations (death), uncertainty, and helps make sense of the world. :->Criticised for ignoring the dysfunctional bits for instance: religion as a disruptive force.

Marxist perspective:-> Religion is an illusion that eases the pain produced by exploitation :->Series of myths which justify and legitimise subordination. :->'Opium of the people'. :->To

dull the pain produced by oppression. :-> Lenin described it as 'spiritual gin'. :->How does religion dull the pain? (1) Promise of afterlife. (2) Makes a virtue of suffering (3) Offers hope of supernatural intervention to solve problems on earth. :->Acts as a mechanism of social control by maintaining the existing system of exploitation and reinforcing class relationships.:-> Ruling class also uses religion to justify their position. :-> "Religion is only the illusory Sun which revolves around man as long as he does not revolve around himself." :-> Exploitation ends, need for religion ends.

Criticism :-> (1) Religion is not always status quoist, it can also act as an agent of change. (2) In Communist USSR, religion did not disappear.

Religion and science

Religion and science as compatible	Religion and science as incompatible
o Stephen J Gould :->No conflict between the two as they are concerned with different aspects of human life and human needs. (1) He claims one type of human need is the need to understand how nature works – he calls this magisterium of science. (2) Another need is to give reason to their lives – This he calls magisterium of religion. Religion can fulfil these needs without being in conflict with facts. o Religion can also encourage science :-> For instance, monotheism implies there are a set of rules which govern the world. :-> Science can take forward from here to discover these rules.	o Richard Dawkins :-> Sees belief in all supernatural gods as delusion – Completely at odds with all scientific beliefs. o Dawkins rejects Gould's idea that religion provides answers to questions which science cannot – He askswhat basis does religion has that it has a better answer to these questions? o Dawkins says that the problem with religion is its belief in faith. He says faith involves believing in something despite the lack of any evidence to back it up.

o <u>Weber</u> :-> He showed that Calvinist Protestantism encouraged development of rational thought and in turn development of science. o <u>In Ancient India</u>, the philosophical system Vaisheshika contributed to development of atomic theory. o <u>Scientology</u> :-> This religion is based upon scientific knowledge.	

<u>Philip Hefner</u>:-> Says developments in society have destabilised both religion and science. :->Some questions are answered by religion and some are answered by science. :-> And <u>no single belief system is now dominant</u>. Instead <u>belief systems which have ingredients of both have emerged.</u>:-> It is therefore a mistake to see beliefs in modern society in terms of the clash between science and religion. Out of this complex situation new sets of beliefs will emerge.

<u>William Bainbridge</u>:->Problem with reconciling religion and science, as argued by Heffner.

1. Religion tends to interpret the world from an anthropocentric viewpoint. For ex: Christianity saw the earth as the centre of the universe.
2. Increasingly religion will find it difficult to fill in the gaps.
3. Religion might not fulfil the positive functions in society and therefore may be it will be more difficult to provide scientific justification for its existence.

Secularisation

o Secularisation means that the influence of religion in all areas of social life declines.
o <u>Bryan Wilson defines</u> secularisation as "the process whereby religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance".

However, there is a lack of agreement among sociologists over what religion means. :-> This results in lack of a definite definition of secularisation.

I. Institutional religion: Participation

Some researcher have seen participation in religious institutions and activity as a key element in religious behaviour. :-> They therefore look at statistics such as – church attendance , marriages in church, baptism and number of clergymen. :-> These statistics show the participation in church is declining as also church marriages – Hence, they argue that secularisation is taking place.

David Martin:–> phenomenologist – argues that it is an incomplete conclusion without interpreting the meaning which people attach to church going. :-> As per him, in Victorian times church-going was motivated by non-religious reasons such as middle-class respectability. Since it is no longer the case, a wrong conclusion is being drawn.

Robert N Bellah :-> Religion has shifted from :-> Collective worship :-> to privatised worship :->And from clerical to :-> individual interpretation of religion.

II. Institutional religion: Disengagement and differentiation

Disengagement of church from wider society is seen as secularisation. :-> Today, church has no direct influence on the government+ Middle-age art was dominated by religious themes, no more the case.

Martin argues otherwise. He says the present form of religion is more undiluted. Hence, stronger.

Parsons:->Does not see differentiation or disengagement resulting in secularisation. :-> He says as religious institutions become more specialised, their ethics and values become more generalised. :-> In American society, they have become the basis for general social values. :-> Thus the values of American society are both Christian and American.

III. Institutional religion: Religious pluralism

One church has been replaced by many :-> This is also seen as a sign of secularisation. :-> The range of competing religious institutions has reduced the power of religion in society. :->Bryan Wilson sees the ecumenical movements (towards the unity of Christian churches and institutions) as evidence of secularisation as it signals the organisations consider themselves as weak individually.

Peter Berger sees the proliferation of sects as evidence of secularisation.

IV. Institutional religion: Secularisation of religious institutions

According to Will Herbert one sign of secularisation is that religious denominations have increasingly emphasised this world as opposed to the other world. :-> Religions have moved away from traditional doctrine and concerns with the supernatural – and have compromised their religious beliefs to fit them with the wider society.

