SOCIOLOGY OPTIONAL NOTES - PAPER 1

These are Notes I made for the Paper 1 of the Sociology Optional.

Please read the following post before reading these Notes - https://nehabhosleblog.wordpress.com/2020/09/07/my-booklist-and-approach-to-answer-writing-for-the-sociology-optional/

This will provide you a complete picture of what all I read apart from these Notes.

You can download my other Notes, Class Notebooks and my checked Test Papers from:

My Telegram Channel - https://t.me/All_About_UPSC_CSE or

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All the Best !

Neha Bhosle

Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

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Note:

In my Blog Post, I have already mentioned the sources that I had used to make these notes.

For topics that were too huge to make notes, I just noted down the page numbers from the books. So, in these notes, you will find some page number references. They are from:

8th Edition of *Sociology – Themes and Perspectives* by Haralambos and Holborn (also known as the 'Blue Haralambos')

5th Edition of *Fundamentals of Sociology* by Vikash Ranjan Sir

1st Edition of *Essential Sociology* by Nitin Sangwan Sir

Mohapatra Sir's Class Notebooks which I had ordered from Pankaj Copiers. These were seven Notebooks from Sir's batch that had started in December 2016.

Paper 1 Notes of Tusharanshu Sharma Sir

IGNOU BA or MA Modules

My own Class Notebook from the Sociology Optional Lectures by Praveen Kishore Sir, which I have already shared on my Telegram Channel and my Google Drive.

All the Best !

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

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SOCIOLOGY - THE DISCIPLINE

1 A. Modernity and social changes in Europe and emergence of Sociology

Modernity:

'Modernization' refers to a series of rapid social, economic, political and cultural changes that were taking place in the 18th century Europe.

Commercial and Scientific Revolution between the 14th and 18th centuries, along with the cultural "Renaissance", saw a revival in medicine, art, literature, astronomy, navigation, chemistry, philosophy and so on.

Ideological modernity - The Enlightenment Period introduced a new way of thinking and looking at reality, like:

1. Faith in human progress
2. Ability of science to offer solutions and improve human conditions
3. Rational thought and empiricism
4. A spirit of questioning
5. A belief that nature follows universal laws and can be studied scientifically

The ideas from these movements, percolated to the masses to give shape to the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution.

Political modernity - French Revolution brought with it:

1. Overthrow of 'divinely ordained' monarchy and the 'Estate' system
2. Ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity
3. 'Rule of law' and universal laws
4. Political instability and reign of terror

Economic modernity - Industrial Revolution led to:

1. Rapid urbanization, changes in kinship structures and status of women
2. Mass production, mechanization and world trade
3. Shift from agrarian to industrial economy
4. Change from feudalistic to capitalistic society
5. Emergence of the middle class
6. Poverty, disease and exploitation
7. Religion being displaced by science as the omnipotent force

The central concepts of society, namely, religion, community, power, wealth, etc. were all taking on new bearings and new implications. The contrast between present and past seemed stark.

In such a backdrop, sociology, with its belief in the power of science, emerged as a discipline which aimed to provide solution to this social crisis.

The Conservative Reaction to the Enlightenment:

The most extreme form of opposition to Enlightenment ideas was French Catholic counter-revolutionary philosophy, as represented by the ideas of Louis de Bonald and Joseph de Maistre.

Bonald, for example, was disturbed by the revolutionary changes of French Revolution and yearned for a return to the peace and harmony of the Middle Ages. In this view, God was the source of society; therefore, reason, which was so important to the Enlightenment philosophers, was seen as inferior to traditional religious beliefs.

Furthermore, it was believed that because God had created society, people should not tamper with it and should not try to change a holy creation. By extension, Bonald opposed anything that undermined such traditional institutions as patriarchy, the monogamous family, the monarchy, and the Catholic Church.

Irving Zeitlin - "Early sociology developed as a reaction to the Enlightenment". He outlined some major propositions that he sees as emerging from this conservative reaction and providing the basis for the development of classical French sociological theory:

1. Whereas Enlightenment thinkers tended to emphasize the individual, the conservative reaction led to an emphasis on society. It was viewed as something more than simply an aggregate of individuals. It was seen as having an existence of its own with its own laws of development.
2. Society was the most important unit of analysis; it produced the individual, primarily through the process of socialization.
3. A society consisted of such component parts as roles, positions, relationships, structures, and institutions. Individuals were seen as doing little more than filling these units within society.
4. The parts of society were seen as interrelated and interdependent. This view led to a conservative political orientation. Because the parts were held to be interrelated, tampering with one part could well lead to the undermining of other parts and, ultimately, of the system as a whole.
5. The various components of society were seen as satisfying people's needs. When institutions were disrupted, people were likely to suffer, and their suffering was likely to lead to social disorder.
6. Small units, such as the family, the neighborhood, and religious and occupational groups, also were seen as essential to individuals and society. They provided the intimate, face-to-face environments that people needed in order to survive in modern societies.
7. There was a tendency to see various modern social changes, such as industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization, as having disorganizing effects. These changes were viewed with fear and anxiety, and there was an emphasis on developing ways of dealing with their disruptive effects.
8. The conservatives supported the existence of a hierarchical system in society. It was seen as important to society that there be a differential system of status and reward.
9. While most of these feared changes were leading to a more rational society, the conservative reaction led to an emphasis on the importance of non-rational factors (ritual, ceremony, and worship, for example) in social life.

The Commercial Revolution:

The "Commercial Revolution" refers to a series of events between 1450 to approximately 1800. These events led to a shift from the largely subsistence and stagnant economy of medieval Europe to a more dynamic and worldwide system.
It saw the expansion of trade and commerce with Oriental countries and the Americas, initially by land, and then, by the sea-routes. This transition ended the Italian trade monopoly and with the rise of England, France, Portugal and Spain, commerce expanded into a world enterprise.

European markets were flooded with new commodities like spices, textiles, tobacco, Chocolate, ivory and, above all, human slaves from Africa, whose labour further increased availability of raw material and thus increased production. The period also saw:

- Expansion of Banking - Credit facilities were liberalized. The "cheque" was invented. Paper money came to replace gold and silver coins.

- Growth of companies - "Regulated" companies, "Joint-stock" companies and "Chartered" companies arose.

- Rise of a New Class - the middle class had become an influential group. It included merchants, bankers, ship-owners and investors. However, their power, at this stage, was mainly economic.

- "Europeanisation" of the world - the transplanting of European manners and culture in other societies.

- Theory of Mercantilism, which justified preferential trade policies and justified economic exploitation of colonies

This period saw the strengthening of monarchy and the decline of the Church. Europe charted new areas for economic expansion - the whole world had become Europe's oyster.

The Scientific Revolution and the Renaissance Period:

Europe produced a "scientific revolution" in the Renaissance period of 14th to 16th century. The impact of the scientific revolution was crucial not just in changing material life, but also people's ideas about Nature and Society.

1. Social Functions of Sciences - Science does not develop independent of society, rather, it develops in response to human needs e.g. various vaccines were developed out of the necessity to cure diseases. Similarly, new developments in science can change the attitudes and beliefs in other areas as well. New scientific ideas influenced scholars to think about society in new ways.
2. Science in the Medieval Period - The Church was the epicenter of power, authority and learning. Learning was mostly of the religious variety. Nothing could challenge the 'dogmas' or rigid beliefs of the Church. Thus, the development of science was restricted mainly to improvements in techniques of production.
3. The Renaissance period - It marked an era of description and criticism in the field of science. A challenge to the old authority, a new revolution.

4. Visual art - Art, literature and science all flourished. A scientific approach to natural phenomenon became prevalent. Paintings of that period explored the smallest details of Nature and the human body.
5. Medicine - Dissection the human body became acceptable. The fields of anatomy, physiology and pathology benefited greatly.
6. Chemistry - Chemical processes like oxidation, reduction, distillation, amalgamation, etc. were studied.
7. Navigation and astronomy - Vasco da Gama reached the Indian shores in 1498. Columbus discovered America in 1492. A strong interest in astronomy, important for successful navigation grew.
8. The Copernican Revolution - Copernicus, with the help of detailed explanations, demonstrated the 'helio-centric' theory.

Important Post-Renaissance Developments:

Experimental Method in Physics and Mathematics - The work of Galileo, Johannes Kepler and subsequently, Newton revolutionized science. It brought to the forefront the experimental method. Old ideas were challenged and alternatives were suggested. If these alternative ideas could be proved and repeatedly verified and checked out, they were accepted. If not, new solutions were sought. Scientific methods thus came to be regarded as the most accurate, the most objective.

Biology and Evolution - Circulation of blood was discovered by William Harvey. The human organism came to be viewed in terms of interrelated parts and interconnected systems. Charles Darwin published the '*Origin of Species'* in 1859 and put forward the theory of "survival of the fittest" as a natural law.

Darwin studied 'human evolution', and traced the origins of the human species to some ape-like ancestors, who, over the centuries, evolved into modern human beings. Not just organisms, but societies were seen as constantly 'evolving' or developing from a lower to a higher stage by Herbert Spencer.

Intellectual Developments in France:

France, during the 18th century, had entered the age of reason and rationalism. Some of the major philosophers, whose ideas influenced the French people, were rationalists who believed that all true things could be proved by reason.

Montesquieu in his book, '*The Spirit of the Law'*, held that there should not be concentration of authority, such as executive, legislative, and judicial, at one place. He believed in the theory of the separation of powers and the liberty of the individual.

Locke advocated that every individual has certain rights, which cannot be taken by any authority. These rights were (i) right to live, (ii) right to property, and (iii) the right to personal freedom. He also believed that any ruler who took away these rights from his people should be removed from the seat of power and replaced by another ruler who is able to protect these rights.

Voltaire, advocated religious toleration and freedom of speech. He also stood for the rights of individuals, for freedom of speech and expression.

Rousseau wrote in his book, *'The Social Contract'*, that the people of a country have the right to choose their sovereign. He believed that people can develop their personalities best only under a government which is of their own choice.

Also, some of the French who had served in the French army, in the American War of Independence, came back with the ideas of equality of individuals and their right to choose their own government. The French middle class was deeply affected by these ideas of liberty and equality.

Industrial Revolution:

The Industrial Revolution began around 1760 in England. The growth of trade and commerce brought about an increase in demand for goods which could not be met by the domestic system of production.

During 1760-1830, a series of inventions in tools and techniques and organization of production took place and it gave rise to the factory system of production. Thus, a change in economy from feudal to capitalist system of production developed. Subsequently, there emerged a class of capitalists, which controlled the new system of production. Due to this revolution, society moved from the old age of hand-made goods to the new age of machine-made goods. This shift heralded the emergence of Industrial Revolution.

Spinning Jenny was invented by James Hargreaves. Arkwright's Water Frame led to the introduction of factory system. Samuel Crompton invented "The Mule".

As capitalism became more and more complex, the developments of banks, insurance companies, and finance corporations took place. New class of industrial workers, managers, capitalists emerged.

The peasants in the new industrial society found themselves with thousands of other people like themselves, winding cotton in a textile mill. Instead of the countryside they found themselves in unhygienic living conditions. With the increase in production, population started increasing. Rise of population led to the increased rate of urbanization. The industrial cities grew rapidly. In the industrial cities, socio-economic disparities were very wide. The factory workers were involved in repetitive and boring work, the result of which they could not enjoy. In Marxist terms the worker became alienated from the product of his / her labour. City life in the industrial society became an altogether different way of life.

Significant Themes of the Industrial Revolution:

1. <u>The condition of labour</u>: A new population earning their livelihood by working in the factories arose. They lived in poverty and squalor and were socially deprived. At the same time, they were indispensable in the new industrial system which made them a powerful social force. Sociologists recognized that the poverty of this class of workers was not natural poverty but social poverty.

2. <u>The transformation of property:</u> The traditional emphasis on land lost its value while money or capital became important. The investment in new industrial system came to be recognized. The feudal landlords became less significant while the new capitalists gained power.
3. <u>The industrial city, i.e. urbanism:</u> Industries grew and along with it grew great cluster of populations, the modern towns and cities. The new cities were known as repositories of misery and inhumanity. In 1810 - 20% people lived in cities, which increased to 80% in 1910 in Britain.
4. <u>Technology and the factory system:</u> The impact of technology and factory system led to large-scale migration of people to the cities. Women and children joined the work force in the factories. Family relations changed. The siren of the factory seemed to rule peoples' life. The machine rather than man seemed to dominate work. The relation between the labourers and the products of their labour changed. They worked for their wages. The product was the child of everybody and of the machine in particular. The owner of the factory owned it. Life and work became depersonalized. Marx saw a form of enslavement in the machine and a manifestation of alienation of labour. Social scientists, felt that men and women had grown mechanical in heart, as well as in hand due to the industrial system of production.

The Intellectual Influences affecting the Emergence of Sociology:

Sociology emerged as a response to the forces of change, which took place during 18th and 19th centuries in Europe.

- A scientific approach to the study of society dates back to the tradition of Enlightenment. The 18th century thinkers consciously applied scientific principles of analysis to the study of human beings and their nature and society.
- Secondly, they upheld reason as a measure to judge social institutions and their suitability for human nature. Human beings, according to them, are essentially rational and this rationality can lead them to freedom of thought and action.
- Thirdly, they believed that human beings are capable of attaining perfection. By criticizing and changing social institutions they can create for themselves even greater degrees of freedom, which, in turn would enable them increasingly to actualize the potentially creative powers.

Sociological thinkers are concerned with the above three assumptions. Apart from them, some other intellectual influences influenced the emergence of sociology in Europe. These are the precursors of sociology and are reflected the writings of the early sociologists, as per Bottomore.

<u>Political philosophy of the likes of Montesquieu, Rousseau</u>

<u>Movements for social and political reform like the French Revolution</u>

<u>The Philosophy of History:</u>

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, it talks about the notions of development and progress. On the scientific side, it has given the concepts of historical periods and social types. The social thinkers who developed the philosophy of history such as Abbe Saint Pierre, and Giambattista Vico, were concerned with the whole of society and not merely the political, or the economic, or the cultural aspects.

The Biological Theories of Evolution:

Sociology moved towards an evolutionary approach, seeking to identify and account for the principal stages in social evolution. It tended to be modeled on biology, as is evident from the conception of society as an organism, and the attempts to formulate general terms of social evolution. Herbert Spencer and Durkheim are good example of this kind of writing.

Surveys of Social Conditions:

The social survey is one of the principal methods of sociological inquiry. 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 societies, 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 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 - Sinclair Survey

Characteristics of Early Sociology:

T.B. Bottomore:

- Encyclopedic
- Influence of philosophy of history and biological theories of evolution
- Conceived to be a positive science
- Had ideological as well as scientific character
- Dealt with subjects inspired by – conditions of labour, transformation of property, technology and factory, industrial city

Subject matter of Early Sociology:

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

P1 - 1 a. Modernity and social changes in Europe and emergence of Sociology

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 54 to 74

Also to read in brief - Mohapatra Notebook 1 - 1. Ideological Modernity - Pages 22 to 38, 2. Philosophers - Pages 40 to 49

In their book On "Society", Mac Iver and Page define: "Society is a system of usages and procedures and of authority and mutual aid, of many groupings and divisions, of controlling of human behaviour and of liberties. This ever-changing, complex system, we call society. It is a web of social relationships. And it is always changing"

This definition reflects that society is a network of social relationships. An individual is related to others through the ties of kinship, marriage, neighbourhood, caste, occupation, religions, political parties, and peers (friends groups). Thus, an individual becomes part and parcel of several layer groups through these different multiple relationships. These relationships do not occur at random. Rather these are patterned. Therefore, sociologists define society as the pattern of social relationships formed through interaction of its members.

Society is an abstraction (notion, idea, thought) community is a concrete entity. According to sociologists, "whenever the members of any group, small or large, live together in such a way that they share the basic conditions of a common life, we call that group a community." Thus, a community refers to a group of individuals living in a geographical area. They share same physical environment and the basic conditions of common living. A neighbourhood or a village are good examples of a community.

An association is a group of people, who come together and get organized for fulfillment of specific goals or purpose. Sometimes limited number of goals exist behind such organizations. For example, you may have seen Mohalla Sudhar Samities, or cricket club in your neighbourhood. There are also many other such associations like voluntary associations, music club and trade unions.

Sociology is the child of 19th century modernity, grew by introspecting during the 20th century and matured during 21st century.

Modernity: A term designed to encapsulate the distinctiveness, complexity and dynamism of social processes unleashed during the 18th and 19th centuries which mark a distinct break from traditional ways of living. It comes from Latin word *Modos* which means "thinking new" - thinking beyond tradition, in a new manner is Modernity.

'Modernity' assumes that local ties and parochial perspectives give way to universal commitments and cosmopolitan attitudes; that the truths of utility, calculation, and science take precedence over those of the emotions, the sacred, and the non-rational; that the individual rather than the group be the primary unit of society and politics; that the associations in which men live and work be based on choice not birth; that mastery rather than fatalism orient their attitude toward the material and human environment; that identity be chosen and achieved, not ascribed and affirmed; that work be separated from family, residence, and community in bureaucratic organization - Rudolph and Rudolph

Modernity involves the following concepts: a belief in the possibility of human progress, rational planning to achieve objectives, a belief in the superiority of rational thought over emotions, faith in the ability of science and technology to solve human problems, a belief in the ability and rights of humans to shape their own lives, and a reliance upon manufacturing industry to improve living standards - Industrialism, Capitalism, Urbanism, Liberal democracy

Modernization has been defined as the process of rational transformation of the psychological / social, economic and the political aspects of a society

Dark ages = fall of Roman empire to arrival of Renaissance = 5th century AD to 15th century AD, 17th to 18th century is Enlightenment which said society is humanly created and hence can be changed, nothing is sacred, everything can be questioned - FR - IR

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION:

The French Revolution, which erupted in 1789 marked a turning point in the history of human struggle for freedom and equality. It put an end to the age of feudalism and ushered in a new order of society. Ideas like liberty, fraternity and equality, owe their origin to French Revolution.

The Basic Picture of the French society: Division into Feudal Estates

The structure of the feudal French society comprised the 'Three Estates'. Estates are defined as a system of stratification found in feudal European societies whereby one section or estate is distinguished from the other in terms of status, privileges and restrictions accorded to that estate.

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

a) **The First Estate** - consisted of the clergy, which was stratified into higher clergy, such as the cardinal, the archbishops, the bishops and the abbots. They lived a life of luxury and gave very little attention to religion. In fact, some of them preferred the life of politics to religion. They spent much of their time in wasteful activities like drinking, gambling, etc. In comparison to the higher clergy, the lower parish priests were over worked and poverty-stricken.

b) **The Second Estate** - consisted of the nobility. There were two kinds of nobles, the nobles of the sword and the nobles of the robe. The nobles of the sword were big landlords. They were the protectors of the people in principle but in reality they led a life of a parasite, living off the hard work of the peasants. They spent extravagantly and did not work themselves. The nobles of the robe were nobles not by birth by title. They were the magistrates and judges. Among these nobles, some were very progressive and liberal as they had moved in their positions from common citizens who belonged to the third estate.

c) **The Third Estate** - comprised the rest of the society and included the peasants, the merchants, the artisans, and others. The peasants were overloaded with so many taxes that they lived a hand to mouth existence. The King, in order to maintain the good will of the other two estates, continued to exploit the poor. The poor peasants had no power against him.

As compared to the peasants, the condition of the middle classes, also known as the bourgeoisie comprising the merchants, bankers, lawyers, manufacturers, etc. was much better. These classes too belonged to the third estate. But the poverty of the state, which led to a price rise during 1720-1789, instead of adversely affecting them, helped them. They derived profit from this rise and the fact that French trade had improved enormously also helped the commercial classes to a great extent.

This class was rich and secure. But it had no social prestige. In spite of controlling trade, industries, banking etc. the bourgeoisie had no power to influence the court or administration. The other two estates looked them down upon and the King paid very little attention to them. Thus, gaining political power became a necessity for them.

The clergy and the nobility both constituted only 2% of the population but they owned about 35% of the land. The peasants who formed 80% of the population owned only 30% of the land. The first two estates paid almost no taxes to the government. The peasantry, on the other hand, paid taxes to the Church, the feudal lord in the form of income tax, poll tax, and land tax to the state. On top of it all the prices had generally risen by about 65% during the period, 1720-1789.

The Political Aspects of the French society

The theory of the Divine Right of King was followed in France. For about 200 years the Kings of the Bourbon dynasty ruled France. Under the rule of the King, the ordinary people had no personal rights. They only served the King and his nobles in various capacities. The King's word was law and no trials were required to arrest a person on the King's orders. Laws too were different in different regions giving rise to confusion and arbitrariness. There was no distinction between the income of the state and the income of the King.

The Economic Aspects of the French society

The kings of France, from Louis XIV onwards, fought costly wars, which ruined the country, and when Louis XIV died in 1715, France had become bankrupt. Louis XV instead of recovering from this ruin kept on borrowing money from bankers. His famous sentence, "After me the deluge" describes the kind of financial crisis that France was facing. Louis XVI, a very weak and ineffective king, inherited the ruin of a bankrupt government. His wife, Queen Marie Antoinette, known for her expensive habits, is famous for her reply, which she gave to the poor, hungry people of France who came to her asking for bread. She told the people that, 'if you don't have bread, eat cake'.

Important Events

i) In 1778 the King, Louis XVI, was forced to impose a tax on everyone irrespective of his or her social status. This imposition of tax led the rich nobles and the clergy to demand a meeting of the Estate-General, which they felt, was the only body, which could levy tax. The Estate-General met on May 5, 1789, but in this meeting, 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.

The refusal of the first two Estates to meet with the third Estate as a single body led to the formation of the National Assembly. The meeting of the National Assembly led by middle class leaders and some liberal minded nobles was met with stiff resistance. On 20th June 1789 when a meeting was to be held in the Hall at Versailles near Paris, the members found that it was closed and guarded by the King's men. Therefore, the National Assembly members led by their leader Bailey went to the next building which was an indoor tennis court. It was here that they took an Oath to draw a new constitution for France. This Oath, which marks the beginning of the French Revolution, is popularly known as the Oath of the Tennis Court.

ii) On July 14th, 1789 took place the storming of the Bastille, an ancient royal prison that stood as a symbol of oppression. On this date the mobs of Paris, led by some middle class leaders, broke open this prison and set its inmates free. The causes for this event were the shortage of food, on the one hand, and the dismissal of a very popular minister called Necker, on the other. The mobs of Paris rebelled against the ruling class, especially the King.

iii) 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 and several important social and economic changes were brought about. 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.

iv) In 1791 the king tried to escape but was recognized at the frontier and brought back. Since then he became a virtual prisoner.

v) In Paris, the new Legislative Assembly (1791-1792) was formed. It comprised two very radical groups, namely the Girondin and the Jacobin. These groups considered the king a traitor and were in favour of establishing a Republic.

vi) The King, Louis XVI, was beheaded in public on 21st January 1793 after being proved guilty of treason. The Queen was also beheaded later in the same year. France was declared a Republic.

vii) A period referred to as "Reign of Terror" took place in France when several of the nobles, priests, some of the revolutionaries themselves were guillotined i.e. beheaded. This period lasted for three years.

viii) 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.

French Revolution changed the political structure of European society and replaced the age of feudalism by heralding the arrival of democracy. There were many significant themes, which arose due to the impact of this Revolution, which have been the focus of interest of the early sociologists. These included the transformation of property, the social disorder caused by the change in the political structure and its impact on the economic structure. A new class of power holders emerged - the bourgeoisie.

It is also possible that by questioning modernity, there can be revivalism of tradition.

Jacob Viener - Mercantilist theory - optimum utilization of resources - export finished goods and not raw material - avoid import, and import only when can be offset by export to the same country - state should go for preferential trade policy and monopolistic trade practices - if one country is making money, another is bound to be exploited - criticized by Laissez Faire theory and Adam Smith - said develop absolute advantage in some areas and depend on imports for rest

Ricardo - comparative advantage theory against Smith - minimize opportunity cost

Jeremy Bentham - materialistic and spiritual pleasure

Nietzche - sceptic - the other name of modern life is "perpetual loneliness". Man is born as a social being but modernity is converting him into an isolated individual. To adjust to loneliness, we take aid of technology, but it can't replace human relationship. However, we can't go back to traditional life and we have to stay in this modernity, lost, without hope and happiness

USA - social system did not change after independence, like it did with FR

Traditionalism vs Modernity:
Spiritualism -> Utilitarianism
Undeserved egoism -> truly deserved egoism
Coercive nationalism -> voluntary nationalism
Collective identity -> individualistic identity
Class controlled public sphere -> mass participative public sphere

Evolution of Modern Sociological Thought						
France	Montesquieu (1689–1755) Rousseau (1712–78)	Saint Simon (1760–1825)	Comt (1798–1857)	Tocqueville (1805–59)	Durkheim (1858–1917)	Althusser (1918–90)	Baudrillard (1929–200?)
Germany	Kant (1724–1804)	Hegel (1720–1831)	Feuerbach (1804–72)	Marx (1818–83)	Weber (1864–1920) Dilthey (1833–1911)	Horkheimer (1895–1973) Schutz (1899–1959)	Habermas (1929–) Frankfurt School (1923–)
Italy					Pareto (1848–1923)	Mosca (1858–1941)
Britain	Adam Smith (1723–1790)	Ricardo (1772–1823)			Spencer (1820–1903)		Giddens (1938–)
USA				Mead (1863–1931) Chicago School (1920s–40s) Mills (1916–62)	Sorokin (1889–1968) Parsons (1902–79)	Merton (1910–2003) Dahrendorf (1929–2009) Wallerstein (1930–)	Garfinkel (1929–) Berger (1929–)
India					Ghurye (1893–1983) D P Mukharjee (1894–1961)	Dumont (1911–98) A R Desai (1915–94)	Beteille (1934–) Srinivas (1916–99)
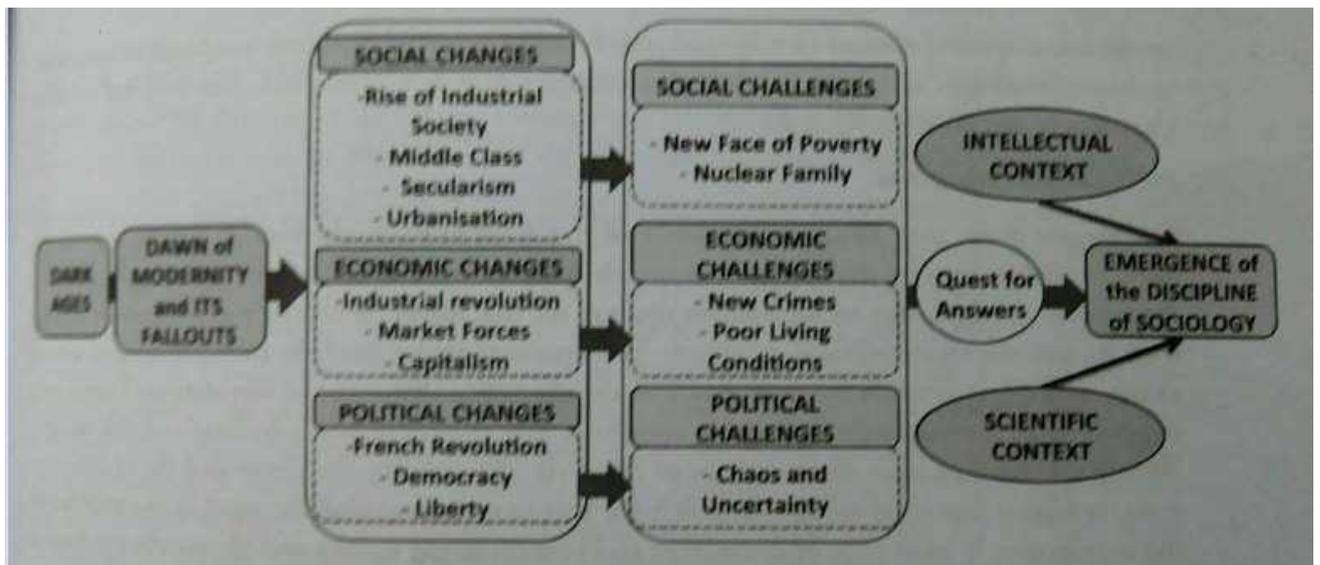
1 B. Scope of the subject and comparison with other social sciences

Scope of Sociology:

The scope of sociology is extremely wide. It can focus on interactions between individuals and at the same time, on larger issues like unemployment, caste conflicts, rural debt, etc. Hence, the discipline is defined by, not just what it studies, but also how it studies it. Sociology studies role (micro), structure (meso) and society (macro).

- Social organization - interdependence of parts
- Social structure - pattern of interrelations
- Social institutions - ensemble of a variety of customs and habits accumulated over time
- Culture - totality of learned and socially transmitted behavior from one generation to the next

A. Specialist or Formal School:

According to this school, sociology was conceived to be a social science with a specifically defined field. Georg Simmel, Max Weber, Ferdinand Tonnies, Alfred Vierkandt and Leopold Von Wiese are its main advocates - all are Germans.

They regarded sociology as an independent discipline, with a limited scope. Sociology should confine itself to the study of certain aspects of human relationships, and should only study the 'forms' of social relationships but not their contents. Social relationships such as competition, subordination, division of labour, etc. are expressed in different fields of social life like economics, politics and religion. Sociology should disentangle the forms of social relationships and study them in abstraction.

Emphasis on micro phenomenon like social actions and social processes, and making abstract generalizations about concrete reality. Subjective understanding of objective reality.

Simmel - forms from human relationships (example - formal or informal) which are common to diverse situations should be the subject matter of sociology. Sociology should confine its study to formal behavior instead of studying actual behavior. Sociology stands in such a relation with other sciences as is the relation holding between the physical sciences and geometry. Geometry studies the spatial forms and relations of objects, not their content. In the same way sociology, too, in its scope comprehends the forms of social relationships and activities, not the relationships themselves.

Vierkandt - sociology is sum total of social and psychic behavior of man which can be explained by abstract conceptual design.

Von Wiese - there are two kinds of fundamental social processes in human society. Associative processes concerning contact, approach, adaptation, etc. and dissociative processes like competition and conflict. Apart from these two forms, a mixed form also exists, and each of these processes has sub classes, which in totality give approximately 650 forms of human relationships.

Tonnies - society is divided into two categories – Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (association / society) on the basis of degree of intimacy and forms of relationships.

Weber - sociology should interpret or understand social behavior - Verstehen. Human interactions that are not social are excluded. Started the interpretative school. Book *"Methodology of Social Sciences"*. Three types of actions that sociology can study - traditional, emotional and rational.

Critique: Focuses on merely the abstract forms and neglects the concrete contents of social life. Distinguishing between the forms of social relationships and their content is not possible. Sorokin says "we may fill a glass with wine, water or sugar without changing its form, but I cannot conceive of a social institution whose form would not change when its members change." Ginsberg says the conception of pure sociology is not practical as no social science can be studied in isolation. Other sciences also study forms of social relationships – example: law studies conflict.

B. Synthetic School:

This school led by Durkheim (French), Leonard Hobhouse, Morris Ginsberg (both British) and Pitirim Sorokin (American) advocated a synthesis in form of coordination among all social sciences. Macro. Grand theories and 'socio centrism'

Comte also belongs to this school and said "Sociology is the queen of all social sciences as it is the only discipline that can study both - reasons for continuity of society and conditions contributing to social change."

Durkheim - sociology has three principle divisions:

- Social morphology – concerned with geographical or territorial basis of life of people such as population, its size, density, distribution. Can be done at 2 levels – analysis of size and quality of population which affects the quality of social relationships and social groups, and the study of social structure or description of the main forms of social groups and institutions with their classification
- Social physiology – genesis and nature of various social institutions
- General sociology – aims to formulate general social laws

Hobhouse - whole social life of man is the sphere of sociology. Its relationship with other social sciences is of mutual exchange and stimulation.

Mannheim (Hungarian who moved to Germany and then Britain) - two main sections of sociology - systematic and general sociology and historical sociology. *"Ideology and Utopia"* book.

Sorokin - general sociology (same institutions found all over the world) and specific sociology (caste in India, race in USA). Micro sociology is not required.

Ginsberg - Social pathology and social processes. Pathology deals with diagnosis of social problems, their causes and consequences. Chief functions of sociology are:

1. To provide a classification of types and forms of social relationships
2. To determine the relationship between different parts of social life
3. To disentangle the fundamental condition of social change and persistence and to discover sociological principles governing social life

Different phases of Sociology:

Phase 1: 1838 – 1880s

- Comte (French) focused on macro units and spoke about social statics, social dynamics, positivism and empiricism, and the law of three stages
- Saint Simon (French) called it social physics
- Spencer (British) gave the organismic analogy. All societies change from simple to complex
- Followed an inductive approach with multiple observations, and tried to understand social reality in terms of empiricism. The overall aim was to approach with a humanistic perspective, understand social problems and find solutions.

Phase 2: 1880s – 1940s

- Scope was widened as Weber spoke about micro realities. Start of interpretative sociology.
- Durkheim continued the macro approach with his concept of 'social facts'.
- Formal and synthetic schools were separated

Phase 3: 1940s – 1990s

Blending of formal and synthetic schools.

- Parsons (American) – 'structure of social action' and 'social system' both need each other
- Merton (American) – latent and manifest functions of everything a person does, thus combining micro and macro perspectives. He combined psychological and structural aspects of society, which is best exemplified in his theory of anomie
- CW Mills (American) – sociological imagination
- Giddens (British) – theory of structuration and double hermeneutics
- The formal school was further extended by phenomenology of Alfred Schutz (Austrian but worked in America) and ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkel (American)

Present Phase: 1980s onwards

Emergence of post-modernist thought. Wider areas of interest like environment, healthcare, IT, biotechnology, media, defence. Rejection of metanarratives in this post truth world. No way to understand objective reality.

- Jacques Derrida (French) – deconstruction of language, as it can never truly represent an internal, objective reality
- Michel Foucault (French) – discourse analysis
- Alan Bryman (British) – multidisciplinary approach, methodological pluralism
- Jean Baudrillard (French) - mass media has reversed the Marxist idea that society is dominated by economic structure, rather it will now be increasingly controlled by the signs and images which are a creation of mass media

Marxism and Feminism (emerged in 1960s) does not fit in any school.

Sociology and Political Science:

Political science focuses primarily on two elements: political theory and government administration. Sociology was born in the political upheaval of French Revolution and it would not be wrong to call political science as 'sociology from the top'.

Marx's idea of communism uses sociological ideas to bring about a political change. Weber developed sociological theories of power and authority in his study on bureaucracy. Pareto, Mosca, Michels, and later CW Mills contributed to the 'elite theory'.

Parsons in his AGIL theory states that politics gives society goals for attainment. Behavioural approach to political phenomena was developed by the Chicago School in 1930s. Wallerstein's 'dependency theory' is a convergence of international politics and global sociology as demonstrated by the widespread impact of Brexit, US Presidential elections.

Sociology helps in determining political behaviors like voting patterns. Studies have also been conducted on membership of political parties, sociological reasons for support of parties, role of gender, protests, pressure groups in politics, etc. Social concepts like ethnicity, caste and religion are often used to mobilize people politically, example - Patidar agitation, and this is reflected in the 'social strain theory' of Neil J. Smelser.

Tiananmen Square and Arab Spring were manifestations of society taking political systems head on. There is a renewal of interest in Marxist sociological ideas in both developed and developing countries. Bernie Sanders describes himself as a democratic socialist.

As modern state is increasingly getting involved in providing welfare amenities, sociological slant to political activity and political thinking is gaining more and more acceptance.

Sociology and Anthropology:

Anthropology is the study of all aspects of life in "simple societies", while sociology studies some aspects or processes of "complex societies".

But modernity led to even far-flung villages being impacted by global acts like colonialism and contemporary global processes have further accentuated this shrinking of the globe.

Today the distinction between a simple society and a complex one is not very clear. India itself is a mix of tradition and modernity. Villages exists in the heart of Delhi, while Call centers serve American clients from small towns. Hence the spheres of anthropology and sociology are coming closer.

Anthropologists use structural-functionalist approach, field work, participant observation as techniques of data collection, and these are now adopted by sociologists too. Sociology has borrowed concepts like cultural lag from cultural anthropology and the works of EB Tylor, while Marx's idea of primitive communism inspired anthropologists.

Darwin's theory of evolution has contributed to both the disciplines. Malinowski studied religion using anthropological methods. Durkheim did an ethnography study of Arunta tribes to develop his division of labour theory. MS Srinivas, Andre Beteille and SC Dube used field studies to study Indian villages.

Anthropologists led by Franz Boas have reflected on their previous theories of unilinear evolution, economic and geographic determinism and organismic analogy, in view of sociological thoughts.

The rise of new nation states, sees them acquire a dualistic character. They show the features of both modern industrial societies as well as traditional small-scale societies. The study of these "Developing Societies" uses both sociological as well as social anthropological approach.

Sociology can study tribes displaced by industrialization, while anthropology can study slum dwellers. Thus, a closer cooperation between the two is the need of the hour.

Sociology and Philosophy:

Modern philosophy and sociology came into existence during the same time period to explain the social crisis of Europe in the 19th century. Philosophy attempts to study reality in totality and sociology also began its journey with philosophical ambitions of developing grand theories and seeking ultimate ends.

The study of sociology leads to philosophical quest. Durkheim thought that sociology has to necessarily contribute to a renewal of philosophical questions which made him indulge in some epistemological discussions, a branch of philosophy. Mannheim argued that sociology of knowledge had implications for philosophy. In *"The Positive Philosophy"*, Comte speaks of three stages of society – theological, metaphysical and scientific.

Sociology develops theories. Some of these theories become instrumental for collective mobilization and social transformation, and thus become an ideology, a philosophy. Example: Marxism, Feminism and Critical Social Theory.

Moral and social philosophy studies values and the sociologists study values and human valuation as facts. Language, symbols, relations are products of cultural ideology and shared cultural philosophy, and are studied by sociologists.

Social philosophy is the meeting point of social logic and philosophy and is concerned with study of fundamental principles and concepts of social life in their epistemological and axiological aspects. Example - concepts of *dharma*, individualism, liberalism, alienation since they are both values and facts.

As Vierkandt says, sociology is productive only when it has a philosophical basis.

Sociology and Economics:

Economics is the study of production and distribution of goods and services. However, as Pierre Bourdieu writes, "A true economic science should look at all the costs of the economy. Not only at the costs that corporations are concerned with, but also at crimes, suicides, and so on."

Early sociologists focused on the difference between the two. Durkheim established division of labour as a social fact, a different explanation from that by Adam Smith.

Welfare economics of Alfred Marshall and Amartya Sen brings both the disciplines closer. Feminist economics draws in gender as a central organizing principle of society. For instance, it looks at how work in the home is linked to productivity outside. The large investment in advertisement industry is directly linked to the need to reshape lifestyles and consumption patterns. *'Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana'* for financial inclusion also borrows from both.

Origin of caste has been analyzed in terms of economic division of labour reflected through *jajmani* system. The sociological theories of Marx are economic deterministic in nature. Weber's *'Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft'* is an attempt to bring some of the concepts of economic theory within the frame work of general sociology. Parsons looks at the economic system as a key driver of the functional prerequisite of adaptation.

Barbara Cotton's book *'The Social Foundations of Wage Policy'* attempts an analysis of the determinants of salary differentials in Britain. Goldthorpe's study of affluent workers in Luton shows the effect of class background on consumption and saving habits, while Veblen talks about "conspicuous consumption".

Economics without sociology is a mechanistic pursuit, with sociological insight, it becomes a humanistic endeavor.

Sociology and Psychology:

Psychology is the science of individual behavior. Sociology attempts to understand behavior as it is organized in society and shaped by different aspects of society.

Durkheim who sought to establish a clear scope and method for sociology in his study of suicide left out individual intentions of those who commit or try to commit suicide. Weber and Dilthey, on the other hand, believe that sociological explanations can be further enriched if an attempt is made to understand social behavior in terms of underlying meanings. Cooley's looking glass self is inspired from psychology. Ginsberg and Nadel also favour psychological interpretations.

Gerth and Mills define 'role' as a meeting point between social structure and individual character and thus meeting point of social psychology and sociology. In contrast, Radcliffe Brown argues that sociology and psychology are entirely different systems where one studies the social system and other the mental system.

Sigmund Freud gave more importance to inheritance over the environment and implied that sociology is merely an extension of social psychology.

With increasing complexities in modern societies, sociology is also concerned with decoding symbolism which people manifest through social actions (symbolic interactionism of Mead). There are topics of common interest to both, like crime, juvenile delinquency, propaganda, socialization, imitation, domestic violence, alcoholism, etc. Gun violence in USA has been a subject of both psychological and social discourses in recent times. Indoctrination of vulnerable youths is another area of convergence.

Though problem of relation between sociology and psychology is still disputed, both cross each other to understand processes which were originally thought to be compartmentalized.

Sociology and History:

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

Historians study the past; sociologists are more interested in the contemporary or recent past. According to Radcliff Brown "sociology is nomothetic, while history is idiographic". In other words, sociology is analytical and generalizing while history is descriptive and particularizing.

However, there are works of historians which focus on patterns while sometimes sociologists have concerned themselves with the study of unique event. An example of the former is R.H. Tawney's *"Religion and the Rise of Capitalism"*, while *"The Polish Peasant"* by Thomas and Znaniecki is as idiographic as any historical study can be.

Historical accounts of phenomena like industrial revolution have served as source of data for sociological studies. While, Durkheim's work influenced Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, who laid the foundation of the Annales School of History to study long term social history. Works like Weber's *'Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism'* and Sorokin's *'Social and Cultural Dynamics'*, blur the line of demarcation between history and sociology.

Marx speaks of historical materialism. Indology as followed by GS Ghurye and Louis Dumont also includes a study of history.

As EH Carr put it, the more sociological the history becomes and more historical the sociology becomes, the better it is.

P1 - 1 b. Scope of the subject

Sociology studies society which comprises of social processes -
1. structure study - macro - scientific - quantitative - positivists - scientific method - facts - objectivity - explanation
2. both structure and action study - meso - interpretation method - non positivists - hermeneutical method - F and V - Objective and Subjective - understanding - qualitative and quantitative
3. action study - micro - behavioural method - qualitative - anti positivists - reflexive method - values - subjectivity - imagination

Sociology studies continuous behaviour in roles, giving rise to social structures which combine to form the society. If roles do not change, structure and society will not change. Role is also known as action.

Sociology has the mandate to study - Role (micro), Structure (meso) and Society (macro)

Albion Small - formal school - Sociology does not undertake to study all the activities of society. Every science has a delimited scope. The scope of sociology is the study of the genetic forms of social relationships, behavior and activities, etc.

Criticism of Formalistic School - Sociology is not the only science which studies the forms of social relationships. The study of International law includes, of necessity, the study of such social relationships as conflict, war, opposition, agreement, contact etc. Political science delineates sovereignty and other social relationships.

The scope of sociology is further distinguished from other sciences in respect of its different viewpoints. In the words of Green, "The focus of attention upon social relationships makes sociology a distinctive field, however clearly allied to certain others it may seem to be." To quote Bennett and Tumin, "no other discipline states or claims that its primary datum is that of the social aggregation of men."

Feminist sociology emerged during 1960s as a radical alternative and offered distinctive gender based explanations. It emphasized centrality of gender in social change. According to them, social reality is viewed differently by the two sexes

P1 - 1 b. Political Science

The divisions among the various social sciences are not clear cut, and all share a certain range of common interests, concepts and methods. It is therefore very important to understand that the distinctions of the disciplines are to some extent arbitrary and should not be seen in a straitjacket fashion. To differentiate the social sciences would be to exaggerate the differences and gloss over the similarities. Furthermore feminist theories have also shown the greater need of interdisciplinary approach. For instance how would a political scientist or economist study gender roles and their implications for politics or the economy without sociology of the family or gender division of labour.

The field of explanatory schemes and models - Both functionalism and social system have been adopted into politics. The forces at work and the changes that are taking place in peasant tribal or caste societies belong more to the sphere of sociologists and anthropologists rather than to that of the political scientist.

Power - ability of a person or a group of persons to control or influence the behaviour of others despite their resistance

Authority - power vested in given persons through institutions such as office, rank, elections, etc.

Sociology - stratification of society in terms of power wielded by different groups

Colemans - politics of developing areas are different - Sabka Saath Sabka Vikas

David Easton - a system analysis of political life - 'social system'

Hegel - state is march of God on earth
Family --> Civil Society --> State
Hence, CS ensues proper integration with society and individualism. CS is a transitory phase towards State.

Reservation, Pressure groups, national political organization of a society

Contribution of Political Science to Sociology:

Plato - talked of human behaviour and social inequality - human beings have 3 distinctive characteristics - men in gold, silver and iron - distributive justice, corrective justice

Aristotle - speaks about revolution - why, how and consequences - revolution leads to social change

Thomas Hobbes - primitive vs feudal society, John Locke - state committed to public welfare, Rousseau - first to speak of revolution to change inequality to egalitarian society, Marx built on this - collective will, general will

P1 - 1 b. Anthropology

Anthropology incorporates archaeology, physical anthropology, cultural history, many branches of linguistics and the study of all aspects of life in "simple societies".

- Our concern here is with social anthropology and cultural anthropology for it is that which is close to the study of sociology. Sociology is deemed to be the study of modern, complex societies while social anthropology was deemed to be the study of simple societies.

- Each discipline has its own history or biography. Social anthropology developed in the west at a time when western-trained social anthropologists studied non-European societies often thought of as exotic, barbaric and uncivilized. This unequal relationship between those who studied and those who were studied, remarked upon too often earlier. But times have changed and we have the erstwhile 'natives' be they Indians or Sudanese, Nagas or Santhals, who now speak and write about their own societies.

- The anthropologists of the past documented the details of simple societies apparently in a neutral scientific fashion. In practice they were constantly comparing those societies with the model of the western modern societies as a benchmark.

- The traditional study of simple, non-literate societies by social anthropology had a pervasive influence on the content and the subject matter of the discipline. Social anthropology tended to study society (simple societies) in all their aspects, as wholes. In so far as they specialized, it was on the basis of area as for example the Andaman Islands, the Nuers or Melanesia.

- Indian sociology has been far more eclectic in borrowing from both traditions. Indian sociologists often studied Indian societies that were both part of and not of one's own culture. It could also be dealing with both complex differentiated societies of urban modern India as well as the study of tribes in a holistic fashion.

- It had been feared that with the decline of simple societies, social anthropology would lose its specificity and merge with sociology. However, there have been fruitful interchanges between the two disciplines and today often methods and techniques are drawn from both. There have been anthropological studies of the state and globalization, which are very different from the traditional subject matter of social anthropology. On the other hand, sociology too has been using quantitative and qualitative techniques, macro and micro approaches for studying the complexities of modern societies. For in India, sociology and social anthropology have had a very close relationship - example: sociology can study tribes displaced by industrialization, while anthropology can study slum dwellers

- Besides this, the diffusion of Marxist approach in social anthropology, as a result of the works of Block, Sodden and Godlier, etc. have acted as a bridge between the disciplines. On the other hand even sociologists working modern industrial societies like America have increasingly started to rely upon the methods of social anthropology. For example, the works of Talcott Parsons and R.K. Merton are attempts towards an adaptation of functionalist approach to study industrial societies and William Whyte has adopted participant observation for the study of modern industrial society. Thus the disciplines are increasingly merging into each other.

Sumner - studied folkways - society + tradition - example: why we celebrate Baisakhi

Louis H Morgan - 3 stages of society development - savagery, barbarism and civilization

EB Taylor - Lower, Middle, Higher culture = magic, religion, science

Field Work in Anthro Research:

Early social anthropological research was largely concerned with the study of small scale societies in their natural state – hence 'field' came to denote a distinct social group which was to be studied in its unique socio-cultural and geographical setting – methodological dualism (subject – object dichotomy) – the idea of 'otherness' remained remarkably central to early fieldwork researches – Case study by Amory regarding African studies in USA – African American scholars were discouraged from working in Africa – it was argued that they were "too close" to the field and would not manage to be "objective" – Kath Weston, in her study of gay and lesbian communities in USA, too arrived at a similar conclusion

Reflexive sociologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson questioned the conventional notion of field based on the idea of 'otherness' – emphasized on the need for reconstruction of field and field-work practices in the light of new developments – argued that decolonization, industrialization, and most importantly globalization, accompanied by processes of diffusion and acculturation, have challenged the traditional definition of field and the very idea of a clearly demarcated space of 'otherness' – the idea of field, in terms of

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

a homogenous social group with its unique culture and geographical surroundings, has come to be questioned – today cultural heterogeneity is more common

Further, 'location' of the field should not merely be seen in geographical sense alone but also in social and political terms – for example, subaltern approach in sociology has significantly contributed towards a better understanding of various socio-economic and political processes in India which were until now largely studied from an elitist perspective - they also question the assumption that only professionally trained observers could collect authentic ethnographic data – for example, Paul Radin in his research found that untrained native research assistants prove to be better sometimes for certain sorts of data collection

P1 - 1 b. Philosophy

Modern philosophy and sociology came into existence during one time period to explain the social crisis of Europe in the 19th century. Sociology aimed, to begin with, to provide a social doctrine that would guide social policy. This aim has now been abandoned. Even then some links exist between sociology and philosophy.

- First, there is a philosophy of sociology in the same sense as a philosophy of science: that is an examination of the methods, concepts and arguments used in sociology.