But statistics from the USA show that people are still going to church and in some cases the trend is on an upswing. Herbert says this is because:

1. Need for Americans to identify with a social group (rather than polish, German, British, Irish :-> They want to identified as Roman Catholic/Protestant/Jews).

2. Church provides a sense of belongingness.

The previous sections examined secularisation largely in terms of institutionalised religion. :->The changing course of religion can be analysed also from the point of view of influence of religious beliefs and values on social norms and values, social action, and consciousness.

I. Religion and society: Generalisation

Talcott Parsons :-> As religion becomes more specialised, its values become more generalised. :-> Form the basis of American values. Ex: The practice of medicine is based on the Christian value that the community has a duty to take care and cure the sick.

David Martin :-> Argues similarly :-> Christian values are an integral part of British social values.

The main problem with the generalisation thesis is its vagueness. Neither Parsons nor Martin provide much evidence to support their views.

II. Religion and society: Individuation

Robert Bellah :-> Religion is increasing an individual's quest for meaning, rather than collective act of worship. :->Religious doctrine is no longer imposed, modern man has freedom to construct his own meaning.

III. Religion and society: Transformation :->Though many of the society's values have religious origins, their connection with religion has been severed. :-> For

instance, while the basis of capitalism – as per Weber – lay in Protestantism, now this link has been severed.

IV. <u>Religion and society:Desacrilisation</u> :->

Sacred has no place in the contemporary Western society :->Supernatural forces are no longer seen as controlling the world.

Religious revivalism

o   Refers to <u>renewal</u> and <u>intensification of interest</u> in an existing religion/ denomination.

o   The term was first coined in the 18th century to <u>refer to the sudden increase in the number of churchgoers</u> after decline of church's power following modernisation.

o   In the 20th century a wave of religious revivals has taken place throughout the world in general and in the 3rd world in particular.

o   <mark>In some cases, these revivals have taken a fundamentalist turn, giving rise to violent conflicts.</mark>

o   Modernisation theories had assumed that secular education and civic values would replace religion as the major source of socialisation and it would decline.

o   <u>But statistics show the number of atheists are declining and believers are increasing.</u>

o   <u>Reasons for religious revivalism?</u>

According to Manochehr Dorraj :-> <u>modernisation</u> leads to emergence of certain contradictions and dilemmas:

1. <u>Instrumental Rationality</u> creates <u>tension between moral and emotional side of the man</u> on the one hand, and <u>rigidity of bureaucratic existence on the other</u>. :-> Leads to inner emptiness and emotional isolation.

2. <u>Gap between what modernisation promises and what it delivers</u> :-> Modernisation promises intellectual, moral, political and economic emancipation for all, which it fails to deliver. :-> In the economic realm, it creates an era of abundance on the one hand; it also gives rise to new modes of exploitation, bondage and impoverishment.

3. Globalisation has led to transfer of western culture to uncommoditified areas :-> Threatening the cultural identity of the 3rd world. (Western detoxification).

4. Modernisation leads to democratisation which undermines the authority and hold of traditional patriarchs. :-> They often raise religion to hold on to their power.

Religious fundamentalism

o Steve Bruce: Defines fundamentalism as "movements that respond to problems created by modernisation by demanding society-wide obedience to some authentic inerrant text or tradition and by seeking the political power to impose the revitalised tradition."

o Gabriel Almond, R Scott Appleby and Emmanuel Sivan :-> Attempt by self-styled "true believers" to arrest the erosion of religious identity, fortify the borders of the religious community, and create alternatives to secular institutions and behaviours.

o According to Bruce, the term fundamentalism first emerged in 1920s when conservative Protestants published a series of pamphlets in which they called for a return to the 'fundamentals of the faith'.

o Steve Bruce :-> Fundamentalism and Secularisation

• Bruce sees fundamentalism as a reaction to modernisation.

• Bruce says secularisation involves (REDS): Societalisation (in which social life becomes fragmented), differentiation (in which religious life becomes fragmented from other aspects of social life such as economy), rationalisation (social life is planned to achieve certain goals), and egalitarianism.

• As per Bruce, all these processes challenge the authority of religion. :-> While in the 1st world countries, modernisation evolved itself, in the 3rd world countries such as Iran, Turkey, modernisation was imposed from the outside.

• The causes of fundamentalism

  a) Some religions are less susceptible :->Those with a single religious text-> Ideological cohesion makes it much easier to mobilise people. -> Bruce sees Hindu/Buddhist fundamentalism as expression of nationalism.

  b) Common external enemy :->Islamic world against USA.

  c) Centralisation of religious authority

d) Needs a regular supply of recruits

e) Where avenue to promote religion through <u>democratic politics is not available</u>, fundamentalism is more like to take a violent turn.

o <u>As per Almond, Appleby and Sivan</u>, fundamentalism can be understood at three levels:

a) <u>Structural level</u> :->Concerned with long-term contextual conditions such as structural unemployment, existence of persecuted ethnic groups, social changes such as secularisation.

b) <u>Contingency and Chance</u> :-> This determines whether the situation created is translated into actual movements. For ex. Illness of Shah of Iran.

c) <u>Human choice and leadership</u>

<u>Religious organisations:</u>

Ernst Troeltsch :-> Tried to differentiate between different types of religious organisations.