- Secondly, there is a close relationship between sociology and moral & social philosophy. The subject-matter of sociology is human social behavior as guided by values. Moral and social philosophy studies values and the sociologists study values and human valuation as facts.

- Philosophy is the basis of the sociology of knowledge not vice versa.

- It can also be said here that while sociology leads on to philosophical reflections, much of it also begins there. Sociological research will become trivial if it ignores the larger problems of social life which are coordinated in philosophical world-views and in social doctrines. The stimulating character of early Marxism in social research was to a great extent due to the fact that Marxism was not only a sociological theory but also philosophical base, was helpful for social research. Active participation in social movement and commitment to a social doctrine helped Beatrice Webb in her social research.

In brief, although each social science, including philosophy, has its own specific area of study, there is a growing collaboration and faster cross fertilization among them. The unity of social science is best conceived as a unity of methods and of conceptual segments but not as a universal history.

Language, symbols, relations are products of cultural ideology and shared cultural philosophy - thus the need to study this by a sociologist to understand society - example: mangalsutra is part of culture as per shared Indian philosophy. It will just be an ornament carrying mercantile value for a westerner.

Sociology develops theories. Some of these theories become instrumental for collective mobilization and social transformation. Becomes an ideology - a philosophy - example: Marxism, Critical Theory (distract masses so that they can be controlled and do not criticize the government) and Feminism

Giam Battista - philosophy of history should be studied, separating society from political society - because PM treated differently from ordinary citizens

Gunnar Myrdal - chaos cannot organize itself into cosmos, we need viewpoints

P1 - 1 b. Economics

- The classical economic approach dealt almost exclusively with the inter-relations of pure economic variables: the relations of price demand and supply, money flows, output and input ratios, and the like.

- Economists who are influenced by a political economy approach seek to understand economic activity in a broader framework of ownership of and relationship to means of production. The objective of the dominant trend in economic analysis was however to formulate precise laws of economic behavior.

- The sociological approach looks at economic behavior in a broader context of social norms, values, practices and interests. For example: a Brahmin wouldn't go for leather industry even though it might be economically attractive - but not always true - example: Mohandas Pai has invested in 'Licious' a food tech start-up that delivers fresh meat (halal certified) to the homes of consumers.

- An economist's predictive abilities often suffer precisely because of their neglect of individual behavior, cultural norms and institutional resistance which sociologists study. Pierre Bourdieu wrote in 1998, "A true economic science would look at all the costs of the economy not only at the costs that corporations are concerned with, but also at crimes, suicides, and so on. We need to put forward an economics of happiness, which would take note of all the profits, individual and collective, material and symbolic, associated with activity (such as security), and also the material and symbolic costs associated with inactivity or precarious employment (for example consumption of medicines: France holds the world record for the use of tranquilizers)".

- Sociology unlike economics usually does not provide technical solutions. But it encourages a questioning and critical perspective. This helps questioning of basic assumptions. And thereby facilitates a discussion of not just the technical means towards a given goal, but also about the social desirability of a goal itself.

- Sociology provides clearer or more adequate understanding of a social situation than existed before. This can be either on the level of factual knowledge, or through gaining an improved grasp of why something is happening (in other words, by means of theoretical understanding).

- Attempts have been made to link the two disciplines with each other. One extreme position has been adopted by Marxists, according to whom the understanding of the super structure consisting of various social institutions can never be complete, unless seen in the context of economic substructure. Thus economic behavior of man is viewed as a key to understand social behavior of man or economics is given precedence over sociology. On the other hand sociologists have criticized the economic theory as being reductionist in nature and according to them the economist's conception of man ignores the role of various social factors which influence the economic behavior.

- Various sociologists have tried of show that economics cannot be an entirely autonomous science. For e.g. A. Lowie in his book '*Economics and Sociology*' has examined the lists of pure economics and discovers two sociological principles which underline a classical laws of the market: "The economic man" and "competition or mobility of the factors of production".

- Numerous sociological studies have directly concerned themselves with problems of economic theory. Such examples are to be found in the works of Thorstein Veblen and J.K. Galbraith.

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

Sociologist critically examines limitations of economic theory and makes contribution to economic phenomenon. Economist goes beyond presuppositions of human behaviour.

Study of economic behaviour of people - Economist
Study of sociology of economic life - Sociologist - income, occupation, consumption patterns

Sociology studies different capitalisms - nationalist capitalism of Japan, protestant capitalism of USA, compulsive capitalism of India, satellite capitalism of Singapore

Weber - PESC

Thomas Piketty - in 21st century, capitalism is causing extreme inequality

Wilbert Moore - saving habits of Indians - Rich in gold, poor in crops - both nonproductive savings

Neil Smelser - industrial sociology for better understanding of modern society

Culture and social factors influence economic behaviour of investing, saving, buying.

3 types of exchange - reciprocal, redistributive, generalized

3 types of reciprocity - general, balanced, negative

P1 - 1 b. Psychology

- Psychology involves itself primarily with the individual. It is interested in her/his intelligence and learning, motivations and memory nervous system and reaction time, hopes and fears.

- Social psychology maintains a primary interest in the individual but concerns itself with the way in which the individual behaves in social groups collectively with other individuals.

- J.S. Mill believed that a general social science could not be considered firmly established, until its inductively established generalizations, can be shown to be also logically deducible from laws of mind. Thus, he clearly sought to establish primacy of psychology over all other social sciences.

- Durkheim - "Society is not simply an aggregate of individuals; it is a system formed by their association and represents a specific level of reality possessing its own characteristics". Thus sociology and psychology are totally separate disciplines. Society came first, it teaches the child.

- Thus the views of Mill and Durkheim represent two extreme views. Most sociologists however have adopted various intermediate positions. According to Ginsberg, "many sociological generalizations can be more firmly established by being related to general psychological laws."

- Similarly S. F. Nadal argued that some problems posed by social enquiry can be illuminated by a move to lower levels of analysis, viz psychology and biology.

- Similarly the interdependence of sociology and psychology for the study of human behavior has also been emphasized in the work of psychologists belonging to post Freudian School especially Karen Horney and Erich Fromm. Fromm's concept of social character is intended precisely to relate individual psychological characterization to the characteristics of a particular social group of social system.

- In spite of such recognition of complementarities between sociology and psychology, divergence persists between the two. In the study of conflict and war there have been mutually exclusive sociological and psychological explanations. Similarly in the studies of social stratification and political behavior the two disciplines have remained divergent.

- According to Bottomore, in almost every field of enquiry it can be shown that psychology and sociology continue for the most part as two separate universes of study.

GH Mead - symbolic interactionism - every person interprets symbols differently and so behaves differently

Simmel - forms of interaction (formal or informal) and types of interactants (whether known or strangers, behaviour varies)

Alfred Vierkandt - Sociology is sum total of social and psychological behaviour, which can be explained by abstract conceptual design

Leopold Von Wiese - all human behaviour can be divided into associative and dissociative

Ginsberg - many sociological generalizations can be further enriched if an attempt is made to understand social behaviour in terms of underlying meanings - social roles

Merton - individual psychology is subject matter of sociology

Marx - alienation

"Authoritarian Personality" - Adorno

Herbert Marcuse - 1 dimensional man

Elite theory of power - masses want a powerful leader, political stability, territorial sovereignty

Stages of evolution of relationship between the two:
- Positivism school - opposing to psychology
- Interpretative approach and verstehen
- Development of micro sociology and increasing convergence with psychology
- Development of social psychology

- Historians earlier were content to delineate the actual events, to establish how things actually happened, while in sociology the focus was to seek to establish causal relationships.

- History studies concrete details while the sociologists are more likely to abstract from concrete reality, categorize and generalize. Historians today are equally involved in doing sociological methods and concepts in their analysis i.e. Social History.

- Conventional history has been about the history of kings and war. The history of less glamorous or exciting events as changes in land relations or gender relations within the family have traditionally been less studied by historians but formed the core area of the sociologist's interest.

- H.R. Trevor-Roper has tried to make a weak distinction by stating that historian is concerned with the interplay between personality and massive social forces and that the sociologist is largely concerned with these social forces themselves.

- However, it is becoming increasingly clear that historiography and sociology cannot be radically separated. They deal with the same subject matter; viz. men living in societies sometimes from the same point of view and the trends indicate that the two shall continue to borrow from each other extensively.

- Today, however, history is far more sociological and social history is the stuff of history. It looks at social patterns, gender relations, mores, customs and important institutions other than the acts of rulers, wars and monarchy.

Malinowski - primitive societies in Trobriand islands - history existing in present times

GE Howard - sociology is present history and history is past sociology

Similarities in different events v/s differences in similar events
Focusses on pattern of events v/s focusses on personalities and events
Analytical v/s descriptive
Generalizing v/s particularizing

Durkheim - empirical evidence, evolution of societies - mechanical, organic solidarity

Many times history is objective understanding of objective reality

1 C. Sociology and common sense

Weber defines common sense as a routine knowledge that people have of their everyday world and activities. It may be based on observations and experiences, or on ignorance, prejudice and mistaken interpretation. Sociology attempts to understand social phenomenon using empiricism, objectivity and verificationism, and build cause effect relationships.

Common sense is unreflective and does not question its own origins. While, as Berger puts it: "The first wisdom of Sociology is that things are not what they seem".

Common sense is based on 'naturalistic' or individualistic explanations. It fails to recognize that behavior patterns are not biologically determined but rather reflect social conventions and culture, learned through socialization, and gives no importance to the wider social forces that act on an individual.

Example: Naturalistic explanation of poverty – people are poor because they are afraid of work, come from 'problem families', are unable to budget properly, suffer from low IQ and shiftlessness. Sociological explanation – contemporary poverty is caused by the structure of inequality in class society and is experienced by those who suffer from chronic irregularity of work and low wages.

Sociologists emphasize that what is 'natural' may be by no means universal, but is relative to particular societies or to particular periods in time. It lacks validity and reliability, and his highly value laden.

In Gramsci's view, the bourgeoisie develops a hegemonic culture and propagates its own values and norms so that they become the "common sense" values of all, and thus maintain the status quo.

The common-sense view of differences in behaviour between men and women assumes biological and physiological differences as the reason behind them. However, Mead's study *'Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies'*, revealed contradictions in such behavior among the tribes of New Guinea.

To the Hopi Indians, rain-clouds are Gods who must be made happy by exhibiting Rain dance is common sense. Thus, one person's common sense can be somebody else's nonsense.

Common sense is sometimes paradoxical – 'opposites attract' and 'birds of same feather flock together' are both common idioms.

Sociology has a body of concepts, methods and data, no matter how loosely coordinated. This cannot be substituted by common sense.

But sometimes folk wisdom is close to sociological knowledge. "Give a dog a bad name" is a simplistic version of Howard Becker's labeling theory.

Common sense helps sociologists in hypothesis building and provides raw material for sociological investigations. Sometimes sociological knowledge becomes common sense - example Giddens's sociological research into marital breakdown was instrumental in "marriage is a risky proposition" becoming a part of common sense.

Ronald Fletcher calls common sense knowledge as science in embryo. Post modernists believe that sociology is nothing but common sense, as they reject the idea of "grand theories" that sociology aims to build.

Takes cue from what appears on surface | looks for interconnections and root causes
Conjectures and stereotypical beliefs | reason and logic
Assumptions |evidences
Individualistic and naturalistic | empirical testing and research
Intuitive | objective
Particularistic | generalist, theory building
Status quoist | change oriented
Unreflective | unending debates and discourse
Value laden | objective and scientific
Enforced through tradition | sceptic

- Sociology approaches social life from the 'man in society' standpoint – man created society or society created man?
- Sociology has a special and irreverent attitude towards social life and takes a "debunking attitude towards world taken for granted" – example: Durkheim and Marx towards religion
- Sociology approaches social life with the help of definite methods

P1 - 1 c. Sociology and common sense

Common sense is the foundation of all relationships. Interface between the two is thus subjected to sociological scrutiny / debate

- For example, some common sense statements may be quoted here: man is more intelligent than women; married people remain happier than single people; high caste people are more talented than low-caste people.

- Contrary to this, the scientific research or scientific inquiry finds that woman is as intelligent as man; there is no association between happiness and remaining married or unmarried by a person; caste does not determine individual's efficiency.

Common sense observation is further compounded by a deeply held commitment to the idea that we are all individuals, unique beings with our own special qualities, which sociologists deny. Sociology, however, insists on a willingness to reject what is obvious common-sense, natural and to go beneath the surface for understanding of the world. As Berger puts it: "The fascination of Sociology lies in the fact that its perspective makes us see in a new light the very world in which we have lived all our lives. It can be said that the first wisdom of Sociology is that things are not what they seem". Sociologists emphasize, that what is 'commonsense' or 'natural' may be by no means universal or eternal, but is frequently relative to particular societies or to particular periods in time.

Mead's study of New Guinea, '*Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*', revealed the partiality of such common-sense interpretations of behavior pattern. Among the Apache, she found very few 'natural differences' in men's and women's behavior with neither sex exhibiting aggression: Women did the heavy carrying, Men stayed at home with their wives during and after child birth, 'sharing' the pain and strain. Among the Munduracco, both sexes were aggressive, children were treated brutally by both parents and lovemaking was rather like a pitched battle. Among the Tchambuli, yet further variation occurred: men adorned themselves, gossiped, made things for trade, while women selected their partners, made the sexual advances, did all the trade, and were the more aggressive sex. Obviously, we cannot explain these very striking variations in behavior via biology, since the people in the various societies were all the same biologically.

A naturalistic explanation of behavior rests on the assumptions that one can readily identify 'natural' (or sometimes 'God-given') reasons for behavior. For example, it is only natural, that two people should fall in love, get married, live together, and raise a family. Such explanations are rejected as inadequate by the sociologist. The individualistic explanation is rejected because it does not recognize the importance of wider social forces acting on the individual that he or she cannot control. The naturalistic explanation is rejected because it fails to recognize that behavior patterns are not primarily biologically determined but rather reflect social conventions learned by individuals as members of social groups, or, more generally, society.

- Sociology thus breaks away from both common sense observations and ideas as well as from philosophical thought. It does not always or even generally lead to spectacular results. But meaningful and unsuspected connections can be reached only by sitting through masses of connections.

- Great advances in sociological knowledge have been made, generally incrementally and only rarely by a dramatic breakthrough. Sociology has a body of concepts, methods and data, no matter how loosely coordinated. This cannot be substituted by common sense. Common sense is unreflective since it does not question its own origins. Or in other words it does not ask itself: "Why do I hold this view?" The sociologist must be ready to ask of any of our beliefs, about ourselves - no matter how cherished - "is this really so?" The systematic and questioning approach of sociology is derived from a broader tradition of scientific investigation. This emphasis on scientific procedures can be understood only if we go back in time. And understand the context or social situation with which the sociological perspective merged as sociology was greatly influenced by the great developments in modern science.

Thus, a statement made on common sense basis may be just a guess, a hunch, or a haphazard way of saying something, generally based on ignorance, bias, prejudice or mistaken interpretation, though occasionally it may be wise, true, and a useful bit of knowledge. At one time, common sense statements might have preserved folk wisdom but today, scientific method has become a common way of seeking truths about our social world.

Sociology has a special and irreverent attitude towards social life. Peter L Berger has called it a "debunking attitude towards world taken for granted."

Durkheim "Common sense perceptions are prejudices which can mar the scientific study of social world"

Alfred Schutz - organized, typified stocks of taken for granted knowledge and generally not questioned

Garfinkel - common sense produces a sense of organization and coherence because people draw on implicit rules of how to carry on

CSK through socialization, individual experience, others' experience

Three dimensions of culture have been distinguished :

(i) Cognitive: This refers to how we learn to process what we hear or see, so as to give it meaning (identifying the ring of a cell-phone as ours, recognizing the cartoon of a politician).

(ii) Normative: This refers to rules of conduct (not opening other people's letters, performing rituals at death).

(iii) Material: This includes any activity made possible by means of materials. Materials also include tools or machines. Examples include internet 'chatting', using rice-flour paste to design kolam on floors.

SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE

2 A. Science, scientific method and critique

Sociology as Science:

Science is a systematically acquired, organized body of certified and changing knowledge which is based upon observable facts and methods used to acquire this knowledge.

Saint Simon had initially named the discipline 'social physics', while Spencer was inspired by 'social Darwinism'. Comte's social statics and dynamics, Durkheim's 'social facts' and Weber's 'ideal types' were attempts to develop sociology on the basis of natural sciences.

Science is characterized by:

- Empiricism – observable, verifiable, quantifiable facts
- Objectivity and value neutrality
- Reliability, validity, predictability and generalizations
- Self-corrective – open to reflection and takes spatial and temporal variations into consideration
- Theoretical orientation and cumulativeness

Hence, as Giddens puts it, sociology is a scientific endeavour according to this definition, as it involves systematic methods of empirical investigation, analysis of data and assessment of theories in light of evidence and logical argument.

There are four sets of postulates which social scientists apply to their disciplines which determines the degree of science involved. These are:

Ontological | Epistemological | Human Nature | Methodological

To determine if sociology is a science, different schools of thought delved into the nature of these assumptions. And hence we get two approaches along the subjective – objective dimension.

Non- or anti- positivism | Positivism

- Ontology – constructionist and nominalism | objectivist and realism
- Epistemology – interpretivist | empiricist
- Human nature – voluntarism | determinism
- Methodology – ideographic | nomothetic

According to Comte, there is a hierarchy of sciences in which sociology is at the top. And hence, with progressively increasing time and efforts, it will achieve empiricism, value neutrality, testability and universal theories and thus the status of a positive science. Karl Popper, Goode and Hutt and anti-positivists see science as a method of approaching and studying a phenomenon and hence claim that sociology is a science in itself.

Critique:

Jacques Barzun writes that blindly believing the conclusions of science, gives science a divinity. Science is evolving into a new form of divination and it is a faith as fanatical as any in history.

Theodor Adorno states that in the 17th and 18th century, science attempted to study nature, in 19th century it exploited nature, 20th century saw the destructive power of science, and in the 21st century, science has been colonized by the state. So, we should not celebrate science.

Carl Jung states that subjective things like happiness, beauty, pleasure, etc. cannot be measured with methods of science, and so methodology should be discipline specific.

- Experimentation – has both practical and ethical limitations in sociology. However, there are mature sciences like Astronomy, where experimentation is not possible.
- Quantification – large aspects of sociological phenomenon are qualitative in nature
- Generalization – human behavior often does not follow recurrent patterns like physical objects
- Objectivity

Scientific Method:

Theodorson and Theodorson define scientific method as building of a body of knowledge through observation, experimentation, generalization and verification.

It is a procedure followed while conducting research, and steps of scientific research as listed by Horton and Hunt are:

1. Identification of problem of research, driven by scientific consideration
2. Literature review
3. Construction of hypothesis - a tentative generalization, the validity of which is yet not tested. Speaks about which aspect of reality is going to be studied
4. Plan the research design
5. Collection of data by using scientific tools and techniques
6. Check reliability, validity and authenticity of data
7. Generation of theory - draw conclusion
8. Replicate the study

Critique:

Scientific method is just one method among many as a means to an end. Glorification of any one method is bad for the growth of knowledge. It is often based on induction and does not promote refutability. Before research is initiated, result is already known, hence not innovative or creative but rather very predictable. Karl Popper suggests falsification as a counter to this.

It kills creative spirit and freedom of thought. Example: the "eureka" moment of Archimedes was not the result of following any scientific method. Adorno states that science is suffocating and kills creativity.

Paul Feyerabend calls scientific method a form of 'epistemological anarchism'. He sees scientific method as one method of looking at truth and stated that there are many more manners of looking at the truth and they need to be explored and thus expand the scientific method types. Science is thus limitless and epistemological. Binding it to a methodology restrains it.

In *'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions'*, Thomas Kuhn states that even with non-scientific methods, many disciplines, like history and philosophy have grown and matured. A researcher using a scientific method also makes certain assumptions, so it is wrong to glorify the method.

Phenomenologists like Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann and Alfred Schutz out rightly reject scientific method.

JS Mills suggests methodological pluralism instead of dependence on any one method.

- Possibility of value biasness
- Conflicting paradigms – a paradigm exists and researcher tries to prove it and ignores anything contrary – "Black Swan"
- Problem of understanding cause and effect – Durkheim found a correlation between rates of suicide and seasons of the year. This may lead to conclusion that temperature affects the rates, but in reality, it is because in spring and summer people are more active socially than in winter
- Karl Popper in *'Logic of Scientific Enquiry'* points out that because scientific methods are based upon existing scientific theories, they are vulnerable just like any other methods
- Social life cannot be laboratorized

P1 - 2 a. Science, scientific method and critique

SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 17 to 54

Also to read in brief - Haralambos - Sociology and Science - Pages 944 to 948

Empirical, theoretical, cumulative and value neutral

'Scientific' quantitative methodology - positivism, falsification, laboratory experiment, field experiments, comparative method

Interpretive and qualitative methodology - interpretive approach of Weber, symbolic interactionism, phenomenology

Pure science - exploration of knowledge | applied science - findings of pure science are applied to practical life

Science is a systematic body of certified and changing knowledge which is based upon observable and verifiable facts and the methods used to acquire this knowledge. Use of systematic methods of empirical investigation, analysis of data, theoretical thinking and logical assessment of arguments to develop the body of knowledge about a particular subject matter

With rise of Renaissance only empirical evidence became important - earlier had testimonial, circumstantial, ethical evidences too

Science is: self-corrective, objective, value free, rational - Science is not a product of faith rather it is a product of questioning - continuing journey with a definite start point but no end point

Immanuel Kant - There are 2 sources of obtaining knowledge for humans - knowledge coming out of philosophy, knowledge gathered through science - philosophy deals with statement of values, science with statement of facts

Nomothetic v/s ideographic - qualitative v/s quantitative - values are important v/s facts are important - subjectivity v/s objectivity - general enquiry v/s specific enquiry

ARRB - sociology follows nomothetic method of inquiry so a science, while positivists say the opposite

Weber - SUOR - so socio neither ideographic nor normative - sociology must be value free

Anthony Giddens - Physics, Chemistry are hard sciences, Sociology is a soft science.

Sociology began as a systematic and scientific study of society - Comte Physics - scientific method help tide over the material crisis, so was thought can help tide over social crisis as well - called it Social Physics - theory of hierarchy of sciences - will take time and efforts but will become a positive science

Spencer - evolution is the twin process of differentiation and integration - comparative method (another name for scientific method) - more differentiation, more evolved the society is

Durkheim - social facts - science as amenable to sensory observations and exploratory generalizations can be made using positive methods - '*Rules of Sociological Method*' - comparative method: 1. within a society (Married and Unmarried in same society) 2. different societies at a point of time (Spain Catholic, Germany Protestant) 3. over a period of time (based on level of development) - comparative method is also called underline indirect experiment - social facts should be treated as 'things' and one social fact must be explained with another social fact preceding it - defines social facts as "ways of acting, thinking and feeling, external to the individual, and endowed with a power of coercion by reason of which they control him".

For him explanation of social facts meant the study of functions and causes. The causes could be derived through the use of the comparative method. Further, it follows the empiricist method, which is valid in the natural sciences, biology in particular, observation, classification and explanation through the help of 'laws' arrived by means of the comparative method - example of social fact: you walk barefoot in garden is your choice, barefoot in temple is social fact, not your choice, it is an external constraint. Because of habit, socialization and internalization, we tend to experience social facts as natural and spontaneous

Social facts as things need to be distinguished from their individual manifestations. In fact, Durkheim held that social facts 'acquire a body, a tangible form, and constitute a reality in their own right, quite distinct from the individual facts which produce it'. For example, codified legal and moral rules, or articles of faith wherein religious groups condense their beliefs; none of these can be found entirely reproduced in the applications made of them by individuals. Yet, sociologically it is important to categorize their tangible, crystallized

aspects as social facts, not their individual manifestations.

Take, for instance, punishment as a social fact. For Durkheim, its cause is the intensity of the collective sentiments that the crime offends. Likewise, its function is to maintain these very sentiments at the same degree of intensity.

Merton's Four Institutional Imperatives of Science

- Science is universal. The validity of a scientific statement does not depend on any particularistic criterion. It is against all sorts of ethnocentrism. It is valid for ail.
- Science implies the communism of knowledge: Scientist, it is argued, want nothing more than esteem and recognition. Scientist's findings and discoveries, far from remaining a private property, become a collective heritage. It is this shared culture that enables science to evolve, grow and progress dramatically.
- Science demands disinterestedness: a process of rigorous scrutinization and examination of one's findings without any bias.
- Science is organized skepticism that distinguishes it. Everything for science is an object of critical enquiry. There is nothing sacred or profane. Science investigates, examines and problematizes everything. That is the success story of science.

ARRB, Malinowski, Parsons, Chicago School - sociology as positive science

Goode and Hutt - science is not a discipline but a method of approach - methods applied in the study of a subject matter

3 components - empirical observation, experimentation (to prove a hypothesis) and verification - also called inductivism (inductive generalization) or positivism - but then you are focused on proving the hypothesis and ignore contradictory data

Ultimate purpose to arrive at a law, intermediate purpose to classify based on common attribute so that future predictions can be made

Empiricism - David Hume, John Locke, Francis Bacon - knowledge only through sensory experience

Empiricism - What our senses experience is a reality --> counter view is called interpretivism

Karl Popper and deductionism, falsification - hypothetico deductivism - constructionist ontology and interpretive epistemology are the postulates of hypothetico deductive method - initial probability is 0 and slowly try to move towards 1 and get a universal law - goal is value neutrality and recognizes the limits of empirical observation - *'The Logic of Scientific Discovery'*

Extrapolation is inductive (apple falls, all fruits will fall), interpolation is deductive (apple seeds will also fall)

Human possesses consciousness - objective, only product of external factors, no speculation or interpretation - positivists - versus. divine consciousness - idealist or non-positivists

Kant - every single human being possesses unique consciousness and everyone has ability to make an autonomous choice - 2 sources of knowledge: knowledge coming out of philosophy (statements of value) and knowledge gathered through science (statements of facts).

Hegel - changed Kant to social consciousness and dialectical idealism which Marx changed to dialectical materialism

Spencer - social Darwinist - social evolution - sociology can discover law of nature - common origin, interdependence of heterogenous entities, always increasing size - population rises, needs rise, specialization or differentiation, integration and cooperation - he defines social evolution as a change from a state of relatively unstable, indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a state of relatively stable, definite, coherent heterogeneity - society types: simple, compound, double compound, trebly compound - theory of internal regulation system - military vs industrial - depends on complexity - FUNCTIONALISM - Durkheim social facts, conscience collective inspired from this

Lewis Coser - refutes Spencer's unilinear social change or evolution - depends on relationship of society with its neighbours, and not just on internal complexity

Thomas Kuhn - does not see any significant difference between inductivism and HTD method - both talk of progressive generalization and linear progress of science - 'paradigm' - a set of fixed principles and assumptions that describe reality - pre paradigmatic and paradigmatic stages - 2nd is science - socio has not reached yet - once a paradigm accepted by all, only attempt to increase precision of existing theories - contemporary sociologists say different paradigms like functionalism, conflict theory, also possible in science so socio is a science

Normal science - reinforces the existing paradigm, revolutionary science - research throws some facts that question the existing paradigm and lead to change of existing facts - paradigmatic shift

It was Kuhn, who first suggested that development within a discipline, especially science is not a gradual process but in fact takes place quite suddenly. Kuhn's book entitled *'The Structure of Scientific Revolution'*. Kuhn calls these sudden charges as "paradigm shifts". According to Kuhn, science and by extension social science undergoes its process in three phases which are discernible.

1. Prescientific phase
2. Normal science
3. Paradigm shift

In the initial phase theories of explanation are incomplete and competing with one another. At some point one of the theories establishes itself bringing in the phase of normal science. In this phase a single theory or a set of theories emerge dominant which Kuhn calls a paradigm.

When there is a paradigm shift the situation is one where the previous theories have proved to be redundant. For Kuhn this a natural process and it repeats itself over time as the new and established theories themselves become incomplete as knowledge expands. At this point the solution lies in modifying the theories or to abandon them for another set of dominant or competing theoretical explanations which offer more complete and better explanation for both science, social science and world-view as whole.

- Sociology is not different from the natural sciences as far as the method of enquiry is concerned. It believes in the unity of method
- Sociology tries to discover laws that determine behaviour of human beings
- Idea of positive philosophy - discover positive laws of social development
- Human experiences can be explained through law like generalizations
- Social sciences can use methodology and insights of physical sciences as a model for development of social physics or sociology

Scientific Method:

Scientific method is a systematic and objective attempt to study a problem for the purpose of deriving general principles - can be inductive or deductive - cumulative process

Scientific method is characterized by: objectivity, verifiability, classification and comparison, generalization, predictability, reliability, cause-effect relationship

Horton and Hunt - characteristics of scientific research - verifiable evidence, accuracy, precision, systematization, objectivity, recording, controlling conditions, training investigators

1. Positivist - inductive method which includes both interpolation and extrapolation - observation, experimentation, verification are 3 elements of inductive method

Goal is objectivity and is based on certain postulates - fact value dichotomy, ontological and epistemological stands, nature of subject matter of natural science and social science are same

HTD is also a scientific method

2. Non / anti / post positivist

Comte prescribed scientific method (positivism / inductive generalization) as a method of study and described social statics (law of actions and reactions taking place in different institutional parts of society - if balance, social stability and continuity) and social dynamics as its subject matter - study social order and social change - Comtean theory - 3 stages (theo, meta, sci), changes in mental status or way of thinking, change is inevitable, human contribution is limited to acceleration or retardation, unilinear change, unity of history of mankind, change is progressive - believed in slow evolutionary change - conflict to cooperation once realized nature is the common enemy - comparison, observation, experiment

The process of theory formation requires the following steps:
i) Identification of the smallest unit and its characteristics.
ii) The interactions among these units that lead to the formation of compounds and complexes in determinate ways.
iii) Statements that use concepts and their interrelations to indicate the nature of interactions and their results.
iv) Frequent experimentation to arrive at the stated results; and if results show a difference. Then, explain the difference and arrive at a revised statement.

Critique of Scientific Method: (not scientific method used in sociology as that would become critique of positivism)

Difficult to distinguish between science and pseudo-science - astrology - also cannot verify Marxian theory, Freudian theory of human behaviour

Karl Popper - science cannot explain the absolute truth, it only studies the truth which is subjected to observation. Example: Pluto was a

planet, now not a planet

Thomas Kuhn - before research is initiated, result is already known. Not innovative or creative but rather very predictable

EF Schumacher - focus on quantitative measures has led to critiques that it is unable to recognize important qualitative aspects of the world

Habermas - science is presumptive

Black and Champion have pointed out the following three **functions of research design:**
- A research design provides a blueprint for operationalizing the research activity.
- It defines the limit and scope of the research.
- It provides an opportunity to the researcher to foresee possible areas of problems in the process carrying out the research.

Manheim identified the following five **purposes of preparing a research design**:
- To gather sufficient evidence to support one's hypothesis and to disprove alternative hypotheses.
- To carry out a research that can be repeated in terms of its subject matter and research procedure. In other words, it does not pertain only to unique situation that has no relevance to society at large.
- To be able to work out correlations among variables in a manner that produces interrelated propositions.
- To make out the need for a pilot study in order to carry out the future plans of a full-fledged research. project.
- To be able to economize on time and resources by selecting appropriate techniques of data collection.

2 B. Major theoretical strands of research methodology

Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology:

- Functionalism
- Conflict Perspectives
- Feminism
- Interactionism
- Postmodernism

Theoretical Perspectives in Research Methodology:

- Positivism
- Social Action Perspectives
- Phenomenology

P1 - 2 b. Major theoretical strands of research methodology

Also to read in brief - Haralambos - All Theories - Pages 953 to 995

Sociological approaches:
1. Micro (Interpretive) - symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology
2. Macro (positivist) - functionalism, conflict

Functionalists:

Whereas in functionalism the social structures are studied in terms of its functions for fulfilling the biological or individual needs, in structural functionalism the functions of social structures for maintaining the social unity is concentrated more.

Teleology refers to justifying the existence of a phenomenon by the function it performs. Teleology implies that one is trying to explain the effect as the cause of a phenomenon. This is precisely what functionalists did by way of offering explanations of social phenomena.

ARRB - structure is a product of roles, continuous in character. This structure is unique and time-bound. Structure can be transformed by changing roles as per this view - Structural Functionalists

Structural anthropologist Levi Strauss - study of structure without study of individual roles. This is possible only by classification into binary opposites. Strauss divides structure into two categories: visible structure (superficial, superstructure) and invisible structure (deep structure). Greater the difference in superstructure, greater is the similarity in deep structure. Durkheim was the first sociologist to develop binary opposites to study reality in sacred and profane.

Analytical or critical functionalism - Parsons - AGIP - organismic, personality, social, culture systems, negotiations occur, cyclic, not sectoral but social change - socialization, social control lead to harmony and continuity - A and B types of pattern variables - society product of negotiations, so less scope for conflict

Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Pareto - Classical Functionalists

Merton - says Parsons gave more importance to function and less to dysfunction and non-functions - example dowry - manifest function and latent function - middle range theories needed not grand theories - structural functional theory emerged

Tumin - questions how stratification is functional

Structure-Functionalism:

Structure-functionalism relies upon an "organic" analogy of human society as being "like an organism," a system of interdependent parts that function for the benefit of the whole. Thus, just as a human body consists of parts that function as an interdependent system for the survival of the organism, society consists of a system of interdependent institutions and organizations that function for the survival of the society.

Relying upon the successes of biologists in understanding the human body, functionalists took a similar approach to understanding human social systems. Social systems were dissected into their "parts," or institutions (family, education, economy, polity, and religion), and these parts were examined to find out how they worked and their importance for the larger social system. The rationale was that if scientists could understand how institutions worked, then their performance could be optimized to create an efficient and productive society .

This approach as proved to be very successful and is the predominant philosophy guiding macro-level sociology today.

Structure-functionalism arose in part as a reaction to the limitations Of utilitarian philosophy, where people were viewed as strictly rational, calculating entrepreneurs in a free, open, unregulated, and competitive marketplace. The tenet of functionalism, and the fundamental building block of all sociology, is that people behave differently in groups than they do as individuals. Groups have "lives of their own," so to speak. Or "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts." Anyway, the point is, that just as the "invisible hand of order" can guide economic relations, "social forces" can guide social relations, and thus yield for society very positive outcomes (volunteerism, democracy, laws, moral and ethical standards for behavior, family and educational systems, communities) and very negative outcomes (discrimination, organized crime, moral decay, warfare, poverty).

The idea of the functionalists was to create a science of society that could examine the parts of human social systems and make them work for the betterment of all. And it is the task of sociologists to use scientific principles to help create the best form of society possible

Conflict:

Marx - structural alienation, appropriation of surplus value of labour, acceleration of commodification of production

Weber - conflict - class, status, power - 4 categories of people - propertied upper class, white collar workers, petty bourgeoisie, working class - conflict is a routine phenomenon in all types of societies

Ralf Dahrendorf - roles and status - both dominant and submissive are pursuing their interest - first give instructions to second how to pursue their interest, so alienation - so dialogue among similar status - quasi group, common interest - become an interest group - conflict will then bring change

Pierre Bourdeau - capital is foundation of conflict - capital is whatever has exchange value in market - culture, economic or symbolic capital - 3 classes - intelligentsia who control knowledge, capitalists, politicians - and one form can be converted into other - rich send kids to top colleges - only some poor can actually get to top and then society glorifies them to show as if modernity is successful without conflict

C W Mills - even socialism, modern technocratic society, white collar workers experience alienation - alienation product of expansion of technological market, bureaucracy, media

Max Gluckman - it is debatable if conflict always causes social change. Conflict could also function as the basis of the maintenance of the social order.

Interpretive:

Interpretation of expression - 3 books about India (Nehru, Gandhi, Ambedkar)
Interpretation of experience - experience of different people and the corresponding interpretation
Comprehensive interpretation - combines above 2 methods - text books and case studies on poverty

Simmel - realities always take place in a given social, cultural and historical context, so unless one respects and understands the context, one cannot make sense of reality

Knowledge about social reality is subjective - example views on caste system

GH Mead - Human society is a society of selves. But self cannot develop without society. Thus, self is a product of society that produces society

Phenomenology - social life is not structured. It is not subject to continuity. Rather social life is our everyday world, created, dismantled and recreated by all of us. Reality is not visible, we make sense of reality only by applying our mind. All buildings made of same brick and stone but different meanings, different deaths different response, study of red light area - CSK for typification and reciprocation

Conscience collective v/s individual judgement and perception - example of painting for all 3 categories - decoration, investment, art

Critical Theory:

Frankfurt School - 1923 to 1933 - Critical School - Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse - 20th century - fled to USA after rise of Nazis - were interested in Q likes what is freedom, as they saw the post war prosperity too - consent and coercion - people are looking at things in a one dimensional manner - is Marx still relevant in prosperous society? - need to look at historical background of any theory - example: natural for us to be competitive today, idealists will say yes competition is good and natural, critical theorists will say that competition is not natural but socially created look at history - make distinction between identity thinking and dialectical thinking and try to resolve differences - 1 dimensional man Marcuse says we have started taking science like God, operationalization becomes more important instead of understanding things, say length is being discussed, we only care cm or m, don't ask what length means and why? - focus on critical thinking not identity thinking

Culture industry, enlightenment as mass deception - we cannot see the larger context, more data but know less about society than before - garden culture v/s forest culture - culture has become an industry, we are becoming more and more homogenous says Adorno clothes, food are all culture industry and become same - earlier culture was not for profit, today mass produced and for profit - news, movies are all for profit - technology is not neutral, it shapes the culture to make it mass and homogenous, example: TRPs where you create certain tastes and then claim to sell what you want
- Homogenization
- Profit
- Technology

Apparent greater freedom to do what you want, but actually culture industry is restricting your choice - talent scouts like reality shows are culture industry's way to make you aspirational - ask questions, do not take knowledge as taken for granted - do not take freedom for granted, you are not as free as you think - TV keeps you hooked for example

Fake news is making you more biased - more educated you are, more narrow bias - see what exists outside, what is reality?
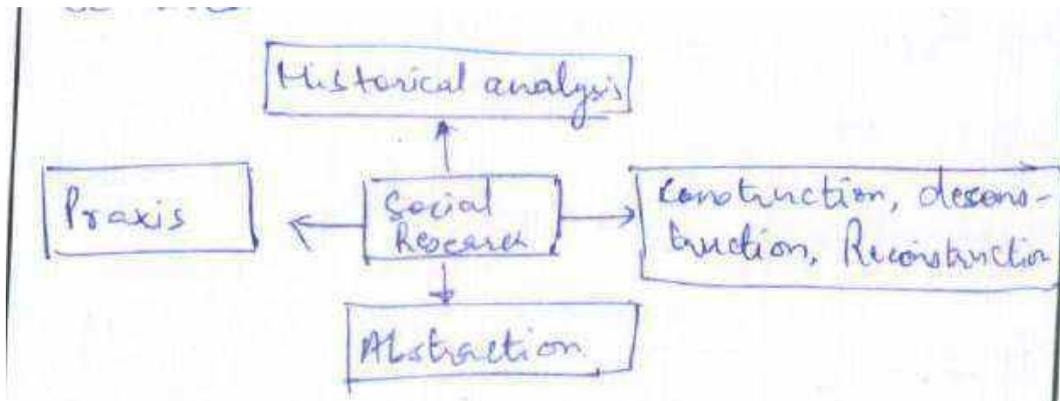
Reflexive:

Introduction:

- What is reflexive sociology? (Alvin W. Gouldner – "The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology")

Thesis:

- Reflexive sociology emerged as a critique to positivist approach – briefly discuss the positivist assumptions about social reality and their methodology (Methodological Dualism)

Anti-Thesis:

- Reflexive sociology rejected Methodological Dualism (subject-object dichotomy)

- Emphasized on 'understanding of social reality' – need for interpretation

- Gouldner argues that the historical mission of sociology is to raise the sociologist's awareness of himself and his position in the social world – aims at transforming the sociologist's relation to his work – establish relationship between sociologist as a social scientist and sociologist as a cultural being – a reflexive sociologist must become aware of himself as both as knower and as agent of change

- Reflexive sociology is radical sociology – in contrast to Positivism – rejects subject-object dichotomy – also rejects the view that the goal of sociology is to produce objective truths – instead, reflexive sociology is a moral sociology – as a work ethic it emphasizes on the creative and transformative potential of sociologists – as agents of social change

Synthesis:

- Reflexive sociology, in contemporary times, has provided a refreshing break from the classical approaches. It has further intensified the debate centering around the theoretical orientations and methodological issues in sociological enquiry. Examples of reflexive sociology: Marxist sociology, Subaltern sociology, Feminist Sociology, Environmental Sociology, etc.

Feminist Theories: A sociological perspective which emphasizes the centrality of gender in analyzing the social world. There are many strands of feminist theory, but they all share in common the desire to explain gender inequalities in society and to work to overcome them.

2 C. Positivism and its critique

Positivism is an approach of studying sociology which aims at applying principles similar to those in natural sciences.

Comte in his *'Positive Philosophy'* has described positivism in two ways:

1. Positivism as a doctrine (a philosophy)
2. Positivism as a method (research methodology)

Durkheim has used Positivism as a research methodology in his *'Suicide'*. For him the subject matter of sociology is 'social fact' and a researcher must abandon all preconceived notions about them.

Sociology as a distinct discipline emerged in the 19th century as a reaction to European modernity. At that time, Science was celebrated in Europe. To establish the infant sociology as a serious discipline, it was necessary to model it along natural sciences. Thus, Positivism helped in the very survival of sociology in its early days.

Assumptions made by the positivist approach:

1. The behavior of man can be observed and measured objectively
2. With such measurements, it will be possible to accurately predict human behavior
3. Cause-effect relationship can be inferred and theories can be devised to explain behavior
4. Factors which cannot be observed, like meanings, feelings or purposes should not be considered – example: marriage and procreation are observable facts, while underlying causes of marriage are not observable, and hence are inconsequential

Positivist method:

1. Empiricism and observation
2. Inductivism
3. Reductional analysis
4. Cause and effect relationship

Thus, Positivism helps in sociological theory building and generalization. Through observation, a reliable body of data could be collected, the methods used could be standardized, and objectivity and value neutrality could be achieved.

Marxism is seen as a positivist approach as it sees human behavior as a reaction to the stimulus of the economic infrastructure, and so is Functionalism as it sees human behavior as a response to functional prerequisites.

Critique:

1. Human beings are complex and possess consciousness, hence the method of studying inanimate matter cannot be applied to them.
2. Social action perspective of Weber argues that human beings do not just react to a stimulus. They do not behave, they act. Important to observe and interpret subjective states of mind. Verstehen and Ideal Types should be used to supplement positivism.

3. The 'Methodenstreit' debate in Germany by Dilthey, Wildenberg and others, which was later joined by Weber and Simmel criticized the deterministic approach of Positivism. They replaced 'role' in social structure with 'action'. Meanings and motives became equally important as norms and structures.
4. Horkheimer criticized Positivism as a conservative philosophy that focusses on the status quo. It engages in objective anarchism. Truth is subject to changes and is not always quantifiable.
5. Habermas says that three types of knowledge exists - empirical analytical, hermeneutic historical and critical - but Positivist method only talks about the first type, which is observable and superficial. Positivism is engaged in cognitive monopolization over truth, which is not acceptable in sociological research. It loses sight of the actors and reduces them to passive entities determined by natural forces.
6. Merton says overemphasizing on universal theories as done by Parsons is wrong, and sociology should focus on middle range theories. Also, Parson's theories cannot be tested
7. Phenomenologists like Peter Berger and Alfred Schutz reject generalizations and claim that Positivism is not concerned with sociology, but with making science out of sociology. Reality is not fixed but is made, dismantled and remade. Humans make sense of reality by categorizing it, and statistics are simply the product of opinions of those who produce them. The most that can be done is to understand the meanings that particular individuals attach to a phenomenon
8. Peter Berger in *'Sociology of Everyday Life'* - society is not a puppet theatre as viewed by positivists where human react passively to external stimulus. They actively create their own meanings in interactions with others
9. Interactionists like Mead and Blumer see actions and interactions as the driving force behind social actions. Anti-positivists reject both social structure and positivism
10. Ethnomethodologists like Harold Garfinkel say that reality should be studied from people's perspective and not from researcher's perspective, using "documentary method"
11. Post modernists like Derrida and Foucault claim that reality can be studied in many ways and hence reject the metanarratives and grand theories that Positivism aims to build
12. Myrdal - complete objectivity not desirable, Giddens - theory of structuration and double hermeneutics, Feyerabend - epistemological anarchism
13. Karl Popper - positivism kills the critical spirit of science as it presumes hypothesis to be true and accordingly analyzes data. Marxism is pseudo-scientific theory as it cannot be falsified.
14. Marxist and feminists also criticize it for status quo and ignoring conflict
15. Neo Marxist Adorno - positivism is negative dialectics

Problems with Positivism:

1. Sometimes there is no empirical referent
2. There is no laboratory setting to control variables
3. Variables may change, as human behavior is not like matter

Premise / postulates / assumptions of positivism - only scientific method, verificationism, empirical observation, external factors determine human behaviour, objective consciousness, predictability of human behaviour, reject any scope for speculation or interpretation

3 basic postulates of positivists - fact value dichotomy, ontological and epistemological stands, nature of subject matter of natural science and social science are same

P1 - 2 c. Positivism and its critique

- It believes in the unity of method. Sociology is not different from the natural sciences as far as the method of enquiry is concerned.
- It celebrates objectivity and value neutrality. It, therefore, separates the knower from the known, subjectivity from objectivity and fact from value.
- Sociology is not commonsense. It rests on explanatory principles, which give a universal character to the discipline.
- Sociology is a formal and organized body of knowledge, characterized by specialized skills and techno-scientific vocabulary.
- Sociology can strive for abstraction and generalization. Human experiences can be explained through law-like generalizations.
- The scientific knowledge of society can be used for social engineering.

- The method used in the natural science are applicable to the study of human behaviour in society.
- August Comte - Sociology is a positivist science of society.
- In natural sciences the experiment conducted in the laboratory, in sociology the society is the lab, results are similar
- Based on objective methods.
- Believe that objective facts produce valid evidence from which generalization can be made.
- Use of methods like questionnaires and interviews which provide data which can be statistically studied.
- The theory produced would be value free, that is there is no bias or subjective opinion in the research
- Auguste Comte provided the intellectual foundation of positivist sociology.
- Durkheim in his work, *'Rules of Sociological Method'*, tried to establish sociology as science.
- The subject matter of sociology is the domain of social facts which follows certain rules.
- In his research on suicide, Durkheim states that "social facts" should be seen as things and that suicide was not act of individual but product of collective/social forces external to individuals.
- Both functionalism and Marxism are positivistic theories because they believe that individual phenomena are less important than social structures of society.
- Marx paid greater emphasis on base and super structure in the evolution of society.

Comte - institutions see continuity as long as they satisfy needs of people - No speculation, cause effect relation, reductionism, value free, objective measurement to accurately predict behaviour

In natural science, objects are not measured, their dimensions are - example height, weight - similarly dimensions of human behaviour can be measured on scales - Bogardus social distance scale, Likert scale, Thurstone scale

Positivism is a belief which believes in the objectivity of consciousness of an individual - human behaviour is a product of external factors, same way as other objects of nature

Emphasis on behaviour that can be directly observed - meanings, feelings, purposes not particularly important - marriage = procreation

Cause effect relationship, reduction analysis, objectivity and value freedom, comparative analysis

Systems theory, Marxism, Functionalism follow positive approach

Phenomenologists - Edmund Husserl - philosophy of knowledge - on sociological lines by Alfred Schutz - no pattern or cause effect relationship, everything a construct of human mind. Social order is not a reality - just a construct of people - typification (Husserl individual, Schutz society) - illusion of order - this thought is the beginning of the ethnomethodological approach started by Garfinkel - study of methods people use - 'Documentary method'

Frankfurt school - neo Marxist Adorno - social reality is an artificial creation for exploitation of masses - don't just describe reality, change it - positivists are status quoists - social life exists in layers, positivists only focus on one layer - positivism is a form of negative dialectics

Positivists	Non-Positivists
They adopt primarily a *structural* approach.	They adopt primarily an *interactional* approach.
They have a *macro* perspective.	They have a *micro* perspective.
They have a *normative* approach.	They have an *individual centric* approach.
They take a *nomothetic* view of things.	They take a *idiographic* view of things.
They prefer *quantitative* tools of research and the prime focus is on *measurement* by taking an *experimental*' approach.	They prefer *qualitative* tools of research and the prime focus is on *understanding* via various *descriptive ethnographical methods*.
They provided *causal explanations* and generalised the conclusions.	They focused on describing the phenomenon.
Prime research techniques used are survey, questionnaires, etc.	They use techniques like Participant Observation and unstructured interview

Imagine that you are speaking a Language. No matter how creative you are, you cannot speak whatever you wish. You have to follow the grammar: a set of rules. But then, it is not just an experience of constraint. Language also enables you to speak. Moreover, a living language is not static; through their linguistic expressions and practices people make changes in the structure of the language. This is what Giddens regards as the process of structuration.

2 D. Fact value and objectivity

Fact:

Facts are defined as empirically verifiable observations. They are thought to be definite, certain, without question, and their meaning to be self-evident. Fact is simply "what is", and is considered objective. Fact and value are distinct but not disengaged. Without value, fact cannot be discovered.