<u>Church</u>:-> Formal organisation with a hierarchy of professional, paid officials.

- <u>Large</u> religious organisation.

- Has a <u>hierarchy</u> of officials.

- <u>Involuntary</u>:->Individuals are often born into it. They don't have to formally join it.

- Though draw members from all classes. But it is <u>closely associated with upper-classes</u>.

- A church might try to be <u>universal</u>, but in reality many minorities don't belong to it.

- Churches are sometimes <u>closely related to the State</u>. In the Middle Ages, the state and the Roman Catholic Church had a close relationship. In Britain, the Queen continues to be the head of the Church of England and is also the head of the state.

- Churches are likely to be ideologically <u>conservative</u> and support <u>status quo.</u> And this-worldly.

- Roy Wallis distinguished among church on the basis:
    a. Respectable: If they supported the norms and values of the wider society.
    b. Deviant: If they did not support the norms and values of the wider society.
    c. Uniquely legitimate:Claimed a monopoly on religious truth.
    d. Pluralistically legitimate: Accepted that other organisations could have legitimate religious beliefs as well.

	RESPECTABLE	DEVIANT
UNIQUELY LEGITIMATE	CHURCH	SECTS
PLURALISTICALLY LEGITIMATE	DENOMINATIONS	CULTS

Critics (Like Steve Bruce) of Troeltsch definition have pointed out that his definition applies to the pre-modern Christian societies and not to post-modern Christian societies. Because in the present world. The state does not have a close relations with the church. Further, because of pluralism, the strength of the Church has considerably come down. This trend began with the Protestant movement.

Denominations: (e.g. Methodist Church in USA).

Shares several but all features of the Church.

Seen as a watered-down version of Church.

In a study of religion in the USA, Niebuhr was the first sociologist to differentiate between Churches and denominations.
- Unlike a church, a denomination does not have a universal appeal.
- Like Church, they draw members from all strata of society. But are not as closely associated with the upper-class, as is the case with Church.
- Does not identify with the State. Instead advocates separation of the two.
- Do not claim monopoly of the truth.
- Generally conservative, i.e., members accept the norms and values of the society.
- Also have a hierarchy of officials.

SECTS (Dera Sacha Sauda)	CULTS
• They emerged after breaking away from the dominant religion because of disagreement over the interpretation. • Smaller and more strongly integrated than the Church. • Seen to be more associated with the lower classes. • Reject the values and norms of society. • Members are expected to be deeply committed to the sect's beliefs. • Voluntary. :->Members are not born into a sect. They have to join the sect. • Sects exercise strong control over the lives of the people. • They tend to believe that they have monopoly over truth. (Uniquely legit). • They are not arranged in a hierarchy of paid officials. If a central authority exists within the sect, it rests with a charismatic leader. • According to Niebuhr, Sects have the seeds of their own destruction: (a) The children might not want to be part of the sect. (b) Sect might weaken after the death of a charismatic leader. (c) Sects with an ascetic creed would encourage their members to work hard and save money. Now those who rise up the social ladder would not want to	• Steve Bruce defines it as, "Loosely knit group organised around some common themes and interests but lacking any sharply defined and exclusive belief systems." • Tolerant of other religious beliefs as it lacks an exclusive belief system of its own. • Often have <u>customers</u> than members. • Do not claim monopoly on truth. • Types of cults by <u>Stark and Bainbridge:</u> 1. <u>Audience Cults</u>: Least organised. And involve least face-to-face interaction. Contacts are maintained through mass media and conferences. Most members don't know each other.Ex.: Belief in UFOs. 2. <u>Client Cults:</u> More organised. And usually offer services to their followers. Ex.: Scientology which offers to clear 'engrams'. 3. <u>Cult movements</u>: Try to satisfy all religious needs of their members. And membership of other faiths is not permitted. Ex: Practitioners of transcendental meditation.

be part of the sect as they would think it is associated with the marginal members of the society.

- Roy Wallis had defined sects as deviant that see themselves as uniquely legitimate.

Reasons for the growth of sects, cults and new religious movements:

A. Marginality:

Weber had said sects were likely to emerge in those groups which were marginalised in society. Hence, Weber also said sects were 'theodicy of disprivilege'. This was so because the sects explain to their members the reasons for their backwardness and promise them a better future either in afterlife or in the future 'new world' on earth.

B. Relative deprivation:

This explains why middle-class members become part of sects, etc.

C. Social change:

A number of sociologists believe that sects and cults arise during periods of rapid change when the traditional norms are disrupted.

D. Modernisation and Secularisation:

Steve Bruce attributes their development to modernisation and secularisation. He believes that the weakness of more conventional institutionalised religions has encouraged some people to consider less traditional alternatives.

Millenarian movements

The term millenarianism, and its alternatives millennialism and chiliasm, are derived from the last book of the Christian Bible, Apocalypse (or Revelation), in which the prophet John recounts his vision of a thousand year godly kingdom, the return of Christ, and the end of time itself (20:1-7).

In the social sciences, the term is applied to all movements and organizations that hold as a central belief the imminent arrival of a divinely inspired and this worldly society, whether a

<u>religious golden age, messianic kingdom, return to paradise, or egalitarian order</u>. Such movements can take on an active or passive, violent or peaceful, even revolutionary role.

They are found the world over and throughout recorded history. Some writers extend the term to deep seated beliefs in secular utopias such as revolutionary communism, certain environmental and scientistic technological movements such as eugenics and cryonics (Bozeman in Robbins & Palmer 1997), and racist movements such as white supremacy. Jewett and Lawrence (2003) argue for the existence of a contemporary form of millenarianism in the United States that reunites the secular and religious, calling it "millennial civil religion." They find it in popular culture, the politics of the New Right, Reaganism, Bushism, and the "war on terror."

The most documented cases occur within cultures significantly affected by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, though there is a mainly historical and theological literature on millenarianism in Hinduism (the coming of Kalki), and most of the Buddhist and some Daoist traditions, e.g., the coming of Maitreya, the Bodhisattva, and the future messiah of the secret "White Lotus" sects. From the 1950s, there was an accelerated interest in the subject, beginning with Worsley's (1957) study of cargo cults, Cohn's (1957) classic on medieval movements, and, later, Wilson's (1973) reappraisal of tribal and third world millenarianism. These better known studies were accompanied by the work of many other sociologists, anthropologists, and historians on African, Asian, and Native and Latin American millenarianism. The approach of the second Christian millennium led to an increasing number of studies on US millenarianism (e.g., Robbins & Palmer 1997) and con temporary millenarian sects worldwide (e.g., Barkun 1996; Hunt 2001). Contemporary mass media have focused on Doomsday Cult massacres: the Jim Jones's People's Temple at Jonestown, Guyana (1978), Aum Shinrikyo's sarin gas attack in the Tokyo metro (1993), David Koresh's Branch Davidian sect at Waco, Texas (1993), and the Order of the Solar Temple in Canada and Switzerland (1994).

Generally speaking, millenarian movements and groups are socially significant primarily because such beliefs become active during periods of social uncertainty or unrest. They challenge oppressors and the current social and moral order of society or the religious establishment, promising reform – at least for the believers – or revolution. They are protest movements often ending in breakaway sects from parent bodies. Believers have

expectations that divine intervention will favor them against their enemies. Marx and Engels integrated the movements into their general theory of social conflict and revolution. While they may be faulted for reducing the religious and cultural causes of the movements to a smokescreen hiding underlying class war fare, they were the first to recognize the dominant role of oppression in many of them.
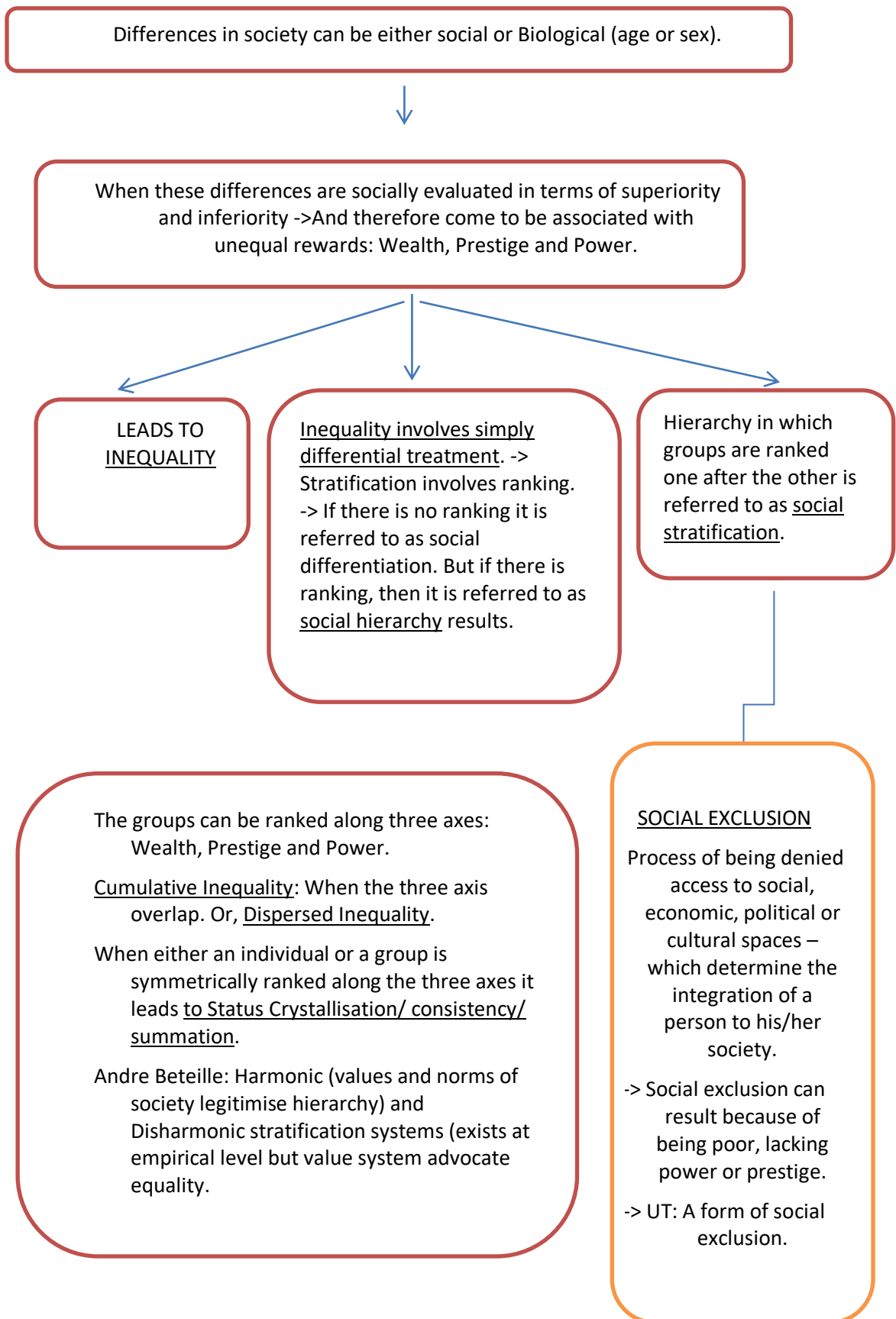
Since then, other researchers have pointed to other elements affecting or constituting these movements. Imminent expectation of millennial events is as important to the movements as the millennial beliefs themselves. Key strategists are often required to maintain momentum. Also, such expectation requires states of high alertness accompanied with either great enthusiasm or deep depression. These elements are hard to sustain in the long term, leading to a loss of their vital potency. In fact, most active movements do not last and either implode or are suppressed. If believers retain their beliefs in the long run, it is because they have become institutionalized or more peaceful. Weber's notion of charisma has considerable relevance here: millenarianism is unstable and prophecy may be intermittent or disappear. To retain some of the charisma, organization supported by rituals is necessary, particularly where the prophet has little organization of his own, lost his charisma, or died.