Alvin Gouldner states that fact and value cannot be separated in empirical research.

Value:

Values are defined as moral judgement which speak of "what ought to be". They are considered to be subjective, emotional feelings, personal and judgmental. They come from race, caste, language, religion or culture and socialization process is their source.

Positivists claim that 'Fact' and 'Value' are not only different but also absolutely separable entities and value should be completely excluded from sociological enquiry. Values distort reality and produce a biased result. If a conclusion is based on fact, it is completely true, else it is completely false.

Scientific enquiry begins with an ontological and epistemological stand - perception about reality, what is nature of reality and theory of knowledge, how do we arrive at a knowledge, what method you consider correct to arrive at a knowledge - both are value driven.

Positivists aim at value freedom, Weber desires value relevance and value neutrality. He says that selection of field of study is always a valuational choice as rationality of goal cannot be established in the ultimate analysis. Both Weber and Hillary Putnam argue that theory selection or choice of perspective is always valuational - what to study and what angle to study, both are valuational.

Value laden theory - Collection of data, its analysis, segregation of useful data from useless data and arriving at a conclusion are all valuational. The conclusion must be plausible, and plausibility means acceptability, which is arrived at by peer evaluation which is also a valuational choice.

Michael Polanyi speaks about the value laden nature of peer evaluation of the scientific activity and how censorship is imposed if conclusion appears absurd/unsound in the light of current scientific knowledge.

Mannheim states, value free research is a desirable goal towards which social scientists can strive without any necessary expectations of actually attaining it.

- Choice of subject matter
- Formulation of the problem
- Accumulation of data
- Interpretation of facts
- Hypothesis building
- Testing of theory

Objectivity:

An objective view is free from values, moral judgments and ideologies. It provides facts and explanatory frameworks which are uncoloured by the observer's feelings and opinions.

Objectivity is a frame of mind so that personal prejudices, preferences or predilections of the social scientists do not contaminate the collection or analysis of data.

Durkheim in *'Rules of Sociological Methods'* stated that social facts must be treated as things and all preconceived notions about them must be abandoned. Radcliff Brown urges the social scientist to transcend his ethnocentric and egocentric biases while carrying out research.

Gunnar Myrdal states that total objectivity is an illusion as "chaos does not organize itself into a universe, we need viewpoints" and any viewpoint includes subjectivity. Merton believes that the very choice of topic is influenced by personal preferences and ideological biases of the researcher.

Ideological biases have an impact on social research as seen from the study of Tepostalan village in Mexico. Robert Redfield studied it from a functionalist perspective and concluded that total harmony exists between various groups, while Oscar Lewis studied this village at almost the same time from a Marxist perspective, and found that the society was conflict ridden. Durkheim gave a functional theory of religion, while Marx gave a conflict one.

Field limitations, like experienced by Andre Beteille in Sripuram village restrict objectivity. Pauline V Young says that interviewing as a technique of data collection is often subjective as it depends on the rapport built between the researcher and the subjects.

Mills and Wordsworth state that some standpoint or value judgement is necessary for solving social problems. Our socialization is based on values which direct our thinking and action. Social sciences are normative and hence objectivity is unattainable.

Critical social scientists do not desire objectivity.

Objectivity has been found to be neither possible nor desirable. Complete objectivity remains an elusive goal and a researcher must make his value preference or ideological biases clear in the research monograph. Methodological pluralism may help in reducing subjectivity.

How to achieve objectivity?

1. Comte suggested positivism and restricting the study to the macro
2. Durkheim preferred inductive methodology and statistical techniques as stated in *'Rules of Sociological Method'*
3. Weber claims Verstehen and Ideal Types can be used to ensure objectivity
4. Training the researcher
5. Stating one's biases and field restrictions
6. Multi-disciplinary peer review
7. Testing to improve reliability and validity
8. Refraining from advocating preference for any view point
9. Methodological pluralism

P1 - 2 d. Fact value and objectivity

An objective view is free from values, moral judgments and ideologies. It provides facts and explanatory frameworks which are uncoloured by the observer's feelings and opinions

Fact - empirically verifiable statement - "what is" - skepticism, empiricism, objectivity and control

Value - "what ought to be" - desirable behaviour - what is good or desirable - confirmatory bias - judgement in respect to specific ideology

Values are at 3 levels - individual, community, societal

Positivist advocate value-neutrality can be achieved through 2 ways :-
(i) the facts should speak for themselves
(ii) the researcher should not come closer to research.

- Auguste Comte describing Society's progress through theological, metaphysical & positivist phase argued that sociology should see social phenomena as objects which can be studied in microscopic level without researcher's own values diluting the research.

Both are different entities and hence F - V dichotomy

A sociologist must be value frank

'objective' means unbiased, neutral, or based on facts alone

'subjective' means something that is based on individual values and preferences

Radcliffe Brown - researcher must abandon his ethnocentric and egocentric biases while carrying out research

Peter Berger - facts do not speak for themselves, they speak through the mouth of the researcher who is value laden

Alvin Gouldner - value neutrality is a myth, although it is desirable

CW Mills, Alvin Gouldner, David Horowitz have advocated that sociology must have commitment to certain basic human values and sociologists must be ready to defend human freedom and the pursuit of reason. Value neutrality is not desirable as it reduces sociologists to the status of mere spectators and can play no role in social welfare

Max weber argues that with Rationalization, their ~~value~~ will be value-freedom in the sociological Research. It is necessary for the ~~state~~ reliability of the data. He agrees that values are involved even during the selection of the research topic by the researcher.

But he differentiates between value-orientation and value-motivation. For him it is acceptable for a researcher to have value-orientation in selecting the research topic, but he must not give value judgement ~~to~~ on the subject matter under study.

2 E. Non - positivist methodologies

Positivist assumptions were questioned by 'idealists' who believe in the power of ideas. Materialism says that material will shape ideas, while idealism says that ideas will shape material.

Immanuel Kant - ideas can change the society. Society is highly subjective, so the emphasis should be on interpretation, as explanation is not possible.

Martin Heidegger talks about how interpretation of text and context will give 'what is' and 'what ought to be', which are fact and value respectively.

Wilhelm Dilthey - reality should be understood in three different ways - experience, expression (opinion of others) and comprehension (interpreting information).

Simmel - reality is objective, but knowledge about reality is subjective. Cause consequence relationship is not constant in behavioural science. It depends on mood, intentions and situations.

GH Mead - symbolic interactionism

Alfred Schutz and Peter Berger - Phenomenology

Garfinkel - Ethnomethodology

General elements of non-positivism:

Internal sides emphasized. Natural science cannot be used in social science. No general theory. Futility of objective approach

Critique:

Vague methods like Verstehen, depend on the ability of the researcher, time consuming and costly, contradictory explanations example – various Ideal Types for the same phenomenon, reliability and validity cannot be achieved.

Ray Pawson says that the fight between positivism and others is a 60s hangover. Alan Bryman says choice of methodology depends on the type of research. Post modernists believe that no knowledge is untrue and voices of diverse groups should be encouraged and metanarratives should be discarded.

Interactionism:

Interactionism is concerned with interaction, which means action between individuals. It begins from the assumption that action is meaningful to those involved. Hence, an understanding of action requires an interpretation of the meanings that the actors give to their activities.

Meanings are not fixed entities, and depend in part on the context of the interaction. Example - a couple lighting a candle may mean a romantic evening, power cut or a religious ritual.

Meanings are also created, developed, modified and changed with the actual process of interaction. Example - a pupil in a new class will change his assessment of the situation depending on the interactions with classmates.

The way in which actors define situations has important consequences. It represents their reality in terms of which they structure their actions. The actions also depend, in part, on the actor's interpretation of the way others see them. Thus, individuals develop a 'self-concept', a picture of themselves, which has an important influence on their actions. A self-concept develops from interaction processes with others, and hence the term 'looking glass self' was coined by Charles Cooley.

Methodology:

An investigation of the construction of meaning in interaction processes. This involves an analysis of the way actors interpret the language, gestures, appearance and manner of others and their interpretation of the context in which the interaction takes place. Example: how someone gets defined as a juvenile delinquent.

However, these definitions are not simply based on preconceptions that actors bring to interaction situations. A process of negotiation occurs from which the definition emerges.

The idea of negotiation is also applied to the concept of role. While functionalists imply that roles are provided by the social system and individuals simply enact them as if they were reading off a script, interactionists argue that roles are often unclear, ambiguous and vague. This provides room for negotiation, manoeuvre, improvisation and creative action. Example: when two individuals enter into a marriage, they only have vague ideas about the roles of husband and wife.

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

Instead, they prefer methods like unstructured interviews, covert participant observations, overt participant observations and analyzing historical, public and personal documents using content analysis.

Interactionism has several subdivisions:

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

A. Hermeneutic / Interpretative / Verstehen Approach:

The hermeneutic approach holds that the most basic fact of social life is the meaning of an action. Social life is constituted by social actions which are meaningful to the actors. Moreover, subsequent actions

are oriented towards the meanings of the prior actions. Hence, understanding of a later action requires an interpretation of the meanings that various historically and culturally situated participants assign to their own actions, and to the actions of others.

The tradition of interpretation rejects the idea of human affairs being governed by natural laws. Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert attempted to draw a clear distinction between the nomothetic goals of natural sciences and the idiographic goals of social sciences. Dilthey articulated a theory of interpretive human science starkly opposite to positivism. Weber defined sociology as the explanation of social actions - an interpretation of the meaningful actions of individuals as oriented to the actions of others.

Durkheim visualizes the functional role of religion in maintaining social order, while Weber, using interpretative approach, looks at the creative role of religion in helping to shape new ways of thinking and acting. For example - Buddhism and Jainism hit out against the caste system, while Protestantism was a "protest" against the decadence of the orthodox Catholic Church.

A problem that this tradition wrestles with is the hermeneutic circle - the fact that interpretation begins and ends with the given (the text or the action) - and the only evidence available for assessing the interpretation is interior to the text or action itself.

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

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

B. Phenomenology:

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

Its emphasis is on internal workings of human mind and the way humans classify and make sense of the world around them. It is not concerned with causal explanation of human behavior. Literally, phenomenology is the study of phenomena, appearance of thing or things as they appear in our experience or the way we experience things. Humans come in contact with the outside world only through their senses. If humans took their sense experience at face value, they would be confronted with an unintelligible mass of impressions. To overcome this problem, humans organize world around them into phenomena. They classify things that appear to have common characteristics, example: animate and inanimate. Such a classification is entirely a product of the human mind and cannot be evaluated in terms of true or false.

Alfred Schutz in *'The Phenomenology of the Social World'* explains that humans develop, what are called 'typifications'. These typifications are not unique to each person but are shared by members of a society. Phenomenologists believe that it is impossible to produce factual data and that it is impossible

to check causal explanations. The most that sociologists can do is to understand meanings that individuals attach to certain phenomena. Phenomenology is used in two basic ways in sociology:

1. To theorize about substantive social problems
2. To enhance the adequacy of sociological research methods

The stream was later more systematized by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann in *'The Social Construction of Reality'*. According to Phenomenologists, there is no reality beyond the subjectivity of individual. In order to decipher the phenomena, the sociologists must immerse themselves into the areas of life they seek to investigate, rather than attempting to fit the data into predefined categories.

C. Ethnomethodology:

D. Symbolic Interactionism

P1 - 2 e. Non - positivist methodologies

Interpretivist Sociology, Symbolic Interactionism - non positivism
Phenomenology, Ethnomethodology - anti positivism

Interpretivist sociology is an umbrella term for various streams like Phenomenology, Ethnomethodology, Symbolic Interactionism and so on.

Weber - interpretivist methodology, ideal types and verstehen. Verstehen = SUOR
Mead - symbolic interactionism
Alfred Schutz - phenomenology
Harold Garfinkel - ethnomethodology

Hegel - social phenomena are results of the ideas which are generated in the minds of individuals and these ideas are responsible for history

Sociological method = scientific method, hermeneutical method, anti-methodological tradition

People's method = method developed by people to organize their everyday social life - example: Louis Dumont studied caste system from purity and pollution concept from people's perspective

Reflexive theories - CSS, feminists

Interpretivist Approach:

- Maintains that social science is distinct from natural sciences.
- Also called as Hermeneutics and Verstehen.
- social phenomena are metaphysically distinguishable from natural phenomena because they are intentional — they depend on the meaningful actions of individuals.
- Natural phenomena admit of causal explanation, whereas social phenomena require intentional explanation.
- The goal of social inquiry is to provide interpretations of human conduct within the context of culturally specific meaningful arrangements
- Believe in inter-subjectivity, in which individual interact and communicate with each other.
- The researcher gets absorbed in the group which they are studying, in order to interpret their interaction.
- Max Weber argued that the observer has to try to understand the meaning of social action and institutions for the people involved.
- The objective analysis of cultural events is meaningless because social reality cannot be reduced to laws.
- Max Weber's treatment of the relation between capitalism and the Protestant ethic. Weber attempts to identify the elements of western European culture that shaped human action in this environment in such a way as to produce capitalism.
- Berger and Luckman argued for social constructivism, that is, social reality is not given but emerges through social interaction
- Alvin Gouldner criticized the idea that sociology is concerned with producing objective truth and argued for reflexive sociology

Phenomenology:

Phenomenologists do not advocate causal analysis as advocated by interactionists. View social objects as phenomenon which changes according to perception of people and are contextual - subjective understanding of subjective reality - positivists say objective understanding of objective reality

Criticism:

Critics claim that phenomenology has reduced every phenomenon into a unique phenomenon. Thus their is no possibility of replicability or comparative analysis. However, supporters claim that it gives the true meaning and is most valid way.

RESEARCH METHODS AND ANALYSIS

3 A. Qualitative and quantitative methods

Method is a tool or a technique used to collect data.

Methodology is concerned with both the detailed research methods through which data are collected and the more general philosophies upon which the collection and analysis of data are based. Issues of this type are referred to as epistemology.

'Scientific' Quantitative Methodology:

It adopts the methods of natural sciences in studying the social world. The earliest attempt to use such methods in sociology is known as positivism.

A. Positivism:

Comte was confident that scientific knowledge about society could be accumulated and used to improve human existence so that society could progress and run rationally. Durkheim advocated a similar methodology and *'Suicide'* is seen as a model of positivist research.

1. Social facts - Researcher should restrict to collecting information about phenomena that can be objectively observed and classified. He should not be concerned with internal meanings, motives, feelings and emotions of individuals as they cannot be observed or measured objectively. Durkheim proposed that the belief systems, customs and institutions of society - 'social facts' - should be considered as 'things', similar to objects and events of the natural world.
2. Statistical Data - Using the classifications of the social world, it is possible to count sets of observable 'social facts' and produce statistics. Durkheim collected data on social facts such as the suicide rates and memberships of various religions.
3. Correlation - Looking for correlations between different social facts. It is the tendency for two or more things to be found together, and it may refer to strength of relationship between them.
4. Causation - If a strong correlation exists between two or more 'social facts', one of them might be causing the other to take place. However, caution must be exercised to avoid spurious correlation. It may be possible that some third factor has a causal relationship to both the phenomena being considered. Example: Being working class → crime, or crime → makes a person working class, instead gender → class location | level of criminality
5. Multivariate analysis - this involves trying to isolate the effect of a particular independent variable upon the dependent variables, to overcome the problem of spurious correlations. Example: Crime is a dependent variable, gender is an independent variable.
6. Laws of human behavior - if the causal connections are found and checked in a variety of contexts, then researchers can be confident that they have attained the ultimate goal of positivism: a law of human behavior. Example: Durkheim found that suicide rates always rose during a time of economic boom or slump, Comte's law of three stages of society.

This is known as inductive methodology. However, while positivism has influenced many, the inductive method has not been accepted by all. <u>Deductive approach</u> is an alternative to it.

B. Falsification:

Karl Popper in *'The Logic of Scientific Discovery'* supports this methodology. It reverses the process of induction. Falsification starts with a theory and tests it against the evidence, rather than developing a theory as a result of examining the data.

Scientists should start with a hypothesis and on its basis, it should be possible to deduce predictions about the future. It includes both interpolation and extrapolation. The hypothesis can origin even from common sense knowledge. What makes the theories scientific is their ability to be tested by making precise predictions on the basis of the theory.

Apple falls → apple seeds will fall | all fruits will fall. Popper denies that it is ever possible to produce laws that will necessarily be found to be true for all time, a researcher should constantly try to find evidence that disproves his theories.

C. Laboratory Experiments:

Experiments enable scientists to test precise predictions, as advocated by Popper. Laboratories are controlled environments in which the researcher can manipulate the various independent variables. Through control and isolation, the effect of different independent variables on a dependent variable can be established. Laboratories facilitate replication and hence increase reliability.

However, they are not suited to sociological research because:

1. They are unnatural situations. The knowledge of being studied and the artificiality of the situation might affect the behavior of the participants and hence produce distorted results
2. If subjects are not informed of the nature of the experiment prior to its commencement, it raises ethical issues. Payne and Payne recommend getting prior informed consent.
3. Genuine matching of humans to enable other variable(s) to be altered may be impossible. This restricts the sample size and hence reliability.
4. Alan Bryman points out that researchers in sociology cannot manipulate many of the independent variables in the research. Example: gender of the subjects.
5. It is impractical. Neither can a whole community be fit into a laboratory, nor can an experiment be conducted for a sufficiently long time to study social change.

Bandura examined the effects on children of viewing media images of violence. However, critics have pointed that such an unnatural experiment does not give any indication of whether the short-term effects of viewing violence would be repeated in the long term, or in real social settings.

D. Field Experiments:

They are carried out outside a laboratory, and involve intervening in the social world in such a way that hypotheses can be tested by isolating particular variables.

Rosenthal and Jacobson tested the hypothesis that self-fulfilling prophecies could affect educational attainment, by manipulating the independent variable of pupils' IQ score known to teachers. Sissons observed the reactions of members of the public when an actor asked them for directions. 'Moving to Opportunity project' aimed to find the extent to which the independent variable neighbourhood, influenced the dependent variable, risky and criminal behavior.

A natural experiment is an experimental situation that occurs without the intervention of the researcher. Example: when in a remote island St. Helena in the Atlantic, TV was introduced for the first time in the 1990s.

Issues:

1. Not possible to control variables as closely as in a laboratory.
2. Hawthorne effect as seen by Elton Mayo at Western Electricity Company in Chicago. It showed that the results of an experiment get affected due to the fact that an experiment is taking place.
3. Ethical issues may arise if the subjects are kept unaware, so as to avoid Hawthorne effect.
4. Confined to small-scale studies over a small period of time.

E.   The Comparative Method:

It involves the use of comparisons. These may be comparisons of different societies or of groups within one or more societies, and comparisons at the same or different points in time. It involves a comparative examination of different but similar situations, trying to identify crucial features leading to different outcomes.

Victor Jupp shows research techniques using comparative method are:

1. Content analysis - comparison of documents
2. Historical analysis - comparison of time periods
3. Analysis of official statistics - comparison of areas, groups or time periods in terms of social indicators

The data used in comparative method can come from primary or secondary sources. It overcomes some of the problems involved in experimentation like:

1. Lesser ethical issues as the researcher is not interfering in the social world
2. Researcher is less likely to affect the behavior of those being studied, as the data comes from 'natural' situations
3. Allows the researcher to study the causes of large-scale social changes over long periods of time, the historical developments of societies can be studied

Marx compared a wide variety of societies to develop his theory of social change and stages of society. Durkheim used the method in his study of division of labour and the change from mechanical to organic solidarity. In *'Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism'*, Weber compared early capitalist countries in the West with China and India to show a correlation between capitalism and Calvinism. Cicourel's study of juvenile justice in two Californian cities and Fiona Devine's comparison of affluent workers in Luton in the 1990s and similar workers in the 1960s are other examples.

Interpretive and Qualitative Methodology:

Quantitative data are data in a numerical form. Qualitative data are usually presented in the form of words. They are seen as richer and more vital, as having greater depth and as more likely to present a true picture of a way of life, of people's experiences, attitudes and beliefs.

Sociologists who take an interpretive approach are strongest advocates of qualitative data. They argue that the causal explanation of human behavior is impossible without some understanding of the subjective states of the individuals concerned.

However, while some such as Weber regard the understanding of meaning as necessary to make causal explanations possible, others, such as phenomenologists regard understanding as the end product of sociological research, and they reject the possibility of producing causal explanations at all.

A. Social Action Approach of Max Weber:

Weber defined sociology as the study of social action. Action is social when it takes account of other members in the society. The explanation of social action necessitates an understanding of the meanings and motives that underlie human behavior. Understanding motives can be achieved through Verstehen - imagining yourself to be in the position of the person whose behavior you are seeking to explain. Example: In *'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism'*, one of Weber's main concerns was to interpret the beliefs and motives of the early Calvinists.

However, he was not simply concerned with understanding meanings and motives for their own sake. Weber wanted to explain social action and social change. He was interested in causality. Example: he systematically compared the characteristics of early capitalist countries and technologically advanced oriental societies. By doing so, he claimed to have isolated 'ascetic' Protestantism as a variable that contributed to the rise of capitalism. He saw the moral and religious beliefs and motives of the early Calvinists as one of the main factors accounting for the emergence of capitalism in the West.

B. Symbolic Interactionism:

Symbolic interactionists do not reject the attempt to establish causal relationships within sociology. However, they tend to believe that statistical data does not provide any great insight into human behavior. Interactionists see human behavior as largely governed by the internal processes by which people interpret the world around them and give meaning to their own lives.

They believe that individuals possess a self-concept, or image of themselves, which is built up, reinforced or modified in the process of interaction with other members of society.

The responses of others to an individual may make it impossible for him or her to sustain a particular self-concept; the self-concept will change, and in turn the behavior of the individual will alter accordingly. Thus, interactionists have tried to show how labelling people as deviant or educational successes or failures, can produce self-fulfilling prophecies.

Herbert Blumer developed the implications of these views for sociological methodology. He rejects simplistic attempts to establish causal relationships that characterize positivist methodology.

As an example, he refers to the proposition that industrialization causes the replacement of extended families with nuclear families. He argues that data on the meanings and interpretations that actors give to the various facets of industrialization and family life are essential before a relationship can be established between the two factors. Isolating variables and assuming one causes the other is an incorrect approach.

He says that rather than viewing social reality from the actor's perspective, positivists have attempted to force it into predefined categories and concepts. This results in imposition of definitions on the social world.

Instead, Blumer demands that sociologists must "catch the process of interpretation through which people construct their action," and this can be achieved by "taking the role of the acting unit whose behavior is being studied." However, he offers no simple solution as to how this type of research may be conducted.

C. Phenomenology:

Phenomenology is an anti-positivist, constructionist perspective which was first proposed by Edmund Husserl and then developed along sociological lines by Alfred Schutz.

Its emphasis is upon the internal workings of the human mind and it sees knowledge as a social construct. It denies the possibility of producing causal explanations of human behavior and social action.

According to phenomenologists, individuals only come into contact with the outside world through their senses - touch, smell, hearing, sight and taste. To make sense of these sensory experiences, humans attach meaning to them and begin to classify the world into 'phenomena' that appear to have common characteristics.

Such 'typifications' are shared by members of a society and passed on to children through socialization. This helps build a 'common sense knowledge' which allows humans to live and communicate together. Example: common sense enables us to write and post a letter, such that it reaches the intended person.

These meanings and classifications make up social reality and there is no objective reality beyond these subjective meanings. It is impossible to produce factual data or causal explanations.

Phenomenology is used in two ways in sociology:

1. to theorize about substantive sociological problems and
2. to enhance the adequacy of sociological research methods

The *'Suicide'* study by Durkheim is criticized by phenomenologists as it was based on the official statistics of suicide, which they believe are nothing more than the interpretations of the coroner or police officials of what is seen to be an unnatural death.

However, critics claim that phenomenology has reduced every social action into a unique phenomenon. Thus, there is no possibility of replicability or comparative analysis.

Methodology:

Ted Benton and Ian Craib describe phenomenological investigation as an exercise known as 'reduction'. It aims to understand the meanings and classifications which people use to give order to, and make sense of, the world.

For example, in his study of juvenile delinquents, Cicourel did not find the process of classifying someone as a 'delinquent' to be objective. Rather it was dependent on the stereotypes held by the police officers. Hence, the data on convictions for various delinquent acts was a social product based upon the common-sense assumptions of the authorities who created the statistics. Thus, crime statistics have no existence outside the meanings and interpretive procedures that produced them.

From a phenomenological perspective, the job of a sociologist is to simply understand these meanings from which social reality is constructed. Also, there is no way of choosing between different systems of classification and seeing one as superior to another. Hence, data cannot be used to try to establish correlations and causal relationships.

As they focus entirely on subjective aspects which are internal to the individual's consciousness, qualitative methods are used by phenomenologists in social research.

Simon Charlesworth used interviews in his study on working class life in Rotherham, Dawn Hobson used observation and informal interviews to study the ethics of nurses working in the cancer ward of a London hospital.

Quantitative and Qualitative Methodology:

Ray Pawson states that the differences between these two broad approaches to methodology are exaggerated and misleading.

1. Even those who have strongly advocated one of the two methodologies have not stuck rigidly to their principle. Durkheim, an ardent positivist, in *'Suicide'* strayed away from basing his analysis entirely on 'social facts' and dealt with subjective states on individuals, while Cicourel, though a critic of quantitative methods, extensively used statistical data while studying juvenile delinquency.
2. Payne and Payne point out that the conversational analysis used by ethnomethodologists involves quantitative factors as well. Symbolic interactionists like Glaser and Strauss advocate 'grounded theory' which is similar to hypothesis.
3. Practical difficulties have at least as much influence on the choice of research methods as theoretical considerations.
4. Many sociologists now advocate methodological pluralism, and others get on with actually doing research without worrying too much about the philosophical basis of that research.
5. Critical social science, particularly feminism, and postmodern sociology offer distinctive perspectives on methodology which do not fit neatly into either camp - positivist or interpretive

Thus, Pawson concludes that the 'methodological brawl' among methodologies is a sixties hangover and truce prevails today, and a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods being used is a common sight.

Critical Social Science Methodology:

Critical social science embraces all those approaches in sociology that aim to be critical of society in order to facilitate social change. Lee Harvey is one of its proponents.

A critical research process denies the objective status of knowledge. Instead, it believes that 'knowledge is a process' in which you move towards understanding the social world. Also, knowledge can never be separated from values. However, the aim should be to try and get beyond the dominant values of society and see what beneath the surface.

For example: feminists have been able to show that housework, like paid work, has a crucial role in the economy. Andro-centric common-sense views see housework as unimportant. Thus, by revealing the true nature of housework, feminists have been able to encourage a social change, in which the unpaid work of women is recognized.

Critical research is interested in revealing and changing oppressive structures. Class, gender, ethnicity and race are its major focus areas. The main features of critical social research are:

1. Abstract concepts and ideology - It uses abstract concepts like 'housework', but goes beyond simply carrying out empirical studies. Instead, distorted ideological beliefs related to dominant classes are unveiled.
2. Totality, structure and history - totality believes that social phenomena are interrelated and form a total whole. Structures constrain what people can do, but also make social action possible. Structures are not static, and hence a study of society in a historical context is necessary.
3. Deconstruction, essence and reconstruction - in deconstruction, different elements of a particular area of social life are taken apart to discover its 'essence'. For example: Marx says that the 'essence' of capitalism, is 'the commodity form.' Reconstruction developing new theoretical insights into the same structure.
4. Praxis - it is a practical reflective activity. It seeks to develop an understanding of their situation, among the oppressed groups. This will make them more likely to resist or challenge the structures that oppress them.

Critical social science is not tied to a single research method and has used questionnaires, interviews, case studies, ethnography, etc. It prefers methods which allow the social world to be seen from the viewpoint of the oppressed. The emphasis is not so much upon the preferred technique, but upon the purpose of the research.

Critique:

Martyn Hammerslay states:

1. There are problems in identifying the sources of oppression. Also, many people may be simultaneously oppressed and oppressor. Example: a religious minority might be oppressed due to their beliefs, but the religion may be highly patriarchal and oppressive of women. Hence, it becomes unclear on whom should the research focus.
2. Needs, interests and what constitutes oppression are subjective judgements.

3. Interests of different oppressed groups might clash. Example: Kurds and Shia Arabs are rivals, and both faced oppression in Iraq.
4. Oppressed groups may not be able to evaluate the truth of social science theories, due to false consciousness. And even a correctly recognized theory may not automatically be able to produce social change.

Hence, critical social researchers have failed to produce an acceptable alternative to conventional methodology for establishing the truth.

Defence:

By Phil Carspecken:

It is possible to produce an acceptable critical social science methodology. Researchers should not look only for facts that fit their theories, and should be open to finding evidence that contradicts their theories and challenges their values. They should be open to changing their standpoints in the light of what they find during the course of the research.

Feminist Methodology:

There have been numerous attempts to develop feminist ways of doing or approaching research, but these three approaches have been particularly influential:

A. The attack on 'malestream' research:

Rather than trying to construct a completely new feminist approach, it tries to rectify the mistakes of previous, dominant and male-dominated research methodologies. Some cases are:

1. Research findings based on all-male samples are generalized to the whole population. Example: sociology of crime and deviance until the 1970s was exclusively about men, but the findings were assumed to be applicable to females too.
2. Areas and issues of concern to women are overlooked or seen as unimportant. Example: housework, as pointed out by Ann Oakley
3. Women are presented in a distorted and stereotypical way in many researches. Example: Parsons has been accused of providing sexist explanations of female behavior
4. When women are included in a research, it is often just as an 'add-on'. Example: Goldthorpe, in his class scheme, allocated wives to classes based upon their husband's occupation

B. Feminist research methods:

Ann Oakley argues that there is a feminist way of conducting interviews that is superior to a more dominant, masculine model of such research. She claims that traditional model values objectivity, detachment, hierarchy and "science" over people's individualized concerns. Interviewers maintain their distance and avoid becoming too involved with respondents. The interviewees are manipulated as 'objects of study or source of data' and are always made to have a 'passive role'. They are never encouraged to ask the interviewer any questions.

<u>Feminist approach to interviewing:</u>

Oakley suggests making the research more collaborative and in developing a relatively intimate and non-hierarchical relationship with the interviewees. While interviewing new mothers, she allowed the participants to ask questions and even gave them help and advice, if asked for. Oakley states that interviewing that breaks down the barriers between researchers and their subjects is preferable to masculine, 'scientific' interviewing.

However, Ray Pawson argues that Oakley simply elaborated on conventional ways of conducting unstructured interviews. However, such interviews do not normally involve advising and helping the interviewees, as Oakley suggests.

C. **Female standpoint epistemology:**

It believes that the way in which women experience social life gives them unique insights into how society works, as men and women experience social life in different ways. Instead of observation of facts and discovery of statistical relationships, this epistemology seeks to find the truth through understanding women's experiences. It also believes that no one version of truth can explain everything.

For example: Liz Stanley and Sue Wise state that black, lesbian and working-class women have different experiences from those of their white, heterosexual and middle-class counterparts.

Ray Pawson argues that such epistemologies run into problem when those being studied continue to see the world in terms that the researcher finds unconvincing. Example: Feminist researchers are unlikely to give much credence to women's views that it is 'natural' for women to do the housework and for men to be dominant. Also, it puts all the emphasis on studying the experiences of the oppressed, without studying the oppressors (in this case, men). Studying oppressors might reveal at least as much about the nature of oppression as studying the oppressed. He is also critical of the plurality of different viewpoints, as sometimes such viewpoints may contradict one another. This may lead to the path of relativism. They are no longer trying to explain the society as it really is, but are reduced to accepting all viewpoints as equally valid.

However, Benton and Craib state that feminist standpoint epistemology adopts a consistent position and offers a socio-historical account of the gendered process of knowledge creation. Feminism has developed concepts like mothering, sexual division of labour and gender socialization, which provide a base for making sense of other cultures. It also has a point when it argues that values should be involved in the production of social science knowledge

P1 - 3 a. Qualitative and quantitative methods

Method is a procedure for obtaining knowledge based on empirical observations and logical reasoning.

Methodology is logic of scientific investigation. Methodology means description, explanation and justification of methods and not the methods themselves. Philosophy on which the research is based. Methodology is concerned with both the detailed research methods through which data are collected, and the more general philosophies upon which the collection and analysis of data are based. Issues of this type are referred to as epistemology.

Sjoberg and Nett in their book on *A Methodology for Social Research* have mentioned that fashions, fads and foibles may affect the choice of topic of many researchers.

Poster of Swachh Bharat - independent variable, washing hands - dependent variable

Qualitative - what, how - exploratory - no hypothesis generally as not trying to predict - inductive

Quantitative - how, what, does - descriptive, experimental research - uses hypothesis - deductive

Quantitative | qualitative
Problem is specific and precise | general and loosely structured
Hypotheses before | during or after
Concepts are operationalized | sensitized
Design is prescriptive | not prescriptive
Sampling is planned before data collection | during data collection
Sampling is representative | not representative
All scales | nominal scales mostly
Data processing uses Inductive generalization | analytical generalization
Findings are highly integrated | not integrated

Quantitative vs Qualitative

	Quantitative	Qualitative
Question	Who, What, when, how, why	How much
Objective	Understand the magnitude of occurrence or association	Understand the nature or quality of a phenomena
Methods	Observational(cohort, case control, cross sectional survey), Interventional	Observation, FGD, Interview and survey
	Numbers, graphs, charts	In the form of words, stories/narratives, audio-visual materials
Analysis	Deductive	Inductive
Outcome	Based on numbers and mathematical calculations	Based on written or spoken narratives
Philosophical Root	Positivism	Interpretative
Groups studied	Large groups using samples	Smaller group, the whole group

Questions - clear, unambiguous, relevant, short, non-negative - primary, secondary, tertiary - open or close ended - direct or indirect - nominal, ordinal and interval
Questionnaire does not account for cultural differences

Participant and Structured Observation

Researcher takes part in the activity

	Participant as observer	Complete participant	
Researcher's identity is revealed			Researcher's identity is concealed
	Observer as participant	Complete observer	

Researcher merely observes the activity
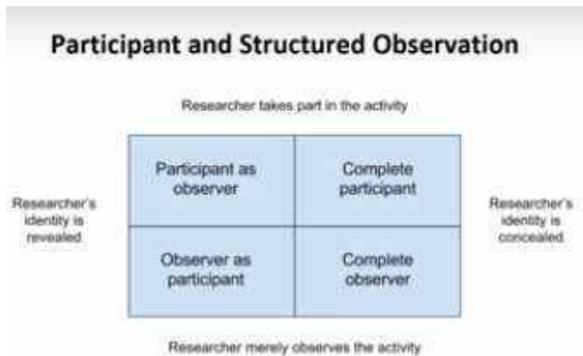
Participant v/s structured observation

Advantages of structured observation:
• It can be "used" by anyone.
• It is a reliable data collection method.
• Relationships can be examined.
• Phenomena is examined in a natural setting.

Disadvantages of structured observation:
• You have to be "in the place" that you are studying.
• Often times description is not enough and inferences have to be made.

There are five dimension of social science research:
- Sociological - social nature of research as typical of human activity
- Ontological - the object of research is the social reality
- Teleological - research is goal oriented and purposive
- Epistemological - the aim is not merely to understand social phenomena but to provide a valid and reliable understanding of reality
- Methodological - the ways in which various ideals can be achieved

- Methodology refers to the broad theoretical and philosophical frame into which the procedural rules fit. It a broad frame of the research process.
- Method refer to technical rule that define procedure for collection and analysis of data.
  - method of data collection - survey, observation, interview etc.
  - method of data analysis - such as statistical inference, sampling and new forms of computer based qualitative data analysis.
  - method of research inquiry such as the formulation of the research problem, method of constructing hypothesis, concepts, theories and propositions.
- Method lay down the procedure for generation of reliable and objective knowledge.
- The study of the interface between methods and methodology is called the 'philosophy of social research'

Gunnar Myrdal's Advice on Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Researches - The ideal community study should start out from a careful statistical analysis of vital, social, and economic data concerning the individuals and families making up the community being studied. The less measurable data on attitudes, cultural traits, behaviour patterns in which social stratification is expressed, and the 'feeling' of social status or toward social status on the part of members of the various groups, should then be observed and the results integrated into the framework of statistical knowledge.

Ramkrishna Mukherjee's View on Quantitative and Qualitative Research - Quality-Quantity is not a dichotomy. There is no 'either/ or' between them. Quality refers to only 'distances' in variations, which are not known to us and, therefore, cannot be measured. Our job is to find out what are these 'distances' and how to measure them. This distance is the variation between entities we are concerned with: It may be individuals; it may be anything.

Comparative method:

Durkheim - same society different sections in France, different societies at a point of time Germany and Spain, comparison over a period

of time - Suicide - This comparison among two religions in the same region i.e., in the, same economy, amounts to an experimental situation, discovered by the social scientist, though not created by him in the laboratory. Therefore Durkheim calls for such use of comparative method an indirect experiment.

Single case as an experiment - If we can find an example of a social institution in its simplest and purest form we can understand the 'essence' of that institution. Thus Durkheim studied the social institution of religion among the Australian tribes and traced the essential characteristics of religion in their existing practices. In such cases, the single study acquires an experimental character. It clarifies the 'essentials' without bothering about dilutions.

Introduction:

- Comparative method refers to the study of different types of groups and societies in order to determine analytically the factors that lead to similarities and differences in specified patterns of behavior.

Thesis:

- Initially emphasized by positivists – that comparative method is a social science equivalent of experimentation in natural sciences – quasi-experimental method – to arrive at laws that govern social reality – Durkheim advocated the use of comparative method with concomitant variations to arrive at qualitative correlations – Durkheim argued that 'Comparative sociology is not a special branch of sociology; it is sociology itself' – Examples: types of suicide, types of societies on the basis of division of labour and solidarity

Anti-Thesis:

- Andre Beteille in his essay 'Some observations on the comparative method' argues that there are more sceptics than enthusiasts of comparative method today – Franz Boas objected to the sweeping generalizations made through the use of comparative method, and recommended studies on a more limited geographical scale – Boas stated his preference for 'historical method' over and above the comparative method –Evans-Pritchard recommended intensive comparative investigation in a limited area rather than going for universal generalizations – scholars belonging to the phenomenological tradition argue that the application of this method is not as simple as it may appear because social units have different meanings in different societies and thus advocated for limited generalizations (for example, the institution of marriage among hindus and muslims) – Example: Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*

Triangulation:

Denzin proposed use of triangulation method, which is more popularly used.
Triangulation can be of different types

Types:
→ Methodology triangulation
→ Data triangulation
→ Researcher triangulation
→ Theoretical triangulation.
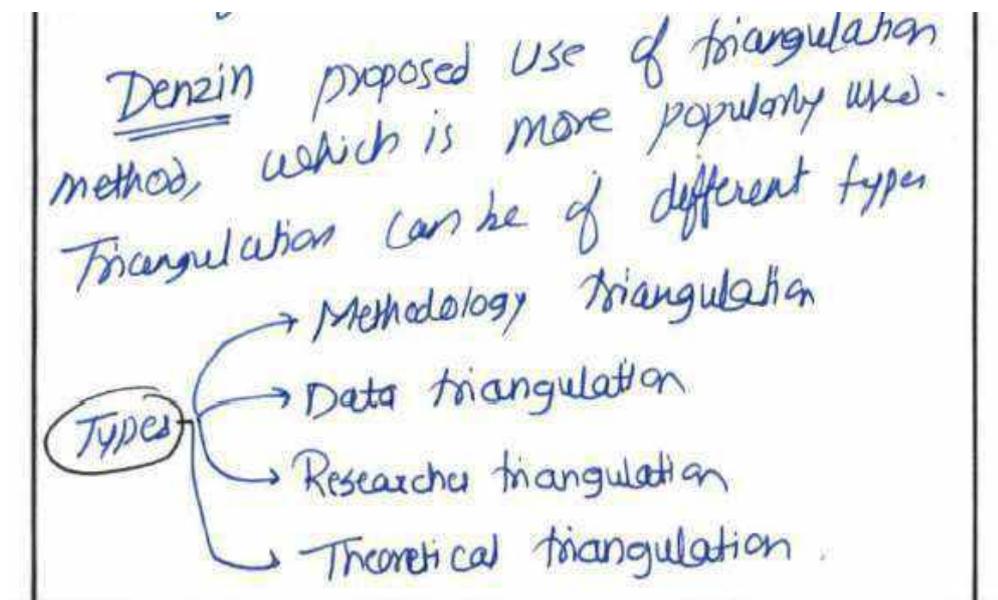
3 B. Techniques of data collection

Primary Sources:

Case Studies:

A case study involves the detailed examination of a single example of something and is therefore bound to lack external validity. It could involve the study of a single institution, community or social group, an individual person, a particular historical event, or a single social action.

Case studies are not representative and instead attempt to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the group under study. They can be used to falsify a general theory, produce typologies (set of categories defining types of a social phenomenon) and generate new hypotheses which can then be tested in later studies.

Robert K. Yin distinguished between five types of case studies:

1. The critical case, where a particular example is useful for testing a hypothesis. Example: a study of a religious cult examining how its members reacted when the world failed to end on the day predicted by their leader.
2. The extreme or unique case, where there is only one known example of something. Example: Margaret Mead's research into gender relations in Samoa, Gough's study of family structures of the Nayar society.
3. The revelatory case, where the researcher can gain access to an aspect of social life which was previously inaccessible. Example: Elliot Liebow's research into unemployed black people in the USA in 1960s.
4. The longitudinal case provides a chance to study the case at two or more points in time, making it possible to see the effects of social change. Example: Beverley Skeggs's study of 83 working-class women in England, over a period of twelve years.
5. The representative or typical case or exemplifying case which illustrates a common social phenomenon.

It is not possible to generalize on the basis of the findings of a case study. Bryman suggests conducting a number of case studies of the same type of phenomenon, preferably by the same researcher and at same time period, to improve validity. Example: Shoshana Zuboff carried out case study research in eight organizations in order to try to make generalizations about the impact of IT.

Life Histories:

Life histories are a particular type of case study - the whole study concerns one individual's life. This type of case study is also sometimes known as the biographical method. Life histories can be carried out using a variety of methods, but most frequently use extended, unstructured interviews. Sometimes they also make considerable use of personal documents.

Examples: a study of the life of a Polish peasant conducted by Thomas and Znaniecki, Gordon Allport's *'Letters from Jenny'*, a study of an ageing woman; and Robert Bogdan's study of Jane Fry, a transsexual.

Life histories can be used as a 'sensitizing tool' and provide rich, detailed insights. They can be used to falsify existing theories, inspire new ones or help formulate a hypothesis.

Feminist researchers argue that life histories help women understand their situation, and once they have understood, it can help them to change it. Critical researchers use them to raise people's consciousness and awareness of their own exploitation by encouraging them to reflect upon the factors that have shaped their life experiences. Post modernists have also used life histories. Example: Judith Stacey's research into the lives of 'Pam' and 'Dotty'.

Pilot Studies:

Having selected a research method and chosen a method of selecting a sample, some sociologists carry out a pilot study before embarking upon the main research project.

A pilot study is a small-scale preliminary study conducted before the main research in order to check the feasibility or to improve the design of the research. They are generally carried out before large-scale quantitative research to avoid time and money being wasted on an inadequately designed project.

A pilot study is usually carried out on members of the relevant population, but not on those who will form part of the final sample, as that might influence their later behaviour.

Pilot studies have the following uses:

1. If interviews or questionnaires are to be used, the questions can be tested to make sure that they make sense to respondents, are unambiguous and produce the required information. This can help improve the reliability and response rate of the research
2. It can help researchers develop ways of building rapport and developing full cooperation of the subjects, so as to garner open and honest answers
3. It can help develop the research skills, especially of amateur interviewers
4. It may determine whether or not a research goes ahead. Funding organizations may demand the result of a pilot before greenlighting the whole research. If a pilot study is unsuccessful, the full study may be abandoned

Quantitative Primary Research - Social Surveys:

Social surveys can be defined as research projects that collect standardized data about large numbers of people. The data are usually in a statistical form, and the most practical way of collecting such data is through the use of questionnaires.

Stephen Ackroyd and John A. Hughes distinguished three main types of surveys:

1. The factual survey is used to collect descriptive information. Such surveys have been used to collect data on poverty and social exclusion. Example: government census
2. The attitude survey attempts to discover the subjective states of individuals. Example: attitude towards government policies or towards a political party.

3. The <u>explanatory survey</u> tries to test theories and hypotheses or to produce new theories. Most sociological surveys contain some explanatory element. Example: Marshall et al. tested the theory that routine white-collar workers had become proletarianized.

Researchers usually want to be able to generalize from social surveys, and so surveys are based on carefully selected samples, and the success of any survey depends on the quality of data it produces.

Quantitative Primary Research - Questionnaires:

A questionnaire consists simply of a list of pre-set questions. In questionnaire research the same questions are usually given to respondents in the same order so that the same information can be collected from every member of the sample.

1. Administering questionnaires:
   a. Structured interview - here the interviewer himself asks the questions. These have the advantage of having a trained interviewer on hand to make sure that the questionnaire is completed properly and to clarify any ambiguities. However, they may involve the problem of interviewer bias.
   b. Postal - it is mailed to respondents, with a stamped addressed envelope. The response rate is usually low, and there may be systematic differences between people who return the questionnaire, and those who do not, thus leading to biased results.
   c. Group - such as a classroom of students or workers at a union meeting. This is a less expensive method, but care should be taken to ensure that no discussions take place among the respondents before answering.
   d. Telephone - it is relatively difficult to build a rapport or ask sensitive questions. No visual aids can be used.
   e. Email - sample may be unrepresentative due to the digital divide.

2. Producing questionnaires and analyzing the data:

Questionnaires tend to be used to produce quantitative data, while testing a hypothesis. Some idea of what factors are important is needed before constructing a questionnaire.

In the process of choosing questions, researchers have to operationalize concepts - abstract concepts have to be translated into concrete questions that make it possible to take measurements relating to those concepts. First an operational definition is established by breaking the concept down into various components or dimensions. Then, indicators are selected for each component. And finally, indicators of each dimension are put into the form of a series of questions that will provide quantifiable data for measuring each dimension.

Questions may be open-ended, allowing the respondent to compose their own answers. However, this may be difficult to classify and quantify. If the researcher wants the data to be in a statistical form, coding is necessary. It involves identifying a number of categories into which answers can be placed.

Closed questions require a choice between a number of given answers. Such questions often employ a Likert scale where respondents are given a range of options from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. They are easy to classify and quantify. Questions can also be direct or indirect (ask about other people).

Primary questions elicit information directly related to the research topic. Secondary questions elicit information not directly related to the topic, but guards the truthfulness of the respondents. Tertiary questions only establish a framework that allows convenient data collection and building of rapport.

Questions can be nominal (falls in only one of the categories), ordinal (ranking) or interval.

Once the data has been collected and classified, it is analyzed. Statistical tools and multivariate analysis are used here.

3. Advantages of questionnaires:
   a. Practical way to collect large quantities of data from considerable numbers of people over a relatively short period of time.
   b. Results are easily quantifiable and can be analyzed more scientifically and objectively than qualitative data.
   c. Can be used inductively or deductively, to try and establish cause effect relationships through multivariate analysis.

4. Disadvantages of questionnaires:
   a. Interactionists see statistical data as inadequate for producing sociological explanations of human behavior.
   b. Phenomenologists see the data produced as an artificial creation of the researcher.
   c. Reliability is high but validity is questionable.
   d. Respondents may interpret the wordings of a question differently from what the researcher assumes, and as there is no opportunity to qualify meaning, it may mean different things to different social groups.
   e. Researcher imposition, as he assumes to know what is important and is limited to testing theories he has already thought of.
   f. Operationalizing of concepts and coding of answers from open-ended questionnaires also involves researcher imposition, thus producing a distorted picture of the social world.
   g. Validity may be reduced due to inability or unwillingness of the respondents to answer, or they may simply lie, or suffer from faulty memory or lack the relevant information. Also, it cannot be assumed that stated attitudes will be translated into actual behavior.

Interviews:

Types:

A completely structured interview is simply a questionnaire administered by an interviewer just like reading a script, while at the other extreme a totally unstructured interview takes the form of a conversation with no predetermined questions. Most interviews fall somewhere in between these two extremes. Similarly, there can be standardized or unstandardized interviews, self-administered or other administered interviews, personal or non-personal interviews, unique or panel interviews.

Styles:

Non-directive - the interviewer refrains from offering opinions or expressing approval or disapproval.

Howard Becker states that such a passive style may inhibit the interviewer, and instead suggests a more aggressive and active approach. This can provide fuller data. Example: he adopted such tactics in his interviews with Chicago school teachers, to understand the way they classified and evaluated students in terms of their class and ethnic backgrounds - information they would have preferred to keep hidden for fear of being accused of prejudice and discrimination.

Ann Oakley prefers an empathetic approach rather than an aggressive one.