Millenarian movements may foster violence when certain conditions prevail: believers view the rest of society as evil, corrupt, and irredeemable; the movement is relatively small and isolated; the leader of the movement is messianic and has tight control of people's minds and actions; believers are provoked by exploitation, dispossession, and sacrilege committed by outsiders. Of course, the violence may come instead from outside: non believers may fear the movement and suppress it.

Many movements have the additional belief of apocalypticism or catastrophic millenarianism: the conviction that cataclysmic events and the violent end of an evil world are imminent and precede the divine millennium. For the many Christians that believed this in the early nineteenth century, it was a dreadful thought. Hence the appearance in the 1830s of the doctrine of the Rapture: Jesus is going to take his faithful off to heaven before the "tribulation" begins. An alternative belief to apocalypticism is progressive millenarianism. Believers have a role to play in building the millennial society, whether it is preparation for a messiah or not (see Wessinger in Robbins & Palmer 1997). Some authors still use the terms premillenarianism (the messiah and the "tribulation" come at the

beginning of the millennium) and postmillenarianism (the messiah comes at the end) as earlier alternatives to the above; but such terms are less inclusive, referring principally to Christian millenarianism.

Differences in society can be either social or Biological (age or sex).

When these differences are socially evaluated in terms of superiority and inferiority ->And therefore come to be associated with unequal rewards: Wealth, Prestige and Power.

LEADS TO INEQUALITY

Inequality involves simply differential treatment. -> Stratification involves ranking. -> If there is no ranking it is referred to as social differentiation. But if there is ranking, then it is referred to as social hierarchy results.

Hierarchy in which groups are ranked one after the other is referred to as social stratification.

The groups can be ranked along three axes: Wealth, Prestige and Power.

Cumulative Inequality: When the three axis overlap. Or, Dispersed Inequality.

When either an individual or a group is symmetrically ranked along the three axes it leads to Status Crystallisation/ consistency/ summation.

Andre Beteille: Harmonic (values and norms of society legitimise hierarchy) and Disharmonic stratification systems (exists at empirical level but value system advocate equality.

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Process of being denied access to social, economic, political or cultural spaces – which determine the integration of a person to his/her society.

-> Social exclusion can result because of being poor, lacking power or prestige.

-> UT: A form of social exclusion.

A. Social Stratification: A functionalist perspective

- Their focus is that society has certain needs or functional prerequisites that must be met for the society to survive. Hence, they look at social stratification through this lens. That how far does social stratification go in fulfilling the function prerequisites.

- Another concern for the S-F is that certain amount of order and stability is needed for the society to survive. Hence, they look at social stratification from the perspective of how far does it go in establishing order and stability.

1) Talcott Parsons

- For society to exist ->Value consensus is needed. -> It follows from here that members will be evaluated in terms of these values. -> Those that perform better in terms of society's values will be ranked higher than others. -> Bravery is accorded high value among Sioux Indians. -> In American society, successful businessmen are more valued because of the American values.

- Hence, as per, Parsons, stratification is universal.

- Another reason cited by Parsons is that in all societies, cooperation and planning is needed among members. And those who take responsibility for coordinating the actions of many others must have a higher status than those who act out the roles.

- Parsons considers stratification as both inevitable (Coz it derives from shared values which are a necessary part of all social systems) and functional (serves to integrate various groups in society).

2) Davis and Moore

- Every society consists of certain functional prerequisites which must be met. -> One such functional prerequisite is effective role allocation and performance. -> This means: -> Roles must be filled. -> They must be filled by the most qualified. -> The necessary training needed must be undertaken. -> Roles must be performed conscientiously.

- For ensuring the above, social stratification is needed. -> Because people differ in skills and talents. -> And the function of stratification is to match the most able people with the functionally most important positions.

- Rewards need to vary because talented people have to <u>be attracted</u> to these jobs which require <u>long periods of training</u> + sacrifice of time & money.
- How to determine that a particular position is functionally important?

(a) Judge the degree to which it is functionally unique. -> Doctors vs. Nurses.

(b) Degree to which other positions are depended on the one in question. -> Workers vs. Managers.

3) <u>Melvin M Tumin</u>: Critique of Davis and Moore

- Ignores the influence of power on unequal distribution of rewards. (ability to strike)
- No effective way of measuring talent has been devised.
- Some positions are very important, yet poorly paid -> Miners vs. engineers.
- Ignore the rewards of being a student – leisure, freedom and opportunity for self-development.
- <u>Finally, argues that stratification breeds hostility and distrust can be divisive than an integrative force.</u>
- Underestimate the talent present in society.

4) <u>Michael Young in 'The Rise of Meritocracy '</u>has highlighted the dysfunctions of a meritocratic role allocation system. Firstly, members of the lower strata may become ''totally demoralized,'' since those at the bottom are clearly ''inferior.'' . The upper stratum free from self-doubt and whose privileges are based on merit, may rule the society with arrogance. They may despise the lower strata whose members may find such behaviour offensive. This may result in conflict between the ruling minority and the rest of society. Therefore, stratification systems based on ''effective role allocation'' may on balance be dysfunctional.

5) <u>Research </u>also indicates that, in western industrial societies , many members of the upper strata owe their position to the fact that they have been born into that strata and that they have capitalized on the advantages provided by their social background.

6) <u>Peter Saunders:</u> -> does not agree with Tumin. -> He argues that in the absence of economic rewards, the only other way of making people work will be through threat or use of physical force. Hence, he says in socialist countries, in the absence of

economic rewards, such methods will be needed. Notes three kinds of equalities: Equality before law, Equality of opportunity (equal chance of being unequal), and Equality of Outcomes. -> He is in favour of first two. But rejects the third as unfair and undemocratic.

B. <u>Social stratification: A Weberian perspective</u>

- Stratification results from struggle for <u>scarce resources</u>. -> These scare resources can be economic, political or prestige.

- It is <u>universal</u>. In communist societies. -> It will be either status-based or party-based.

- <u>Definition of class</u>? A group of individuals who share similar position in the market economy and by virtue of which receive similar economic rewards. -> Thus, Class position = Market position -> Distinguishes it into four classes.

- Differs with Marx that political power ALWAYS derives from economic power.

- <u>Status situation</u> -> Result of unequal distribution of 'social honour'.

- <u>Status group</u>

(a) Consists of people who share similar amount of <u>social honour</u> and therefore share <u>similar status situation</u>.

(b) Unlike classes, members of status group are <u>aware of their common status situation</u>.

(c) They share <u>similar lifestyle</u>, identify and feel they belong to same social group.

(d) Place restrictions on how outsiders interact with them.

(e) As per Weber -> Status groups reached their most developed form in India's CS.

- <u>Social closure</u>

  Social closure refers to exclusion of some people from membership of a status group. -> In CS, it is achieved by placing restrictions on marriage. Another example is apartheid.

- <u>Class and social groups</u> -> They are closely linked. -> But, not always. -> For ex. Nouveaux rich -> Status groups can cut across class divisions ->Ex. A homosexual-rights group.

  -> The presence of various status groups can weaken class solidarity and reduce the potential for class consciousness.

- <u>Parties</u> -> Concerned with influencing policies and taking decisions in favour of their members. -> Weber: PP are concerned with acquisition of social 'power'. -> May