Numbers:

- It is normal for a single interviewer to interview a single respondent as it helps in building a rapport and ensures confidentiality and no distraction or influence.
- However, sometimes group interviews are preferred. Example: Paul Willis, in his study of education, interviewed several of the 'lads' together. This was more likely to produce valid data as the 'lads' activities took place in a group context and such an interview reflected the same group relations and allowed him to observe their interactions.
  James Holstein and Jaber Gubrium state that multivocality in group interviews broadens interviews and can make the participants more reflexive.
- Alan Bryman defines focus group as having several members discussing a topic that has been carefully specified, with the aim of using the discussion to construct meaning as a group, through the participants' reactions and responses to each other. He believes that such a method leads to greater probing of the reasons behind people's feelings. It fits well with the aspects of symbolic interactionist theory as it allows the researcher to observe how a group of people, through interaction with each other, arrive jointly at meaning and understanding.
  David Morgan suggests that this method can be used with groups of individuals who have a shared interest or area of expertise as they can stimulate each other, and will need minimum intervention by the interviewer. Sue Wilkinson argues that they are more 'naturalistic' and egalitarian than one-to-one interviews, the interviewer dominates them less (feminist ethics), but are less useful for making systematic comparisons between social groups.
  Fran Tonkiss mentions online focus groups which may be 'asynchronous' or 'synchronous' using forums or chat rooms.

Advantages:

a. Can be used on larger samples than participant observation
b. Because there is usually some degree of structure in an interview, it is easier to make direct comparison than it is by using data from participant observation
c. Unlike questionnaires, can be used to generate new hypotheses and theories which the researcher would not have thought of
d. More practical, flexible, can produce valid data about suppressed views and sensitive issues, allow opportunity for critical reflection
e. Can be used to carry out research into groups who might not otherwise consent to being the subject of research, as trust can be gained during interviews. Example: Laurie Taylor's interviews with professional criminals in Britain

<u>Disadvantages:</u>

a. Responses may not be accurate and may not reflect real behavior, may lie, forget or lack information. Example: some criminals lied to Laurie Taylor by making up fanciful stories about their escapades, social desirability bias among the answering participants

b. Interviewees may be influenced by the presence of the interviewer and the interview setting. Example: William Labov found that young black American children responded differently to a white interviewer in a formal setting and to a black interviewer in an informal setting. Age, race, sex, clothing and accent of the interviewer may affect the respondents.

c. Interviewer bias, especially in unstructured interviews. Respondents may consciously or unconsciously give the sort of answers they believe the interviewer wants to hear. Example: By Stuart A. Rice - two thousand destitute men were asked to explain their situation. There was a strong tendency for those interviewed by a supporter of Prohibition to blame their decline on alcohol, but those interviewed by a committed socialist were much more likely to explain their plight in terms of the industrial situation.

d. Interviewer must be aware of the social conventions of those being interviewed, to be able to interpret the responses correctly. Example: Bruce Dohrenwend conducted a research in NY to find the relationship between mental health and ethnicity. Respondents were asked whether or not they had experienced a list of symptoms associated with mental illness. Compared to Jews, Irish and Black, Puerto Ricans reported experiencing more of the symptoms. However, this was because they were more willing to admit them than other groups who found the symptoms undesirable.

e. Hammersley and Gomm speak about 'discursive psychology' - internal feelings, motives, intensions and so on cannot be adequately expressed through verbal responses

f. Lacks the rigour of scientific research, and less objective or systematic, ecological validity may be a problem

Observation:

Positivists believe that the social world can be objectively observed, classified and measured. Qualitative social researchers like interactionists and phenomenologists also favour observations. Example: J. Maxwell Atkinson observed the process of decision making by coroners. However, there are limits to situations in social life that can be observed in their 'natural' settings without affecting the validity of the data produced. There are many social situations in which the presence of an observer is prohibited. It is not likely to be an option when studying processes whereby individuals adopt new behaviours which you are not likely to be able to predict. Example: Alan Bryman says a researcher could not become involved enough in vegetarians' lives to find out all the reasons and motives for their choice of vegetarianism.

Ethnography:

Geoff Payne and Judy Payne describe ethnography as 'the production of highly detailed accounts of how people in a social setting lead their lives, based upon systematic and long-term observation of, and

conversation with, informants.' It is essentially the study of a way of life. Anthropologists who studied small-scale, pre-industrial societies first introduced ethnography into the social sciences. Malinowski's study of the Trobriand Islands is an example of an ethnographic study. It is used by symbolic interactionists and critical ethnography is used by critical social scientists.

Ethnography most commonly uses in-depth interviews, participant observation and qualitative documents. It may also involve collecting some quantitative data. Participant observation is the most important method here.

Participant Observation:

Observation is the purposeful utilization of vision as means of collecting data.

Participant observation involves the investigator becoming a part of the social environment that he intends to study. The observations he makes may also be supplemented by interviews and questionnaires.

Overt participant observations include, MN Srinivas's study of the process of 'Sanskritization' in Mysore, and Sudhir Venkatesh's study of drug gangs in Chicago, while Nigel Fielding's study of the National Front party of Britain was a covert participant observation. Sometimes researchers choose to be partially open but do not provide those being studied with the full story - William Foote Whyte in his study of an Italian American Slum introduced himself as a writer, without elaborating further.

Examples: Howard Parker's study of Liverpool delinquents, Teela Sanders's study of sex workers, 'James Patrick' study of Glasgow gangs, Simon Holdaway's 'Inside the British Police' - cop who became a sociologist, so a true insider view.

It is necessary to gain the trust of the members, especially the group leader, if any, and only then can the researcher become a part of the group.

Advantages:

- Less researcher imposition, higher levels of ecological validity
- Can capture non-verbal elements like body language, group dynamics, etc.
- More difficult for the subjects to lie or mislead the observer
- Useful for symbolic interactionists as it helps to understand the world from the subject's point of experience, intimate and informal setup
- Useful for generating new hypotheses or for falsifying theories

Criticism:

- Observer may become so involved that he loses objectivity in the observation
- Not all dimensions of a phenomenon can be observed simultaneously
- Difficult to replicate, hence low reliability – based on subjective interpretation of the observer
- Very time consuming and demanding, ethical or legal issues, especially in covert observation
- Only a small sample can be studied, generalizations cannot be made
- Validity of the data may be affected by the presence of the observer
- Sometimes may be difficult to gain entry into the group to be studied example: drug gangs

Member validation, triangulation and testing the hypotheses generated in follow-up studies are methods to refine the findings of participant observation.

Critical Ethnography:

This is the sort of ethnography advocated by supporters of critical social science. They believe that ethnography can be used both, to develop and to test theories, including theories that examine the structure of society as a whole. It is seen as a method for researchers to understand how oppression is experienced by the oppressed by sharing some of the same experiences.

Paul Willis's study of the transition from school to work among a group of working class 'lads' is an example. He relied on interviews, but other critical ethnographers have also used participant observation and other methods.

Mac an Ghaill's study *'The Making of Men'* tries to develop theories of masculinity by studying two student groups - one heterosexual and one homosexual, in the same area and belonging to the same social class. In the course of the study, he had some success in encouraging the gay students to value positively their conceptions of masculinity than being defensive in the face of hostility from heterosexuals.

Criticism: Circular arguments - the ethnographic description is used both for developing theory and for testing it. Experience comes to be interpreted in terms of the theory, yet the experience is also used to confirm the theory. The criticisms of critical social science methodology apply here too.

Longitudinal Research:

Some researchers study a group over an extended period, collecting data on them at regular intervals. Such studies are known as longitudinal or panel studies. Quantitative as well as qualitative studies can be conducted using this method.

Longitudinal studies originated as extended public attitude surveys to assist in policy decisions. Since then, they have been used in a variety of researches. Example: West and Farrington in *'Who becomes delinquent?'* followed 411 London schoolboys from age 8 to 18.

Their major advantage is the ability to pick up change. They are also more likely to provide valid data than other types of research. Wall and Williams point out that retrospective studies that ask people to report on past events in their lives rely upon fallible human memories. Longitudinal studies help overcome this problem, and also, avoid the pitfall of events being reinterpreted in the light of subsequent consequences.

Quantitative longitudinal studies often examine a large number of variables because researchers are unsure what data may prove to be important or required later in the research. Example: West and Farrington collected information relating to 151 variables.

However, it is necessary to select people who are accessible and willing to cooperate over an extended period. Furthermore, the size of the sample is liable to fall as some individuals become unwilling to continue to take part, or prove impossible to trace.

Rutterford comments that it is hard to disentangle age effects from cohort effects. Also, subjects of the research are conscious of the fact that their behavior is being studied. This may influence them to change their behavior because they think more carefully about their actions.

Variants of panel studies - cohort studies, multi-stage studies, multi-phase studies

Secondary Sources:

These consist of data that have already been produced. Sociologists often use secondary data produced by the government. Organizations such as trade unions, companies and charities are a useful source of data, as are documents such as letters, diaries and autobiographies produced by individuals. They may be contemporary or historical and the data available from them may be primarily qualitative or quantitative. However, their reliability and validity remain open to question.

Official Statistics:

Government data such as census, birth and death rates, marriage and fertility patterns, and divorce, crime statistics, unemployment rates, inflation, etc.

Positivists like Durkheim accepted official statistics uncritically. He believed the suicide statistics were sufficiently reliable and valid to measure the extent and social distribution of suicide.

Ethnomethodologists and phenomenologists reject the use of statistics for measuring or determining the causes of the social facts to which they claim to refer. They adopt a constructionist position, arguing that data are socially constructed rather than a description of an external reality. Cicourel and Atkinson believe that statistics are a product of the meanings and taken-for-granted assumptions of those who construct them.

However, phenomenologists believe that official statistics can be studied in order to discover how they are produced. This helps in understanding the common-sense theories, stereotypes and categorization procedures of officials involved in the production of the statistics.

Conflict sociologists argue that official statistics are neither hard facts, nor subjective meanings. Instead, they consist of information that is systematically distorted by power structures in society. Miles and Irvine say that official statistics are produced according to the needs of the various state agencies for information to coordinate their activities and justify their programmes.

Alan Bryman suggests that they can be considered useful because they are a relatively unobtrusive measure of social life and hence do not suffer from the problem of reactivity.

Historical Sources:

They are of vital importance to sociologists who wish to study social change that takes place over an extended period of time. Past events may be important in understanding how contemporary patterns of social life came about.

Historical sources can be private or public, can be qualitative or quantitative and may have been designed for internal consumption or external consumption.

Peter Laslett made extensive use of parish records in order to discover how common nuclear and extended families were in pre-industrial England. Such data have been useful in correcting the assumption that extended families were a norm in the past. However, findings based upon such sources need to be used with caution, as many parish records have not survived, and it may be incorrect to generalize based upon partial records.

Many of the qualitative historical sources are likely to be subjective and reflective of the ideologies of those who produced them.

However, without historical records, only a rather static view of social life can be presented. Weber's study of the influence of religion on the development of capitalism, Foucault's analysis of the emergence of a variety of discourses and Mann's discussion of the relationship between the different sources of social power would have all been incomplete without historical sources.

Life Documents:

These are personal records of an individual's experiences and social actions. They are predominantly qualitative and may offer insights into people's subjective states. They can be historical or contemporary and can take a wide variety of forms. Diaries, letters, photos, memos, biographies, graffiti, memoirs, suicide notes, tombstone memorials, videos, portraits, emails are some of the types of life documents.

Their use was popularized by Thomas and Znaniecki in their study *'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America'*. They used 764 letters, a personal statement, reports from social work agencies, court reports and articles from Polish newspapers. From such sources they tried to understand and explain the experience of migration for the Polish people who moved to America in the early years of the 20th century.

However, such documents are difficult to obtain and the ones that exist are likely to cover an unrepresentative sample of the population. They are open to interpretation and may say more about the subjective states of individuals than the events they are describing.

Personal documents that are meant to be read by others may be written with an audience in mind. Diaries, when not meant for public consumption, have a greater validity.

Compared to other secondary sources, personal documents allow much greater insight into the subjective states of individuals, which in turn shape their behavior.

Visual Analysis:

Visual analysis can involve the examination of different types of secondary sources, from the mass media to life documents and historical sources, and it can also be used in primary research.

Suki Ali divides visual material into moving images (like films and TV programmes) and still images (like paintings and photos).

Films have been studied to examine issues such as the stereotyping of particular groups, racism, violence, etc. Still images have also been used in similar studies, example: advertising copies have been studied in relation to the links between consumption and identification.

Methods that can be used to study visual images are:

- Content analysis - extensively used to examine the place of women in the society, how African Americans are depicted in films, art or television shows
- Semiotic analysis - interpretation of signs through analyzing how they interrelate with other images. Example: semiotic analysis of the 1985 cover of the National Geographic magazine, popularly dubbed as the 'Afghan Girl' as often been discussed - it shows an adolescent girl in a refugee camp, head loosely covered with a red scarf, looking intensely at the camera. The accompanying text reads "Along Afghanistan's War-torn Frontier". The photograph signified the horrors of war and the plight of the most vulnerable sections, women and children in the then ongoing Soviet - Afghan war. Her piercing green eyes, often described as "haunting" represent the psychological horrors of a conflict zone. The cover is thus a sign that acts as a signifier in ideological systems of meaning about peace and compassion.
- Discourse analysis - studying visual sources in relation to dominant discourses in the society
- Photo elicitation - using visual sources to facilitate other research methods, example: as a prompt in interviews
- Making images can also be used in primary research. This is especially useful when the research subjects are young children who might be better able to express their feelings through art

Mass Media and Content Analysis:

Content analysis is a research method used to analyze social life by interpreting words and images from documents, film, art, music and other cultural products and media.

Mass media reports can also be used to analyze the ideologies of those who produce them. Ray Pawson identifies four approaches to carry out content analysis:

1. Formal content analysis - here the emphasis is on objectivity and reliability. A systematic sample of texts is collected for study, a classification system is devised to identify different features of these texts, and these features are then counted. The simplest form of analysis involves a word count. Example: words used by the two presidential candidates, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, in the television debates during the 2016 US election campaign. The most frequently used words were then analyzed to arrive at a broad understanding of the tone and content of the candidate's arguments.
2. Thematic analysis - the idea here is to understand the encoding process, especially the intensions that lie behind the production of mass media documents. It is sometimes aimed at discovering the ideological biases in the documents.
3. Textual analysis - examining the linguistic devices within the documents in order to show how texts can be influential in encouraging a particular interpretation. Example: reporting of the Rohingyas in India either used the words 'illegal immigrants' or 'refugees' to describe them, and both these words encouraged a different interpretation of the situation.

4. Audience analysis - it focuses on the responses of the audience as well as the content of the mass media. It recognizes that the audiences actively interpret messages rather than just being passive.

Assessing Secondary Sources:

John Scott has provided four criteria for evaluating secondary sources:

1. Authenticity - this refers to the question of how genuine a document is. There are two aspects of authenticity: soundness, which means the document should be complete and reliable; and authorship which concerns who the document was written by. Example: *'Hitler Diaries'* were originally thought to be the work of Hitler, but were later found to be fake.
2. Credibility - this relates to the amount of distortion in the document. Any distortion may be related to sincerity, whether the author genuinely believes what he is writing or accuracy, which are unintended distortions due to faulty memory.
3. Representativeness - a researcher must be aware of how typical or untypical the documents are in order to be able to assign limits to any conclusions drawn. Representativeness is limited due to survival and availability of such material.
4. Meaning - this concerns the ability of a researcher to understand the document. Literal understanding may be difficult due to old fashioned handwriting or archaic words. Interpretative understanding or trying to understand what the document actually signifies is even more difficult.

Internet:

Stuart Stein suggests the following criteria to be considered when using material from the internet:

1. Authorship
2. Authority of the author
3. Authority of the material
4. Authority of the site / organization
5. Currency
6. Pressure groups / objectivity

Annette N. Markham outlines the following characteristics of the internet:

1. As a medium of communication, it opens up possibilities of reaching out to a large number of people
2. It is geographically dispersed
3. Anonymity
4. Chrono-malleable
5. Multi-modal
6. Context of social construction, it seems to produce a sense of meaning and identity that comes to be seen as real

Teela Sanders used the internet extensively in her study on sex workers. She got ethnographic information about the sex industry from using the website *Punternet* which provided message boards and 'field reports' from clients of sex workers, and facilitated communication between sex workers and their clients. She also used emails to contact and then interview some of the sex workers.

Methodological Pluralism:

Today, in sociological research, it is difficult to see quantitative methods (favoured by positivists) and qualitative methods (favoured by anti-positivists) as mutually exclusive.

Combining different methods of research is becoming increasingly common, and this is known as methodological pluralism.

As Alan Bryman points out, quantitative data tends to produce a static picture which allows researchers to examine and discover overall structures and patterns in a society as a whole, while qualitative data allows a richer and deeper understanding of the process of change in social life, and the meanings and motives at the level of the actors.

Example: In her study of the Unification Church, Eileen Barker used participant observation, questionnaires and in-depth interviews. This allowed her to see how the Church as a whole was organized and also how it influenced the day to day actions and interactions of its members.

Martyn Hammersley suggests three approaches to methodological pluralism:

- Triangulation – each method is used to cross check the findings of other methods
- Facilitation – one method assists the use of another method
- Complementarity – each method studies a different aspect of the subject being studied

Anthony Giddens's structuration theory also bridges the gap between macro and micro methodology.

However, Bryman cautions that plural methodologies require the same careful use as any single methodology and have their own limitations. He elaborates ten ways in which multi-strategy research can be used:

1. The logic of triangulation
2. Qualitative research facilitates quantitative research
3. Quantitative research facilitates qualitative research
4. Filling in the gaps
5. Static and processual features
6. Researchers' and participants' perspectives
7. The problem of generality
8. Qualitative research facilitating the interpretation of the relationship between variables
9. Studying different aspects of a phenomenon
10. Solving a puzzle

P1 - 3 b. Techniques of data collection

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Nomothetic and Ideographic Methods - Page 75, Serendipity Pages 79, 80

Methods of data collection: Questionnaire, interview, observation

Methods of research or research design: experiments, case studies, panel studies, focus group

WF Whyte - I began as a non-participant observer. As I became accepted into community, I found myself becoming almost a non-observing participant

Participant Observation - Malinowski Trobriand, ARRB Andaman, V Elvin Gond

Questionnaire wordings - Gallop survey - 1939 USA - upper, middle and lower class 88% said middle - changed lower to working class, results changed dramatically

Kevin Clancey - mental health survey - lower classes had relatively high chances of accepting the symptoms of mental illness

Projective techniques - Rorschach Inkblot Test, Thematic Apperception Test, Draw a Person Task

Schedule - is similar to a questionnaire, but it is filled by an enumerator. He asks questions in a pro forma that is pre-defined and the questionnaire is for internal consumption only. Generally of tabular form so easy to analyze data.

Classification of Surveys:

- Descriptive - to describe what exists and to identify the need
- Explanatory - to identify changes and their causes.
- Predictive - to predict future changes and possible effects of new policies
- Evaluative - to evaluate the results of the past policies

Types of observations:

Structured | unstructured
Natural | laboratory
Open | hidden
Direct | indirect
Covert | overt

Participant | non-participant
Systematic | unsystematic
Human | physical
Naïve | scientific
Active | passive
Self | other

Observation is the purposeful utilization of vision as the means for collecting data

Types of case studies:

Historical
Observational
Oral history
Situational
Clinical

Young and Wilmott - family life in London in 1970 by structured questionnaire

Panel studies - Sarantakos 330 cohabiting couples 1980, 1985 and 1992 - panel studies
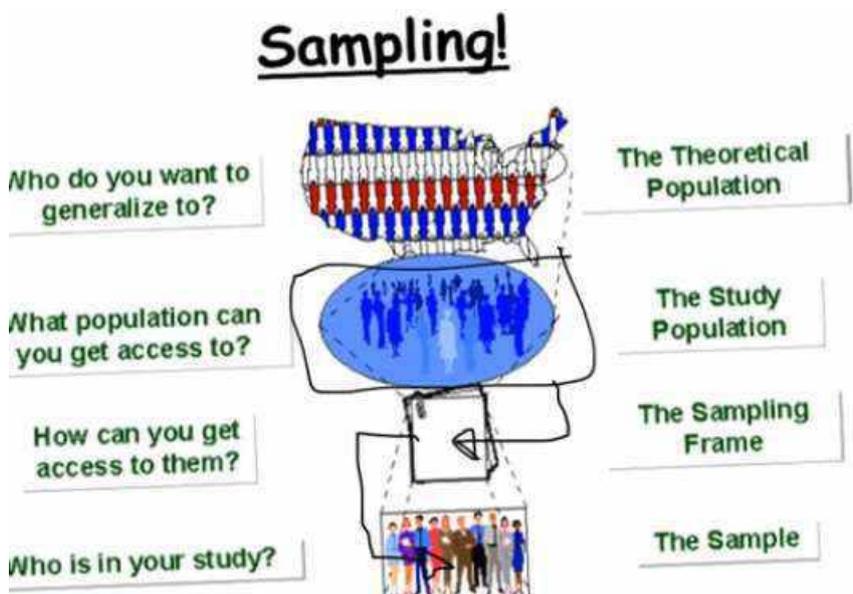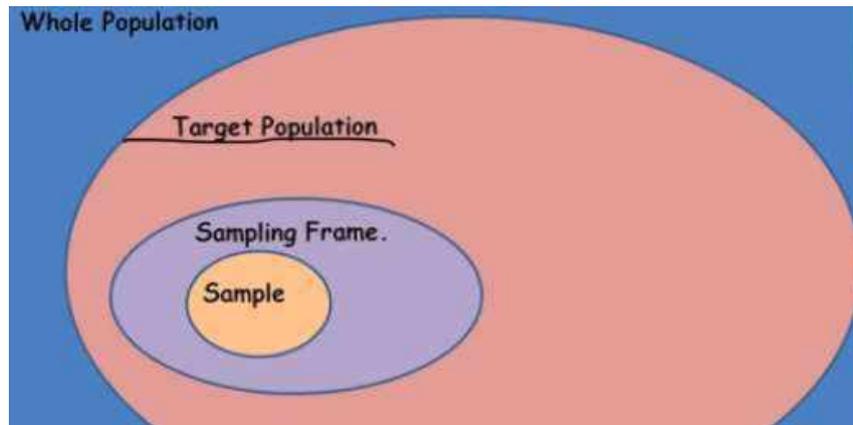
Whatever approach you choose for your research, you need to consider five questions:
- What is the unit of analysis? For example, country, company or individual.
- Are you relying on universal theory or local knowledge? i.e. will your results be generalizable, and produce universally applicable results, or are there local factors that will affect your results?
- Will theory or data come first? Should you read the literature first, and then develop your theory, or will you gather your data and develop your theory from that?
- Will your study be cross-sectional or longitudinal? Are you looking at one point in time. or changes over time?
- Will you verify or falsify a theory? Or explore and formulate new?

Bases of Participatory Research Methodology:

- There is a target community/group, which is in felt-need of changing its underdog (oppressed, marginalized, exploited) situation to a more favourable one.
- This target group in cooperation and conjunction with an acceptable, external interventionist-oriented researcher, formulates research goals, participates in data collection and, as far as possible, also in analysis and drawing of conclusions, which directly feed into decision-making relating to community action for change/development
- The ultimate aim of the external researcher is to attempt to ensure complete 'ownership of knowledge' (e.g., of the health system, technology, management techniques) by the target community. Participatory research is thus a process, specifically directed towards ameliorative or transformative change/development in the conditions of life and living of the group/population, who themselves are participants in the research process.

The first systematic survey was supposedly carried out by <mark>Henry Mayhew</mark>, a Scottish philosopher and social reformer, who wanted to find out about the living conditions In Edinburgh In the early 19th century and asked ordinary people to report on their situation. With reformist zeal, <mark>Charles Booth</mark> Initiated a survey on *Labour and Life of the People of London* in 1886. The findings of his survey were published in seventeen volumes between 1889 and 1902. Around the same time several other surveys were carried out, mostly in Great Britain and elsewhere in the Western world, focusing primarily on the measurement of poverty.

In his study of Racial Discrimination in England, <mark>Daniel</mark> wished to discover the extent of racial discrimination in Britain in 1965. He arranged for three applicants to seek jobs, accommodation and insurance cover. These were Englishman, a West Indian and a Hungarian. Each was given 'identical qualification', they were of similar age and had good command of English. The findings showed that it the Englishman who did the best in every aspect of the test, followed by the Hungarian. The West Indian always had the least success.

3 C. Variables, sampling, hypothesis, reliability and validity

The Choice of Research Topic:

This is influenced by a number of factors:

1. Values - values and beliefs of the researcher play a part in selecting the topic. Example: Marx lived among the working class and this influenced his research into the proletariat.
2. Developments in sociology and in society - for example: many sociologists have followed Durkheim in studying suicide. Risk and religious revivalism, being topics of current interest are also being studied by many.
3. Funding - people and organizations who fund research often act as 'gatekeepers' and have a say in the topics that will be researched.
4. Practicalities - availability of existing data or the feasibility of collecting data both influence topic selection. Hence, senior politicians or bureaucrats are rarely the subjects of any research.
5. Ethics - Informed consent, confidentiality, 'to avoid harm and do good' are principles, which if not possible to follow, result in abandonment of the research. Example: research into homeless teenagers is restricted as obtaining parental or guardian consent is difficult. Research into crime syndicates and drug gangs may also be difficult if police authorities demand access to sensitive information.

Choosing a Primary Research Method:

Some of the factors that influence the choice of research topic can also influence the choice of research method used to study that topic.

However, the most important factors are the topic to be studied and the theoretical and practical considerations. For example: research into voting behavior tends to involve using quantitative statistical techniques, because a large sample has to be researched to arrive at reliable data that can be useful for making generalizations. While topics such as behavior in classrooms lend themselves easily to qualitative methods.

1. Reliability
2. Validity
3. Practicality
4. Ethics

Choosing a Sample:

Once a sociologist has chosen a topic for research, and a method to carry out that research, they need to decide upon a 'sample': that is, the actual individuals to be studied. Sampling is the selection of who or what to study. A sample is a part of a larger population. It is usually selected to be representative of that population. Those included in the sample are chosen as a cross-section of the larger group. Sampling involves:

1. Identifying the target population. A population in this sense includes all the relevant sampling units. Example: In a study of voting behavior, the relevant population would be all those entitled to vote, and the sampling unit would be the individual voter.
2. Obtaining or trying to produce a sampling frame - it is a list of all the relevant sampling units in the population. It is important that a sampling frame is as comprehensive as possible. For example: In a study of voting, there is a ready-made sampling frame - the electoral register.

If sampling is carried out carefully, it makes generalization on the basis of the results possible.

Types of Sampling:

Random and Systematic Sampling:

This is the simplest way to select a large sample. Using random sampling, the researcher ensures that each sampling unit has an equal chance of being chosen to take part in the research. This is often achieved by assigning a number to each sampling unit, and selecting members of the sample by using a random number table.

A slightly less random method is to select, say, every tenth or twentieth number on a list. Since this method is not truly random, it is known as systematic sampling.

Random sampling is not ideal, and is based on the 'law of averages'. A relatively large sample is needed to ensure that the sample is genuinely representative.

Stratified Random Sampling:

It involves the division of the sampling frame into groups in order to ensure that the sample is representative. The researcher identifies the important variables that need to be controlled and allocates the sampling units to different groups according to these variables.

For example: a researcher may identify gender and class as important variables. In this case, the population would be divided into working-class males, working-class females, middle-class males, middle-class females, upper-class males and upper-class females. The sample would then be selected at random from each of these groups, ensuring that the proportions of the sample in each category were the same as the proportions in the population as a whole. If 20% of the population were found to be working-class females, 20% of the sample would be working-class females.

This method requires a smaller sample size to ensure representativeness. However, it is often not practical.

Quota Sampling:

It allows researchers to control variables without having a sampling frame. When quota sampling is used, the interviewers are told how many respondents with particular characteristics to question, so that the overall sample reflects the characteristics of the population as a whole.

For example: 10 married males and 10 married females in the age group of 25 to 35, 5 unmarried males and females in the same age group, and so on. Once the quota for a particular category has been filled, responses will not be collected from those in that category.

This is a useful method when the overall proportions of different groups within a population are known. It is also less expensive and quicker than random sampling.

However, it is not truly random as each person within the population does not have an equal chance of being chosen. Many people may refuse to cooperate, and those who do cooperate might be untypical of the population as a whole. Example: people who will stop on streets to answer research questions are more likely to be students or housewives than working professionals.

It requires the researcher to ask, right in the beginning, a number of personal questions to determine whether the respondent has the characteristics of a quota group on which information is required. This might put some interviewees off. Practical problems can also arise in filling some quotas. Example: people from minority ethnic or religious groups.

Multi-stage Sampling:

It involves selecting a sample from another sample. It saves time and money when there is a very large target population. It is often used in opinion polls on elections. However, the loss of randomness may be accompanied by an increase in sampling error.

In the first stage, a few constituencies, which, on the basis of previous research, appear to represent a cross-section of all constituencies, are selected. Some rural and some urban constituencies would be included, and previous election results would be used to check that the constituencies are a reasonable mixture in terms of party support. In the second stage, individual respondents are chosen from within these constituencies.

Snowballing:

It is used only when other methods are not practical. It involves using personal contacts to build up a sample of the group to be studied. Aldridge and Levine argue that this type of sampling is most appropriate when there is no sampling frame, where examples of the people to be studied are rare or widely spread, and where the people of interest are likely to know each other and can help find more contacts. For example: Laurie Taylor used it when he persuaded John McVicar, a former criminal, to obtain introductions to members of the London underworld.

These samples cannot be representative since only those who are a part of a network of personal contacts can be studied. But for groups like professional criminals, it is not easy to use other ways.

Volunteer Sampling:

It involves inviting people to volunteer to take part in research, for example through issuing appeals in the mass media or via an internet site. The advantage is that it ensures that those who take part are likely to be interested in the topic and are also likely to be relatively keen participants. However, the

disadvantage is that such people may have different experiences and views compared to those who do not volunteer. A volunteer sample in a study of work and leisure might produce a sample with a disproportionate number of participants who have a considerable amount of leisure time.

Non-representative Sampling:

A **convenience sample** is a sample that is easily available and accessible to the researcher. It is thus chosen entirely for practical reasons and can have no claims to being representative.

However, there are sometimes theoretical reasons for choosing a deliberately non-representative sample. A non-representative sample is sometimes referred to as a **purposive sample** - it is chosen for a particular purpose.

In the view of Popper, researchers should try to disprove or falsify their theories. This means looking for untypical examples of a phenomenon that do not fit a particular theory. Example: biological reasons for sexual division of labour were refuted by the study of Mbuti Pygmies of Congo.

Some sociologists have argued that it is important to study the best-informed members of social groups rather than a cross-section of a group. The interactionist Herbert Blumer suggests that one should seek and question the most acute observers of a group or aspect of social life.

Hypothesis:

Theodorson and Theodorson define hypothesis as a tentative statement asserting a relationship between certain facts. It is an assumption made in order to draw out and test its logical or empirical consequences. On its basis, facts are observed and data collected. When by verification, the hypothesis is found to be true, a theory is obtained. They are derived from theory and lead to theory.

Functions:

- It determines the method of verification and the procedure for enquiry. It limits the scope of the data to be collected, and enables the researcher to focus only on the relevant areas
- It can assist in refuting 'common-sense' notions
- It can lead to the discovery of a law
- It can sometimes be very significant for the advancement of knowledge and solve a problem

Conditions for a Valid Hypothesis:

- It should be empirically verifiable, specific and precise
- The statements in a hypothesis should not be contradictory
- It should specify variables between which the relationship is to be established
- It suggests an explanation, which appears reasonably true in the present state of knowledge
- It should describe one issue only

According to Stebbing, every hypothesis springs from the union of knowledge and sagacity.

- Types of Hypotheses: 1. Crude - low level of abstraction, 2. Refined - high level of abstraction

Sources:

1. Cultural values of the society
2. Past research
3. Folk wisdom
4. Discussions and conversations
5. Personal experiences
6. Intuition or a mere guess

<u>Verification and Proof of Hypothesis:</u>

Verification of a hypothesis means the testing of truth of the hypothesis in the light of facts. For verification, there must be an agreement between the inference of the hypothesis and the observed facts. The greater the agreement, the stronger is the hypothesis. The verification can either be direct (through observation and experiment) or indirect (the consequences deduced from the hypothesis can be verified, not the hypothesis itself).

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

Reliability:

In natural sciences, data are seen to be 'reliable' if other researchers using the same methods of investigation on the same material produce the same results. By replicating an experiment, it is possible to check for errors in observation and measurement. Once reliable data have been obtained, generalizations can be made about the behavior observed.

The purpose of reliability testing is to ensure that the instruments in question are robust and not sensitive to changes of the researcher, the respondent or the research condition.

Social sciences cannot attain the same degree of reliability as natural sciences; however, a certain standard of reliability is possible and desirable.

Quantitative methods are seen to provide greater reliability. They usually produce a standardized data in a statistical form. This means that the research can be repeated and the results checked. Questionnaires can be used to test precise hypotheses devised by the researcher.

Qualitative methods may be seen as unreliable because the procedures used to collect data can be unsystematic, the results are rarely quantified, and there is no way of replicating a qualitative study and checking the reliability of its findings.

Types of reliability are:

1. Stability reliability - whether the findings are replicated at different points in time
2. Representative reliability - whether the findings are replicated in other groups
3. Equivalence reliability - relates to reliability across indicators and to multiple indicators in operationalization procedures. It tests whether the measure in question produces consistent results across indicators

Kirk and Miller have mentioned three types of reliability:

1. Quixotic - This refers to the circumstances in which a single method of observation yields the same measurement over and over again. In an ethnographic study, this kind of "reliability" of data indicates that the investigator has managed to elicit "rehearsed" or "politically correct" information.

2. Diachronic - This refers to the stability of an observation over time. Some examples include the "test-retest" paradigms of experimental psychology and survey research, in which surveys are conducted afresh after a gap of time to see if the results are the same. However, in the context of socio-cultural phenomena in which the rate of change is rapid, obtaining similar results over a period of time is unlikely.

3. Synchronic - This refers to the similarity of observations within the same time period, which can be evaluated by comparisons of the same data by different methods. Unlike quixotic reliability, synchronic reliability involves observations that are consistent in nature. However, Kirk and Miller sensitize us to a very interesting paradox; synchronic reliability is often more useful if it is absent. In other words, if different methods or approaches to a problem throw up different results, it may alert the qualitative research to certain aspects of the problem that he had not considered before.

The ways by which reliability is estimated are:

1. Test / Retest method - if same results are obtained when the same test is administered twice

2. Split-half method - responses to the items of an instrument are divided into two groups and the scores are correlated. The type and degree of correlation indicate the degree of reliability of the measurement

3. Internal consistency - it estimates reliability by grouping questions in a questionnaire that measure the same concept

4. Inter-item test and item-scale test - indicate the degree of reliability of the instrument

5. Alternate-form reliability - it is tested by administering two similar instruments in one session, and is assessed by the degree of correlation between the scores of the two groups

Validity:

Data are 'valid' if they provide a true picture of what is being studied, a true measurement, description or explanation of what it claims to measure or describe. It is an accurate description of social reality. Data can be reliable without being valid. Alan Bryman outlines four types of validity:

1. Measurement validity (also known as construct validity) concerns whether a measure being employed really measures what it claims. For example: whether IQ tests really measure intelligence and whether Church attendance statistics really measure the strength of religious beliefs.

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. For example: many different causal explanations of criminality have had their validity questioned.

3. External validity concerns whether the results of a particular study can be generalized to groups or situations other than those of the study itself. For example: Beverley Skegg's study of

working-class women in a single town in England may lack external validity in relation to working-class women in India.

4. Ecological validity refers to the problem of how closely a research study mirrors the normal or natural setting of people's real experience. The more unnatural a research setting and the more distant it is from everyday life, the more its ecological validity can be questioned. Thus, laboratory experiments may lack ecological validity. Some sociologists believe that questionnaires are also too remote from natural or normal social interaction to possess ecological validity.

Other types are:

1. Conclusion validity - it is concerned about the relationship between the observed outcome (example: participation of students) and the programme (strict attendance policy)
2. Face validity - 'on the face of it', the instrument measures what it is expected to measure
3. Content validity - a measure is considered to have content validity if it covers all possible dimensions of the research topic

Supporters of qualitative methods often argue that quantitative methods lack validity. They lack the depth to describe accurately the meanings and motives that form the basis of social action, and use categories imposed on the social world by the researcher. Hence, ecological, measurement and internal validity can be questionable.

Some researchers advocate the use of respondent validation to overcome the problem of validity. This involves respondents checking research findings so that they can correct any misinterpretations or inaccuracies. However, Rosaline Barbour points that this does not guarantee validity, as there is always a possibility of conflicting interpretations, of which choosing a superior one is many times a valuational choice. And this same reason also makes qualitative research open to the accusation of lacking validity.

P1 - 3 c. Variables, sampling, hypothesis, reliability and validity

Variables are defined as characteristics or conditions that are manipulated, observed and controlled by the researcher. Variables are the attributes of objects, events and things which can be measured.

Earl R Babbie defines a variable as a logical set of attributes.

Dependent variable is one on which the researcher makes a prediction. Independent variable is the one which is measured, manipulated and selected by the researcher. Example: Impact of literacy programme (independent) on the BPL population (dependent)

Qualitative variables like religion v/s quantitative variables like age

Experimental variables spell out details of the investigator's manipulations. Measurement variables refer to the changes happening in the variable which is to be measured. Example: rural development (measurement) may be measured in terms of increase in income, literacy, infrastructure (experimental)

Experimental variables, measured variables, discreet variables, continuous variables.

Multivariate analysis can be used to establish and analyze the relationship between variables. Other methods to establish correlation between variables are regression analysis, chi-square test, etc. which are more statistically driven.

Tuckman recommended certain considerations to be taken into account while selecting variable:
- Variable should be related to the theory with which the researcher is working
- Variable must be selected in view of scope of design of the experiment
- Some practical considerations be taken into account like number of variables, time, nature, type of control

According to GA Lundberg, **Hypothesis** is a tentative generalization, the validity of which remains to be tested. It is a deductive statement that needs to be proved inductively.

Hypothesis is a body of facts whose reliability and validity is not yet established.

qualitative or quantitative

Step 5 :- A new hypothesis which is constructed is tested through the collected data

Step 6 :- If found significant, the hypothesis may take the form of a new theory. or if falsified, another hypothesis is constructed to generate another theory.

Step 7 :- Theories are reviewed by peers to suggest direction for future sociological research.

Hence, hypothesis is the required research tool

For example if we put forward the hypothesis that illiteracy of mothers leads to female infanticide, then female infanticide is the dependent variable and the literacy level of mothers is the independent variable. To test the hypothesis one has to expose it to a situation that can show it to be false. If the hypothesis survives the effort to falsify, it then it is proved true. In the above example we can study the rate of female infanticide among a population of well-educated women. If the sample shows a significant rate of female infanticide that compares favorably with a corresponding sample of illiterate women, then the hypothesis is false. In other words the literacy of women is not a significant variable as far as female infanticide is concerned. If, on the other hand, the sample of educated women shows a significant drop in the incidence of female infanticide, then the hypothesis is tentatively proven.

An example of a controlled comparison is the study by Epstein (1979) of two villages in South India. The following paragraph describes how Epstein used the methodology of comparing identical situations in every respect except for one variable.

Description of the Controlled Comparison

These two villages Wangala and Dalena were identical in terms of culture, social norms and structure of social relationships. Epstein's hypothesis was based upon the then popular structural-functional model that assumed interdependence between the various parts of the social structure. It was hypothesised that the introduction of outside technology would affect the economic dimension and thus upset the earlier harmonic interdependence between the various parts of the society. The two villages selected had different technological bases, one was a dry village depending solely upon rainfall for irrigation and the other had permanent sources of water from tanks and wells. With the introduction of water from the Krishnaraj Sagar Dam built in 1931, both villages underwent changes. The wet village, Wangala, strengthened its earlier forms of social structure, by the increased cash input from better irrigation facilities and the switch over to cash cropping. The increased economic input led to a continuation of earlier structural elements like caste, performance of elaborate rituals and reinforcing of the role of caste and village panchayats. But nothing new, not even electricity, was introduced into the village. The dry village, Dalena, underwent more radical transformations in its economic roles and relationships. While it could not switch to cash cropping, people underwent transformations to non- agricultural activities. People started going to the nearby town for jobs and education and the village became structurally different from what it was before. What Epstein is able to show in her research is that the same economic change, namely irrigation from a dam, can bring about drastically different results in two villages otherwise identical but having different resource bases. The two villages are comparable because they belong to the same region, same culture and had the same type of social structure to begin with. The outside source of change is also identical, the only variable that differed was technology.

soundness of a hypothesis is measured by *testing* it. Testing validates the presumptions made in a hypothesis. It proves that the correlation shown in the statement of the hypothesis also bears an empirical validity, i.e., testing shows that facts and assertions are in coherence. To test a hypothesis, a social researcher makes two hypotheses which are called *Null Hypothesis* (denoted generally as H_0) and *Alternate Hypothesis* (denoted generally as H_1). The null hypothesis is the hypothesis that states that there is no relation between the two or more than two phenomena, whose relation is under investigation. The alternative hypothesis, as the name suggests, is the alternative to the null hypothesis and it states that there is some kind of relationship between the phenomena or variables under the observation. However, while testing the hypothesis, there can be erroneous results due to faulty acceptance of wrong results. There are two such errors —

I. *Type 1 Error* – It occurs when the researcher rejects a null hypothesis when it is actually true. The probability of committing a Type 1 error in statistical terms is called the *significance level*. This probability is also generally called *Alpha* in common social research parlance.

II. *Type 2 Error* – It is a type of which error occurs when the researcher fails to reject a null hypothesis that is false. The probability of committing a Type 2 error is called *Beta*. The probability of *not* committing a Type 2 error is called the *Power* of the test. (See fig. 3.5)
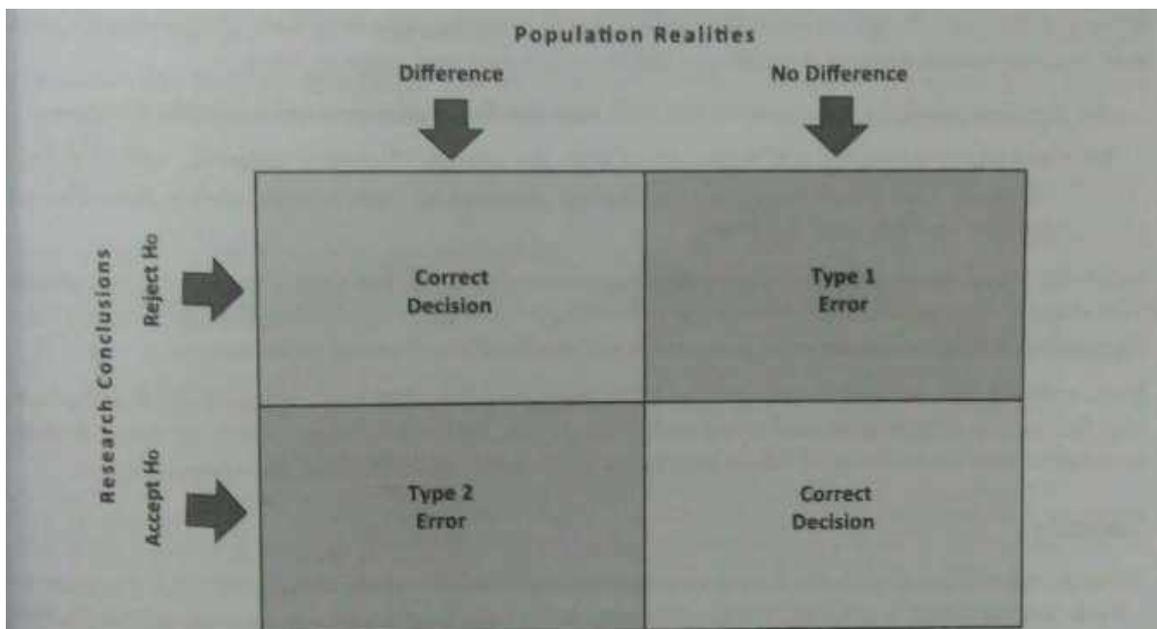
Fig. 3.5 Testing of Hypothesis

In Sociology, both the formulation and testing of a hypothesis are difficult tasks as form and quality of data of one researcher is often easily questioned by the other researcher. Similarly, it is very difficult to precisely define the null and alternate hypotheses in the absence of concrete parameters. For example, if a researcher wants to test the relationship between *marital breakdown* and *alcoholism*, the researcher can never be sure of the correlation, as both, in turn, depend upon a lot of other factors and are very personal in nature. In sociological research, various other factors may also affect a hypothesis testing

Reliability: Test retest reliability, parallel forms reliability, internal consistency reliability (average inter-item correlation, split-half reliability), inter rater reliability

Validity: Face validity, construct validity, criterion validity, content validity, catalystic validity - validity can lead to generalization

Sampling:

AL Bowley - first used sampling in social science research in 1754

Margin of error or sampling error - It arises not due to any mistakes made by researchers but because we are using a small sample to stand for a large population. The unavoidable margin of error in the results of a survey because it is based on information from only a small sample rather than the entire population.

Non-sampling Error : Errors in survey results due to mistakes in the design or application of methods

Use of Sampling in Qualitative Research
As Berger and Sarantkos have pointed out , it is fairly common for qualitative researches to use sampling procedures in the following manner:
- Sampling is relatively small, dealing with typical cases.
- Use of flexible samples in size not requiring statistical calculations
- Use of purposive sampling dealing with non-probability
- Use of sampling to achieve suitability rather than representativeness
- Sampling occurs while the research is in progress, rather than selecting a sample before starting it.

Definition of Probability Sampling:
In statistics, probability sampling refers to the sampling method in which all the members of the population has a pre-specified and an equal chance to be a part of the sample. This technique is based on the randomization principle, wherein the procedure is so designed, which guarantees that each and every individual of the population has an equal selection opportunity. This helps to reduce the possibility of bias.
Statistical inferences can be made by the researchers using this technique, i.e. the result obtained can be generalized from the surveyed sample to the target population. The methods of probability sampling, are provided below:
- Simple Random Sampling
- Stratified Sampling

- Cluster Sampling
- Systematic Sampling

Definition of <u>Non-Probability Sampling:</u>

When in a sampling method, all the individuals of the universe are not given an equal opportunity of becoming a part of the sample, the method is said to be Non-probability sampling. Under this technique as such, there is no probability attached to the unit of the population and the selection relies on the subjective judgment of the researcher. Therefore, the conclusions drawn by the sampler cannot be inferred from the sample to the whole population. The methods of non-probability sampling are listed below:
- Convenience Sampling
- Quota Sampling
- Judgment or Purposive Sampling
- Snowball Sampling

Methodological triangulation:

In *Doing Sociology: A Practical Introduction*, Harvey and MacDonald describe the following three types of methodological triangulation:
- One researcher uses two or more research techniques.
- Two or more researchers use the same research technique.
- Two or more researchers use two or more research techniques.

You may use methodological triangulation for the following purposes:
- To gather different types of information, for example qualitative and quantitative
- Two or more researchers use the same method and then compare their results to find out if they agree that they have similar findings
- To check that material collected in one form is both reliable and valid.

P1 - 4 a. Karl Marx - Historical materialism, mode of production, alienation, class struggle

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 216 to 236

1818 - 1883
Marxian ideas = SUOR

Historical Materialism

Historical because Marx traced the evolution of human societies from one stage to another. Materialism because he interpreted the evolution of societies in terms of their economic base.

Humans are not naturally free - we cannot adapt to nature well, hence Labour = modifying nature

Only when we change nature, labouring cooperatively can we get rid of natural constraints

Primitive communism = natural constraints (everyone equal socially but need food), then we have social constraints in all other stages - due to unequal distribution of surplus - working together helped us overcome natural constraints

HM - looks at change over time and looks at questions like how production is organized, who has food, money, etc.

- Criticism
  This monocausal (economic) explanation of history draws criticism for its myopic view.

1) STEINER - history is not predet. it can be accidental

2) M.WEBER - It is difficult to determine the beginning and end of history. It does not follow these stages.
   Eg: Singapore directly jumps to cap without ancient, feudal.
   India has a mix of socialism, feudalism, & slavery.

3) ELSTER apply HM / one cannot study history scientifically
   it is more ideological than scientific

4) ZETTING: It is diff to study history in its entirety.
   Marx studies it only thro a class peep.

Significance

Firstly it has provided a sequence to social development

Secondly HM/MOP introduced to socio a new method of inquiry, new concepts and a bold hypothesis to explain the rise, dev & decline of particular forms of soc

Thirdly it was novel in its study of human progress and tried to synthesise the entire legacy of social knowledge since Aristotle

Lastly HM/MOP provides a method to understand the existing social reality

Mode of Production: It is a system of material production which persists over a long period of time. Each mode of production is distinguished by its means of production (e.g.: technology and forms of production organization) and the relations of production (e.g.: slavery, serfdom, wage labour).

Modes of production = forces of production + relations of production = feudalism, etc. = stages of history

Marx called the different ways of production of goods in the society as modes of production. And based on the modes of production Marx distinguished five historical epochs in the development of humanity. These in chronological order are primitive communist, ancient, feudal, capitalist and communist

FOP = technical and scientific parts of the economy, tools, buildings, material resources, technology, human labour that makes it go - factory, oil, engine also cultural and social technology like assembly line

ROP = how people organize themselves around labour - work for themselves? Or for wages? How is ownership?