represent interest determined through 'class situation' or 'status situation'. In most cases, can be partly either.
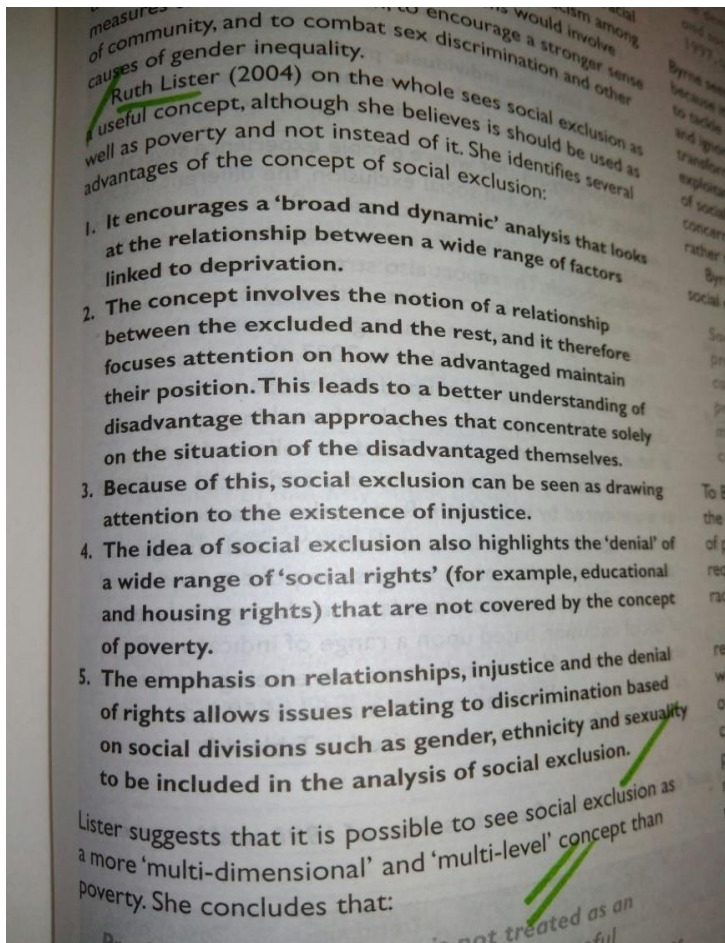
- Marx tried to reduce all forms of inequalities to class -> Weber argued that the evidence provides a more diversified and complex picture of social stratification.

C. Marxist perspective – As discussed under him.

In Brief:-> Basis: Institution of private property ->Structure ->Cumulative ->Consequences -> Exploitative ->Does not consider it to be universal. Will end.With abolition of PP.

Social exclusion

- MADANIPOUR's definition of social exclusion: "Social exclusion is defined as a multi-dimensional process in which various forms of exclusion are combined: Participation in decision-making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes."

- David Bryne says the term social exclusion draws attention to the relationship between those who are excluded and those who do the excluding: 'exclusion is something that is done by some people to other people'.

- It is a situation in which multiple deprivations prevent individuals from participating in important areas of society's activities.

- Thus a socially excluded might be unable to find work, take part in leisure activities or actively participate in society's activities.

- Social exclusion needs to be distinguished from poverty :-> Poverty versus Social Exclusion -> Poverty refers to lack of material resources. On the other hand, social exclusion includes a broader range of ways in which people may be disadvantaged in society. Many of these types of deprivation concern the inability to participate fully in society in ways that are only partly shaped by material resources.

- Some scholars criticise the use of the term social exclusion as they feel it deviates attention from the more specific problem, which is poverty. Hence, they see it as a regressive step. Others see it as a progressive step as it broadens what all the government can do to address deprivation in society.

measures ... to encourage a stronger sense of community, and to combat sex discrimination and other causes of gender inequality.

Ruth Lister (2004) on the whole sees social exclusion as useful concept, although she believes is should be used as well as poverty and not instead of it. She identifies several advantages of the concept of social exclusion:

1. It encourages a 'broad and dynamic' analysis that looks at the relationship between a wide range of factors linked to deprivation.
2. The concept involves the notion of a relationship between the excluded and the rest, and it therefore focuses attention on how the advantaged maintain their position. This leads to a better understanding of disadvantage than approaches that concentrate solely on the situation of the disadvantaged themselves.
3. Because of this, social exclusion can be seen as drawing attention to the existence of injustice.
4. The idea of social exclusion also highlights the 'denial' of a wide range of 'social rights' (for example, educational and housing rights) that are not covered by the concept of poverty.
5. The emphasis on relationships, injustice and the denial of rights allows issues relating to discrimination based on social divisions such as gender, ethnicity and sexuality to be included in the analysis of social exclusion.

Lister suggests that it is possible to see social exclusion as a more 'multi-dimensional' and 'multi-level' concept than poverty. She concludes that:

Prov... ...sion is not treated as an ...useful...

- Dimensions of social exclusion

  As defined by UK's Department for Work and Pensions,

  1. Lack of resources -> This means lack of economic resources.

  2. Lack of opportunities to work

  3. Lack of opportunities to learn

  4. Health inequalities.

  5. Lack of decent housing.

  6. Disruption of family life.

  7. Living in disadvantaged neighbourhood.

Race and ethnicity

Race:

o   It refers to categorisation of people based on their Physical attributes. (skin, height, etc).

On this basis the common races are: Negroes, Mongoloids, Caucasians, etc.

o   Earlier, the term race was merely to be used in the classificatory sense. Later, it became as a source of colonial oppression and exploitation.

o   Ex.: Persecution of Jews in Germany, Apartheid in South Africa, and Discrimination against Blacks in USA.

Ethnicity:

o   Refers to shared racial, linguistic, cultural or national identity.

o   It tries to categorise people on the basis of cultural criteria than racial criteria.

o   But in practice the difference between race and ethnicity gets blurred.

o   Another difference: Membership in a racial group is non-voluntary, while it is voluntary in an ethnic group.

o   The sociological study of ethnicity can be traced to Max Weber who regarded ethnic groups as status groups ->With shared religion, language or culture.

o   Characteristics of ethnic group given by Sumner in his book Folkways:

1)   Ethnicity relates to ascriptive criteria such as caste, language, religion, etc.