Superstructure built on top of material reality

Means of production = inanimate part - the actual physical stuff that make up forces of production - land, raw material, tools and machines

Capitalism does not have legally defined classes - but proletariat do not control means of production - bourgeoisie control means of production and what comes out of them - this difference gives rise exploitation in form of wage labour - proletariat can only sell labour as no control - paid less than worth of what they produce - profit - so bourgeoisie wants to keep wage low and production high

Crisis of production - over production - but people cannot afford to buy - market collapse - Forces of production are constrained by the limits created by relations of production

Bourgeoisie aligned with ROP, proletariat want change with forces of production and also ROP - revolution

Gramsci - ruling class stays in power, in part, due to hegemonic culture - dominant ideas all pervasive in the society - not necessarily economic ideas

Conflict theory is the basic idea of looking at power dynamics and analyzing the ways in which struggles over power drive societal change as all groups fight for control over resources.

Alienation

Psychological detachment that happens to every worker in the industrial society

You are what you produce

Species essence - people identified with what they made - example bread was an extension of the baker

Marx talks of 2 types of DOL - social DOL was unavoidable, but DOL in production increases efficiency, alienation both

Alienation from product, from one's own labour, from others (competition, no sense of cooperation), from oneself

Marx used the term to refer to the loss of control on the part of workers over the nature of the labour task, and over the products of their labour

A process in capitalist society by which human beings are separated and distanced from (or made strangers to) nature, other human beings, their work and its product, and their own nature or self.

C.W. Mills states that the growth of the tertiary (service) sector in modern industrial societies has contributed to self-alienation among the white-collar (non-manual) workers. In these societies, 'skills with things' have been replaced by 'skills with persons' which the non-manual workers have to sell like commodities. Mills calls this 'personality market' since aspects of personality at work is false and insincere.

Herbert Marcuse, talking of work and leisure in advanced industrial societies, says that both work and leisure alternate people from their true selves. Work is 'stupefying' and 'exhausting' while leisure involves modes of relaxation which only soothe and prolong this stupyfication and it is largely a pursuit of false needs.

Melvin Seeman applied Reputational Approach to study alienation. He has tried to define alienation in a comprehensive way. He argues that alienation could be decomposed into five separate elements; powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement. However, Seeman simply treats them as subjective dispositions which can be measured with the help of attitude scales.

Michael Piore and Charles Sabel say that in 'Post Fordist' societies, work is no longer mechanical, but skill based and this diminishes Alienation

Harry Bravermann claims that introduction of new technology leads to reduction in creative input and increases deskilling and alienation

Marx misjudged the extent of alienation in the average worker. The great depth of alienation and frustration which Marx "witnessed" among the workers of his day is not "typical" of today's capitalism or its worker who tends to identify increasingly with a number of "meaningful" groups-religious, ethnic, occupational and local. This is not to deny the existence of alienation but to point out that alienation results more from the structure of bureaucracy and of mass society than from economic exploitation.

'Leisure' is one such phenomena which means different to different working class:-

(i) Expansive :- For a group of working class, leisure extends into work. There's no clearcut demarcation b/w work & leisure. These type of workers have greatest autonomy.
w:- Businessman, social worker, teacher etc.

(ii) Neutral :- For another group of workers there's balanced working hour & leisure. They don't mix leisure with working hours.

(iii) Opposition -: For the manual workers, leisure is central to their life as they don't have autonomy to choose b/w work & leisure

Alienation and Anomie:

Thesis: (similarities)

- Context –both Marx and Durkheim with the help of their concepts were responding to the newly emerging capitalistic society as well as challenges that were associated with it

- Concern – both were concerned with restoring peace and harmony in society – both believed that with the resolution of the problems of alienation and anomie, the social order will be restored in modern society

- Structural approach – both believed that the problems of alienation and anomie are rooted in the social structure of society

Anti-Thesis: (differences)

- Cause – Marx (institution of private property); Durkheim (pathological division of labor)

- Character – Marx (alienation is a permanent feature of all class based societies but reaches its peak in capitalist society); Durkheim (anomie is an aberration, temporary and transitory, manifests only in times of social and economic crises)

- Solution – Marx (alienation can't be resolved with capitalistic framework, institution of private property must be abolished and communal ownership of forces of production must be established); Durkheim ('occupational associations' to harmonise the interests of both owners as well as workers, advocated work ethics and educational reforms)

Synthesis:

- Both concepts are partly relevant in contemporary times – alienation does exist in multiple forms and economic inequality is one of the major factor – but the solution that Marx offered has been discounted by history –anomie too is a useful concept for analyzing social change particularly in the third world societies – but Durkheim's assertion about its temporary nature can also be questioned in the light of perpetual conflict in West Asia and Africa.

However CRITICS like BRAVERMAN and JOHN SCOTT argue that managerial revolution is taking place whereby managers are continuously involved between capitalists and labourers and thus effectively removing alienation. Industries are experiencing LABOUR MONOPOLY through trade unions where no capitalist can carry business without appeasing them.

Similarly MANDELL argues that competitive and exploitative capitalism is replaced by collaborative

and welfaristic capitalism where there is no class alienation.

SEEMAN, OLLMAN, INKELS & SMITH also rejects Marxian theory of class alienation in present context and argue that alienation present today is occupational, situational, environmental, psychological and personal experience and not class experience.

Class Struggle

Class - Marx popularized this word

Reserve army of workers exist - so easy to exploit workers

Marx talks of revolution but it need not necessarily be violent. It can be non - violent if bourgeoisie are willing to hand over control of FOP to the proletariat.

Dahrendorf -"Instead of advancing their claim of members of homogenous group, people are more likely to compete with each other, as individuals for a place in the sun". As a result class solidarity and intensity will reduced and (especially class conflict will reduced). The gap between social and economic inequalities will be reduced. It means class struggle will be reduced. He found in his analysis that there is "Decomposition of Labour" (Skilled workers, Semi-Skilled Workers and Unskilled Workers) and "Decomposition of Capital" (Owners and Managers)

The most distinct characteristic of modern capitalism has been the emergence of a large, "contented and conservative" middle-class consisting of managerial, professional, supervisory, and technical personnel. Modern corporations entail a separation between ownership and control; the capitalists who own the instruments of production are not necessarily the "effective" decision-makers. Also the wide spread ownership of the means of production through investment in stocks, and the great expansion of government role in the regulation of big business, redistribution of wealth and general social welfare functions were not anticipated by Marx.

- Dahrendorf argues it's not two polarised classes, rather conflict groups are present in society on basis of access to political power.

- Ossowski advocates in modern capitalistic society polarisation does not happen, rather like socialism State is the center of all activities, but ultimately it's still power which dictates term upon masses.

- Gramsci in his theory of hegemonistic domination advocates it's hegemony of the controller of power which rules the masses.

- Pierre Bourdieu talks about political power/capital, symbolic power capital & economic capital which denies entry of outsiders into domain of power.

- Althusser advocates State using ideological state apparatus & repressive state apparatus control masses.

- Many contemporary sociologists have even advocated that it's labour monopoly which rules capitalistic economy, as advocated by Braverman in his book 'Labour monopoly & capitalism'.

- John scott talks about managerial class at the center of all activities in 'Managerial revolution'.

- Amos Alan advocates primitive capitalism has been turned into collaborative capitalism.

Karl Marx Quotes:

The German Ideology: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances. but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past.. "

A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."

The Communist Manifesto: The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered Forms, was , on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation, distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed fast frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away; all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind. "

Das Capital: "There is royal road to science, and only those dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits. "

P1 - 4 b. Emile Durkheim - Division of labour, social fact, suicide, religion and society

1858 - 1917

Anomie: For Durkheim, a social condition where the norms guiding conduct break down, leaving individuals without social restraint or guidance.

Society is sui generis

Social structure, social change, form of social change, problem arising, solution - all explained by Durkheim - he was inspired by Herbert Spencer and Ferdinand Tonnies

Simple polysegmental society to polysegmental simple compound society

Division Of Labour

His ideas Of the integration Of social structure in the economy is found is the work, 'The Division Of Labour'.

Primarily interested in the ways in which social life is integrated and regulated.

He made a distinction between two types Of society - segmented and complex.

Segmented society:
- Homogenous society
- DOL based on and age
- Removal of units replaced by new Ones and structures maintained

Complex Society:
- Heterogeneous society
- DOL based on skill and knowledge
- Removal Of specialized role would affect VitaI function

The DOL in the segmented society defined as mechanical solidarity and that in complex society as organic solidarity. Population = material density, level of interaction = moral density --> increase of material and moral density necessitates DOL - productive tasks became more and more specialized
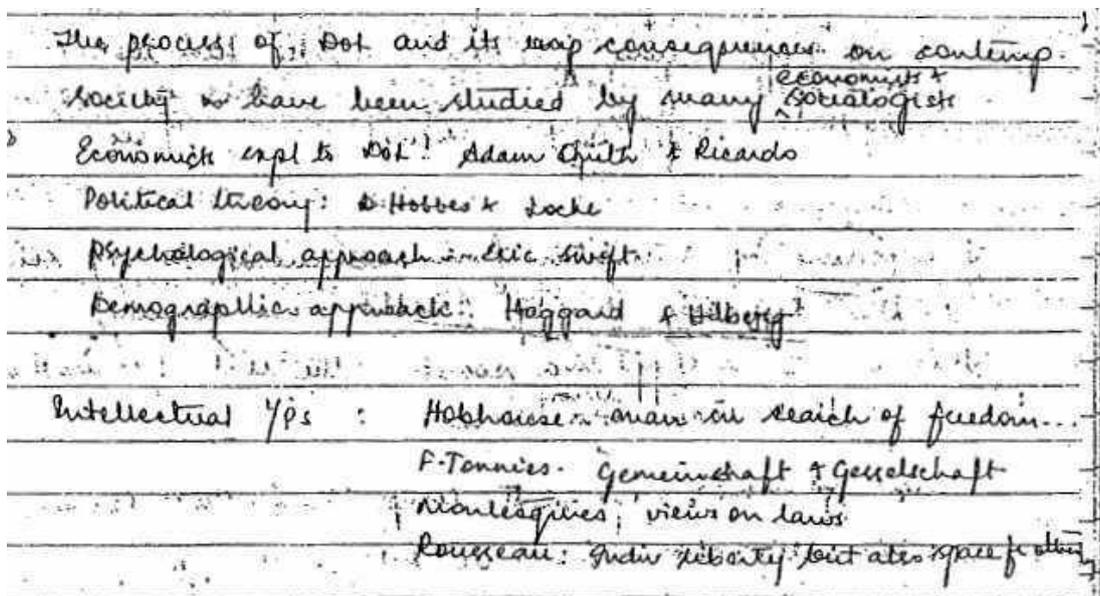
Mechanical Solidarity: According to Durkheim, traditional cultures with a low division of labour are characterized by mechanical solidarity. Because most members of the society are involved in similar occupations, they are bound together by common experience and shared beliefs - similar to Gemeinschaft of Tonnies

Organic Solidarity: According to Durkheim, societies characterized by organic solidarity are held together by people's economic interdependence and a recognition of the importance of others' contributions. As the division of labour becomes more complex, people become more and more dependent on one another, because each person needs goods and services that those in other occupations supply. Relationships of economic reciprocity and mutual dependency come to replace shared beliefs in creating social consensus - similar to Gesellschaft of Tonnies

"Nowadays, the phenomenon (of division of labor) has developed so generally it is obvious to all. We need have no further illusions about the tendencies of modern industry; it advances steadily towards powerful machines, towards great concentrations of forces and capital, and consequently to the extreme division Of labor".

"But the division of labor is not peculiar to the economic world: we can observe its growing influence in the most varied fields Of society. The political, administrative, and judicial functions are growing more and more specialized. It is the same with the aesthetic and scientific functions. It is long since philosophy reigned as the science unique; it has been broken into a multitude of special disciplines each of which has its object, method, and thought. Men working in the sciences have become increasingly more specialized."

Free man enters market as individual choice and works for happiness - market is open, not controlled by state and everyone gets equal opportunity - DOL product of economic transformation of society - Marx contradicts saying exploitation

Durkheim says DOL is a social fact. It is not an economic necessity. The economic services that DOL renders is insignificant compared to the moral effect that it produces and its true function is to create between two or more people a feeling of solidarity.

Durkheim distinguished between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Besides, Durkheim was aware that societies might be classified in other ways also. He classified them as a simple societies (the hordes), simple poly segmentary societies (the three tribes which founded Rome) and doubly compounded poly segmental societies (The Germanic tribes).

Goodlocke criticizes Durkheim for misinterpreting system integrity and interdependence as social integrity

Malinowski criticizes Durkheim for equating DOL with human progress

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If I do not submit to the conventions of society, if in my dress I do not conform to the customs observed in my country and in my class, the ridicule I provoke, the social isolation in which I am kept, produce, although in an attenuated form, the same effects as punishment in the strict sense of the word.

As an industrialist, I am free to apply the technical methods of former centuries; but by doing so, I should invite certain ruin.

A social fact is every way of acting, fixed or not, capable of exercising on the individual an external constraint; or again, every way of acting which is general throughout a given society, while at the same time existing in its own right independent of its individual manifestations.

Social fact - external, general, coercive, if you deviate there will be a backlash - constraint, independent

Social fact studied using positivistic methodology - observation, classification, verification, comparison and generalization

6 rules for observing social facts reliably:
- Treat SFs as things. As things, they have to be studied by empirical method
- All preconceptions should be eradicated
- Observation of SFs should be confined to their external attributes only, which can be tested and verified
- SFs must be separated from individual facts
- Voluntary nature of SFs should not be assumed before hand
- Observation of SFs should be as definite as possible and the concepts should be formulated precisely

Also, verification of normalcy of a SF is through functional analysis, because what is normal to one society, might be pathological to another and vice versa depending upon its functional nature

Gabriel Tarde - While criticizing Durkheim's social fact Tarde says that it is very difficult to understand how a society can exists without an individual. Tarde has criticized Durkheim for neglecting individuals and giving much emphasis on society. In this reference Tarde says that if students and professors are evacuated from a college, what will remain their except the name.

Harry Elmer Bayons - has criticized Durkheim for putting more thrust on the constant part of social fact. For him individuals do many actions without any societal compulsions. For example helping weaker people, philanthropist activities etc.

He distinguishes between different types of social facts, but considered them as lying on a continuum. First, on one extreme are the structural or morphological social facts. These social facts are clearly visible and make up the substratum of collective life. These are the components or parts of which society is composed of and their mutual relationship and agreement Eg: most of the demographic phenomena like distribution of population, forms of dwellings etc.

Secondly, there are institutionalised form of social facts which are firmly established and developed, more or less general and widely spread in the society as a whole. Eg: legal and moral rules, Religious dogma, established beliefs and practices, culture.

Thirdly, there are the social currents. These facts are not institutionalised and have not yet acquired crystalised forms. These are in the process of evolving.

Having observed, classified, verified and compared the social facts, he gives us the rules for the explanation of social facts before generalising them. Under this, he gives us two approaches which may be used in the explanations of social facts — causal and; functional explanations

In the causal analysis, the causes which give rise to a given social fact must be identified separately from whatever social functions it may fulfil. Thus, it is concerned with explaining 'why' the social phenomena in question exists. In the functional analysis, the function which a particular social fact performs in a society is considered. Functional explains the need for a social fact.

Also, SF can and should be explained through comparison. Experimentation not possible in Sociology, so comparison is the closest alternative for testing sociological explanations. In using comparative method, he follows JS Mills System of Logic - method of concomitant variations as the procedure for the comparative method. Changes which take place in one thing, lead to changes in other things.

Suicide

All cases of deaths, directly or indirectly, resulting from positive or negative acts of victim himself, which he knew would result into death

Man's characteristic privilege is that the bond he accepts is not physical, but moral; that is, social. He is governed not by a material environment brutally imposed on him, but by a conscience superior to his own, the superiority of which he feels. Because the greater, better part of his existence transcends the body, he escapes the body's yoke, but is subject to that of society.

The act of killing or ending one's own life is suicide. When a number of people commit suicide in a society, suicides are calculated according to the proportion of suicides per 1,000,000 (one million) population per year. This is the suicide rate.

Different groups have different collective sentiments, which produce different social currents. These social currents affect individual decisions about suicide. Change in normal SFs lead to change in suicide rates --> causal analysis

Marcuse - suicide can also be motivated by individual or psychological causes, not just socially driven

Gabriel Tarde - theory of imitation rules out suicide as a social fact

He also rejects demographic g theory of SALVIN which claims suicide is dependent on climatic factors, race, gender, migration etc. Durkheim argues that degree of insanity is more among women than men still men commit more no. of suicides. Thus suicide is not a demographic fact.

eg: In the study of 'suicide', Emile Durkheim had created a hypothesis that the rate of suicide was inversely related to the social solidarity. The empirical referent for social solidarity was the index of law ie law and order situation in a society. He collected data from different countries and empirically tested the hypothesis to establish the sociological theory of suicide. His theory states that suicide is due to 'suicidogenic current'

Religion *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 1912

Born in a family of Rabbis - but not interested in religion once adult

Believed that religion is something eminently social

For Durkheim, at the heart of every religion stands the sacred. Sacred = society divinized

The sacred cannot, without losing its nature, be mixed with the profane. Any mixture, or even contact, profanes it, that is to destroys its essential attributes. But this separation does not leave the two orders of being that have been separated upon the same level. We see this from the solution of continuity that exists between the sacred and the profane. There is between them no common measure, they are heterogeneous and incommensurable.

GUY SWANSON FOUND THAT KINSHIP BASED SOCIETIES HAD NO CONCEPT OF SINGLE GOD AND NEITHER DID THEY HAVE ANY ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION WHICH COMPETED WITH KINSHIP ORGANISATION FOR OBESISANCE. Instead they tended to practice totemic type of religion which symbolized and strengthened the kinship organization. ON THE OTHER HAND, HIGHLY DIFFERENTIATED TYPES OF SOCIETIES, LIKE KINGDOM OR A NATION TENDED TO HAVE A BELIEF IN A SINGLE SUPREME GOD. Such a belief in a single God provided a rallying point for the members of the society and thus helped in maintaining solidarity. Thus the nature of religious belief corresponded with the nature of social structure as postulated by Durkheim.

EDMUND LEACH insists that actions fall in between the two extremes on a continuous scale. At one extreme are actions which are entirely profane, at the other actions which are entirely sacred. Between the two extremes fall the majority of social actions.

Steven Lukes - Durkheim's defined relation between religion and society is ambiguous and even tautological sometimes

Evans Pritchard - totem is not a universal phenomenon in every society

Freubraug - in 'Essence of Christianity' criticizes the functional role of religion by saying that it makes people weak

In this way, by giving the concept of dysfunctionality, latent functions & functional alternatives, Merton added a new paradigm in functional analysis.

Ans 2 (a) → Pre-modern society had deeply diffused <u>conscience collective</u> whose content was <u>overwhelmingly religious</u> ie religion governed every aspect of society. Durkheim says, <u>with modernisation</u>, progressive weakening of conscience collective, would lead to <u>increasing space for moral-individualism</u> and so religion would give way to <u>secular-entities</u>.

According to Durkheim, in pre-industrial society, & technology was simple, social-stratification was minimal, so, religion served the function of <u>solidarity & moral regulation</u>, because society had common standard of morality for all individuals. It served the purpose of <u>individual subordination before society</u>.

~~But with modern~~

with modernisation, increasing moral/dynamic density, increasing specialisation and hence increasing individualism, weakened the common standards of morality and control. So, now religion does not is not needed to subordinate individuals before society. The different secular entities i.e representation collective like laws, education etc would serve the function of bringing common morality. ⓐ Nationalism with flag as symbol of collectivity would serve function of solidarity in society.

criticism -

i) R.K. Merton observed that, Durkheim's study of religion in simple society, is not applicable to III world countries where multiple religions are present in each society. Intra-religion level unites, but at inter-religion level it divides the society.

2) Malinowski said that with modernity, religion would not disappear, rather it would be privatised & pro pluralised.

3) Durkheim failed to recognise the new trends in religion in modern society eg Now religion has emerged as an ideology of protest.

3. **(b)** Compare and contrast the methodology made use of by Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, in their, scientific study of society. 25

Emile Durkheim belongs to a French school of sociology which goes for synthetic approach advocating that sociology in an all inclusive discipline. He is celebrating sociology as a discipline.

On the other hand Max weber belongs to German school of sociology which is going for formalist or modest approach. This school recognize the limitations of sociology and the subject matter it can study.

(I) Emile Durkheim is a positivist who is in favour of applying scientific method to sociological studies. This is clear from his study of suicide, totemism, social facts etc. which are based on empirical data and facts

whereas max weber is a non-positivist who claims that sociology should not go for scientific method. It is a social science unique in itself and should develop its own methodology rather than running to get status of science.

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(2) Durkheim is giving a generalised theory of society considering that society has a life of its own and it is driven by conscience collective. He is using empirical data as facts and fitting them into his theory of society.

On the other hand weber considers reality to be so vast and dynamic that it cannot be explained by single theory. Therefore he constructs ideal type about essence of reality which acts as a guide to research. such ideal type can be amended according to need of research.

Thus Ideal type is a lower level abstraction than generalised theory of society given by Durkheim.

(3) Durkheim goes for classification of societies into simple and complex grounded on division of labour.

whereas weber makes ideal type of traditional and modern societies grounded on power and authority.

eg: legal rational authority is driven by rules,

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laws and regulations.

(4) Durkheim considers that subject matter of sociology is to study social facts which are universal, subjected to continuity, emergent in nature and constraining in character. He considers social facts as things and follow comparative analysis, so that scientific method can be applied.

contrary to this weber considers that social action is foundation to sociology as they are driven by moods, motivations, values etc which are subjective though the actions may be objective. Thus sociology goes for subjective understanding of objective realities.

(5) Durkheim follows explanatory approach ie. he is trying to explain what sociology is. He is engaged in praising collectivity and studying structures present in theo society. Thus following structure - functionalist approach while weber follows VERSTEHEN ie interpretation/ understanding approach. He tries to establish

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a _connectivity_ between _nomothetic_ and _idiographic_ enquiry in sociology.

(6) Durkheim goes for _reductional analysis_ and employ cause-effect relationships.

eg: Durkheim study on _totemism_ extends the form of social cohesiveness present in primitive societies to all religions of world.

Whereas Weber considers the _dynamic nature_ of social reality demands comprehensive analysis rather than qualitative, speculative, imaginative and assumption based theories.

eg: He studies all religions separately constructing ideal types for relationship between economy and religion (Protestant ethics)

(7) Durkheim is involved in philosophical _romanticism_ glorifying sociology by focusing only on social facts.

Weber being a rationalist & realist tries to establish a connectivity between theories and facts.

- thus Weber feels that sociology should follow the spirit of science than methodology of science while Durkheim applies scientific method in sociology.

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P1 - 4 c. Max Weber - Social action, ideal type, authority, bureaucracy, protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism

1864 - 1920

"The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the disenchantment of the world. Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations. It is not accidental that our greatest art is intimate and not monumental."

Social Action

Max Weber defined sociology as an interpretative understanding of social action. Max Weber continued to speak of social as having two qualities : one, while doing such an action, the actor must take into account the presence of another actor and wholly or partially be guided by it and two, the actor must attach a subjective meaning to it.

Social action, like all action, may be oriented in four ways—
1. Instrumentally rational (zweckrationål), that is, determined by expectations as to the behavior Of objects in the environment and Of Other human beings; these expectations are used as "conditions"; or "means"; for the attainment Of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends;
2. value-rational (wertrational), that is, determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, independently of its prospects of success;
3. Affectual (especially emotional), that is, determined by the actor's specific affects and feeling states;
4. Traditional that is, determined by ingrained habituation.

Sociology is a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences. We shall speak of "action", insofar the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behaviour - be it overt or covert, omission or acquiescence. Action is "social", insofar as its subjective meaning take account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course.

Hermeneutics of Dilthey refers to the interpretation of texts to understand context. This inspired Weber to come up with the idea of Verstehen.

Verstehen means understanding the subjective meaning that an actor attaches to his actions. It adds context to the text.

Verstehen, Ideal Type, Causal Plurality, Sphere of Value Relevance and Value Neutrality.

To understand social action, he professed use of Verstehen, which involves 2 steps of :-

① direct observational understanding similar to positive methods.

② motivational understanding - it involves establishing empathetic liason with actor, build sequence of meaning emotives and understand underlying the course & consequence of the social action.

Other methodologies Proposed by Weber

- Ideal Type : one sided accentuation of reality, by assimilating individual phenomenon into with the one point of view into a single analytical construct.

  Significance of ideal type :-
  - helps in comparative analysis
  - akin to experimentation in social sciences
  - helps establish causal relation.

- Causal plurality - suggests there are many reasons behind a social phenomenon ∴ society is too complex to be generalised into mono causality.

- Value Relevance - suggests a absolute values creep into in during selection of research topic, however value

neutrality must be encouraged.

Thus Weber's interpretive sociology helped add new dimensions to sociology.

Ideal Type

Methodology of sociology = development of Ideal Type

Objective understanding of subjective reality.

"The Ideal typical concept will develop our skill in imputation in research. It is not a description of reality but it aims to give unambiguous means of expression to such a description."

Abraham - Ideal Type on religion of Jews was mired with biased attitude because Weber assumed Jews to be 'pariah people'.

Imp: utility of ideal types in sociology -
1) Reality is infinitely complex, so human mind comprehends reality through ideal types'
2) for bringing selectivity in sociological research.
3) for easing classificatory typology.
4) Act as experimentation at mind-level
5) Help in comprehending social reality which exist as clusters'

Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism

His main concern was to figure out the conditions under which the modern capitalism of western type arose and flourished - rejects Marxian idea that internal dynamics of the economic forces alone led to its rise - any change is driven by a motivational current which is ignored by the materialist thinkers

The major explanatory variable for the emergence of capitalism in the West was the set of religious ideas created by the religious revolutions of the 16th century.

He found out those who are technical and commercial owners and the leaders of the economic system are overwhelmingly Protestants.

Certain values that are associated with protestant religion and that are so important to capitalistic economic development.
1. Acquisition rationality
2. Financial Rationality
3. Work rationality
4. Individualism and competition

Infrastructure	Values	Result

-	-	Tribal Societies
+	-	Oriental Societies
-	+	Black Americans
+	+	Protestants

① Aiyal & Bellah : estrangement from rel prespelled Jap. Redust
② J. J. Rustow : defeat in WW II & national disgrace was
the cause for growth of cap in cont. Japan
③ Alexander Gresschentron : not rel but common eco plight
which gave rise to eco dev in Russia
∴ secular values also guide action
④ Gunnar Myrdal : book Asian Planner
colonialism giving way to freedom the cause for
Ind growth Eg : India
⑤ Richard Bendix : cross cultural contact provide
stimulus for eco dev. Eg : Germany — ideology
from France, expertise from America & techno from UK
⑥ Lanayer Viplot : pol culture and role of elite
determine cap Eg : Saddam's Iraq
Ayetallah Khan :
∴ people in power decide
⑦ Neil J Smelser : family, kinship, edu^n, public op, press
Schools etc can greatly determine extent of cap growth
⑧ Joseph Schumpeter : Role of enterprise, entrepreneurship
in the dev of early cap
⑨ Andre Gunder ⎤ emphasized the role of colonial
Frank Wallerstine ⎬ rule or imperial domination in
Moudlder ⎦ the dev of cap among imperial power
colonial expansion divided the world into 2 major zones
and created an international DoL wherein colonies
supplied cheap raw matt . . . . .

R H TAWNEY: pointed out that THE EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE ON WHICH WEBER'S INTERPRETATION OF PROTESTANTISM WAS BASED WAS TOO NARROW. According to him, England was the first country to develop capitalism. However, the English Puritans did not believe in the doctrine of pre destination. Secondly THERE WERE ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC TEACHING WHICH WERE EQUALLY COMPATIBLE WITH CAPITALISM. Yet capitalism was extremely slow in some Catholic dominated areas. Weber seems to have ignored crucial developments in Catholicism which occurred after reformation and which modernized Catholicism form within.

Weberian thesis of Capitalism seems to be contradictory in that it requires the consumption of commodities as well as saving for future investment. Protestant asceticism aids the latter but the former may require hedonism. Finally the present day Capitalists are no longer guided by inner worldly asceticism. The modern day life style is increasingly hedonistic.

T.C. HALL says that ALL THE TIME CALVINIST SHOULD BECAME RICH BECAUSE OF THEIR VALUES. CALVINISM IS STRONGLY SUPPORTED AMONG THE PEOPLE OF HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND AND HILLY REGIONS OF SOUTH AMERICA, BUT THEY ARE POOR. It shows that a religious belief does not make a person wealthy but situations make him so.

JPS Uberoi and Veena Das - Baniyas, Sindhis, Chettiars driven by Protestant Ethics - Charvakism, Lokyatism were Hindu materialist cults - Bhagwad Gita's Nishkaam Karma is similar to the concept of calling in Protestants

Dickson - suppression of American Blacks is the reason why they could not develop the spirit of capitalism

Robertson - both Catholicism and Protestantism help in inculcating the spirit of capitalism

Gunnar Myrdal - colonial suppression acted as an obstacle for rise of spirit of capitalism and economic growth in India

Robert Bellah - spirit of capitalism preaches protestant ethics and not vice versa

questions how ascetic Protestants supported a consumer oriented capitalist market. Who would consume?

- Private ownership of the means of production
- Technological progress to the degree that production can be calculated in advance. For example: Mechanization or automation
- Formally free labour
- The organization of capitalist producers into joint stock companies
- Calculable law that is the universalistic legal system which applied to everyone and is administered equitably

These elements form the basis of the ideal type of modern capitalism.

The role of sociological factors in economic development has been realized by economists like Arthur Lewis who in his book 'The theory of Economic Growth' has highlighted the significance of sociological factors like the desire for goods, attitude to work, influence of property system, social mobility, the religious and family structures, population growth, the role of government etc. in determining economic growth.

Was it the ideas that drove capitalism? Or was it necessity? Many may share PE, but necessity for capitalism may not have been there. Capitalism is a product of necessity than mere ideology.

Ideal Type of PE = frugality, hard work, doctrine of predestination, salvation

He referred to Indian as medieval society, that jagat seths & Nagar seths were present, who exploited poor workers and did extensive trade unethically and accumulated huge wealth. But the society did not allow lending and borrowing of money and trade was considered menial job in Hindu Brahminical hinduism. Since society did not support the process of profiteering & production, so, capitalism remained nascent.

Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy is the institutionalization of goal-rational action and a means of organizational arrangement to most effectively meet organizational goals. It is a means of exercise of legal-rational authority and is a characteristic of modern industrial societies.

For Weber, bureaucracy is the organizational apparatus of the modern state and the modern capitalist state is completely dependent upon bureaucratic organization for its continued existence. Weber describes the state as gaining its power in modernity by concentrating the means of administration in the hands of an absolute monarch. Bureaucratic set up developed, for example in ancient Egypt, when the monarch needed a permanent army, to ensure supplies of arms and military equipment. According to Weber these developments were the most important factors promoting the emergence of the modern state in which the expert officialdom, based on the division of labour is wholly separated from ownership of its means of administration. Officials in modern, rational bureaucracies have little or no control over what they do since the rules and procedures of bureaucracies take on a life of their own, restricting the activities and decisions of those who work in them to the functions of the offices they fill. The bureaucracy become the 'steel-hard housing' in modern state.'

This growth of rational state, which has its corpus of bureaucratic officials, is not wholly derivative of economic rationalization, but to some extent preceded the development of capitalism as well as created condition, which promoted its rise. The head of the system of the legal authority or bureaucracy is the head of the state. And it can hold a position through appropriation, election or designated by succession. But even then his or her power is legally limited.

According to Weber, though rationalization is evident in economic life, cultural life etc. of a society it is fundamentally evident in the modern institutions of administration, more especially bureaucracy. He says neither capitalism with its connection with liberalism nor state socialism with its formal commitment to social justice, can avoid the use of bureaucratic means of administrative domination. The impersonality and calculability characters of the bureaucracy are seen not only as constraining but also as extremely efficient in securing

the popular compliance with the structures of domination. They are for Weber a key instance of the typical modern form of legitimate domination that is replacing the appeal of tradition as society's predominant legitimating principle.

<u>Ideal Type of Bureaucracy:</u>

The characteristic features Of the ideal type Of bureaucracy according to Weber are:

1. A continuous Organization Of Official functions bound by rules.
2. A specific sphere Of competence. This involves
   a. a sphere Of Obligation to perform functions, which has been marked Off as part Of a systematic division Of labour.
   b. The provision Of the incumbent with the necessary authority to carry Out these functions.
   c. That the necessary means Of compulsion are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions.
3. The Organization Of Offices follows the principle Of hierarchy; that is, each lower Office is under the control and supervision Of a higher One. There is a right Of appeal and Of statement Of grievances from lower to the higher. Hierarchies differ in respect to whether and in what cases complaints can lead to rulings from an authority at various points higher in the scale, and as to whether chances are imposed from higher up Or the responsibility for such changes is left to the lower Office, the conduct Of which was the subject Of complaint.
4. The rules which regulate the conduct Of an Office may be technical rules Or norms. In both cases, if their application is to be fully rational, specialized training is necessary. It is thus normally true that Only a person who has demonstrated an adequate technical training is qualified to be a member Of the administrative staff Of such an Organized group, and hence Only such persons are eligible for appointment to Official positions.
5. In the rational type it is a matter Of principle that the members Of the administrative staff should be completely separated from Ownership Of the means Of production and administration. Officials, employees and workers attached to the administration staff do not themselves Owns the non-human means Of production and administration. These are rather provided for their use in kind Or in money, and the Official is Obliged to render an accounting Of their use. There exists, furthermore, in principle complete separation Of the property belonging to the Organization, which is controlled within the sphere Of Office, and the personal property Of the Official which is available for his Own private uses. There is a corresponding separation Of the place which Official functions are carried, the 'Office' in the sense Of premises, from living quarters.
6. In the rational type case, there is also a complete absence Of appropriation Of his Official position by the incumbent. Where 'rights' to an Office exist, as in the case Of judges, and recently Of an increasing proportion Of Officials and even Of workers, they do not normally serve the purpose Of appropriation by the Official but Of securing the purely Objective and independent character Of the conduct Of the Office so that is Oriented Only to the relevant norms.
7. Administrative acts, decisions and rules formulated and recorded in writing, even in cases where Oral discussion is the rule Or is even mandatory. This applies at least to preliminary discussions and proposals, to final decisions, and to all sorts Of Orders and rules. The combination Of written documents and continuous Organization Of Official functions constitutes the 'Office' which is the central focus Of all types Of modern action.

Bureaucracy becomes uncontrollable at times due to its permanency. This was illustrated by the 'Cooperative Commonwealth Federation' example by Lipset and Selznick. This Canadian governments because bureaucrats were efficiently able to scuttle reformist policies of the government.

So, the whole formal system is organised in such a way, that commands are given from to officer higher in hierarchy ; & this is obeyed by all lower incumbents. There is no room for informal way of communication like grape-vine communication, because there is one-way communication only. The decisions are not made with consensus of all, rather, based on rational rules. The duty hours are fixed, which can't be debunked. The relations are completely impersonal. So, this aloofness & monotony leads to alienation from work & from self & society. So, the office-incumbents develop metaphysical pathos. More the attempt of regulation & formal controls in any organisation, more is dehumanisation and mechanisation.

Ans 5(b) – ~~Weber described that an act becomes social action~~

Weber described that subject matter of sociology should be <u>social action</u> which has to be <u>understood interpretatively</u> using scientific tools.

He rejected the positivist view of subject matter of sociology and social-determinism. Durkheimb viewed that individuals have no reality in isolation, only in <u>collectivity</u> they have <u>meaning</u>, so <u>society</u> is more important ~~and to~~ and it <u>shapes individual's behaviour</u>. In its response, Weber argued that individuals are <u>cultural being</u> (<u>Karlburg</u>) having <u>capability</u> and will of attaching meaning to cultural norms according to their own ~~exp~~ unique experiences; In this., they are shaped by society, but they also, shape the cultural norms and values as well. This was also agreed upon by <u>Theodore abel</u> in his concept of <u>Behavourial maxims</u>. So, societal abstract like Social facts ~~are~~ p̶ ignore the meanings & motives of individuals, and hence

it should not be subject matter of
sociology.

Instead, subject matter should be social
action, which ~~had~~ sees individuals
as having 'Geist'; having ability to
comprehend norms & values in light
of their own experiences, meanings &
motives. So that <u>causal as well as meaningful</u>
explanation can be presented.

A 5. Bureaucracy refers to hierarchically organised organisation, rationally designed to coordinate the work of many in order to achieve the organisations goal.

Max weber argued that bureaucracy is rational action in institutionised form. In large organisations, hierarchical control is required to being coordination. Thus weber believed that bureaucracy enhances efficiency, reduces cost and effort. He preposed an ideal type of bureaucracy. He argued bureaucracy is based on impersonal laws, meritocracy, clear lines of communication, authority of the position and not the position holder. weber believed that bureaucracy is inevitable in industrial society.

Gouldner, however, argued that the degree of bureaucratisation is based on the type of work. In his analysis of gypsum factory and mine, Gouldner found that, in routine predictable jobs, bureaucratic organisation can lead to efficiency. However in unpredictable nature of work, organistic absence of hierarchy is more useful.

Gouldner proposed three patterns of bureaucracy. He argued that 'Mock bureaucracy' is enforced from the outside. It violates the values of both the management and workers. 'Representative Bureaucracy' represents values of both management and workers. Thus it leads to high compliance and low conflict.

Finally 'punishment centred bureaucracy', is enforced by the management while being violated ⊕ by the workers. It leads to high level of conflict.

Gouldner's analysis is more holistic in explaining the patterns of bureaucracy in contemporary societies. The industrial conflict at Maruti Manesar plant reflect punishment centred bureaucracy where workers were forced to meet high targets, leading to violent protest. On the other hand, functioning of Delhi metro reflects representative bureaucracy where norms are followed by both the managers and the workers. Lines of communication

V. good

are open and worker demands are met. Gouldner's argument that degree of bureaucratisation is variable also holds true in contemporary times. For instance creative industries such as fashion, arts etc have low degrees of bureaucracy. While routine jobs such as automobile factories have higher degrees of bureaucratisation.

Nevertheless weber holds relevance in explaining increasing rationalisation and bureaucratisation in all spheres of human life. As George Ritzer had argued in his concept of 'mcdonaldisation', bureaucratic values of efficiency, calculability, and control are entering into different spheres such as education, health, leisure etc.

beautiful

for instance:

Use of biometric attendance, focus on number of research papers and greater control over time table of teachers reflects bureaucratisation in education.

Therefore both weber and Gouldner hold relevance in contemporary analysis of bureaucracy.

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P1 - 4 d. Talcot Parsons - Social system, pattern variables

American who translated Weber into English

Talcott Parsons held that theory in sociology must be built up around a limited number of important concepts that are adequate to grasp the objective and external social reality. These concepts are analytical constructs abstracted from empirical reality. Thus Parsons tried to develop a naturalistic/ positivistic conceptual schema. Underlying Parsons' method of building theoretical analysis was the assumption that the social reality does have systematic regularities that can be analytically grasped. At the same time Parsons advocated the existence of the complex symbolic functioning of the human mind.

Pattern Variables are cultural prescriptions which guide the role performance of an actor in an action situation.

Talcott Parsons 'has' used various approaches in social sciences, in 'his' works: like - structuralism, structural functionalism, evolutionism, cybernetics concept of Biology, systems approach etc.

Talcott used 3 guiding principles for establishing his methodology :-

1) Voluntaristic aspects of actor should be comprehended

2) Focus should be on generalisation

Infact, he wanted to develop a comprehensive theoretical framework for sociology, which he did in his book "Sociology in America".

3) considering reality holistically ie comprehending social reality through principle of emergence

He has been criticised :-

1) R. K. merton - Parsons wanted to develop an _all-encompassing_ comprehensive theory which can answer _all_ the problems of sociology.

But what he developed is only _ideology_ which gives _general orientation_ towards data. It is premature to develop universal macrosociological theories. Rather, _middle range theories_ need to be created: ......

Pattern variables are explain the _duality of culture_ at multidimensional level. These provide the _modality of object_ & _modality of actor_. These are sets of course of action an actor can take. These present a _dilemma_ to the actor. ~~which course of action to~~

The _choice_ of the set of pattern variable is _culturally determined_ ∴ its a _macro theory_ of social action.

· The 2 sets of Pattern Variables are:-

1. [Particularism] v/s [Universalism]
   - determine the way physical and social objects have to be evaluated common unique criteria or common criteria for all respectively.

2. [Quality] v/s [Performance]
   - what the object should be v/s what the object is.

┌─────── --- MODALITY OF OBJECT ------┐

┌─────── MODALITY OF ACTOR - Behaviour of actor --┐
                        viz-a viz situation
3. [Affectivity] v/s [Affective Neutrality]
   - emotions v/s non rational action

4. ~~Spe~~ [Diffusedness] v/s [Specificity]
   - participation as full capacity as oneself or v/s participation in limited capacity.

5. [Collective Orientation] v/s [Self Orientation]

The 1st set ≡ Gemeinschaft [natural will, collective]
    2nd set ≡ Gesselschaft [rational will].

Parsons explains the mutual, inter dependence between the sub-systems — as they form a unified whole. They are related by input – output relations such as :-

· cultural system —values—> social system

Accordingly pattern variables are the patterned interactions value internalisation of internalisation of culture required for latency need i·e pattern maintainence·

Thereby cultural system controls the social system by exchange flow of information — of pattern variables which are culturally determined values.

eg: Sub systems of Social System   Pattern Variable

① Economic system — Gesselschaft
② Political system — Gesellschaft
③ Community system — Gemeinschaft·

eg: family needs gemeinschaft as it fulfills integration needs & adult personality stabilization·

eg: stratification system requires gesselschaft for higher achievement motivation·

Thus Pattern variables influence social systems·

Cohen criticises Parsons for interpreting change as conflict.

Even in modern society where social change is viewed as progressive, Parsons resists it by saying it led to rise of 'isolated nuclear families'

Horowitz criticises Parsons for being opposed to change.

In theory of 'Pattern variables', Parsons yet again classifies patterns in which man behaves

Denereux criticises Parsons that one cannot give an exhaustive list of Pattern variable while Parsons restricts himself to 5.

4(a). Talcott Parsons, unlike Max Weber, advocated that reality can be studied in totality by constructing a mega theory. In his book, 'The Social System', he provided a mega theory of society & its constituents which, is present in every society.

• Every social system has four main parts viz,
i) organismic system,
(ii) personality system,
(iii) Social system,
(iv) cultural system

• He considers each system has functional prerequisite which carries out AGIL functions for maintenance & change in society.

• According to Parsons, no society is traditional or modern, rather it's the individual actor's choice of different elements which he calls as 'Pattern variables' that decides whether society is modern or traditional.

• He divided the whole set of pattern variables into two categories; namely, Pattern variable 'A' & 'Pattern variable B'. Pattern variable A contains the elements which are responsible for traditional society which is result of aesthetic or emotional gratification of actors, where as 'Pattern variable b' is the product of objective instrumental action which is concerned with gratification of modern rationalistic needs.

• The constituent elements which decides the status of society are,

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i (i) <u>Affectivity vs affective neutrality</u> :–
       (A)   (B)

Based on the state of emotion, the behaviour of actors can be categorised into these two categories, as Parson puts it.

(ii) <u>Diffuseness vs specific</u> :–
        (A)   (B)

Based on the range of relationship, the behaviour can be either seen as specific or diffusive, i.e. Mother-son relation is diffusive, whereas employer-employee relation is specific.

(iii) <u>Ascription vs achievement</u> :–
          (A)   (B)

As Parsons advocates, traditional society was ascription oriented where as modern society focuses on achievement criteria

(iv) <u>Particularism vs Universalism</u> :–
          (A)   (B)

Parsons talks about particularity in relationship in traditional society which is engaged in benefitting kith & kins, where as universalism is characteristic of modern day phenomena which gives equal importance to all.

(v) <u>Community orientation vs self-orientation</u> :–
              (A)   (B)

Traditional society was more community oriented, whereas modern society is individualistic, as Parsons advocates.

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Hence, It's the combination of these elements in proportion which decide whether society is going for modernity or traditionality. Such Parsons believes that decides the status of society.

3. (a) What is the focus of sociological analysis in the contributions of Talcott Parson? Examine the relevance of Parsonian Social System in the present society. **25 Marks**

Or

(b) "Human Relations School of Thought by Elton Mayo as a social organization of work process in industry offers critique to Taylor's approach to what he called scientific management." Discuss. **25 Marks**

Talcott Parsons had attempted to give a grand theory of Social System which would encompass all the relevant social actions and institutions under its ambit. The main focus of Parsons was to establish this theory of Social System.

He started his analysis with social action approach, which was different from Weber's macro analysis, and focussed on individual level. ~~Social Action~~

Under normative and cultural constraints, an individual acts to fulfill his goals. There are two modes of orientation in his action:
(i) Motive   (ii) Value.

The following tables lists types of motives are values and the action associated with each mode of orientation.

Motive	Value	Associated Action
Cathectic	Cathectic	Instrumental
Cognitive	Evaluative	Expressive
Aesthetic	Moral	Moral

The associated actions when institutionalised give rise to sub-parts of a social system. eg. Instrumental Action → Personality System
Expressive Action → Social System
Moral Action → Cultural System

Apart from above three sub-systems one more subsystem Parsons consider namely Behavioural organism. All these 4 sub-systems work in tandem to form of a social system

e.g. Family

Cultural System	Social System
Behavioural organism	Personality System

e.g. Laws, school

e.g. Economic System

e.g. political System

Relevance of Parsonian Social System in present Society:

Parsonian Social System justifies the order

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of our society. e.g Social System like school through the mechanism of social control instills the values of society in a student e.g fair competition, ~~—~~ sanctity of hard work etc. Through Cybernetic Hierarchy of Control , this social system also justifies the social change process. e.g. Cultural system in metropolitan India commands personality system to avoid ~~caste~~ adherence to caste based discriminations.

We can observe ~~that~~ Parsonian grand theory of social system not only adheres to principles of stability but also justifies the changes ~~and~~ associated with the social system.

Evaluative Indicators:

		Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Average	Poor
(i)	Introduction	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
(ii)	Content	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
(iii)	Alignment	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
(iv)	Contextual Justification	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
(v)	Novelty	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
(vi)	Language	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
(vii)	Legibility	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(viii)	Conclusion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(ix)	Depth of understanding	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Overall Remarks ......Content............................

...— Explain briefly the system — ....

P1 - 4 e. Robert K. Merton - Latent and manifest functions, conformity and deviance, reference groups

He tried to make balance between fact and theory. He gave idea of middle Range theory.

He explained that Research need to be done to develop Sociological theory but while doing Research one need to aware of applicability of theories. Research need to follow C-U-D-Os principle.

C- Community orientation
U- Universalism
D- Disinterestedness
Os- organised Skepitism

R.K. Merton research need to collect facts and based on facts one need to go for middle range

Latent and Manifest Functions

Latent functions - unrecognized, unintentional functions of a social process - Hopi Rain Dance = increases solidarity in the society
Manifest functions - recognized, intended functions of a social process. These are the subjective dispositions behind the social process

RK Merton conceptualized the modern functional paradigm in the backdrop of limitation of classical functional paradigm applicability to modern industrial societies and account for conflict and change.

Exams - manifest function is to reward talent and hard work, but the latent function is to reinforce hierarchy in the society.

Merton improvised over them by giving steps to be followed for doing functional analysis:-

1) Every item has to be observed & described in details → to get clue of its its function.

2) Differentiate between subjective predisposition & objective reality. Voluntaristic aspects has to be negle. avoided.

3) Bring out manifest & latent functions and dysfunction:

4) If an item is dysfunctional for society, then find its functional alternative.

5) The presence of dysfunctional item would define presence of conflict & replacement of it with functional alternative would define change resolution of conflict and hence change.

- **Conceptualisation of Manifest & Latent**

- Merton in the modern functional paradigm explains manifest — intended utility & latent — unintended utility. of a process must be recognised. It can be functional, dysfunctional or non functional. for the society.

- These manifest & latent functions help :-
  ① understand why irrational practices continue to exist
  ② give further deeper understanding
  ③ eliminate naive moral judgements from research.

- **Contributions to functional Paradigm**

1. Applicability of functional paradigm to modern industrial societies
   - change and conflict is accounted by re identifying dysfunctional elements & we iohich course structural strain and create pressure for change to replace with functional alternative.

2. With manifest and latent functions deeper understanding and further research is promoted.

3. It helps achieve <u>middle-Range Theories</u> which can further verified and tested for generalisations.

4. Removes elements of teleology from functional Paradigm.

Although criticised for <u>no systematic methodology of understanding latent functions</u> (meanings), Manifest & Latent functions have furthered functional School of sociology.

3. (a) According to Robert K. Merton

Essay name - *'The Paradigm of Deviance'*

John Bowlby in his study of 44 juvenile thieves found that chronic redivists (juvenile delinquents) have habitual tendency to commit crime. Even if they are punished they continue to commit crime. He found that most juvenile delinquents lacked intimate relations with their mother in their childhood. They become indifferent to pain & sufferings of others.

Robert G. Andry: Male children who have hostile relation with their father usually show hostility to others

According to ALBERT COHEN, Merton's theories can explain only Pecuniary deviance i.e. directed towards financial gains. It doesn't explain senseless violence, vandalism, non-pecuniary deviance. Such kind of deviance is a safety valve from frustration. In the case of poor and slum dwellers borne out of status frustration, mainstream cultural goals are of no use. Deviance acts as a safety value to them.

CLOWARD & OHLIN - Merton's theory does not explain why some people should become innovators, ritualistic etc. They talked about criminal sub-culture, which is solely responsible for deviance.

According to WALTER MILLAR, criminals are not always those who failed to gain legitimate opportunity structure. They may do deviant acts out of thrill i.e. to become smart-pick pocketing, boxing etc.

According to DAVID MATZA, there is minor difference between criminal and non-criminals. Even deviants believe in values of society. Most of the time, they try to disown the responsibility for example – they argue that 'everybody is corrupt only I am caught'. Resorting to technique of neutralization deviants show partial acceptance of societal norms. In his theory of delinquent drift Matza argue that young people flow with deviant behaviour. Crimes become a way of overcoming the mood fatalism i.e. feeling of utterly helpless.

HOWARD BECKER : In his "Labeling Theory" argue that society applies label in context of behaviour. The behaviour becomes deviants when others label it as such i.e. Give the dog a bad name; there are all chances that he will live up to that expectation.

EDWIN M. LEMART made distinction between primary and secondary deviation Primary deviance consist of deviant acts before they are publicly labeled. Secondary deviance is the response individual or group to societal reaction.

BERNARD LANDER of Chicago School in his study of Baltimore city, found that social disorganization provides key to explain deviants.

Welfare state has been accused of causing crime by sociologist Charles Murray. He argues that welfare state has led to rise of under class which leads to more crime especially by black youth belonging to single parent families.

But this theory has been criticised by others. It is generally believed that a welfare state would break this norm and attack on the structural features which cause this. When the state takes care of the most vulnerable citizens, the crimes for survival and reactionary crimes will not take place.

Reference Group

Shibutani described RG as "A collectivity of individuals , real or imagined, envied or despised, whose perspective is assumed by the actor."

R.K. Merton gave the concept of relative deprivation to describe that subjective orientation of an actor doesn't necessarily depend on his objective conditions.

Reference group theory - a research found that in urban China, knowing high-status people was detrimental to mental health. This was true whether people knew mostly high-status people, any high-status people or even just many people of comparatively higher-status than themselves.

Two competing theories for how the status of the people we know affects our mental health:
- The first theory, social capital theory, centres on resources: The more resources the people in your personal network have, the more you will benefit from them.
- The second theory, comparative reference group theory, centres on comparison: The more status others in your network have than you, the worse you will feel about yourself.

1. Society closed system & Reference Group is Membership group.
   - Functional for society, individual and membership group :- Strengthens social norms and group orientation.
   - Dysfunctional for NMG.

2. Society closed, Reference Group = NMG
   - Dysfunctional for society, individual & MG - reference group behaviour deviates from social norms.
   - creates Marginal Man
   - Functional for NMG - its values and norms legitimised

3. Society open, RG = MG.
   - functional for MG
   - dysfunctional for society & individual, reduces value consensus for achievement.

4. Society open, RG = NMG
   - functional for society, individual, NMG - promotes social values of high achievement orientation & mobility

William Skidmore comments, the interactionists largely fail to explain 'why people consistently choose to act in given ways in certain situations, instead of in all the other ways they might possibly have acted'. In stressing the flexibility and freedom of human action the interactionists tend to downplay the constraints on action. In Skidmore's view this is due to the fact that 'interactionism consistently fails to give an account of social structure'. In other words it fails to adequately explain how standardized normative behavior comes about and why members of society are motivated to act in terms of social norms.

Marxists have argued that the meanings which operate in face to face interaction situations are largely the product of class relationships. From this viewpoint, interactionists have failed to explain the most significant thing about meanings: the source of their origin.

Leon Shaskolsky has argued that interactionism is largely a reflection of the cultural ideals of American society. He claims that 'Symbolic interactionism has its roots deeply imbedded in the cultural environment of American life, and its interpretation of society is, in a sense, a "looking glass" image of what that society purports to be'. Thus the emphasis on liberty, freedom and individuality in interactionism can be seen in part as a reflection of America's view of itself. Shaskolsky argues that this helps to explain why the interactionists perspective finds less support in Europe since there is a greater awareness in European societies of the constraints of power and class domination. By reflecting American ideals, Shaskolsky argues that interactionism has failed to face up to and take account of the harsher realities of social life.

Mead - Modern man is a multifaceted personality. Man is a "Bundle of Selves"
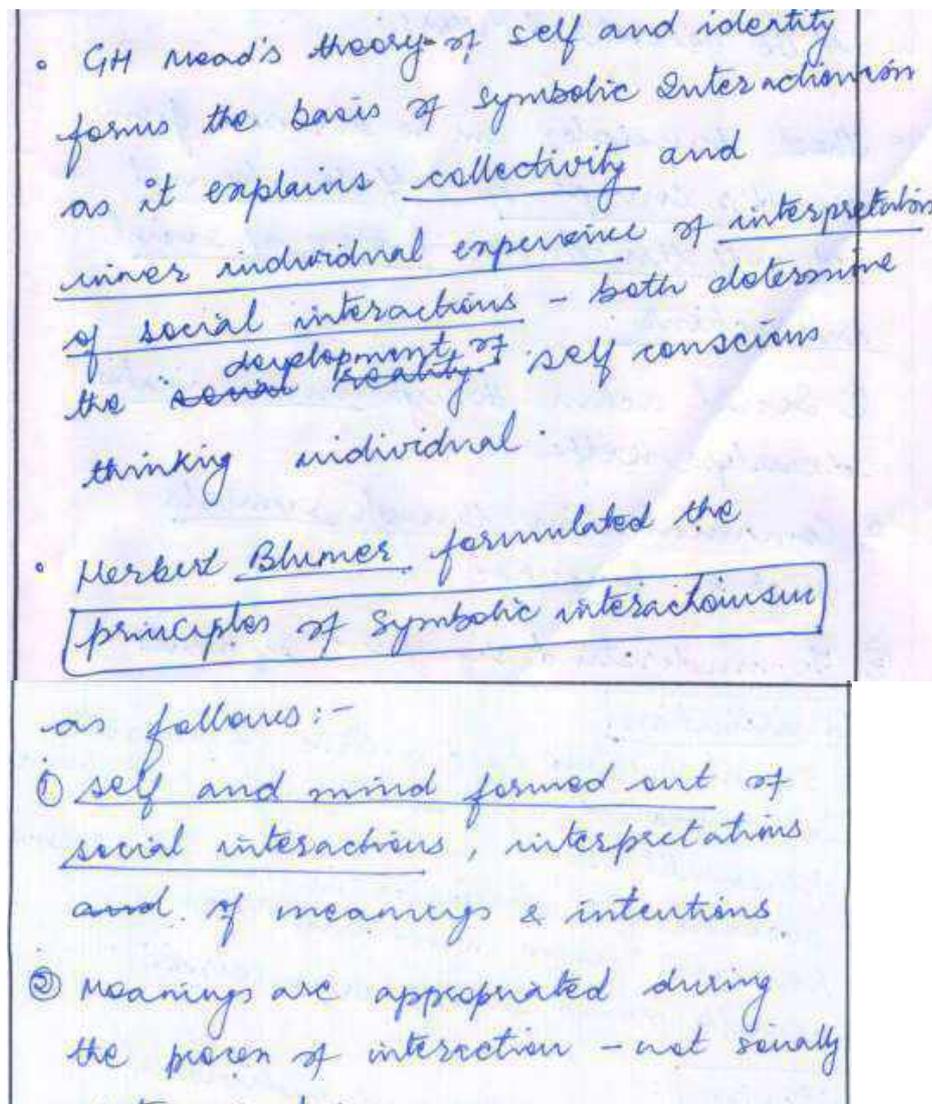
as follows:—

① <u>self and mind formed out of social interactions</u>, interpretations and of meanings & intentions.

② Meanings are appropriated during the process of interaction — not socially determined.

③ Meanings are understood through <u>interpretative process</u> of <u>role taking</u> and understanding attitudes & values of the generalised others.

• These principles can be derived from <u>Mead's concept of self development</u> of self through the process of social interactions.

① Social action through <u>communication</u> develops self.

② Communication through <u>symbols</u> such as language.

③ To understand significant symbols role taking required.

④ Role taking learnt thro while development of self.

⑤ <u>Self is the ability of humans to be both object and subject</u>. Humans can see themselves apart as an object from the point of views of society from outside.

⑥ Not present at birth, learnt through interaction too <u>mechanism of reflexivity</u> with biological maturation & increasing interaction. through

④ The stages of development of self.

Stage I
[Play Stage]

Stage II
[Game stage]

- early childhood ⟶ maturity
- imitative learning ⟶ imaginative; reflexive learning through role taking

- particularistic view ⟶ generalised others point of view
  limited to significant others

⑤ After game stage self develops.

Thus Symbolic Interactionism has important contributions to (Human thought Development of) & Human societal cooperation.

Views

- Blumer adds "School stage" as the third stage in the development of self
- Cooley says, primary social groups are important in this development
- Freud's idea of Id, Ego, Superego is reflected.

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(7) (b) Symbolic interactionism :-

· Symbols are the objects which have the meaning as people perceive them.

· Symbols can be categorised into 2 types :
  (a) Significant symbol
  (b) Insignificant symbols.

· Significant symbols are those which only human beings are able to perceive.
  ex:- 'Language' can be called as most suitable example of significant symbol.

· Symbols have the following attributes : -
  (i) By use of symbols we can clarify things.
  (ii) They help in problem solving.
  (iii) They help human being to think.
  (iv) They help in role-taking ie one person can place himself in position of others to know & evaluate expectation of other self.
  (v) They help in growth of civilisation.

· 'Symbolic interactionism' is a valued possession of human being only through the following characteristics:-
  (i) Human beings are endowed with thought.
  (ii) By applying thought, we can interact with our
  · Social & natural environment.
  (iii) We attach meaning to each symbol to have a unified response to a particular thing or object.
  (iv) Symbol's meaning can be modified in the course of interaction
  (v) Through symbolic interaction, human beings become

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Question No.
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able to know their advantage & disadvantage.

- G. H. Mead, one of the earliest propounder of symbolic interactionism, in his theory of 'Mind, self & Society' has advocated human interaction & its relationship with symbol & their meaning.

- 'Self' of a person develops, develops in a social context. Mead advocated the whole ie society preceeds the part ie individual, but human beings, perse, don't accept all the dictates of society neither do they manifest actions, whatever they want.

Hence, self is both object & subject to itself.

- He further advocates 'human beings are reflexive. & animals are non reflexive. Hence, human beings, can only attribute meanings to symbols' & interact.

- Man juxtaposes 'I' & 'me' & comes out with a response after due deliberation.

'I'	'me'
i) 'I' is the immediate response of an individual to an action of other self.	i) 'me' is the organized set of response given by society to an individual.
ii) 'I' is innovative.	ii) 'me' is judgemental & obtained through Socialization
iii) 'I' is the hall mark of modern society	iii) 'me' is characteristic feature of traditional society
iv) 'I' symbolises social change	iv) 'me' symbolises social

(u) 'I' is that part which can be known to a person after action is done.

(v) 'me' is already established values obtained by socialisation. — continually

- He further throws light on "socialisation" & tells that it happens through two stages or development phase of one's childhood.

(a) Play stage :- In play stage, limited self is developed as child takes the role of only significant others ie his/her parents.

(b) Game stage :- It helps in development of self in its full sense as child follows the role of generalised others.

- Mead further states that 'mind' constantly engages with self for negotiation. No self can be developed without interference of mind. Mind is the store house of information about our past. action, symbols & meanings.

- He, making his discussion limited to mind & self throws light on society a bit, but giving precedence to society, Mead, argues that it's society that has impact on mind & self of an individual & through socialisation with the help of symbols, human beings interact with each other.

R.K Merton highlighted dysfunctional aspects of religion in modern society. He sees religious and communal conflicts as its dysfunction — like Shia and Sunni Muslims fight in Iraq, ISIS. Thus religion can also threaten social integration. Karl Marx say that religion is obium for masses, a creation of bourgeoise to silent the revolution. Religious fundamentalism, extremism signify dysfunctional aspect. Thus, durkheim's theory though holds true for small society, but its applicability in modern societies is <u>debatable</u>.

(75)

[Right margin note: Also state the growth of fundamentalism, opposition to science & modernization]

5. (a) "The self is a product of socio-symbolic interaction, however it is not merely a passive reflection of the generalized other". Critically examine this statement with reference to Mead.   20

Interactionism is concerned with 'interaction' which means 'action between individuals'.

According to G.M Mead, human thoughts, experience and conduct are social and based on how others see him.

According to Mead, 'self' is a social process which means taking ourselves as object and observing ourselves i.e. become both object and subject. Self is generated in continuous process of interaction, with each taking <u>role of others</u>.

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Through this role-taking, individuals develop 'self'. By placing one-self in position of others, one is able to look back upon himself. Self is not inborn. There are two aspects of 'self' — I and Me. 'I'. 'I' signifies opinion of oneself as a whole while 'Me' is definition of oneself in a specific role.

Seeing ourselves from perspective of "generalized others", help us to develop our self — our understanding of self and it is constraining too. Mead explains it with help of an example. Suppose, we view ourselves as cowards in eyes of others, then we can't act brave in demanding situations, because it will be against our 'self' — perception of ourselves'.

Development of consciousness of self is essential for 'cooperative action' in society.

But, it is true that though born out of social interaction, 'self' is not merely a passive reflection of generalized other. Culture and social roles also behave human behaviour but humans still have 'choice' as to how to behave. Social roles are not fixed, they are constantly modified in process of interaction.

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Human beings, both actively create the social environment and are also shaped by it. Individual and society are regarded as inseparable. Without communication in terms of symbols whose meanings are shared, these processes are not possible.

However, Mead can be criticized for concentrating on 'peculiar situations' and encounters with little reference to 'historical encounters' and events or wider social milieu. Also, Mead fails to give an account of social structure acting as constraint on action.

Meanings are not spontaneously created in interaction situations but are systematically generated by the social structure.

Marxists say that perception of self is driven by relations of production and place in social structure rather than interaction situation. Actors give meanings to theirs and others action based on their subjective understanding of objective reality of their class position.

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STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY

5 A. Concepts - equality, inequality, hierarchy, exclusion, poverty and deprivation

Social stratification is a process through which groups and social categories are ranked as higher or lower to one another in terms of their relative position on the scales of prestige, wealth and power.

Equality:

Persistence of inequality and quest for equality is the essence of human society universally.

GD Berreman suggests that out of 'differentiation' of persons, which is a natural and universal phenomenon, inequality or social evaluation of differences arises. He terms the behavioural expression of inequality as 'dominance' and combination of inequality and dominance is social inequality.

Classical thinkers like Plato and Aristotle justified social inequalities on the basis of natural inequalities. Plato differentiated between Men of Gold, Silver and Iron, who he believed were chosen by nature to take up different occupations. Aristotle was opposed to granting citizenship rights to women and slaves.

Marx views difference in the relationship with the factors of production as the source of social inequality. Communal ownership of the means of production would lead to communist utopia and hence social equality.

Political thinkers like Pareto, Mosca and Michels assigned primacy to power as the real source of inequality in society. According to them, power is the ability to make others do what they do not want to do and the elite groups exercise this power as they occupy the top positions within the institutions of a given society.

Bourdieu employs the terms symbolic capital and distinction, to identify social groups who enjoy more prestige and honour in society simply because they are endowed with more symbolic capital reflected in their pattern of behaviour and taste.

Thus, social equality exists when all people have equal access to, or share, power, prestige and wealth.

Peter Saunders distinguishes between three types of equality:

1. Formal or legal equality - all members of the society are subject to the same laws.
2. Equality of opportunity - all people have an equal chance to become unequal. Individuals compete for success and those with greater merit achieve more.
3. Equality of outcome - results in an egalitarian society. However, he argues that it undermines equality of opportunity and legal equality.

Inequality:

Differences between individuals or groups are a universal characteristic. They simply denote the presence of diversity. But when such differences are attached with values and preferability of certain traits are defined and ranked, social inequality is created. Stratification is a particular form of social

inequality. It refers to the presence of distinct social groups which are ranked one above the other in terms of power, prestige and wealth. Those who belong to a particular stratum will have some awareness of common interests and a common identity. Example: traditional Hindu society was divided into five main strata, four varnas and the fifth group of the outcastes or untouchables.

Social inequality study is the foundation to interdisciplinarity of social sciences.

Plato acknowledged that inequality was inevitable. However, he was opposed to inheritance of class status. Aristotle was opposed to granting citizenship status to women and slaves. Machiavelli advocated that inequality in a situation is legitimate so long as there has been equality of opportunity to become unequal. Von Stein in *"The Origin of Ranks"* attributes different capabilities to natural differences.

Marx sees inequality as a source of social conflict and social change. Rousseau believes that biologically based inequalities are small and relatively unimportant, whereas socially created inequalities provide the major basis for systems of social stratification. Tocqueville vouches for competitive inequality as against perpetual inequality.

Louis Dumont in *"Homo Hierarchicus"* states that inequality in India is a way of life, which was hereditary and perpetuated by the occupational division of labour.

There are two ways to measure social inequality - inequality of conditions and inequality of opportunities. It is seen that inequality is built into the social structure and hence often passed down from generation to generation, perpetuating both the forms of inequalities.

Andre Beteille talks of distributive dimension of inequality and relational dimension of inequality and finds two systems of stratification:

1. Harmonic system of stratification is the one in which the norms and values of society legitimize social inequality.
2. Disharmonic system of stratification is the one in which norms and values of society prescribe equality but in reality, there is inequality.

Functionalists like Parsons believe that inequality is inevitable and desirable and plays an important function in the society. Conflict theorists, on the other hand, view inequality as resulting from groups with power dominating less powerful groups.

David Marsland sees inequality as a desirable feature of society because it rewards unequal effort and ability, and in doing so, creates incentives for people to work harder.

Inequality is dynamic and contextual and can be: bridgeable or unbridgeable, temporal or permanent, contemporary or historic.

In any society, ideology of equality and persistence of inequality coexist mutually.

Hierarchy:

The concept of hierarchy denotes that people in a society are graded or ranked differently depending upon the type of statuses that they occupy, according to some criterion of evaluation accepted as relevant within the system.

Hierarchy is derived from the word *"hierarcha"* which means "having rule in holy things or among the holy ones." Thus, it denotes a social arrangement that attains a divine legitimation. It goes beyond the human agencial power and results into a rigid or fixed arrangement. It is usually an ascription based, closed system, marked by social and cultural reproduction.

CH Cooley states that the Varna system of the early Vedic period appears to be an open class system of stratification. The 'Divine Origin theory' made it a closed system, resulting into social hierarchy. Similarly, the estate system of medieval Europe, was viewed as divinely ordained and hence hierarchical.

Weber does not subscribe to the divine origin belief, and states that there are three axes of stratification in any society - power, prestige and wealth. However, when the other two axes are dependent and derived from the third axis, the society will effectively contain a single axis of stratification. This will result into a rigid and hierarchical system.

According to Louis Dumont, hierarchy is a feature of social system where normative principles determine the utilitarian and instrumental principles in the affairs of the society.

Dipankar Gupta elaborates that capitalist or open market system is prone to become hierarchical. If health and education are left in the hands of market forces, people in the lower classes will have limited access to avail the best of these services. Thus, they will have little opportunity to improve their class, status or party position.

Gerhard Lenski also talks about two related and important concepts:

1. Status crystallization - is the situation where an individual or a group is high or low on all the three dimensions of social rewards (traditional caste system) - strict hierarchy and stability.
2. Status inconsistency - results when an individual or a group is high on one dimension, but low on another (caste system in modern India) - dispersed hierarchy and can create conflicts.

Thus, hierarchy is marked by exclusion and inclusion whereas stratification is marked by differences and inequalities. Within a stratification system, hierarchy may be present and vice versa.

Exclusion:

UNDP defines social exclusion as the non-recognition of basic civil and social rights.

Social exclusion is a process by which individuals or households experience deprivation, either of resources such as income or of social links to the wider community or society.

Mary Daly states that exclusion is a wider concept than poverty as it talks about not only resource availability but also participation in various social processes.

It is characterized by six key attributes - multidimensionality, dynamism, relativity, ruptured social relations, communal resource constraints and limitations on agency.

While poverty is unidimensional, static and focused on physical needs and distributional issues, exclusion also focuses on relative material needs and societal participation, thus addressing both distributional and relational issues.

It is systematic and a result of the structural features of the society. Prolonged exclusion can often produce a reaction on the part of the excluded, who then stop trying for inclusion. Example: Dalits were denied temple entry for long. Eventually, some Dalits started building their own temples while some converted to other religions.

Poverty refers to a lack of material resources, whereas 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.

The socially excluded might include the unemployed, who lack a role in the formal economic system; those who do not register to vote, who lack a role in the political system; and elderly individuals living alone, who lack a role in the social system.

Parameter	Poverty	Social Exclusion
Situation	Insufficient resources	Denial of ability to exercise rights
Cause	Unmet needs	Discrimination and denial of access to institutions of social integration
Perspective	Static condition	Dynamic process
Stratification	Vertical - lower v/s upper	Horizontal - outsiders v/s insiders
Policy	Social transfers	Social services and reforms
Discipline	Economics	Sociology

Weber saw it as a way of social closure, where one group attempts to secure for itself a privileged position, by excluding some other group from the same.

Marx saw alienation as a process of exclusion at four levels - peers, product, process and self.

Merton speaks of self-exclusion to become a part of one's reference group. Ghurye speaks of self-exclusion by sadhus, elites also practice self-exclusion.

Sometimes it can also be an individual exclusion as opposed to collective social exclusion. This can be due to presence of socially undesirable traits in a particular individual. It can take the form of discrimination, for example: HIV patients, leprosy patients, or may be a reaction against socially viewed deviancy, for example: criminals.

Repercussions of social exclusion can also include deviance, retreatism, rebellion and even crime.

Poverty:

Poverty is a relative condition of absence of some desirable component in society. Mostly the term is viewed in an economic sense, as a condition of lacking vital resources. Peter Townsend mentions three conceptions of poverty:

1. Poverty as a subsistence issue - inability to obtain the minimum necessities for maintenance of merely physical efficiencies. Per capita calorie intake is the measure deployed.
2. Poverty as an issue of basic needs (termed as multidimensional poverty by Amartya Sen) - a state where the individual lacks the necessary physical goods like clothing, shelter and access to

services like education, sanitation and healthcare. It is measured on the basis of per capita consumption on such basic human needs by a family.

3. Relative deprivation - refers to lack of resources or social conditions when compared with that of other members in the society.

The 18th century writings of Sir John Sinclair and Sir Frederick Eden observe that poverty is a social problem. Herbert Spencer did not share this view and believed it was unnatural to help those engaged in 'dissolute living' to avoid the consequences of their actions. Those who were too lazy to work should not be allowed to eat.

From a conflict perspective, it is the failure of society to allocate resources and provide opportunities fairly that explains the problems of poverty and social exclusion. The poor serve as a reserve army of labour, further helping capitalists to keep wages low.

In modern societies, poverty is generally relative, of which Merton talks about in his reference point theory. Marx spoke of pauperization of the proletariat due to increasing mismatch between the exchange value of labour and use value of labour. However, the functional perspective endorses such inequalities and calls them a social necessity.

Weber argued that a person's class position is dependent upon his or her market situation - the ability of individuals and groups to influence the labour market in their own favour so as to maximize the rewards they receive. The low paid have few skills or qualifications and this hampers their ability to command higher wages, and keeps them poor.

Feminization of poverty as stated by Diane Pearce is an increasing phenomenon in post-industrial world.

Condition of poverty generally entails lack of opportunity and mobility, even in the most open societies. Oscar Lewis terms it the "culture of poverty" wherein the poor not only lack resources, but also acquire a poverty perpetuating value system.

Dependency theorists like AG Frank argue that poverty in the East is a result of prosperity in the West.

Deprivation:

Deprivation is broadly defined as inequality of access to social goods. It includes poverty and wider forms of disadvantage. It refers to a condition in which people lack what they need - economic and emotional supports generally accepted as basic essentials of human experience.

The satisfactory fulfillment of these needs is believed to contribute to more complete development of an individual's potential. Deprivation is of two types:

1. Absolute deprivation - lack of life necessities and basic material needs for survival.
2. Relative deprivation - is a subjective term, and is intimately linked to the reference group. It denotes lack of resources or social conditions as compared to the reference group - Merton

The concept of relative deprivation is used in the study of social movements and revolutions, where it is argued that relative, and not absolute deprivation is more likely to lead to the pressure for social change.

P1 - 5 a. Concepts - equality, inequality, hierarchy, exclusion, poverty and deprivation

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 74 to 96 and 110 to 112
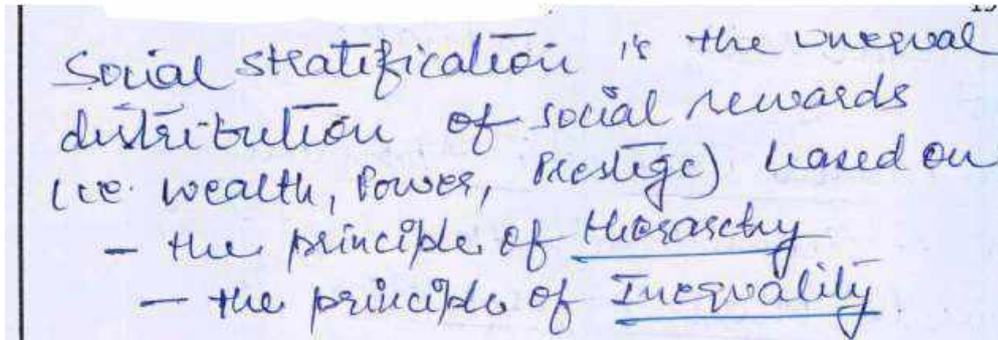
According to the sociologists, hierarchy prevailed in societies based on castes or estates and social inequalities were legitimated as naturally given. Stratification, on the other hand, is a feature of modern industrial societies in which inequalities do exist but are not considered as a part of natural or divine order. In this process of social change, inequality did not vanish or reduce, but changed its nature.

Bottomore - 4 forms of social stratification - slavery, estates, caste and class.

Pierre Bourdieu - social resources can be divided into 4 forms of capital - economic (material assets and income), cultural (educational qualifications and status), social (network of contacts and social associations), symbolic (social status and good reputation).

Rousseau - men are born free and equal but everywhere they are in chains - A discourse on the origin of inequality.

All natural inequalities not translated into social inequalities - no societies can proclaim to be completely equal - tolerable inequality - in welfare of whole society.

Plato - inequality is inevitable. The society that he envisioned is explicitly meant to be class structured, so that all citizens belong to one of the three classes - ruling, non-ruling, auxiliaries or workers. He eliminated inheritance of class status and provided equality of opportunity regardless of birth - men of gold, men of silver, men of iron - ruler, traders and adventurers, commoners - non interchangeable roles - by birth different degrees of qualities.

Aristotle - very rich, very poor, moderate - 3 classes, inequality in birth, strength and wealth.

St. Thomas and St. Augustine - distinctions based on power, property and prestige.

Thomas Hobbes - Everyone wants power and privileges - chaos, so need rules - "Social Contract" under which people give the right to one man to rule, who has collective desire and will.

CW Mills - power elites theory.

JS Mills - gave credence to education, only educated should get right to citizenship.

RH Tawney - perfected equality is not realistic. It is dysfunctional as an individual's merit will not be recognized and is bad for the society. Depending on means and facilities available, one should go for practical equality.

Social Inequality is the result of differentiation, universal, normally built into the social structure, a source of social conflict and social change, normally sustained by the power of ideas (dominant class ideology), not necessarily based on natural or biological inequalities.

Gini coefficient to measure economic inequality - higher it is, more unequal the society - India 2017 Oxfam report 1% hold 58% of the total wealth.

Goran Therborn - social consequence of inequalities is a violation of human dignity, denial of possibility for everybody's human

capabilities to develop.

Gerhard Lenski - inequality of one kind converts to other areas also.

Wilkinson and Pickett - inequality in society is not only harmful for the individual, but is also dysfunctional for the society as a whole.

Raymond Aron - absence of economic inequality in society does not imply death or complete absence of inequality in society. Inequality exists in multiple forms.

Kerr and Bernard - concept of embourgeoisement by welfare state and better conditions of workers.

Socialist states like USSR - economic inequality was replaced by political inequality - rule of oligarchs. Welfare states like India see an interventionist approach by the state to redistribute benefits. Does not cause equality, but makes inequality more bearable.

Political inequality institutionalized in socialism, economic inequality in capitalism.

Hierarchy refers to any relationship of individuals, groups or classes involving a system of ranking - ranking of statuses within society according to some criteria of evaluation accepted as relevant within the system.

The exercise of power and authority and the control of people and resources become organized in a hierarchical way - bureaucracy.

Social Exclusion - Refers to the ways in which individuals may become cutoff from full involvement in the wider community.
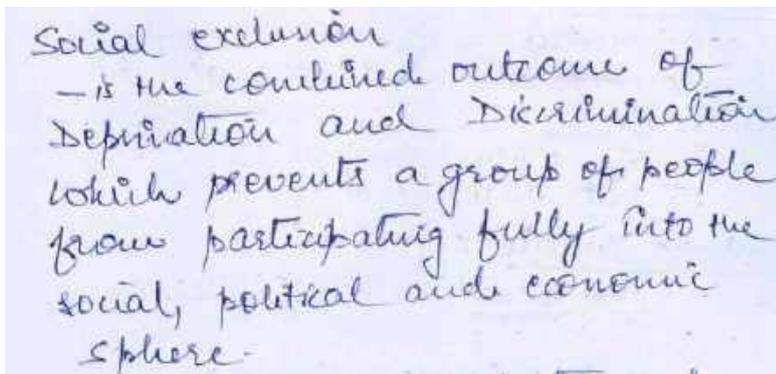
Social exclusion — is the combined outcome of Deprivation and Discrimination which prevents a group of people from participating fully into the social, political and economic sphere.

Systematic, a result of structural features of the society, indicates deprivation of opportunities, is not accidental, is involuntary.

Exclusion is not always deprivation and inclusion is not always justice - women Sabarimala temple entry v/s glass ceiling.

Brian Barry - individuals or groups are socially excluded if they are denied the opportunity of participation, whether they actually desire to participate or not. Lack of job opportunities among the adults in an area tends to depress scholastic motivation and thus contributes to poor educational outcomes that condemn the next generation to extremely limited opportunities in their turn.

Anthony Giddens - homelessness is one of the worst forms of social exclusions.

Elliott Currie - exclusion leads to delinquent behaviour.

Apartheid, untouchability, LGBT.

Social exclusion is multidimensional: it encompasses social, political, cultural and economic dimensions, and operates at various social levels. It is dynamic, in that it impacts people in various ways and to differing degrees over time. It is also relational: it is the product of unequal power relations in social interactions. It can produce ruptures in relationships between people and society, which result in a lack of social participation, social protection, social integration and power.

Ruth Lister (2004) on the whole sees social exclusion as a 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:

Provided social exclusion is not treated as an alternative to poverty, it can serve a useful conceptual function as a lens, which both sharpens the focus on a number of important aspects of poverty and also advances ... [a] broad framework of analysis of poverty. Lister, 2004, p. 98

Poverty - low standard of living that lasts long enough to undermine the health, morale and self-respect of an individual or group of individuals - absolute / relative / subsistence.

- Poverty and Unequal Distribution of Wealth
- The Pattern of Per capita Expenditure on Consumption
- The Pattern of Possession of Assets - land ownership
- Illiteracy and Health
- The Regional Pattern of Poverty

It has been said that the urban poor of India are only an overflow of the rural poor into the cities and that essentially they belong to the same class as the rural poor - Dandekar and Rath, 1971.

The sociologist William J Wilson (1987), himself a black has drawn attention to what he calls 'the truly disadvantaged'. These in his view should be defined not so much in terms of race as in terms of a combination of economics, demographic and social characteristics such as joblessness, broken families, teenage pregnancy, out-of-wedlock births and violent crimes.

Certain sections internalize poverty and make no efforts.

But state help should not result in a dependency culture.

Single parents, disabled - more poor. In India, poverty defined differently for different religions. Sachar committee.

Climate change will lead to poverty in certain regions.

Poverty cannot be eliminated in a capitalistic structure, but only in a socialistic structure where human needs, and not profits, determine the allocation of resources.

Amartya Sen's capability theory of development is simple and revolves around 2 things: People and their Capabilities. For Sen, development means expansion of people's capabilities. Freedom is a vital element of the individual centric capability approach (CA) of development. "The purpose of development is to enrich human lives, not richness of economy which is only a part of it." Poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely the lowness of incomes. For Sen "capability deprivation" is a better measure of poverty than lowness of income.

Marxist view of poverty - due to concentration of wealth, profit motive - so wages low, money as a motivation to work, labour competes for jobs so help to keep the wages low, state also supports capitalists (welfare, minimum wages).

Kincaid says state will take no action to change the low wage system, poverty persists because social security provision is ineffective. It is not simply that there are rich and poor. It is rather that some are rich because some are poor.

Westergard and Resler - though ruling class has responded to the demands of the labour movement by allowing creation of a welfare state, the system operates within a framework of institutions and assumptions that remain capitalist. Poverty not an individual condition, it is a class phenomenon - need wholesale change in general structure of inequality, not just living wages dole.

Weberian poverty - class situation depends on market situation, the favour and rewards his skills and expertise can command in a competitive market - old, sick, handicapped, single parent have working class poverty - others can save enough / have insurance to protect against poverty - social class rather than personal disability, inadequacy or misfortunes accounts for poverty.

Kincaid - wages depend on bargaining power of workers - some sections have no power.

Ralph Miliband - the poor are part of the working class but they are largely excluded from the organizations that have been developed to defend the interests of the working class.

Functionalist poverty - Herbert J. Gans - poverty survives partly because it is useful to a number of groups in the society - temporary, dead end, dirty, dangerous, menial jobs - poverty creates jobs for a number of occupations that serve the poor or shield others from them like police, social workers, doctors - a reliable and relatively permanent measuring rod for status comparison.

He also says that the prime obstacle to elimination of poverty is the economic system which is dedicated to the maintenance and increase of wealth among the already affluent - stratification system needs to be changed.

Deprivation - inequality of access to social goods. It includes poverty and wider forms of disadvantage. People lack what they need - economic and emotional supports - absolute / relative. It refers to a situation in which multiple deprivations prevent individuals from participating in important areas of social activities.

Pierre Bourdieu - deprivation is lack of adequate social, cultural, symbolic and economic capital.

Oscar Lewis - culture of poverty - similar circumstances and problems tend to produce similar response, and these responses can develop into a culture, that is the learned, shared and socially transmitted behaviour of a social group - on the individual level, the major characteristics are a strong feeling of marginality, helplessness, dependence and inferiority, a strong present time orientation with relatively little ability to defer gratification, a sense of resignation and fatalism - an alternate to this is situational constraints theory - poor will change their behaviour once the constraints of poverty removed, when a new set of circumstances come, once removed, they will have no difficulty adopting mainstream behaviour patterns and seizing available opportunities.

Even USSR was not stratification - free

Structural Functionalist Theories:

Functionalist theories assume that society has certain basic needs or functional prerequisites that must be met if it is to survive. They assume that the parts of society form an integrated whole, whose stability and order needs to be maintained. They are concerned with the role of social stratification in integration and continuance of society. Social stratification is viewed as a dynamic system characterized by social mobility and continual restructuring of the rules of consensus building. They recognize the role of competition and conflict but also postulates existence of institutional mechanism like socialization, education, empowerment by democratic participation, etc. through which aspirations of social mobility may be realized. These theories postulate analogy between social order and organism - both have internal mechanisms for self-regulation and self-correction.

Talcott Parsons:

Parsons believes that order, stability and cooperation in society are based on its value consensus. He argues that stratification systems derive from such common values. If values exist, then it follows that individuals will be evaluated and placed in some form of rank order and those who perform successfully will be ranked highly and rewarded.

Because different societies have different value systems, the ways of attaining high position will vary from society to society.

Example: bravery and generosity are valued among the Sioux Indians in North America, while modern USA values individual achievement and efficiency.

Stratification is an inevitable part of all human societies, and is just and proper because it is an expression of the shared values. He does not deny the presence of conflict, but states that conflict is kept in check by the common value system which justifies the unequal distribution of rewards.

The specialized division of labour in the complex industrial societies necessitates cooperation, interdependence and reciprocity between social groups. For example: Each class needs and cooperates with the other, since any large-scale task requires both organization and execution. Thus, some members will specialize in organization and planning, while others will follow their directives. Parsons argues that this inevitably leads to inequality in terms of power and prestige.

This power inequality is also legitimate as those who occupy positions of authority use it to pursue collective goals based on shared societal values.

Critique:

Applicable only to societies where opportunities are equal and stratification is open and achievement based. It may not apply to a caste-based society like India. Also, it does not speak about what happens when people reject the existing values (example: Naxals rejecting the value of state) or when society

itself changes (example: modernization of Indian tradition). Also ignores elite self-recruitment.

Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore: - article *'Some principles of stratification'*

They argue that all social systems share certain functional prerequisites which must be met if the system is to survive and operate efficiently. One such prerequisite is effective role allocation and performance. This means that:

1. All roles must be filled.
2. They must be filled by those best able to perform them.
3. The necessary training for them must be undertaken.
4. The roles must be performed conscientiously.

All societies need some 'mechanism' for ensuring effective role allocation and performance. This mechanism is social stratification, which they saw as a system that attaches unequal rewards and privileges to the different positions in society.

People differ in terms of their innate ability and talent, and positions differ in terms of their importance for survival and maintenance of society. A major function of stratification is to match the most able people with the functionally most important positions. It does this by attaching high rewards to those positions. The desire for such rewards motivates people to compete for them, and in theory the most talented will win through. Such positions usually require long periods of training that involve certain sacrifices, such as loss of income. The promise of high rewards is necessary to provide an incentive to encourage people to undergo this training and to compensate them for the sacrifice involved. The high rewards also provide the necessary inducement and generate the required motivation for a diligent and conscientious role performance.

The functional importance of any position can be measured in two ways:

1. The degree to which a position is functionally unique.
2. The degree to which other positions are dependent on it.

Thus, stratification is a social necessity to place and motivate individuals, and contribute to maintenance and well-being of the social system.

Melvin M. Tumin: - a critique of Davis and Moore

1. Functional importance - there is no objective way of measuring the functional importance of positions. Many occupations which afford little prestige or economic reward can be seen as vital to the society. Example: garbage collectors.
2. Power and rewards - Davis and Moore ignored the influence of power on the unequal distribution of rewards. Differences in pay and prestige between occupational groups may be due to differences in their power rather than their functional importance.
3. The pool of talent - Davis and Moore assumed that only a limited number of individuals have the talent to acquire the skills necessary for the functionally most important positions. This is a questionable assumption as:
   a. An effective method of measuring talent and ability has yet to be devised.

b. The pool of talent in society maybe considerably larger than assumed. As a result, unequal rewards may not be necessary to harness it.

4. Training - Tumin rejects the view that the training required for important positions should be regarded as a sacrifice and therefore in need of compensation. He pointed to the rewards of being a student - leisure, freedom and the opportunity for self-development. He also noted that any loss of earnings can usually be made up during the first ten years of work and continuing high pay after that may not be justified.

5. Motivation - he argues that social stratification does not serve the function of motivating talented individuals, but rather it acts as a barrier to the motivation and recruitment of talent. The hurdles which people from lower strata need to overcome in order to succeed can be daunting and can discourage rather than motivate people. Davis and Moore also failed to consider the possibility that those who occupy highly rewarded positions erect barriers to recruitment. Occupational groups often use their power to restrict access to their positions, so creating a high demand for their services and increasing the rewards they receive.

6. Inequality of opportunity - those born into the lower strata can never have the same opportunities for realizing their talents as those born into the higher strata.

7. Social divisions - differential rewards can 'encourage hostility, suspicion and distrust among the various segments of a society.' Hence, stratification is a divisive rather than an integrating force.

He concludes by stating that functionalists have tended to ignore or downplay many of the dysfunctions of stratification.

Davis and Moore's Argument:

1. Tumin seeks to demolish the concept of institutionalized inequality but he offers no explanation of the universality of stratified inequality.

2. Their interest lies in understanding why stratification exists in society, while Tumin argues that stratification does not have to exist.

3. He underestimates the importance of the specialized division of labour that is essential for a complex industrial society.

Marxist Theory:

It regards stratification as divisive rather than an integrative structure.

1. Classes - A class is a social group whose members share the same relationship to the means of production. In all stratified societies, there are two major social groups: a ruling class (bourgeoisie) and a subject class (proletariat). The power of the ruling class comes from its ownership and control of the means of production.

2. Classes and historical epochs - Marx believed that western society had developed through four main epochs. Primitive communism is the first epoch and the only example of a classless society, while the other epochs all saw two major classes:
   a. ancient society - master and slave
   b. feudal society - lord and serf
   c. capitalist society - capitalist and wage labourer

During these epochs, the labour power required for production was supplied by the subject class who were in majority. Classes emerged when the productive capacity of a society expanded beyond the level required for subsistence, when agriculture became the dominant mode of production. Increasingly, more complex and specialized division of labour has occurred. Surplus wealth and private property form the basis of class societies.

3. Dependency and conflict - while the classes are mutually dependent, it is not a relationship of equal reciprocity. Instead, it is a relationship of exploiter and exploited. The ruling class gains at the expense of the subject class and there is therefore a conflict of interest between them.

4. Power and the superstructure - political power comes from economic power. The superstructure of society - the major institutions, values and belief systems - is seen to be shaped by the economic infrastructure. The various parts of the superstructure are hence seen as instruments of ruling-class domination and oppression of the subject class.

5. Class struggle - is the driving force of social change. The proletariat would overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize the means of production, the source of power. It would transform the capitalist society by replacing private property with communally owned property.

6. Class consciousness - will occur when the false consciousness is replaced by a full awareness of the true nature of exploitation and contradictions. This will transform the proletariat from a 'class in itself' to a 'class for itself'.

7. Polarization of the classes - the gap between the proletariat and bourgeoisie will widen and hasten the downfall of the capitalist economy. This will be caused by obliteration of the differences in labour (homogenization of working class), the pauperization of the proletariat and sinking of the petty bourgeoisie into the proletariat.

Marx had believed that the process of polarization had begun in the 19h century Britain and soon the proletariat revolution and dawn of communist utopia would occur.

Critique:

Weber argued against economic determinism and proposed the 'trinitarian model' consisting of class, status and party. He also states that there could be numerous divisions within the two classes, depending upon the 'market situation' of individuals.

Ralf Dahrendorf in *'Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society'* views Marx's ideas as relevant in the 19th century Europe. However, he sees the 20th century as 'post capitalist' societies, where there occurs a decomposition of both - capital (example: multiple shareholders) and labour (example: even managers do not own capital, but neither are they working-class as they hold substantial authority). He also sees increasing social mobility and a widening middle class. Gramsci argues that the ruling class could not depend on false consciousness and instead will need to make real concessions to other groups in society in order to win their support.

Weberian Theory:

Weber believed that social stratification results from struggle for scarce resources in society. Although he saw this struggle as being primarily concerned with economic resources, it can also involve struggles for prestige and for political power. It affects the 'life chances' and 'lifestyles' of their members.

He sees class as a group of individuals who share a similar position in a market economy, and by virtue of that fact, receive similar economic rewards. Thus, a person's 'class situation' is basically their 'market situation'. He views the class groupings as follows:

1. The propertied upper class
2. The property less white-collar workers
3. The petty bourgeoisie
4. The manual working class

Factors other than ownership of property are significant in the formation of classes. The market value of the skills of the property less group varies, and the resulting differences in economic return are sufficient to produce different social classes.

Weber saw no evidence to support the idea of polarization of classes. He argues that the petty bourgeoisie instead of sinking into the manual working class, will enter the white-collar working class. This white-collar 'middle class' expands rather than contracts as capitalism develops.

He saw no reason why those sharing a similar class situation should necessarily develop a common identity, recognize shared interests and take collective action to further those interests. For example: he suggests that individual manual workers may grumble, work to rule or sabotage industrial machinery instead of organizing strikes or organizing others to overthrow capitalism.

He also sees groups form because their members share a similar status situation. Status refers to the unequal distribution of 'social honour'. Occupations, ethnic and religious groups, lifestyles are accorded different degrees of esteem by members of a society. Unlike classes, members of a status group are aware of their common status situation and social closure is practiced to exclude others from such status groups. However, class and status situations may not always be closely linked. Example: nouveaux rich, homosexuals.

The presence of different status groups within a single class, and of status groups which cut across class divisions, can weaken class solidarity and reduce the potential for class consciousness. And further, political parties are found cutting across both class and status groups.

Thus, Weber provides a more complex and diversified picture of social stratification.

Erik Olin Wright combines aspects of Marxian and Weberian theory. He states that there are three dimensions of control over economic resources in modern capitalist production, and this helps to identify different classes in the society:

1. Control over investment or money
2. Control over physical means of production like land
3. Control over labour power

Members of the capitalist class have control over each one of them, while working class have control over none. Between these two classes lies the group of managers, white collared workers, who sell their skills and expertise, and whose positions are ambiguous and Wright calls them 'contradictory class locations.' They are able to obtain more privileges through their relation to the owner of the means of production and hence are closer to the interests of their 'bosses' than to other workers.

P1 - 5 b. Structural functionalist theory, Marxist theory, Weberian theory

20th century thinkers believe stratification is a value loaded concept. Involves 2 phenomenon - differentiation of individuals or groups whereby some come to be ranked higher than others, the ranking is on basis of valuation.

Forms of stratification:

Free and unfree - slave society, serf and landlords
Class - involves a hierarchy of status groups, recognition of superior-inferior positions and some degree of permanence of the structure
Caste - closed
Estate and status - Europe till FR serfs
Occupation and income - may not be same
Race and ethnicity - colonialism
Ruling class - politicians in democracy
Administrative position - CS

Functions of stratification:

1. For individual - competition, recognition of talent, motivation, job satisfaction, mobility
2. For society:
    a. Ascriptive form - society was well served due to interdependence of caste and role specialization - potter learnt from childhood
    b. Achieved form - occupational hierarchy, division according to intelligence, training, work efficiency, development

MM Tumin - social stratification refers to arrangements of any social group or society into a hierarchy of positions that are unequal with regard to power, property, social evaluation and/or social gratification.

Characteristics of stratification by MMT - it is social, it is ancient (age and sex in old times), it is universal, it is in diverse forms (Roman 2, Aryan 4, Greek freemen and slaves, EU class and estates), it is consequential (leads to 2 consequences - life chances and life styles).

Elements of stratification which shape and maintain it by MMT - differentiation (tasks are defined, authority and responsibility distinguished, create mechanism for recruitment and training, rewards and punishments to motivate), ranking (skills and abilities needed, difficulty of task), evaluation (prestige, preferability and popularity) and rewarding.

Sorokin - unstratified society with real equality of its members is a myth which has never been realized in the history of mankind.

T.B. Bottomore in his study *Elites and Societies* shows that even in developed countries such as Britain and France where the stratification system is more open, an overwhelming majority of the civil servants were children of civil servants.

Functionalist critique:

Logically, though functional theory seems to be a sound proposition, it has received a wide range of criticism. Joseph Schumpeter accords significance to the formation, nature and basic laws of classes based on the significance of the function performed by a class and on the degree to which the class performs the function. Evaluation is relative. Performance of an individual as a member of a class is a decisive factor. Thus, Schumpeter accords significance to historical conditions in the emergence of classes.

The major criticisms of structure functional theories of stratification are –

I. Apart from Tumin, Dahrendorf was also one of the major critics of functional theory. Ralf Dahrendorf observes that stratification originates from the *closely related trinity of norms, sanction and power*.

II. Similarly, rigidity of caste system cannot be explained through functional theories of Davis and Moore and others.

III. Further, *elite recruitment* theory proves that elite gobble up all the rewards and perpetuate the elite rule.

IV. Beck and Baudrillard also visualise that such functional stratification is no longer valid as inequalities are now individualised and no clear strata exists today.

V. According to Alvin Gouldner, stratification is not inevitable as Davis and Moore predicted and he criticises them for providing a justification for social inequalities.

VI. According to Jonathan Turner – '*Structure functionalist theories suffer from illegitimate teleologies as a big logical problem*'. They often take cause for effects and vice-versa, for example, if you ask them which positions are more important? They will say the one which are rewarded the most. When you ask them why are they rewarded the most? They will say that because they are functionally more important.

Davis and Moore - Rewards are of 3 types - those that contribute to sustenance and comfort, humor and diversion, self-respect and ego expansion.

Modern conflict theorists argue that new occupational groups do not always share the same concerns of industrial workers.
Hidden injury of class: childhood poverty or economic insecurity can have a permanent effect on the individual (Sennett and Cobb).

In addition to the Marxist formulation, there are other theoretical perspectives in sociology of social stratification which treat conflict as the universal feature in form of social gradations in society. Ralph Daharendorf and Lewis Coser are for example, a few among many such western sociologists who accept the universality of conflict in all form of stratification but locate these conflicts in the institutional anomalies within the system rather than linking it with the theory of class struggle and revolution. Conflict according to these sociologists arises out of antagonism of interests and exercise of power by one stratum over the other which seeks upward social mobility. It represents, therefore, internal dynamics of the stratification system rather than a movement towards its total replacement or change of social order itself by revolutionary means as Marx envisaged.
Such theories of social stratification, which are known as conflict theories do not accept the Marxist position of historical materialism which postulates invariable stages of social evolution through series of revolutionary movements. The notion of social order in the conflict theory is closer to functional viewpoint rather than dialectical materialist interpretation.