2)   Ethnicity is socially-mobilised and territorially confined.

3)   Has sufficient numerical strength.

4)   It has a reference group towards which it gauges its sense of deprivation.

5)   Ethnic movements develop when ethnic groups feel left out from the development process.

6)   Uses interest group politics to secure demands.

o   Oliver Cox: (Marxist sociologist) When different workers from different ethnicity come together -> They forget their previous identity and become a class for itself.

o   Edna Bonacich: Doesn't agree: Capitalists want different ethnicity to come together as it leads to increase in pool of workers and keeps wages low.

Idiographic and nomothetic methods represent two different approaches to understanding social life. An idiographic method focuses on individual cases or events. Ethnographers, for example, observe the minute details of everyday life to construct an overall portrait of a specific group of people or community. A nomothetic method, on the other hand, seeks to produce general statements that account for larger social patterns, which form the context of single events, individual behaviors, and experience.

Sociologists who practice this form of research are likely to work with large survey data sets or other forms of statistical data, and to conduct quantitative statistical analysis as their method of study.

OVERVIEW

Nineteenth century German philosopher Wilhelm Windelband, a neo-Kantian, introduced these terms and defined their distinctions. Windelband used nomothetic to describe an approach to producing knowledge that seeks to make large-scale generalizations. This approach is common in the natural sciences, and is considered by many to be the true paradigm and goal of the scientific approach. With a nomothetic approach, one conducts careful and systemic observation and experimentation in order to derive results that can be applied more broadly outside the realm of study. We might think of them as scientific laws, or general truths that have come from social science research. In fact, we can see this approach present in the work of early German sociologist Max Weber, who wrote about the processes of creating ideal types and concepts meant to serve as general rules.

On the other hand, an idiographic approach is one that is specifically focused on a particular case, place, or phenomenon. This approach is designed to derive meanings particular to the research target, and is not designed for extrapolating generalizations, necessarily.

APPLICATION IN SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is a discipline that bridges and combines these two approaches, which is akin to the discipline's important micro/macro distinction.

Sociologists study the relationships between people and society, wherein people and their everyday interactions and experiences are the micro, and the larger patterns, trends, and social structures that make up society are the macro. In this sense, the idiographic approach often focuses on the micro, while the nomothetic approach is used to understand the macro.

Methodologically speaking, this means that these two different approaches to conducting social science research also often fall along the qualitative/quantitative divide, wherein one would use qualitative methods like ethnographic and participant observation, interviews, and focus groups to conduct idiographic research, while quantitative methods like large-scale surveys and statistical analysis of demographic or historical data would be used to conduct nomothetic research.

But many sociologists, this one included, believe that the best research will combine both nomothetic and idiographic approaches, and both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Doing so is effective because it allows for a deep understanding of how large-scale social forces, trends, and problems influence the everyday lives of individual people.

For example, if one wanted to develop a robust understanding of the many and varied effects of racism on Black people, one would be wise to take a nomothetic approach to studying the health impacts and police killings, among other things that can be quantified and measured in large number.

But one would also be wise to conduct ethnography and interviews to understand the experiential realities and effects of living in a racist society, from the standpoint of those who experience it.

- ❖ Cultural Lag is the notion that culture takes time to catch up with technological innovations.

- ❖ And that social problems and conflicts are caused by this lag.

- ❖ The term was coined by sociologist William F. Ogburn.

- ❖ Cultural Lag Theory suggests that a period of maladjustment occurs when the non-material culture is struggling to adapt to new material conditions.

  (a) Material culture includes all of the physical objects that people create and give meaning to. For example, cars, clothing, schools and computers. An object only becomes part of culture after meaning have been given to it. A computer has no meaning until it is used as a tool.

  (b) Non-material culture consists of thoughts and behaviour that people learn as part of the culture they live in. It includes politics, economics, language, rules, customs, family, religion or beliefs, values, and knowledge.

- ❖ Ogburn posited <u>four stages of technical development</u>: invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment.

- ❖ Invention is the process by which new forms of technology are created. Inventions are collective contributions to an existing cultural base that cannot occur unless the society has already gained a certain level of knowledge and expertise in the particular area. Accumulation is the growth of technology because new things are invented more rapidly than old ones are forgotten, and some inventions (such as writing) promote this accumulation process. Diffusion is the spread of an idea from one cultural group to another, or from one field of activity to another, and as diffusion brings inventions together, they combine to form new inventions. Adjustment is the process by which the non-technical aspects of a culture respond to invention, and any retardation of this adjustment process causes cultural lag.

- ❖ Cultural Lag is a common societal phenomenon due to the tendency of material culture to evolve and change rapidly while non-material culture tends to resist change and remain fixed for a far longer period of time. Due to the opposing nature of these two aspects of culture, adaptation of new technology becomes

rather difficult. This distinction between material and non-material culture is also a contribution of Ogburn's 1922 work on social change.

❖ Cultural Lag creates problems for a society in a multitude of ways. Where new technologies are considered. For example, the advent of stem cell research has given rise to many new, potentially beneficial medical technologies; however these new technologies have also raised serious ethical questions about the use of stem cells in medicine.