Ralf Dahrendorf - Class and Class Conflict in industrial society - dominant and subordinate are 2 groups - both pursuing own interest - Ralf gives more importance to role and status - dominants give instruction on how to perform role, stifling initiative, creativity, alienation results - mobilization of subordinates who debate and discuss working conditions - quasi groups get formed - common interest and matter of concern brings them together and they become an interest group - get engaged in conflict with the other group - try to bring change in own life and institutional structure - redefine working environment - progress and change.
4 reasons why industrial workers have not overthrown capitalism:
1. The fragmentation of the capitalist class.
2. A higher standard of living.
3. More worker organizations.
4. More extensive legal protections.

Dahrendorf's Critique:
Ralf Dahrendorf, while agreeing with Marxian theory of society in general questions the ubiquitous character of class-conflict. Conflict is context-specific; and 'coercion' is key to social ranking in the context of given institutions of authority. The two groups of people are: (i) which is coercive, and (ii) which is coerced. Such domination and subjugation are found in all the areas of social life —economic, political, industrial, social, cultural etc. And coincidence of one type of conflict into another has ceased to exist. 'Conflict groups' rather than 'classes' characterize conditions of social structure. 'Authority' is a legitimate relation of domination and subjection. Authority relations are always relations of super-ordination and sub-ordination, hence stratification.

Weber on conflict - look at historical and cultural factors too, not just economic - objective of conflict for any party is to capture power - class, status group, party are sources of conflict - with rise of modernity class becomes more important as money power can help get status and even maybe political party.

Capital is source of conflict says Bourdeau - cultural, economic and symbolic capital - three classes - each exchanging for other possible - so when these 3 dominant classes try to enter others' class, conflict happens - boundary maintenance tried - status quo mostly maintained, but try to show people from poor sections who reach top as example of mobility, to show modernity is inclusive - it is not much in reality - reproduction of social and cultural capital is what really happens.

CW Mills - alienation is not just due to work. It is due to proliferation of bureaucratic structure, media, science and technology resources. Seeds for conflict present everywhere. Power elites are determining destiny of whole world - becoming a source of alienation for the masses - they frame policy, economics, and spread propaganda through media.

Althuser - dominant class controls media industry - do not try to antagonize masses - buy their mind through mass media, religion, etc. - RSA and ISA - try to minimize conflict through these and maintain their positions of power - New Left Tradition from 1930s - dominant class is controlling needs and choices implicitly.

Is social stratification universal?

Sociologists point out that simple societies of hunters and food gatherers usually do not have groups, which are ranked one above the other. Differences of power, wealth, and prestige do not exist at the level of groups. All clans are equally placed. No ranking exists between them. All members of these communities have equal access to resources. As a result, there are no rich or poor people among them. Whatever inequality exists between them is at the level of sex and age. Women (or men) may have more or less prestige in different societies. Elders may be respected. The solutions they offer in of conflict may not be binding on the individuals involved, yet they are respected and followed. From this we may conclude that although social inequality may be found in all societies, social stratification may not be universal.

5 C. Dimensions - Social stratification of class, status groups, gender, ethnicity and race

Class:

Marx sees class as a phenomenon created as a result of expansion of production forces beyond sustenance level.

But class is a pre-Marxian idea. **Aristotle** divided the society into three classes - upper, middle and poor, while the term was first used by **Saint Simon** as a synonym for estates.

There are particular characteristics of class:

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

Thus, class endorses the idea of social distance and class distinctions get expressed in form of social inequalities and social boundaries.

Marx defines class as a social group sharing the same relationship with the means of production. He identified different antagonistic classes across modes of production in different 'historical epochs'. Only primitive society with 'primitive communism' was classless. He believes that when true class consciousness develops, a class struggle will take place, and ultimately lead to a classless state of communism.

Weber also talks of the two economic classes - propertied and property less. However, he sees further class divisions based on 'market situation'. The class groupings according to him are as follows:

1. The propertied upper class
2. The property less white-collar workers
3. The petty bourgeoisie
4. The manual working class

These classes affect the 'life chances' and 'life styles' of the members. Increasing specialization leads to embourgeoisement, and an expansion in the middle class. Weber also views status and party position as being significant factors in determining class situations. These diverse and often class cutting parameters result into decreasing chances of class polarization.

Ralf Dahrendorf argues that classes will become more heterogenous with time due to specialized division of labour, and the working class will be further bifurcated into skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

Anthony Giddens suggests that there are three classes - upper class which holds the means of production, middle class which holds the technical skills and lower class which holds the manual labour.

Frank Parkin also sees a similar classification and believes that the middle-class acts as a buffer against the polarization as envisioned by Marx. He differentiates between social closure and class closure.

Goldthorpe talks of seven classes in the British society. He uses occupation as the basis for defining these classes.

WL Warner uses a reputational approach to view classes.

Bottomore differentiates four types of classes - upper class, middle class, working class and peasantry.

Pierre Bourdieu suggests horizontality in stratification in form of different capitals in the society. Industrial capitalists hold economic capital, knowledge capitalists hold cultural capital and power capitalists hold symbolic capital.

Classes vary in consistency depending on weightage given to ascription or achievement. In traditional societies, classes were more consistent and less mobile due to high ascriptive associations. Modern societies are more fluid owing to achievement orientation.

Hence, classes stratify societies and provide answers to certain kind of sociological questions - on poverty, exclusion, deviance, inequality, mobility, change, status, power, life chances and lifestyles. Criteria of identifying classes may differ among different scholars, but a sense of class is ingrained in the collective consciousness and hence influences every aspect of society.

Welfare economics sees an effort to redistribute wealth through progressive taxation, capital gain tax, estate duties, etc. Middle class and standards of living are both growing. However, class differences still persist, much to the disappointment of Marx.

Status Group:

While class is dependent particularly on economic variables, status groups are founded on honour and prestige differences.

It is one of the most ancient system of social stratification where ranking is done on the relative position in terms of respect. In traditional societies it was ascriptive, while in modern societies, it is more achievement oriented.

Occupations, ethnic and religious groups, and lifestyles are accorded different degrees of prestige or esteem by members of society. Weber defined a status group as made up of individuals who are awarded a similar amount of social honour and therefore share the same status situation.

Unlike classes, members of status groups are almost always aware of their common status situation. They share a similar lifestyle, identify with and feel they belong to their status group, and often place restrictions on the ways in which outsiders may interact with them.

Social closure involves the exclusion of some people from membership of a status group.

Pakulski and Waters in *'Death of Class'* argue that status dimension is becoming more important in post-industrial societies. Consumption is now based on status and not on the basis of occupation or economic well-being. Rising consumerism has promoted status and eclipsed class.

WL Warner emphasizes on social status instead of economic class as a form of stratification. He considers education, occupation and income as the determinants of status.

Hindu caste system was stated as an example of status groups by Weber. Here status was ascriptive, lifestyle, honour and prestige were sharply differentiated and marriage endogamy, commensality and occupational division of labour acted as social closures.

However, MN Srinivas quotes the example of Lingayats in Karnataka as a community that through their economic and political power, also managed to improve their caste position and now refer to themselves as 'Lingayat Brahmins'. He terms this process as Sanskritization. Louis Dumont counters this argument by stating that while it is easy to become a Kshatriya in India, the same is not true for Brahmins. Proclaiming Brahmin status and obtaining Brahmin status are two different things, and hence Brahmins were and are a status group. Andre Beteille speaks about class within caste.

In many societies, class and status groups are related to each other, however it is not a norm. For example: Firefighters have a high status in the American society in spite of the presence of higher paying professions. On the other hand, nouveaux rich are sometimes excluded from the status groups of the elite. Homosexuals form a status group, cutting across class divisions.

In modern times, the legitimacy of a person's status is constantly under lens and has to be justified through deeds. With rise of civil society, status is getting attached to nobility and transparency of deeds. Philanthropy rather than conspicuous display of wealth is more respected, while status is refined and redefined as and when new information is made available for scrutiny.

Thus, status groups are a dynamic system of social stratification in modern times.

Gender:

Gender is a social concept, while sex is a biological one. Gender distinctions are found in economic-, kinship- and caste-based stratification systems.

A UN Report (1980) declares that while women constitute half of the world population, they perform nearly 2/3rd of the total work hours, receive 1/10th of the total income and own less than 1/100th of the total property.

Social role expectations are often formed along sex and gender lines and entire societies may be classified according to the rights and privileges afforded to men or women.

According to Naila Kabeer 'biology is gendered as well as sexed'. Male and female are translated as man and woman based on mutually exclusive traits of masculinity and femininity. Mary Daly blames female oppression on male aggression.

Sex- and gender-based division of labor has increased with the advent of industrialization. Karuna Ahmad finds four trends in women's employment:

1. Pink collarization - clustering of women in a few occupations.
2. Clustering either in low status occupation or in the lower rungs of the prestigious profession.
3. Glass ceiling - women receive lower salaries and advancement opportunities than men.
4. High proportion of highly educated and professionally trained unemployed women.

Gender, as a form of stratification, difference and inequalities found mention in literature since 70s when feminism started taking shape. It was observed that gender differences were present in every sphere of society in terms of status, wealth and power. Matrilineal societies like the Khasis are often cited to rebuff the idea that women in all societies are discriminated. However, recent writings have

shown how even among a matrilineal society like the Khasis, control of property and decision making within the family (the private domain) often resides with the male head - the brother.

Rousseau argued that biological inequalities matter least in form of social stratification, but feminists state that the most ancient system of social stratification is based on gender. Plato placed reproductive role of women higher than their productive roles. Similarly, Aristotle was against citizenship for women.

There are different streams of Feminism which study gender differently:

- Radical feminism - They see society as patriarchal and blame man for the exploitation of women. Men use violence and its threat to secure and maintain their power over women.
- Marxist and socialist feminism - They see capitalists as the main beneficiaries of the exploitation of women, as in pursuit of profits, they either hire women at lower wages or gain from women's unpaid work indirectly (as men are able to work at the expense of their wives). Sexual inequality is treated in terms of division of labour and the Marxist approach considers women as a 'reserve army'. Unlike Marxists, Socialists believe in the democratic system and aim for change within it.
- Liberal feminists - are the most moderate of them all and believe that it is culture that is the culprit for women's plight and not men. They aim for gradual changes in political, economic and social systems. Aim for equal opportunities, especially in education and work.

Shulamith Firestone traces origins of gender stratification in biological differences. She believes that women are disadvantaged by their biology (menstruation, child birth, feeding), due to which their dependence on men increased, which provided further grounds for different forms of exploitations. She says that the sexual class system was the first form of stratification.

Michelle Rosaldo argued that it is the division between the public and private (domestic) world which is the reason for women subordination. With the example of Mbuti Pygmies of Africa, she demonstrated that where men and women share domestic responsibilities, the societies are relatively egalitarian.

Fredrick Engels states that in primitive communism, women had a higher position than men but as society developed and forms of private property emerged, the control of men increased, putting gender equality on the backburner. He believed that capitalist society, despite all its issues, provided an opportunity for women to work at par with men and gain some equality. However, he observed that bourgeoisie women were still forced to submit to male control.

Coontz and Henderson - with surplus production and appearance of 'Kin Corporate Property', gender stratification arose. Patrilocal and polygamous societies grew, and matrilocal ones declined.

Heidi Hartmann believes that capitalism and patriarchy are very intertwined, but she does not believe that interests of men are identical to that of capitalists. For example: Capitalists may want women to work at low wages but men may want their wives to be at home to perform services for them.

Parsons believes that with the arrival of modernity, hierarchy of genders has been converted into a competitive gender relationship. Hence, gender does not determine ranking in stratification systems.

Helen Mayor dismisses class notion attached to women and instead terms them as a minority.

Sylvia Walby in *'Theorizing Patriarchy'* identifies six patriarchal structures which help men to maintain dominance over women:

- Paid work - male dominated unions ensure that women interests are kept at bay.
- Relations within household - household work is unpaid and unvalued.
- Culture - key sign of femininity is seen to be sexual attractiveness of a woman.
- Sexuality - sexually active women are labelled negatively.
- Violence - final form of manifestation of dominance of men on woman.
- State - policies, though have undergone changes, are still lacking in many aspects to ensure gender equality.

Even religion has been portrayed as one of the factors promoting patriarchy. For example: Christianity projects Eve as being produced from Adam's spare rib and the origin of all human sufferings is blamed on her actions.

When gender is combined with other forms of prejudices like race, ethnicity and poverty, then it becomes worst form of exploitation. Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis believe that patriarchy, capitalism and racism are all part of one system, which advantages some groups and disadvantages others.

Ann Oakley in *'Gender on Planet Earth'* believes patriarchy and capitalism are damaging the planet. Example: War and violence stems from what men learn about being masculine, and from attempts to maintain patriarchy. Male-dominated transnational companies are constantly feeding the consumption culture. Male economists ignore housework in GDP calculations. Medical science making invasion of the female body possible, like IVF.

With development, many societies are giving high priority to gender in different aspects of planning and policy formulation. Concepts like gender budgeting are gaining popularity. Similarly, changes in Company's Act and Maternity Benefit Act, social movements like *'Beti Bachao Beti Padhao'*, reservation in local bodies elections, women-specific entrepreneurial schemes, *Sukanya Samriddhi Yojana*, priority in institutional lending to women owned businesses and women self-help groups are some measures that are helping the journey towards gender equality. However, cultural and attitudinal change is the most important factor here.

Ethnicity:

It is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos' which means nation. It is not depicted as a political entity but as a unit of people with common blood or descent.

An ethnic group is a socially-defined category of people who identify with each other based on common ancestral, social, cultural, or national experience. It is usually seen as defining groups in terms of their cultural characteristics rather than their supposed biological differences.

In English, for a long time, the term referred to someone who was neither Christian nor Jew - a pagan or heathen. In other words, ethnics were those 'others' who were not 'us'.

Thomas H. Eriksen sees ethnicity as relating to relationships between groups whose members consider themselves distinctive, and these groups are often ranked hierarchically within a society and are biologically perpetuating. He distinguishes between different types of ethnic groups - modern migrants,

indigenous people, proto nations or ethno-nationalist movements, ethnic groups in plural societies like Mauritius and post-slavery minorities.

Fredrick Barth sees ethnicity is a much more elastic concept as compared to race or caste. It is usually used for invoking political milieu. Though some forms of ethnicity are much more ingrained and complex than others, however, by way of language shift, acculturation, adoption, and religious conversion, it is possible for some individuals or groups to leave one ethnic group and enter another.

There are three popular conceptions of ethnicity:

- Biological - it is based on a common genetic descent. In this sense, ethnicity has been treated as synonymous with race.
- Cultural - it treated ethnicity as a cultural phenomenon.
- Psychological - a consciousness of common identity. An awareness exists among the members of a group regarding their similarity to each other.

Depending on which source of group identity is emphasized to define membership, the following types of ethnic groups can be identified: ethno-racial, ethno-religious, ethno-linguistic, ethno-national or ethno-regional.

Paul Brass discusses three ways of defining ethnic groups:

a. in terms of objective attributes - presence of some distinguishing features or 'ethnic markers' that separate one group from the other. Example: language, territory, religion, dress, etc.
b. by reference to subjective feelings - existence of an ethnic self-consciousness, a 'we feeling'.
c. in relation to behavior - existence of concrete, specific ways in which ethnic groups do or do not behave in relation to, or in interaction with other groups.

According to Karl Deutsch, ethnicity has been instrumental for balkanization and rise of so many nations in Europe, post the WW2.

Paul Hirst advocates that ethnicity is used by capitalists to keep working class divided, so as to prevent any revolution from happening.

Steve Fenton - 'Hot ethnicity' involves appeals to 'blood and passion' and may be mobilized in support of nationalist movements. It emphasizes strong group loyalty. 'Cold ethnicity' involves 'calculation and instrumentality' and is contingent upon deriving benefits from group membership.

Gellner and Wallerstein advocate that merit-based nature of modern society will dissipate any divisions on basis of ethnicity and abilities will spell out class positions. They believe that modern principles lead to more homogenization and thus disappearance of cultural and ethnic identities.

But critical theorists like Habermas and primordial theorists like Borris and Richmond argue that ethnicity becomes more prominent in modern times to preserve itself from drastic changes and is present in covert forms even in modern societies.

Glazer has contended that not only does ethnicity not cease to exist in a modern society, but is actually 'revived' and the increasing importance of ethnic identities or ethnicization can in fact, be attributed to the very conditions of modernization. Clifford Geertz, a symbolic theorist, states that ethnicity will continue to exist, not because of its functions but because of emotions.

Some examples of ethnic issues are: Nuer and Dinka tribes in South Sudan were engaged in an ethno-religious conflict. Crimea was annexed by Russia from Ukraine on an ethno-national basis. The holocaust was a form of ethno-religious war. On the other hand, demands for separate Indian states were made on ethno-linguistic basis, and this has often been stated as having helped the process of development.

Ethnic violence is seen in areas where 'immigration-host' model sees a crisis, as instead of acknowledging differences and providing space for inclusive development, hosts expect immigrants to fit into their culture, smoothly and invisibly. Example: demand for bans on turbans and hijabs.

Hence, we see wide manifestations of ethnicity ranging everyday prejudices to formation of nations. Thus, ethnicity as a system of social stratification, both integrates and disintegrates societies.

Race:

Race is a vast collectivity of people more or less bound together by shared and selected history, ancestors, and physical features. These people are socialized to think of themselves as a distinct group, and others regard them as such.

Geneticist Steve Jones states that genetic diversity has little to do with race and the overall genetic difference between "races"- say Africans and Europeans - is no greater than that between different countries within Europe or within Africa.

Richardson and Lambert view race as a social construction with no biological basis. It has more to do with what people make of physical differences and the everyday or commonsense notions which influence them.

Park and Burgess call race a product of history and culture. In the 17th century, with European colonialism, the ideology of racial stratification gained strength, with Europeans placing themselves (Caucasoid) at the top of the scheme.

Following Darwin's theory of natural selection in 1859, the concept of 'Social Darwinism' by Herbert Spencer arose, arguing that certain racial groups were more successful and thus superior to others. However, 'Racism' as a term entered common usage only after 1900.

Oliver C. Cox in *'Caste, Class and Race'* sees the idea of race as a human creation. Races were identified according to physical characteristics, but these characteristics did not have to reflect any real biological differences between groups. It was the belief in difference that was important, not any real differences that might exist. It is a product of the capitalist system with slavery, colonialism and racism as its tools.

Race as a system of stratification is loaded with both prejudice and discrimination based on social perceptions of observable biological differences between people. It often takes the form of social actions, practices or beliefs, or political systems in which different races are perceived to be ranked as inherently superior or inferior to each other, based on presumed shared inheritable traits, abilities, or qualities.

In a given society, those who share racial characteristics socially perceived as undesirable are typically under-represented in positions of social power - they become a 'minority' category in that society. This

minority status does not necessarily have to do with population. For example: Demographically, whites were a minority in South Africa, but sociologically speaking, they were in majority.

Minority members in such a society are often subjected to discriminatory actions resulting from majority policies, including assimilation, exclusion, oppression, expulsion, and extermination.

There can be two kinds of racisms in systems of social stratification - overt and covert.

- Overt racism usually feeds directly into a stratification system through its effect on social status. For example, members associated with a particular race may be assigned a slave status, a form of oppression in which they are refused basic rights that are granted to other members.
- Covert racism, which many scholars opine is practiced in more contemporary societies, is socially hidden and less easily detectable. It often feeds into stratification systems as an intervening variable affecting income, educational opportunities and housing.

Both overt and covert racism can take the form of structural inequality in a society in which racism has become institutionalized.

Sociologists argue that while class forms stratification, race forms hierarchy. Studies point to how race is a factor that hinders social mobility. Example: Blacks are less represented in many areas of social life.

In his book *'Invisible Man'*, Ralph Ellison talks about the atrocities blacks face on account of their colour.

Merton states that victims of racism respond in various ways and can become retreatists, innovators, rebellious or ritualists.

Gunnar Myrdal observes that while America is considered as a land of equal opportunity, it is seen that though coloured Americans also follow institutionally prescribed means to pursue culturally prescribed goals, they are still subjected to inequalities.

On the other hand, Parsons sees America as a land of meritocracy and states that coloured people are held back not due to discrimination, but due to lack of educational opportunities. Once these opportunities become available, race will cease to be a factor and only merit will determine the success of any individual.

John Rex and Paul Hirst see race as a product of capitalism, where economic opportunities were seen in outside labour and slave trade brought down the costs. Discrimination meted out to them, is attributed to the lowly tasks that they performed in the past.

Pierre L. van den Berghe sees a shift from paternalistic race relationship of the 18th and early 19th century to competitive race relationship of today.

Today, greater openness and diversity among ethnic groups has led to questioning of the concept of race. A growing number of individuals identify themselves as multiracial or multiethnic. The lines between ethnicity and race are getting blurred and contemporary stratification cannot be explained independently on any one line of race, ethnicity or even class.

But injustices in many parts, are also developing new shapes and kinds, keeping pace with such changes. 'Black Lives Matter' movement is an example of the outcome of such still prevalent issues.

P1 - 5 c. Dimensions - class, status groups, gender, ethnicity and race

MacIver and Page - Social **Class** is any portion of community marked off from the rest by social status.

Ogburn and Nimkoff - a social class is the aggregate of persons having essentially the same social status in a given society.

John H. Westergaard - the hardening of class inequality - economic and political factors leading to increase in inequality and concentration of wealth and private property.

Status Group is a group of persons enjoying highest degree of esteem, prestige, status and respect in a given society - **Weber** - closed community, self-perpetuating, distinctive lifestyle, more importance on respect and esteem than wealth, maintain distinction from others - example by Weber of Brahmins in India.

Weber - formulated a 3 component theory of stratification - class, status and power. Status class or status group is a group of people that can be differentiated on the basis of non-economical qualities like honour, prestige, education and religion. He says bureaucracy is the most powerful of all status groups.

By status situation, Weber refers to that part of a person's life chances, which are decided by the social esteem in which he/she is held, such esteem might be positive or negative. The status situation of an individual refers to the evaluations which others make of an individual of his/her social position. They normally manifest their distinctions upon the manner in which others may interact with them.

MNS - Lingayats captured land and power, asked Brahmins to prepare genealogy for them to raise their social status to that of Brahmins from historical times, Lingayats became supra Brahmins while original Brahmins were subjugated - Yaduvanshi Kshatriya - caste today does not influence caste tomorrow, it is a dynamic system and this dynamism is due to Sanskritization and so idea of Brahmins as a status group is wrong - **Weber** had book view, and so wrong.

Louis Dumont says Brahmins are a status group - have to say Lingayat Brahmins, original Brahmins do not need a qualifier or prefix - easy to become Kshatriya - strong connection between agricultural productivity and caste status.

WL Warner emphasizes on social status instead of economic class. He considers education, occupation and income as determinants of status. Other criteria which determine status are friendship, membership of voluntary groups and leisure activities.

Where status groups are present, there hierarchical society does not develop, rather hierarchy develops within the status groups. Looking at the universality of status groups with respect to their present and looking at their changing composition, one can conclude that no society is purely hierarchical or purely stratificational. Within stratificational society, hierarchy is present. Thus, no society is absolutely open or closed, rather openness and closeness are a matter of degree.

Gender concerns the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females. Gender is linked to socially constructed notions of masculinity and femininity. It is not necessarily a direct product of an individual's biological sex.

3 schools of thought:
- Gender has no bearing on hierarchy or stratification - **Parsons**, **Goldthorpe** - modern society is meritocratic, achievement oriented, women career encouraged because it can help family mobility.
- Feminist theory - gender produces hierarchy - 3 category of feminists - men vs. women.
- Gender produces stratification - degree of representation in different sectors - pink collarization.

Pink collar, glass ceiling, gender gap in salary, gender socialization.

SECOND SHIFT IN WHICH WOMEN COME HOME FROM WORK TO MORE WORK - COOKING, CHILDCARE - WHEREAS MEN ARE MORE LIKELY TO SPEND THEIR TIME IN LEISURE AFTER WORK.

Women are attached to a two-fold stratification i.e. in relation to men and in relation to other women. Gender structures different spheres of male-female inequality.

Products of the social organization based on patriarchy and its institutions, the DOL in the family and the competitive and exploitative character of capitalism.

Gender socialization - through contact with various agencies of socialization, both primary and secondary, children gradually internalize the social norms and expectations which are seen to correspond with their sex. Men and women are socialized into different roles.

Functionalist ideas - George Murdock - SDOL is biologically based, both perform tasks for which they are biologically best suited, Parsons - in family, females expressive roles, males instrumental roles, breadwinner, stressful - women to stabilize and control men - socialization of the young and the stabilization of adult personalities, John Bowlby - maternal deprivation, the child runs the risk of being inadequately socialized, social and psychological difficulties later.

Ann Oakley - cultural division of labour - Mbuti Pygmies in Congo rainforests both hunt and share responsibility of children, Australian Aborigines of Tasmania women do seal hunting and fishing, women in combat roles in Israel, China Cuba, USSR armies - convenience of man justifies the role division, nothing else - socialization into gender roles example:
1. Manipulation - child is dressed in feminine clothes, hair paid more attention to.
2. Canalization - different toys and hobbies.
3. Verbal appellations - naughty boy, good girl.
4. Different activities - encourages to do domestic tasks.

Critique - no explanation of power differences, children are portrayed as passive in the socialization process but many rebel, too simplistic they grow up and change.

Marxist - Fredrick Engels - capitalism exploited men by paying them low wages and women by paying them no wages. Men as wage earners and inheritors of property, women as consumers, women labour for free to clean and care at home.

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

Sherry B. Ortner - In every society, higher value is placed on culture than on nature, women are seen as closer to nature and hence inferior. Culture is the means by which humanity controls and regulates nature.

Black feminists - also look at race and class - family not a mainstay of patriarchy but a main point of solidarity against racism - reject biological DOL as black female slaves worked same as men.

Liberal feminist view of Ann Oakley - when the factory system of production emerged, women still had equal status, only when child labour was banned and trade unions opposed women in work, their status started falling. Also Victorian Ideology grew.

Postmodern feminists - challenge the idea that there is a unitary basis of identity and experience shared by all women. Reject the claim of any grand theory. Many groups, each having different experiences, celebrate the diversity. The recognition of difference is central to postmodern feminism. Deconstruct male language and masculine view of the world. Men see the world as binary. Deconstruction involves attacking binary concepts and recasting their opposites in a new and positive manner - Freud penis envy theory to be changed.

Kate Millet - 'Sexual Politics' - there exists a power structure in any relationship - 8 factors explain the existence of patriarchy:
1. Biology + early socialization which encourages men to be more aggressive
2. Ideological - men socialized to be more dominant
3. Sociological - family is the main institution of patriarchy
4. Relationship between class and subordination
5. Educational factors
6. Myth and religion - Adam and Eve
7. Psychology - patriarchal ideology is interiorized by women
8. Physical force - violence against women

Blood and Hamblin - gender stratification is not significantly altered by more participation of women in economic roles. They take decision making power inside the family as the main criterion of empowerment. According to them, despite women taking more participation in employment, important family decisions are still made by men.

Gender is not an isolated factor, rather along with other variables, it helps explain position and rank of women in stratification system and the degree of mobility available.

Ortner and Whitehead proposed a model of prestige structures which is defined as the set of prestige positions or level that result from a particular line of social evaluation, the mechanisms by which individuals arrive at a given level or positions, and the overall conditions of reproduction of the system of statuses.
Gender, they argued, is one such prestige structure, and in every human society, man and woman compose two differentially valued terms of a value set, men being men, higher. They suggested that male prestige is linked to 'public roles', such as chief or a *Brahman*, while female prestige is defined in relation to men, in such roles as wife, sister and mother, in other words female structures are encompassed within the male structures. Conceptualizing gender as one of the prestige structures pushed the gendered analysis of

social stratification across societies.

Many egalitarian societies in the contemporary world are characterized by a division of labour whereby men hunt and women gather. Friedl outlines four reasons for this division i.e. the variability in the supply of game, the different skills required for hunting and gathering the incompatibility between carrying burdens and hunting and the small size of semi nomadic foraging population. Despite the common assumption that men hunt and women gather, there is no sharp division of labour.

The Tiwi, Australian aborigines who live on Melville Island off the coast of Northern Australia both men and women hunt and gather. Women are considered economic assets and a source of wealth and prestige for men. Women acquire social status and can be politically influential. Goodale suggests that Tiwi culture emphasizes the equality of men and women in society.

Among the Agta Negritos of North Eastern Luson, the Philippines women enjoy greater social and economic equality with their men compared to Tiwi of Australia. They make significant contribution to the daily food supply and also control the distribution of the food they acquire, sharing them with their families and trading them in the broader community. This challenges the widely held notion that in foraging societies pregnancy and child care are incompatible with hunting. They have developed methods of contraception and abortion to aid them in spacing their children.

In horticultural societies, in which cultivation and farming is required by the use of hand-tool technology women play important roles in production. Lepowsky points to gender egalitarianism among the horticultural and matrilineal people of the pacific island of Vanatani. He says that the prominent position of women in Vanatinai exchange and other activities.

"Double bind" about women in politics - "If a woman campaigned vigorously, she would likely be regarded as a neglectful wife and mother. If she was an attentive wife and mother, she was apt to be judged incapable of devoting energy to public office."

Ethnicity relates to ascriptive identities like caste, language, religion, region, etc. Unlike race which emphasizes physical features and geographic origin, ethnicity can be based on an almost infinite number of traits.

Minority - ANY CATEGORY OF PEOPLE, WHO ARE DISTINGUISHED BY PHYSICAL OR CULTURAL DIFFERENCE, THAT A SOCIETY SETS APART AND SUBORDINATES.

Abriel Smith advocates ethnicity and political history are complementary to each other. One group of people taking ethnicity as a cause establish a nation-state like France or Britain.

Pitrim Sorokin calls nation as 'active ethnicity' and ethnicity as 'passive nationality'. Nation is born due to ethnic attributes.

Banton - primary difference between race and ethnic group is that membership in an ethnic group is voluntary whereas membership in a racial group is not. Ethnic group is about inclusion whereas race is about exclusion.

Jenkins - ethnicity is about group identification, race is about social categorization.

Ericksen - Ethnic groups are biologically perpetuating, go for boundary maintenance and in this process develop associational relationship through which they can question deprivation - example: Indian association in USA .

Michael E. Brown - name that identifies them as a group, belief in common ancestry, shared belief about a common past, shared culture, sense of attachment to a particular territory, belief that they form an ethnic group.

Fredrick Barth - boundaries of ethnic groups are highly elastic, so ethnic identity is not a fixed identity - created, dismantles and recreated for different purposes at different points of time - Asian Americans in USA include Paki and Indians both, further into North v/s South, Tamil v/s Telugu, Brahmin v/s Dravidians - source of strength for collective mobilization.

Weber - ethnicity as a form of status group, ethnicity as a mechanism for monopolistic closure, multiplicity of ethnic forms of social organization, ethnicity and political mobilization.

Ethnicity made India independent but it was also instrumental in the partition.

Basic patterns of race and ethnic relations are amalgamation, assimilation, pluralism, structured inequality, population relocation and extermination.

Conflict due to - visible differences between groups, competition for resources, racist ideology, potential for exploitation and the minority group response to the majority definition of the situation.

Prejudices formed through - socialization, rationalizing through stereotypes, the scapegoating process, reinforcement of a self-fulfilling prophecy, ramification of an authoritarian personality and degree of contact with minority groups.

India - religious ethnicity, tribal ethnicity, territorial ethnicity.

While western social science is very sensitive to the race/ethnic question, it is still not an entirely uncommon practice to conflate cultural and natural differences. Giddens writes: Ethnicity refers to cultural practices and outlooks that distinguishes a given community of people. Members of ethnic groups see themselves as culturally distinct from other groupings in a society, and are seen by those others to be so. Many different characteristics may serve to distinguish ethnic groups from one another, but the most usual are language, history or ancestry (real or imagined), religion, and styles of dress or adornment. Ethnic differences are wholly learned, a point which seems self-evident until we remember how often such groups have been regarded as 'born to rule' or, alternatively, have been seen as 'unintelligent, 'innately lazy' and so forth.

Giddens - Minority group or ethnic minority is:
- Its members are disadvantaged, as a result of discrimination against them by others. Discrimination exists when rights and opportunities open to one set of people are denied to another group.
- Members of the minority have some sense of group solidarity, of 'belonging together'. Experience of being the subject of prejudice and discrimination usually heightens feelings of common loyalty and interests. Members of minority groups often tend to see themselves as 'a people apart' from the majority.
- Minority groups are usually to some degree physically and socially isolated from the larger community, They tend to be concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, cities or regions of a country. There is little intermarriage between those in the majority and members of the minority group. People in the minority group might actively promote endogamy (marriage within the group) in order to keep alive their cultural distinctiveness.

Stereotyping is often closely linked to the psychological mechanism of displacement. In displacement, feelings of hostility or anger become directed against objects that are not the real origin of these anxieties. In other words what it means is that in times of acute unemployment, other ethnic groups or women may be blamed, scapegoated, for taking up jobs that should have been otherwise theirs.

Race - Colonialism - the idea of racial differences became the cornerstone of self-righteous ideology, justifying their right by virtue of racial superiority, to exploit, dominate and even annihilate conquered peoples and their cultures.

Giddon and Robert Knox - negritos, australoids, mongoloids, caucasoids - lower to higher race categories.

Lambert - blacks are more involved in crime due to social exclusion.

The principle of age is most prominent among the Masai and Nandi in East Africa, where ranking on the basis of age, is put together with the exercise of authority, on the basis of seniority.

5 D. Social mobility - open and closed systems, types of mobility, sources and causes of mobility

According to Wallace and Wallace, social mobility is the movement of a person or persons from one social position to another. It normally entails changes in the life chances and lifestyles. Social mobility may not just be limited to class. For example, simply adapting to a new language or mannerisms may also increase mobility of a person in a relatively open structure.

Implicit in invoking the concept of social mobility is the recognition of social hierarchy and gradation in society. This gradation is usually in terms of power, wealth and prestige.

Strata sub-cultures tend to be particularly distinctive when there is little opportunity to move from one stratum to another. This opportunity to move decides whether a system of stratification is open or closed. Mobility is an indicator of a meritocratic society and stability of class architecture in a society.

Open and Closed Systems:

Weber talks of social closure by different status groups. For example: caste endogamy in Hindus.

In a closed system, individuals are assigned their place in the social structure on the basis of ascriptive criteria like age, birth, sex. This system emphasizes the associative character of the hierarchy. It justifies the inequality in the distribution of wealth, status and power and discourages or even suppresses any attempt to change it. Considerations of functional suitability or ideological notions of equality of opportunity are irrelevant in this society.

In an open system, the norms prescribe and encourage mobility. There are independent principles of ranking like status, class and power. Individuals are assigned to different positions in the social structure on the basis of their merit or achievement. The system is characterized by occupational diversity, flexible hierarchy, and rapidity of change. The hold of ascription-based groups like caste, kinship or family is insignificant. The dominant values in such a system emphasize on equality and freedom of the individual and on change and innovation. Industrialization and urbanization are the contributing factors.

Very little vertical mobility is possible in a closed society. Pre-modern India was a closed system to a great extent. In contrast, an open society allows for greater vertical social mobility.

However, even in open societies people cannot move from one stratum to another without resistance.

Blau and Duncan in their study on mobility observe that most while open societies have a fairly high degree of vertical social mobility, the social distance travelled is not very long.

Every society has established criteria - which might be proper manners, family lineage, education, or racial affiliation etc., which must be satisfied before people can move to a higher social level.

A study by Willmott and Young in the London revealed that 83% of the managing directors in 1970s were the sons of professionals and managers. A recent survey by Stanworth and Giddens designed to investigate the social origins of company chairmen revealed a high degree of elite self-recruitment.

Lipset and Bendix's study on social mobility confirms that the rate of mobility displays a basic similarity across industrial societies. But they also point out that the high mobility of industrial societies is less an effect of greater openness of these societies. Instead they consider the high mobility as primarily caused by structural change in these societies.

Types of Mobility:

Horizontal and Vertical mobility:

Horizontal social mobility means movement by individuals or groups from one position to another which does not involve a shift into a higher or lower stratum. For example, when a rural labourer migrates to the city and becomes an industrial worker.

Anthony Giddens considers that there is a great deal of mobility along the lateral direction in modem societies, and refers to horizontal mobility as lateral mobility.

On the other hand, vertical mobility involves a movement into a different stratum.

Pitirim Sorokin states that according to the direction of the transition, there are two types of vertical social mobilities - ascending and descending, or 'social climbing' and 'social sinking' respectively.

Giddens calls those who gain in property, income or status as upwardly mobile, while those who move in the opposite direction as downwardly mobile. He also comments that in modem societies vertical and horizontal mobility are often combined. For example: an individual working in a company in one city might be promoted to a higher position in a branch of the firm located in another town, or even in a different country. In fact, mobility is being considered as a factor of promotions in modern societies.

Intra-generational and Inter-generational mobility:

Mobility taking place in personal terms within the lifespan of the same person is called intra-generational mobility. It refers to the advancement of one's social level during the course of one's lifetime. Example: Ms. Arundhati Bhattacharya started as a PO in SBI and rose to the position of its Chairman. It is also termed as career mobility.

Alternatively, one can analyze the status of a daughter, upon reaching adulthood, as compared to that of her parents. Example: if the daughter of a clerk becomes an IAS officer. This is inter-generational mobility and it tells us to what extent inequalities are passed on from one generation to the next. If there is very less inter-generational mobility, it shows that inequalities are deeply built into the society and life chances are majorly determined at birth.

Studying the American occupational structure, Blau and Duncan have found that a person's chances of moving up the occupational ladder are strongly influenced by - amount of education, nature of first job and father's occupation.

Absolute and Relative mobility - Absolute mobility is the actual change in position that occurs whereas relative mobility is judged in comparison to others.

Structural and Circular mobility:

Structural mobility is the mobility of people who are already part of the occupational structure. By virtue of change in technology, skills, education, policy, such people become socially mobile.

On the other hand, there are people who are outside the social structural. When such people enter into occupations, it is referred to as circulation mobility.

Sponsored and Contested mobility:

R.H. Turner calls sponsored social mobility as the one which a person acquires due to some policy decision. For example: policy of reservation is known as sponsored social mobility.

On the other hand, contested mobility is the one based on open competition.

Structural mobility:

Structural mobility is a kind of vertical mobility. It refers to mobility which is brought about by changes in stratification hierarchy itself. It is a vertical movement of a specific group, class or occupation relative to others in the stratification system. It is a type of forced mobility for it takes place because of the structural changes and not because of individual attempts. For example, technology or labour market changes may lead to the rise or decline of an occupational group within the social hierarchy. Cotton mill workers in India saw a decline in their social position after the mass shutdown of mills and increasing use of synthetic fabrics. An influx of immigrants may also alter class alignments, especially if the new arrivals are disproportionately highly skilled or unskilled.

Individual and Group mobility:

When an individual change their social position due to achievement of economic means, prestige or power, it is termed as individual mobility.

When a group as a whole improves its social position, it is termed as group mobility. For example: with increase in trade and agriculture in the later Vedic period, Vaishyas experienced group mobility.

Sources and Causes of Mobility:

Stratification system, economic or political restructuring, role of state and value system are some of the sources of mobility.

According to Harold Gould industrialization brought about the transfer of specialized occupations of all kinds from the context of the kin groups to factories organized on bureaucratic principles. This meant that occupational role and role occupant would be in principle separated and that the preponderant criteria for determining occupations would be performance qualities and that economic rewards and social mobility would constitute the principle standards for evaluating the worth or the status of any given role. Thus, industrialization and the accompanying urbanization are major sources of social mobility.

According to Sorokin, there are certain four primary factors that affect mobility in all societies:

1. Demographic factor - the birth rate of higher strata is generally lower than that of lower strata. The net population growth is such that there is usually some room at the top for members of lower strata. This is also true in terms of urban and rural populations, where migration from rural areas balances the low birth rate of urban population. From the mobility angle, this means that new kind of vacancies are created which must then be filled.

2. The abilities of parents and children - Sorokin notes that abilities of parents and children may not match. In ascriptive societies, children may not always be as suited to their inherited status positions. Lipset and Bendix state that there are always new supplies of talent which must be absorbed somewhere or the other. Even in societies with inherited status positions, there were always opportunities for talented individuals to be upwardly mobile. For example: under feudalism, individuals with military prowess could rise. But critics argue that class of origin still matters in and the topmost positions and the lowest positions are largely self-recruiting.

3. The faulty distribution of individuals in social positions - Pareto says that "history is the graveyard of aristocracies". He contended that over time generations lose their innate qualities, or persons from lower strata might exhibit those qualities, and thus a change in the personnel of the elite would take place.

4. The change of the environment - economic, social, political, legal, technological changes also have an effect on social mobility. Example: globalization, democratization, increase in literacy rates and education standards, etc.

Lipset and Bendix emphasize that the rate of social mobility displays basic similarity across industrial societies. According to them, among industrial societies, no association is apparent between mobility rates and rate of economic growth. Social mobility becomes relatively high once their industrialization reaches a certain level. They list five factors that lead to social mobility in industrial societies. These are:

- Changes in the number of available vacancies
- Different rates of fertility
- Changes in the rank accorded to occupations
- Changes in the number of inheritable status positions
- Changes in legal restrictions pertaining to potential opportunities

However, Goldthorpe cities the work of Miller, who, using more data than Lipset and Bendix, shows that in fact there is a lack of convergence between the rates of mobility of industrial societies. This shows that perhaps it is not industrialization per se, but also other factors, such as cultural factors, the education system etc., which also have a bearing on social mobility.

Personal talent of gifted individuals is also a source of mobility.

Subjective factors: Aspirations, motivation of people, degree of exclusivity. Merton writes about the importance of the reference group in determining social behaviour. He states that an individual who seeks to be mobile has, as a reference group, a non-membership group rather than his own group, and goes for anticipatory socialization. 'Culture of poverty' as explained by Oscar Lewis.

Barriers to mobility: Marxian viewpoint.

Causes for downward mobility: because certain occupations have lost in prestige through a re-ranking of positions, and thus their occupants have moved down. Or those very positions cease to exist.

Social Mobility and Social Change:

Giddens suggests that if the rate of social mobility is low, class solidarity and cohesion will be high. Most individuals will remain in their class of origin and this will 'provide for the reproduction of common life experiences over generations'. He criticizes conventional discussions of mobility which look at classes as fixed categories which can be populated by different people at different times.

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

Merton's work on social structure and anomie, sheds more light on this. He differentiates between socially accepted goals and means of achieving these goals. The goals refer to the values of society. Those who accept the goals and the means of achieving them are Conformists. But there may be those who reject the goals - the values, as well as the means of achieving them. These people may either retreat from social life - Retreatism, or may rebel against society - Rebellion. In the latter case, they may, postulate a new structure of society, rather than seek advancement within the given structure.

Social mobility is a product of social change and also it also initiates social change.

Consequences of Mobility:

High mobility adds to social cohesion. America did not witness class wars as the social structure was open. Europe had a rigid social structure and the class inequality was far more pronounced.

Frank Parkin sees a relatively high rate of upward mobility as a 'political safety-valve'. It provides opportunities for many able and ambitious members of the working class to improve their situation. As a result, the frustration which might result, if opportunities for upward mobility were absent, is prevented from developing.

Greater innovation, creativity and productivity. Better efficiency and economic growth. Cultural homogenization.

Anomie of infinite aspiration, illegitimate means may be used to climb up the ladder, by people with achievement motivation.

Weakens kinship ties. Social deviance increases.

Ralf Dahrendorf believes that the situation has arrived in modern western societies, where, there are considerable opportunities for individual advancement. There is, therefore, less need for people to join together as members of a social class, in order to improve their situation. In Dahrendorf's words, 'Instead of advancing their claims as members of homogeneous groups, people are more likely to compete with each other as individuals for a place in the sun'. 'Although mobility diminishes the coherence of groups as well as the intensity of class conflict, it does not eliminate either'.

P1 - 5 d. Social mobility - open and closed systems, types of mobility, sources and causes of mobility

The concept of social mobility is classically defined by Pitirim A. Sorokin. According to Sorokin, the shift of position may be undertaken by an individual or social object or value. That is to say, anything that has been created or modified by human activity can experience social mobility. Marriage is a source of mobility.

Gerhard Lenski computed a manual- non manual index based on data from a variety of sources. His study shows the United States as first with a mobility rate of 34%, but five other European countries are close behind: Sweden, 32%, Great Britain, 31 %, Denmark, 30%, Norway, 30% and France, 29%. So we can observe that the mobility rate is fairly similar in industrial societies.

Featherman, Jones and Hauser hold that only if relative rate of social mobility is considered then only the similarity of mobility trend among industrial societies would be confirmed.

Erikson and Goldthorpe through their studies showed that no common trend of mobility is available among different societies.

The satire on *"The Rise of the Meritocracy"* by Michael Young, where he effectively debunks the myth that the 'open' societies are really responsive to talent and ability.

Circulation of elites in Pareto's theory was of two types. In the first, talented individuals from lower strata enter higher strata. At other times, when the abilities of higher groups are called into question, it is likely that groups from lower strata challenge and overthrow the supremacy of such groups. In other words, both individual and group mobility is possible. Max Gluckman has referred to this as 'repetitive change', in the context of changes in African chiefdoms. Of course, it may also happen that such a change does not take place within the confines of a given system, but ends in changing the system itself, that is, the structure of positions itself. Maurice Duverger has referred to this as the difference between conflicts 'within the regime' and conflicts 'over the regime.'

Veblen's book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* allows us to infer that every stratification system is automatically a source of mobility. This is because every individual's estimation of himself or herself is largely based on other's evaluation of them. And individuals will always seek to be well thought of in the eyes of their fellow men. Thus they will aspire to those positions which society deems to be worthwhile. The process of Sanskritization shows how it is in fact a commitment to the values of the caste system that is the source of aspiration for mobility.

But as Beteille points out, while the upwardly aspiring groups wish to be included among the higher groups, once they arrive there, they try to retain their exclusivity. Thus in the case of the caste system both processes, those of inclusion and exclusion paradoxically coexist. This idea is similar to that of social closure, used by Weber.

Various empirical studies of mobility in western industrial societies have also shown that at large amount of that mobility recorded is 'mass mobility', that is mobility across the manual vs. non manual divide. The class of origin still matters in that the topmost positions and the lowest positions are largely self-recruiting. Therefore talent as a factor has a limited role in explaining mobility.

Heidi Hartmann says that women and middle class are more prone to downward mobility than being able to rise in the socio-economic scale and occupying important positions.

Antony Heath & Huxley criticize that mobility is universal. They say more than 80% mobility is among immediate levels and not long term mobility, thus not serving individuals.

They are supported by Leivermann who say women uses their physical beauty to move up in class structure.

SOCIETAL LEVEL

Anthony Gidden advocate that mobility causes migration and frequent migration retards the development of solidarity in the society.

Four forms of social stratification having specific patterns of social mobility:

SLAVERY SYSTEM : Mobility was possible only in two ways – through manumission and through rebellion.

ESTATE SYSTEM: Mobility was possible through the act of grace the monarch. He could bestow a person in rank of nobility. Other avenue of mobility was occupational guilds. Marriage also was an important avenue of social mobility, especially for women.

CASTE SYSTEM : is an example of closed stratification system where an individual's position is largely ascribed. There is little scope of social mobility, though avenues are available for social mobility:
– Flexibility in the political system.
– Availability of land cultivation.
– Sanskritization.
– Hypergamy.

CLASS SYSTEM : is an example of open system of stratification.
– Membership depends on achievement.
– Norms envisage mobility.
– Equality of opportunity.
– Open model of mobility.

Michelle Stanworth is critical of Goldthorpe for insisting on categorizing women in social mobility studies according to the class of their husbands.

General factors of social mobility - industrialization, urbanization, education, social capital and social status, occupation, social and cultural values, environmental changes, social movements, law and constitution, migration, physical features, technology, culture, political factors, subjective factors.

Ken Roberts - mobility is an indicator of a meritocratic society and the degree to which a society lives up to the ideals of fairness. It is also an indicator of stability of the class architecture in the society.

1949 study by David Glass in England - rampant elite self-recruitment, only middle management and lower level positions left for others.

Lipset - industrialization led to high social mobility in England. True for all countries.

Sally Loverman - other factors remaining constant, physical looks provide an edge.

Range of Mobility:

When people move up or down the social scale, they may travel through one or many strata. The social distance thus covered is denoted by the term 'range'. It could be movement covering a short social distance, i.e., short-range Shift. Also, a big slide across a number of strata (up or down) is also possible. This is a case of long-range mobility. For example, when Blau and Duncan collected information on a national sample of 20,000 males, they concluded that there is much vertical mobility in the United States. Interestingly, nearly all of this is between occupational positions quite close to one another. 'Long-Range' mobility is rare. On the contrary, Frank Parkin stresses on instances of 'long- range' mobility.

Indian context:

The important channels of social mobility during the ancient period were
(a) Sanskritization
(b) conversion to Buddhism, Jainism and other heterodox sects
(c) migration
(d) renouncing the world and taking to the life of mendicant and preacher

Medieval period - Islam, Bhakti, Sufi.

Service sector:

It is important to appreciate that modern society has moved beyond the crucial transition from agricultural to industrial society. Advanced industrial countries move beyond the predominance of manufacturing occupations to develop the tertiary branch of the economy, viz, trade transportations, communications, and personal and professional services. That is to say, overall there is a predominance of 'service' sector in any advanced industrial society. Such a situation was forecasted by Daniel Bell almost three decades back. Agricultural employment declines both proportionately and absolutely, while manufacturing declines proportionally. This change increases white collar and middle-class occupations. These developments, rather than individual effort, account primarily for social mobility.

Marxist writers have further developed the theme of proletarianization. Given the growth in service sector occupations, they have sought to see whether the lower rungs of white collar occupations can in fact be included into the proletariat, and have concluded that they can be. Notable amongst those who have argued thus are Braverman and others, although other Marxists have disagreed. Outside the Marxist fold, there are those like Dahrendorf and others who argue that the changes that have taken place since the analysis of Marx have been so far reaching, that today's societies can no longer even be called capitalist, but rather, post-capitalist.
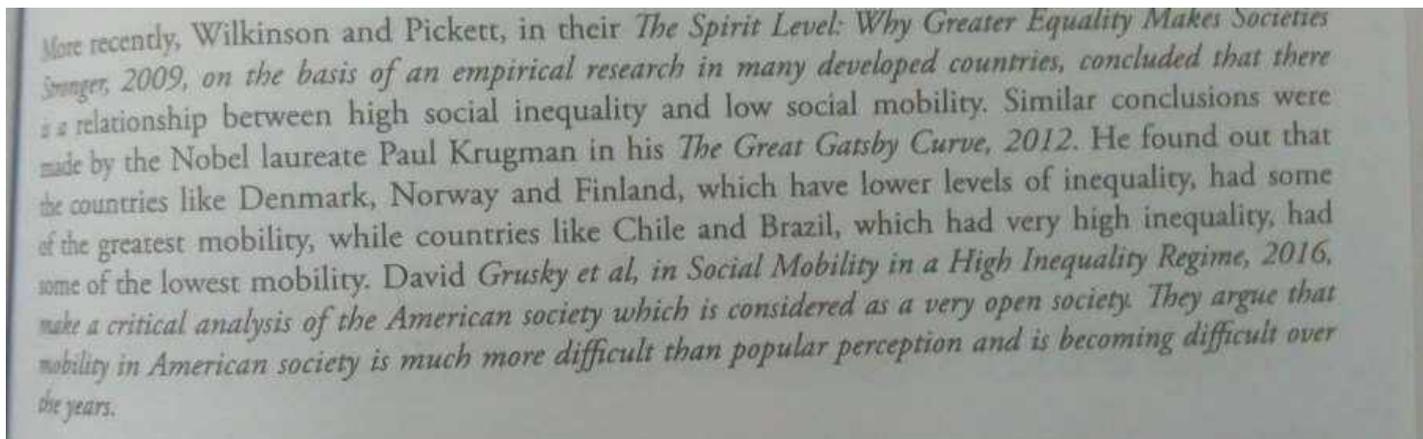
More recently, Wilkinson and Pickett, in their *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger, 2009,* on the basis of an empirical research in many developed countries, concluded that there is a relationship between high social inequality and low social mobility. Similar conclusions were made by the Nobel laureate Paul Krugman in his *The Great Gatsby Curve, 2012.* He found out that the countries like Denmark, Norway and Finland, which have lower levels of inequality, had some of the greatest mobility, while countries like Chile and Brazil, which had very high inequality, had some of the lowest mobility. David *Grusky et al, in Social Mobility in a High Inequality Regime, 2016,* make a critical analysis of the American society which is considered as a very open society. They argue that mobility in American society is much more difficult than popular perception and is becoming difficult over the years.

6 A. Social organization of work in different types of society - slave society, feudal society, industrial capitalist society

Social organization is a heuristic device that is concerned with the choices and decisions involved in actual social relations.

Slave Society:

According to Marx and Engels, slave society was the earliest form of class society. It is an extreme form of inequality in which some individuals are owned by others as their property. The slave owner has full control including using violence over the slave. T Hobhouse defined slave as a man whom law and custom regard as the property of another. In extreme cases he is wholly without rights.

According to HJ Nieboer the basis of slavery is always economic because with it emerged a kind of aristocracy which lived upon slave labour.

In the slave-owning society, primitive tools were perfected and bronze and iron tools replaced the stone and wooden implements. Large-scale agriculture, livestock raising, mining and handicrafts developed.

The article *'Slavery'* in the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1968) makes a distinction between primitive, ancient, medieval and modern slavery.

- Two main types of slavery - ancient slavery and new world slavery. Ancient slavery was prevalent in ancient Rome and Greece. Here slaves were usually foreign prisoners of war. In new world slavery, the basis of development of slavery were colonial expansion and racist ideology.
- The slave was designated as the master's property and had no political and social rights.
- It is said that the decline of slavery was primarily brought about by the inefficiency of slave labour.

In India, both male and female servants and slaves performed specialized functions in domestic and non-domestic services of the privileged class. They were also used as an object of display. Payments to the servants were very low. Slaves were very cheap, even cheaper than animals. A woman slave for domestic work cost from 5 to 12 Tanka; a concubine, 20 to 40; untrained slave boys, 7 or 8 Tanka; and trained slaves, 10 to 15 Tanka during Alauddin Khilji's reign.

Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves - a captive of war, a slave of maintenance, a son of a female slave, one purchased for money, a slave obtained as a present, a hereditary one, and one condemned to slavery for any offence.

Feudal Society:

The term feudalism is derived from the institution of 'fief', which was a piece of landed property. During the medieval period of European history, this form of property was given to a vassal by a lord in return for military service.

The defining feature of the estate / feudal system, was that the position held in the society, depended entirely in terms of ownership of land.

The evolution of the feudal system brought about the development of exchange of agricultural and manufactured products in regional markets. People started using inanimate sources of energy, viz., water and wind, besides human labour. The crafts advanced further, new implements and machines were invented and old ones were improved. The labour of crafts persons was specialized, raising productivity considerably.

Nevertheless, these relations were more progressive than in slavery system, because they made the labourers interested, to some extent, in their labour. The peasants and the artisans could own the implements or small parts of land. Power was handed down through family lines, with peasant families serving lords for generations and generations.

In India, a feudal type of society started emerging during the Gupta period (AD 1300-600) which gradually got stabilized. Land grants were made by the Gupta emperors, their feudatories and private individuals which created a class of powerful intermediaries between the king and the masses. Further, land grant became more common during the post-Gupta period.

Over the years, the term feudalism has also come to acquire a generic meaning and is frequently used to describe the pre-modern agrarian societies in other parts of the world as well. The distinctive feature of the agrarian class structure in feudalism is the relationship of "dependency" and "patronage" that exists between the cultivators and the "overlords". The cultivating peasants have to show a sense of "loyalty" and obligation towards their overlords. His sense of loyalty is expressed not only by paying a share of the produce of land to the landlord but very often the peasants are also obliged to work for the overlord and perform certain duties without expecting any wages in return. Example: In Tehri Garhwal district of Uttaranchal, a labourer, usually belonging to the untouchable castes of Doms and Koltas borrows a small sum of money from a landowner in order to get married and subsequently becomes bonded to his landowner-moneylender.

Industrial Capitalist Society:

- Private ownership of means of production
- Profit as incentive
- Free competition for markets
- Restless expansion and investment to accumulate capital

Giddens:

- Highly complex division of labour and high degree of specialization - UK census lists some 20,000 distinct jobs in the British economy
- Shift in location of work. Earlier small - scale artisanship from home. Now in factories.
- High economic interdependence
- From animate to inanimate power
- Taylorism, Fordism and Post Fordism (collaborative work groups, mass customization, global production).

Marx - Saw this dialectical as leading to alienation from product, process, society and self.

Marxist scholars Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis - Capitalists need surplus amount of labour to enhance their bargaining potential and exert managerial control over them. Thus, organizational structure in industries is used to perpetuate class divisions.

CW Mills in *'White Collar Alienation'* says that the market buys the personality of a worker and not always his skills. Thus, some pieces of personality are given importance and in order to chase them, man alienated himself from his true self.

Herbert Marcuse in *'One Dimensional Man'* says false needs and perceived happy consciousness prevent worker from realizing the true nature of alienation. Leisure becomes a means of escape to refresh oneself and get back to work.

Emile Durkheim:

- Functionalist view - he is cautiously optimistic about division of labour
- Industrial societies are based on mutual interdependence. Hence, promote integration.
- But increased social differentiation may lead to anomie, if sufficient social controls and moral obligations are not present.
- He argued that this can be taken care by increased integration, moral education, encouraging occupational associations and development of code of ethics.

Adam Smith - *'Wealth of Nations'* begins with an example of how an individual worker can make just 20 pins in a day, but if the work is broken down among 10 specialized labourers, they could together make 48000 pins, therefore increasing production by 240 times.

Fredrick W Taylor - proposed scientific time and motion processes which increased production manifold. These principles were applied by Henry Ford in his automobile factory and an assembly line came into being. Fordism is the name given to designate the system of mass production tied to the cultivation of mass markets.

But fewer people work in factories than before as lot many new forms of occupations have come up.

The model of social organization on which modern industries work is not same everywhere. In the western civilization the individual is given importance and the values and norms of the society uphold the individual's rights, but in Japan, the 'individual' is subordinated to the society. The Japanese industrial corporation works like big communities. Wages and salaries are paid according to the seniority of the worker concerned and not so much by his qualifications. A strong sense of corporate solidarity binds the workers and the managers into a well-knit and efficient productive unit.

Professional Associations in Modern Economy:

- Functionalists points at integrative, educating and regulating role of professional associations.
- Ivan Illich views professional associations as self-serving groups that create artificial barriers for entry and cause demand supply mismatch.

- Baritz in *'Servants of Power'* states that these associations serve the ruling class.

Weber assumed a congruence of position and knowledge and merit. Thus, for him positional authority was reinforced as it was flowing from expertise. But that is not the case, as observed today. Thus, there may be a conflict between professional and bureaucratic authority. Professional authority originates from expertise whereas bureaucratic from position, rules and regulations.

Technology and Work:

Robert Blauner wrote *'Alienation and Freedom'* and divides alienation into four dimensions:

- Degree of control of workers on their work
- Degree to which they are involved in their work
- Degree of meaning and purpose they find in work
- Degree to which they are socially integrated to their work

He suggests that as managers and workers discuss technical problems, alienation reduces. Higher degree of job content, responsibility and job rotations add variety and reduce alienation.

Goldthorpe and Lockwood in their study of affluent workers of Luton, find that instrumental orientation and worker's expectations out of work are more important factors than technology.

Wedderburn found support to both Blauner's and Goldthorpe's ideas and found that men's orientation towards work was largely instrumental but at the same time workers who had more control over their work processes were more satisfied from work.

Work and Leisure:

Stanley Parker mentions three patterns of relationship between leisure and work:

- Extensional pattern - leisure that supports better performance at work
- Neutral Pattern
- Opposite pattern

CW Mills - Each day men sell little pieces of themselves in order to buy them back each night and weekends with coin called fun but leisure does not provide the fulfilment that work denies.

Pre - Industrial Work:

- General skills. Example - ironsmith making plough would himself do everything end to end.
- Small scale artisanship based out of home; all family members would be involved.
- Most population worked on farms and were economically self-sufficient.
- Durkheim - less social differentiation, division of labour relatively unspecialized, mechanical solidarity based on similarities, lack of individuality and conscience collective at maximum.

P1 - 6 a. Social organization of work in different types of society - slave society, feudal society, industrial capitalist society

WORK AND ECONOMIC LIFE

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Post Industrial Societies, Taylorism, Fordism, Post Fordism, Feminization - Pages 261 to 268

Marx - Alienation
Durkheim - DOL

The social significance of work:

1. Money or wage.
2. Activity level - provides a basis of the acquisition and exercise of skills and capacities.
3. Variety - provides access to contexts that contrast with domestic surroundings.
4. Temporal structure - For people in regular employment, the day is usually organized around the rhythm of work. While this may sometimes be oppressive, it provides a sense of direction in daily activities.
5. Social contacts - The work environment often provides friendships and opportunities to participate in shared activities with others.
6. Personal identity - Work is usually valued for the sense of stable social identity it offers, especially important for men.

Pre industrial society - Productive skills are simple, productivity is low. Little or no surplus. Reciprocal and redistributive type of exchange. Private ownership of MOP is absent. Members lack a high degree of achievement motivation. Innovation is rare and change is slow.

Types of Exchanges:

Exchange is interaction done with anticipation of reward or return of actions. Basis of exchange is reciprocity.

Exchange Theory- People are motivated by their self-interests in their interactions with other people.

As advocated by Karl Polanyi, it can be of three types:

1. Reciprocity (barter): In the absence of money as a store and measurement of value and medium of exchange, economic transactions were always on exchange. Barter is a direct form of exchange. Silent trade - It was an exchange system where the exchanging parties do not know each other personally. Another example is *Jajmani* system - It is system of economic and social relationship existing between various castes in villages. The patron is known as *jajman* and the service castes are known as *kamin*. It is still prevalent in villages. While the landowning high caste families receive services from lower castes and in return members of the low castes receive grains.

2. Redistribution (ceremonial): Ceremonial exchange confers prestige on donors and receivers of goods. Often the purpose of exchanging goods are to maintain amicable relations between groups to minimize the possibilities of conflict or simply display of greatness. For example: Malinowski studies Kula exchange in Trobriand islands.
   According to Malinowski, it is a ceremonial exchange participated by the inhabitants of a closed circle of Trobriand Island. It has no practical or commercial value. The system of exchange is regulated in a kind of ring with two directional movements. In clockwise direction, the red shell necklaces called Soulava circulate and in anticlockwise circulation the white arm shells known as Mwali circulate among the members of the Kula. Objects given and taken in Kula are never subjected any bargaining.

3. Market exchange: For money. For example: Work done in exchange for regular wage / salary is called an occupation.

Other types of exchange are:

1. Silent exchange - exchanging parties do not know each other personally.
2. *Jajmani* system.
3. Potlatch - means gift - based on the principle of reciprocity.
4. Multicentric economy - uses several mediums of exchange.

Marx predicted that all social development will culminate into a stage called communalism. Classes in different Society can be described as follows :

Primitive - Communal System
- No concept of private property
- No Exploitation, no master slave - all were equal
- Low production, no surplus was produced
- It was classless society

Slave Owning Society
- Tools were perfected
- Large scale production through use of slaves
- Concept of private ownership developed
- Slaves were not interested in increasing efficiency
- There were two classes represented by Masters and Slaves

Feudal Society
- Land given by landlord in return of military services
- Court by lord and taxes are levied by lord
- Land owner maintain control over peasantry
- No property right to peasant
- Other sources of energy like wind and water was also used for production
- Skill and craft specialization developed, however they were obliged to surrender labour to lord
- Make little effort to make labour interested
- There were two classes - Feudal Lord and Serf

Capitalism
- Vigorous growth of means of production
- Proletariats legally free
- Free labour has created conscious of class and they frequently organize for bargain

Communalism
- All means of production shall be owned by state and thus there shall be no classes

Slavery was abolished in 1833 by Britain and 1865 by USA. Between the 17th and 19th centuries an estimated 24 million Africans were enslaved. 11 million of them survived the journey to the Americas.

The article *"Slavery"* in the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1968) makes a distinction between primitive, ancient, medieval and modern slavery. Here we mention only two main types of slavery-ancient slavery and New World slavery. Ancient slavery was prevalent in ancient Rome and Greece. Here slaves were usually foreign prisoners of war. In New World slavery, the basis of development of slavery were colonial expansion and racist ideology. In this system, the slave was designated as the master's property. slave had no political and social lights. He or she was compelled to work. Living upon slave labour, the masters formed an aristocracy. It is said that the decline of slavery was primarily brought about, by the inefficiency of slave labour. Some other scholars hold that slavery declined, because of continued opposition to the slave system by educated and enlightened public in general, and the anti-slavery struggles organized by the slaves themselves in different parts of the world at different times. The ancient slavery was somewhat reformed, by limiting the owner's right of punishment and giving personal rights to the slave. The Christian Church in the Roman Empire also supported the provision of manumission to the slave.

Modern society:

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the economic system of modern societies is the existence of a highly complex division of labour. Work has been divided into an enormous number of different occupations in which people specialize. In traditional societies, non-agricultural work entailed the mastery of a craft. Craft skills were learned through a lengthy period of apprenticeship, and the worker normally carried out all aspects of the production process from beginning to end.

Corporate culture is a branch of management theory that seeks to increase productivity and competitiveness though the creation of a unique organizational culture involving all members of a firm.

A knowledge economy is one in which much of the workforce is involved not in the physical production or distribution of material goods, but in their design, development, technology, marketing, sale and servicing.

American sociologist, John J. Macionis says that contemporary society is divided into two kinds of jobs — Primary & Secondary.

PRIMARY JOBS	SECONDARY JOBS
1. Allow greater autonomy, flexibility and creative inputs.	1. Work is low skilled and in accordance with Ritzer's template of - efficiency, uniformity and control (McDonaldization of society).
.. These jobs are relatively few in number and require highly educated skilled specialists. Eg: Scientists, artists, managers etc.	Most of the jobs in the service sector, such as BPO, low-end IT, retail jobs are secondary jobs. The work involves technology but is often mechanical and boring.

o) Charles Handy in "Empty Raincoat" argues that work needs flexibility and companies require Portfolio Workers with multiple skill sets and aptitude.

-) "A Job for life is a thing of Past"
                    - Anthony Giddens.
Part time workers, content writers are emerging. Wired Workers, working from home are also becoming popular.

-) Job Insecurity is also rising, as downsizing occurs and Andre Gorz argues that a "non class of non workers" is emerging.

Impact of changing work organisation can be summed up by Richard Sennett's idea of "Corrosion of Character" where demands for mobility, adaptability & immediate goals contradicts the society's goals of long term commitments, thus weakening social bonds.

6 B. Formal and informal organization of work

Organization is a group with an identifiable membership that engages in concerted collective action to achieve common purpose.

Formal Organization:

Formal organization is one that is rationally designed to achieve its objectives, governed by rules, regulations and procedures. It has certain distinct characteristics. They are - Legal Status, Division of Work, Primacy of Structure, Permanence and Rules and Regulations.

Formal organization is a social collectivity, the goals of which are formally defined. It has authorities vested with power. The authorities are expected to mobilize the power vested in them for achieving the goals of the formal organization.

Formal organizations operate through impersonal, universalistic rules and procedures, which are expected to be mobilized across the board impersonally.

David Silverman has suggested that the 'formal organizations' have three distinguishing features:

- They arise at an ascertainable moment in time.
- They exhibit patterns of social relations which are less taken for granted than those in non-formal organizations (such as family) and which organizational participants often seek to coordinate and control.
- Considerable attention is paid to these social relations and to plan changes in them.

Early formal organizations were discussed in 2 contexts - factory and state. Fredrick W Taylor studied the factory and Weber, in his study of bureaucracy, studied the formal structure of a state.

Arguments against formal (rational) organization:

Ritzer - McDonaldization. Increasing rationality leads to irrational outcomes and it is dehumanizing.

Weber gave importance to formal relations within an organization. Peter Blau on the other hand, studied informal relations within formal organizations and found that they actually tend to increase the efficiency of workers instead of pulling it down. Informal networks bring life into the organizations.

Elton Mayo's study of human relations - Study of Hawthrone works of GE in Chicago: It came as a response to classical theory which laid emphasis on formal structure. Mayo believed classical school underemphasized socio-psychological aspects of informal organization. He found that work satisfaction depended largely upon informal social pattern of work group. Norms of higher cooperation were established because of them. Work is a group activity and group collaboration are not by accident. Informal groups within work plant exercise strong social controls.

He performed some experiments like illumination experiment (which studied the impact of physiological aspects), relay assembly test room experiment (which studied what impact did change in working conditions - financial, rest periods etc. have on morale), mass interviewing program - found that hearing

grievances alone may increase their morale. He did not reject classical theory completely, but tried to close its gaps, and thus his theory is called neo-classical theory.

Critique of Mayo: lacks scientific validity, Marxists find it just another way to exploit by de-emphasizing economic factors, it ignored environmental factors (found that working conditions, rest hours etc. did not boost morale), behaviour of workers in experiments was not natural, over-concerned with happiness, Goldthorpe and Lockwood had pointed towards instrumental orientation of work.

Arguments against Bureaucracy:

Merton - Bureaucracy is rule ritualism which provides no space for creativity or own judgement. It leads to displacement of goals as rules become an end in itself. He talks about administrative bureaucracy as functional, dysfunctional and non-functional to society.

Cozier, through his empirical study of bureaucracy argues that it has failed to fulfil the expectations of people and has refused to learn from its mistakes. It is a system which can destroy itself from within and hence, not entirely rational.

Alvin Gouldner sees in his study of industrial mines that bureaucracy is not present and required everywhere in a modern society. He observes that inside a mine, supervisor and workers share an informal relation to overcome hazards and maximize efficiency but in industry they follow a more rule bound and hierarchical relationship.

Similarly, Stacker favours de-bureaucratization of many industries like software industry, creative industry, etc.

Burns and Stalker argue that a system should not be mechanistic like bureaucracy but organic. Organic systems are more efficient, responsive, flexible, yet most efficient when healthily nurtured.

Robert Michels, in his political theory 'iron law of oligarchy' on bureaucracy and democracy says that flow of power towards the top is an inevitable part of increasingly bureaucratized world. Bureaucracy is a sworn enemy of individual liberty. Thus, he equates organizations with oligarchy.

Philip Selznick in his book *'TVA and the Grass Roots'* argues that the basic need is that of survival and if bureaucracy affects that need, then that leads to crisis in society. Organizations need to be flexible and restructure power in order to create a more participatory and adaptive structure.

Pourwell argued that there is a possibility of certain influential people capturing bureaucracy and dominating those who work for bureaucracy. Latif Chaudhary in his study on corruption in SE Asia, establishes that there are two kinds of bureaucracies - lower-level bureaucracy which is full of rent seekers and higher-level bureaucracy which is made of policy makers and there lacks a coordination between the two.

Michael Foucault says that architecture of any organization depends on its social make up and authority system. In his prison studies, he shows the darker side of modernity.

Giddens in defence of bureaucracy observes that as organizations expand in size, power relations become looser and there is increased decentralization in decision making. It is not possible to have a top

down approach as size increases. Example: Transnational organizations can be ethnocentric - where power resides in home country, polycentric - where it is shared or geocentric - where it is most flexible.

Informal Organization:

According to Anthony Giddens, the term informal economy refers to transactions made outside the sphere of regular employment, sometimes involving exchange of cash for services provided, but also often involving the direct exchange of goods or services.

Hence, work is not necessarily paid. Housework, do-it-yourself work, all are forms of work.

In 1970, J. Keith Hart, an anthropologist was working for a research project of the ILO in Ghana.

Hart noted certain characteristics of the informal sector that make workers in this sector different from the formal sector. These are:

1. Low levels of skill - Workers in this sector have low levels of education and thus they have low skills. This is the reason why they are engaged in jobs involving low technology. Worker in the formal sector have higher degree of skill and their position in the labour is better.

2. Easy entry - Getting work in the informal sector is comparatively easier than in the formal sector. Hart's study shows that any able-bodied person, irrespective of the skills possessed can become a day labourer. With minimum investment the same person can become a street vendor and sell her/his wares at the market. The person need not have money to invest in a shop. In this way the informal sector is able to absorb more workers who would normally not get any work because they are either not qualified or they do not have capital for investing in business.

3. Low paid employment - Because of the requirement of low skills and the easy entry, work in the informal sector has low returns. Workers who offer their labour are not paid high wages. In fact, the biggest grievance against this sector is that the wages are many times below sustenance level. In many cases, low wages drive other members of the family into the informal work force because the main wage earned is not sufficient for sustaining a household. In this sense, children too may be encouraged to join the labour force.

4. The fourth characteristic of the informal sector, is that it is largely composed of immigrant labour. Hart found that the informal sector worker in Ghana had come to the city from the rural areas. As mentioned earlier, workers and small traders in the city came from the rural areas in search of a livelihood. He hence included migrant status as a characteristic of the informal sector.

ILO Definition of Informal Sector:

- Easy entry for new enterprises
- Reliance on indigenous resources
- Small scale operation
- Family ownership

- Unregulated and competitive markets
- Labour intensive technology
- Informally acquired skill of workers

Sharit Bhowmik says there are two kinds of informal sector:

- Informal Economy - includes street vendors, home based workers, rickshaw pullers, etc.
- Informal Employment - includes casual and contract labourers in formal economy as their working conditions and wages are similar to that of informal sector.

Informal Sector in Urban Economy - Jan Breman (*Handbook of Indian Sociology*)

High rate of urbanization is not marked with equivalent rise in formal sector employment. He describes informal sector as a colourful arrangement of irregularly working people that scratches around for a living close to or at bottom of the urban society, where life and work are both precarious.

Informal sector is unregulated, unorganized and unprotected. Trade unions and other collective organizations are rarely visible in informal sector.

He proposes a formal-informal continuum:

- Difficult to demarcate between informal and formal as both overlap and are interdependent.
- Though top and bottom of an urban economy can be easily distinguished, there is a diffusion zone where formal and informal labour may be together and there is no dividing line.

He rejects the view that the informal sector is being mobilized to become micro-entrepreneurs as upward mobility very less and growth of informal sector has outpaced formal sector.

He classifies majority of the so-called self-employed as camouflaged wage labourers. For example: rickshaw pullers and auto drivers with vehicle on rent or street vendors who get specific products from larger retailers.

Breman identifies certain distinct characteristics of informal sector:

- Composed of heterogeneously composed categories of working people who have no formal training
- No source of income apart from own labour
- Much higher participation of women and children
- Low status attached with informal self-employment
- He divided informal sector into:
    - Petty bourgeoisie - self-employment, brokers, contractors, agents.
    - Sub-proletariat - casual and unskilled; move from one place to another for employment; have temporary employments.
    - Paupers - lumpen drags of society whose presence nobody values. Totally alienated from consumption and labour itself.

He maintains that there is fluidity among the above class structure though drastic upward / downward mobility is rare.

P1 - 6 b. Formal and informal organization of work

The urban formal sector consists of the organized sector, and can be defined as the sector consisting of activities carried out by the corporate enterprises and the Government at the Central, State and Local levels, solely with the help of wage paid labour which in a great measure is unionized.

Workers in the formal sector are engaged in factories, commercial and service establishments and their working conditions, wages and social security measures are legally protected. The wages of formal sector workers are substantially higher than those engaged in the urban informal sector. Moreover, a range of labour laws, guaranteeing permanency of employment and provision for retirement benefits, protect their jobs.

Formal, informal = sociology
Organized, unorganized = economics

Formal Organizations:

Groups that are organized to achieve goals efficiently. Deliberately created to fulfil jobs. 3 types:
- Utilitarian organizations - serve some function for their members.
- Normative organizations (voluntary organizations) - people join as volunteers. Join to pursue some goal they think is morally worthwhile. Political parties and religious organizations also come in this category.
- Coercive organizations - you do not have a say in whether you are a member or not. Example: Prisons.

Ancient formal organizations - built pyramids, spread religion - difference between them and modern organizations is between traditional and rational world views.

Rationalization of the world led to modernity - bureaucracy is an organization that has been rationally constructed to do things efficiently. Six things:
- Members have specialized roles
- Hierarchy
- Formal, written communications
- Technical competence
- Impersonally
- Rules and regulations

Sometimes not efficient, bureaucratic ritualism, red tape, bureaucratic inertia, oligarchy, Michels Iron Law, bureaucratic alienation, no room for independent judgement.

Fredrick Taylor scientific management - discrete tasks.

But organizational environment is changing - technology, political and economic trends and population patterns.

Racism, sexism so not necessarily most efficient and competent hired.

Manufacturing to service economy - more creativity, flat organizations, flexible time and place.

But low grade service jobs still work like Taylor's idea.

Ritzer - McDonaldization of society - efficiency, predictability, uniformity and control - Irrationality of Rationality.
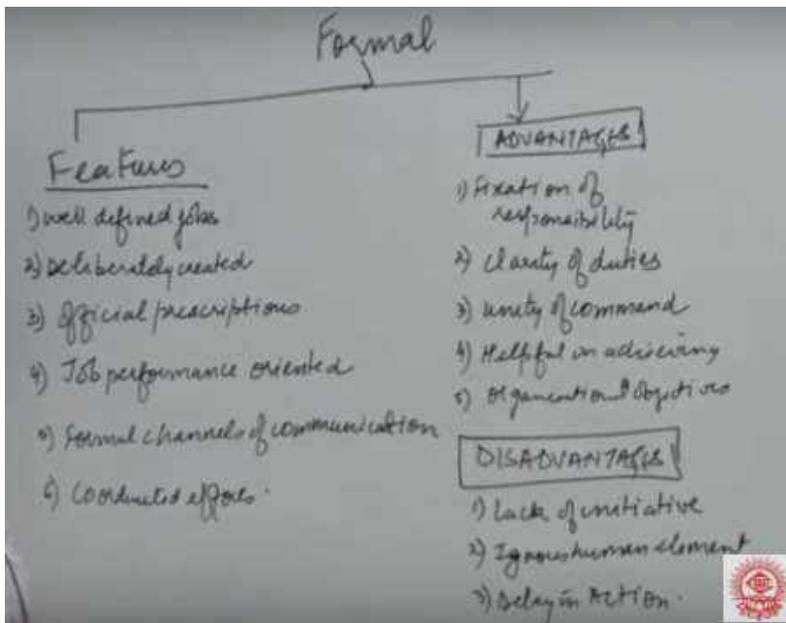
Informal Sector:

In 1970, J. Keith Hart, was studying the labour market in Accra, Ghana and he was the first to coin the term 'informal sector'.

Another section of the informal sector is the street vendors. They work on the streets because they are unable to get regular jobs. Street vendors can be found in almost all cities, in developed and less developed countries. One can find them in crowded market places selling a variety of less expensive goods and food. Most of these people are immigrants from less developed regions who have migrated in search of better life chances. In India one estimate notes that around 2% of the total urban population is engaged in street vending (GOI 2004).

The total employment provided through street vending becomes larger if we consider the fact that it sustains certain industries by marketing their products. A lot of the goods sold by street vendors, such as clothes and hosiery, leather and moulded plastic goods, household goods and some items of food, are manufactured in small scale or home-based industries. These industries engage a large number of workers but they could have hardly marketed their products on their own. In this way street vendors provide a valuable service by helping sustain employment in these industries. Lower income groups spend a higher proportion of their income in making purchases from street vendors mainly because their goods are cheap and thus affordable.

India has till now not ratified the ILO convention on home-based work. One of the main features of this convention is of maintaining a live register of home-based workers. This helps to understand the numbers involved and also in providing for social security.

Though the organized sector employed only 8.5 per cent of the total labour force, the workers collectively earned around 33 per cent of the country's total wages and incomes (Davala 1995).

The founder of SEWA, Ela Bhatt, notes in her memoirs (Bhatt 2006: 59-80) that in 1988 the rate for stitching one petticoat was Rs. 2 in Ahmedabad. Bhatt has shown the way these women (mostly poor, belonging to Muslim communities) were exploited by the contractors and the buyers of the clothes - poor quality clothes and made by the poor for the poor. She also points out that informal sector includes significant category of people who were earlier employed in formal sector but were laid off because of shutting down of factories example: Textile mills in Ahmedabad and Mumbai with popularity of synthetic yarn.

Naila Kabeer has done a study of Bangladeshi women engaged in the garment industry in London and Dhaka. She says that as most women find their employment in informal sector, this has helped in increasing their autonomy, but the work conditions are harsh and they usually face health issues.

Harry Braverman, argues that the use of machinery actually deskills workers.
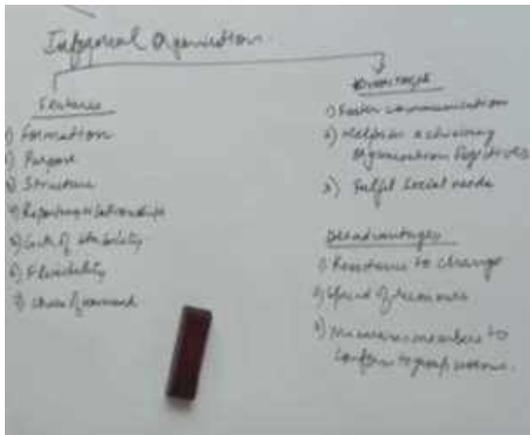
Linkages Between Organized and Unorganized Sectors:

The two sectors are linked to each other as they depend on each other in their production process. The organized sector gets inputs and components at cheaper rates from the unorganized sector while the latter depends on the former for marketing its products. At the same time the large number of casual and contract labour in the organized sector shows that there is an unorganized sector within the organized sector. Though the two sectors are linked to each other, their relationship is not on equal basis. The unorganized sector and its labour are in a weaker position.

Over the last decades there has been a shift to what is often called 'flexible production' and 'decentralization of work'. It is argued that in this period of globalization, it is the growing competition between firms and countries that makes it essential for firms to organize production suiting the changing market conditions.

Instead of mass production of goods at a centralized location (Fordism), we have moved to a system of flexible production at dispersed locations (post-Fordism).

P1 - 6 c. Labour and society

Man according to Marx is a creative being. He with his labor acts upon the nature and tries to change it. Man can never get satisfied with the existing conditions and always look out for a change. Work provides the most important and vital means for man to fulfill his basic needs, his individuality and humanity. Man uses his labor which is the essence of human being. In the process of acting upon nature with the help of his labor and transforming it for his benefit man gets satisfaction. At this stage his work becomes a fully satisfying activity, encompassing both himself and the community of fellow human beings. Work through an individual activity becomes a social activity as well.

In the process of acting upon nature man gets involved in interaction process with other human beings and gradually society moves towards the stage of complexity. In the process man engages himself in social production.

All type of relationships and institutions emerge in society in this process with the economic process as infrastructure and other sub systems including culture, religion etc. as super structure. According to Marx, without culture there can be no production possible. The mode of production includes the social relations of production which are relations of domination and subordination into which human beings are either born or enter involuntarily.

Class is an economic as well as cultural formation. Thus human beings are also in the process of social production which is a very wide concept including almost all the subsystems of society, culture, religion, economic production etc.

The interaction between man and nature produce significant consequences as in his social production man is in constant touch with the nature.

The factory was perceived as an archetype of an economic regimentation hitherto known only in barracks and prisons.

Prior to the development of industrial capitalism, work-rhythms were set by factors such as the period of daylight, the break between tasks and the constraints of deadlines or other social duties. Factory production implied the synchronization of labour — it began punctually, had a steady pace and took place for set hours and on particular days of the week. In addition, the clock injected a new urgency to work. For both employer and employee 'time is now money: it is not passed but spent.'

- Ralph Dahrendorf advocates that in modern capitalist economies, worker's interest group has a larger say in day-to-day activities which he term as Industrial democracy.

- Richard Hyman advocates Industrial sabotage as rulebreaking which is directed towards the owners of industry or organisation for immediate purpose ie,
  (i) to show frustration
  (ii) to ease tension @ work environment
  (iii) to show power.

- Ralph Miliband says strike has certain characteristic features, viz
(i) it's temporary in nature
(ii) it's done by employee of organisation
(iii) it's actual form of protest
(iv) it's calculative task.
- Hence, sociologists have reflected on changing
- nature of work in modern capitalist economy

There are a number of laws governing work in the organized sector. Two of the most important laws in this respect are the Factories Act of 1948 and the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. There are a number of other Acts such as the Minimum Wages Act, Payment of Bonus Act, Provided Fund Act, Employees State Insurance Act etc. which provide protection and some facilities to the workers.

We can divide these legislations into two groups, one dealing with the regulation of work and the other dealing with social security. In the first group we can place the Acts such as Factories Act, Industrial Disputes Act, Minimum Wages Act, Shops and Establishment Act, Workmen's Compensation Act, Contract Labour Regulation and Equal Remuneration Act and so on. Acts such as Payment of Bonus Act, Employees Provident Fund Act, Employees Family Pension Scheme, Employees State Insurance Act, Payment of Gratuity Act and other fall in the second category. There are other Acts too which cover workers in specific industries such as the Plantation Labour Act, Mines Act, Motor Transport Worker's Act etc.

Women - Equal Remuneration Act, Minimum Wages Act, Maternity Benefits Act.

Increasing emphasis is now given to organization and mobilization of unorganized women workers in order to give them voice and collective strength for the improvement of their working conditions and wages. A few organizations like Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA), Ahmedabad, Working Women's Forum (WWF), Madras, Annapurna Mahila Mandal (AMM), Bombay and several grassroots organizations have mobilized urban and rural poor women workers in order to strengthen their bargaining capacities and improve their access to credit and other resources. SEWA is a trade union of over 40,000 poor women workers in Gujarat. has a membership of 15,000 women and has now spread its activities to Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Women have struggled for land ownership, minimum wages, access to forest produce, water resources, rights of hawkers and vendors etc. The revitalization of women's movement in the 1970s and 1980s, has resulted in an increasing awareness about women's rights and their participation in local and larger struggles.

Children - orphans living on the streets, kids who have left home, kids of migrating families.

Workers in the unorganized sector are less protected legally than workers in the organized sector. There are a few Acts which cover the workers in this sector (Contract Labour Regulation and Abolition Act, Equal Remuneration Act, Minimum Wages Act etc.). In most cases since the industrial units do not come under the purview of the Factories Act, the working conditions mostly remain unregulated.

Michael Burawoy, an American sociologist worked for several months as a machinist in a Chicago factory and wrote about the experience of work from the perspective of workers.

Datta Iswalkar, a mill worker, described how caste had been overcome but not entirely in the Mumbai mills:
They would sit and chew *paan* with him (Vishnu, a Mahar worker in Modern Mills) but they would not drink water from his hands. They never treated him badly, they were friends with him, but they would never go to his house. Or eat out of a lunchbox bought by any of the Mahars. The funny thing is the Marathi workers were unable to judge the caste of the North Indian workers. So they could not practice untouchability with them. - Menon and Aadarkar

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

7 A. Sociological theories of power

Dowse and Hughes state that politics is about "power", politics occurs when there are differentials in power. Thus, any social relationship that involves power differentials is political.

Authority is that form of power that is accepted as legitimate - right and just - and therefore obeyed on that basis. Coercion is that form of power which is not regarded as legitimate by those subject to it.

Weber defines power as the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action. This is a constant-sum concept of power and implies that power-holders use it to further their own interests. He suggested three sources of authority:

1. Charismatic authority - describes the devotion felt by subordinates towards a leader who is believed to have exceptional qualities, which are seen as supernatural, super-human, or at least exceptional compared to lesser mortals. Such leaders are able to sway and control their followers by direct emotional appeals that excite devotion and strong loyalties.
2. Traditional authority - it rests upon a belief in the 'rightness' of established customs and traditions. Those in authority command obedience on the basis of their traditional status, which is usually inherited. Their subordinates are controlled by feelings of loyalty and obligation to long-established positions of power.
3. Rational-legal authority - based on the acceptance of a set of impersonal rules. Those who possess authority are able to issue commands and have them obeyed because others accept the legal framework that supports their authority. The rules on which their authority is based are rational in the sense that they are consciously constructed for the attainment of a particular goal and they specify the means by which that goal is to be attained.

These three categories are 'ideal types' and each defines a 'pure' form of authority. In any particular example, authority may stem from two or more sources. A perfect example of any one type is unlikely.

Weber's concept of class, status and party along with his analysis of state and bureaucracy are the center of his concept of power. Each grouping is focused around or oriented towards power as an independent point of conflict. Each represents an aspect of and a basis for power.

Steven Lukes has put forward a radical view of power as an alternative. He argues that power has three dimensions or faces rather than just one.

1. Decision making - where different individuals or groups express different policy preferences and influence the making of decisions over various issues.
2. Non-decision making - Power may be used to prevent certain issues from being discussed, or decisions about them from being taken. From this point of view, individuals or groups exercising power do so by preventing those who take decision from considering all the possible alternative sources of action, or by limiting the range of decisions they are allowed to take.
3. Shaping desires - manipulating the wishes and desires of social groups. A social group may be persuaded to accept, or even to desire, a situation that is harmful to them.

Thus, Lukes defines power as 'A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interest' - power is exercised over those who are harmed by its use, whether they are aware they are being harmed or not.

Functionalist Perspective:

Parsons assumes that value consensus is essential for the survival of social systems. From shared values derive collective goals. For example: materialism is a value from which collective goals like economic expansion and higher living standards stem.

Since all members of society share goals, power will generally be used in the furtherance of collective goals. As a result, both sides of the power relationship will benefit and everybody will gain by the arrangement. The exercise of power usually means that everybody wins. This forms a basis for the cooperation and reciprocity that Parsons considered essential for the maintenance and well-being of society. This view is known as a variable-sum concept of power.

Parsons regards power differentials as necessary for the effective pursuit of collective goals. If members of society pool their efforts and resources, they are more likely to realize their shared goals than if they operate as individuals. Cooperation on a large scale requires organization and direction, which necessitates positions of command. Therefore, some are granted the power to direct others and this power takes the form of authority. It is regarded as legitimate as it is seen to further collective goals.

In a democracy, Parsons says that political support should be conceived of as a generalized grant of power which, if it leads to electional success, puts elected leadership in a position analogous to a banker. The 'deposits' of power made by constituents are revocable, if not at will, at the next election. Thus, power resides ultimately with members of society as a whole.

Critique:

Parsons has failed to appreciate that power is frequently used to further sectional interests rather than to benefit society as a whole. His theory sounds like the rationalizations promoted by the power-holders to justify their use of power.

Liberal Perspective:

The liberal theory of power dates back to the writings of the social contract theorists such as Hobbes and Locke. These thinkers argued that the society had risen out of voluntary agreement, or a social contract, made by individuals who recognized that only the establishment of sovereign power could safeguard them from the insecurity, disorder or brutality of the 'state of nature'. Here state is a neutral arbiter amongst competing groups and individuals in society capable of protecting each citizen from the encroachment of his or her fellow citizens. The state is therefore a neutral entity, acting in the interests of all representing what can be called the 'common good' or 'public interest'.

The liberal theory has been elaborated by modern writers into a pluralist theory of state. Pluralist theory argues that political power is dispersed amongst a wide variety of social groups rather than an elite of ruling class. It is decentralized, widely shared, diffused and fragmented deriving from many source, Arnold Rose, Peter Bentley, Robert Dahl, Talcott Parsons, Neil Smelser are some of the key pluralist

theorists. According to the pluralist perspective, competition between two or more political parties is an essential feature of representative government. According to them, interest groups and pressure groups representing various interest play a major role in affecting the decision-making process of state. Pluralists believe that a rough equality exists amongst organized groups and interests in that each enjoys some measure of access to government and government is prepared to listen impartially to all. They claim that competition for office between political parties provides the electorate with an opportunity to select its leaders and a means of influencing government policy. Pluralist theory explains the origin of liberal democratic state. For pluralists, state represents institutionalized power, an authority and it is in the supreme guardian of representative democracy in the modern society. The primary task of state is to balance interests of a multitude of competing groups, represents interests of society as a whole and coordinating other major institutions. They view the state itself as a set of competing and conflicting institutions rather than a monolithic entity which exerts its power over the rest of the society. They argue that power exists only in situations of observable conflict and that people's interests are simply what these overt preferences reveal.

Pluralist Perspective:

Classical Pluralism:

Pluralists concentrate on the will (or desires) of individuals or groups to achieve particular ends. The wishes that people have are then compared to actual decisions taken by a government. The group whose wishes appear to be carried out are held to possess greater power than those who oppose them.

Pluralism as a theory claims to explain the nature and distribution of power in Western democratic societies. Classical pluralism, the original form of this perspective, believes that power ultimately derives from the population as a whole.

They accept that the government and state in a Western democracy act in the interests of that society and according to the wishes of its members. The state's exercise of power is legitimate as it is based upon the acceptance and cooperation of the population.

However, Pluralists accept the constant-sum concept of power. They deny that democratic societies have an all-embracing value consensus. They do not accept that members of society share common interests or values in relation to every issue. They believe industrial society is increasingly differentiated into a variety of social groups and sectional interests, and, with the increasingly specialized division of labour, the number and diversity of occupational groups steadily grow, and these groups may put conflicting requests to the government. However, they deny that any single group dominates.

Alexis de Tocqueville believed that democracy would become unworkable if one division in society came to dominate all others. Such a situation could lead to a tyranny of the majority and the interests and wishes of the minority could be totally disregarded.

To pluralists, the state is seen as an 'honest broker' that takes account of all the conflicting demands made on it by different sections of society. Pluralists argue that every group, over a period of time, has its interests reflected in governmental decisions, but because of the divisions within society, it is not possible for the state to satisfy everyone all of the time. As Raymond Aron says, 'government becomes a business of compromise.'

In '*Who Governs?*', Robert Dahl investigated local politics in New Haven, Connecticut, USA which proved that major decisions were taken in consultation with various interest groups and policies acceptable to all parties concerned were arrived at. A study by Wyn Grant and David Marsh on pressure groups' influence in Britain also found the same.

Critique:

They concentrate only on the first face of power - decision making. John Urry believes that pluralists ignore the possibility that some have the power to prevent certain issues from reaching the point of decision. As a result of this non-decision making, only safe decisions may be taken - decisions that do not fundamentally alter the basic structures of capitalist societies. Even interest groups may influence safe decisions, and this fosters the illusion of real participation and helps to create the myth that society is democratic.

Pluralists also do not take account of the possibility that the preferences expressed by the majority might themselves have been manipulated by those with real power - as stated in the third face of power by Steven Lukes. For example: those who control media or the education system can play a part in shaping individuals' attitudes and opinions.

Westergaard and Resler argue that 'Power is visible only through its consequences.' Government legislation, may thus, fail to have its intended effect. Example: many schemes for the poor, but little redistribution of wealth has been seen and income inequality is on the rise.

Some evidence also suggests that some interest groups have more influence over government decisions than others. Decision making does not always appear to support the view that power is equally distributed among all groups in society, or that the state acts impartially as an 'honest broker'.

Colin Crouch argues that evidence suggests that TNCs have far greater influence on government than other groups. Also, not all sections of the society are represented by a group which has any power. Example: unemployed, refugees, asylum seekers.

Elite Pluralism:

These theories see the Western societies as basically democratic, the government as a process of compromise and agree that power is widely dispersed.

However, they do not accept that all members of society have exactly the same amount of power and they do not focus exclusively on the first face of power. They see 'elites', the leaders of groups, as the main participants in decision making. They see the possibility that, at least temporarily, some interests may not be represented.

Critique:

They raise doubt about the very basic pluralist view that power is widely dispersed in Western societies.

While they note the existence of elite leaders, they fail to discuss the possibility that these elites monopolize power and use it in their own interests. Furthermore, certain elites may have much greater power than other elites.

Also, they do not discuss the power of some members of society to influence the wishes of others.

Pluralism and elite pluralism both see healthy democracy as one in which large numbers of people are involved in politics, either through participation in political parties or pressure groups, or through voting. However, declining voter turnout, party memberships and group participation question this view.

Elite Perspective:

It sees power in society as being monopolized by a small minority (or elite). It sees society as divided into two main groups: a ruling minority who exercise power through the state, and the ruled.

Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca saw elite rule as inevitable and dismissed the possibility of a proletarian revolution leading to the establishment of a communist society. Neither saw it as desirable that any attempt should be made to end the elite rule. Both agreed that the basis of elite rule was the superior personal qualities of those who made up the elites.

Pareto believed that elites possessed more cunning or intelligence, while Mosca saw them as having more organizational ability. Apart from the personal qualities of its members, an elite owes its power to its internal organization. It forms a united and cohesive minority in the face of an unorganized and fragmented mass. In Mosca's words, "The power of the minority is irresistible as against each single individual in the majority."

The elite takes major decisions that affect society, even in so-called democracies. Elite theorists picture the majority as apathetic and unconcerned with major issues of the day. The mass of the population is largely controlled and manipulated by elite, passively accepting the propaganda that justifies elite rule.

Pareto believed that history consisted of one type of elite replacing another, a process he called the circulation of elites. He identified two types of elite: cunning foxes, and strong decisive lions. Each type had their weaknesses, meaning the other type would eventually supersede them.

Mosca argued that different qualities would create elites in different sorts of society, but that even democracies would be dominated by elites. He accepted that democracies were more open than other sorts of society, but believed that representative democracy still allowed a small group to take control of the reins of power and rule over the disorganized mass of the population.

Michels provided support for this by his study of socialist parties in Europe. He found that all tended to develop a dominant elite at the top of their organization even though all were advocating a socialist ideology that claimed that power should be widely spread. Michels called this the iron law of oligarchy, a tendency for political parties to become bureaucratic and concentrate power in the hands of a few.

Critique:

Pareto's view of elites has been criticized for placing undue emphasis on psychological characteristics. Not many accept that elites should necessarily be seen as superior to other groups in society. Cudworth and McGovern point out that some theorists, including Weber, have been more optimistic that the electorate can exercise some control over politicians in a democracy.

C. Wright Mills presented a less ambitious and less wide-ranging version of the elite theory limited to the American society in the 1950s. Mills did not believe that elite rule was inevitable; in fact, he saw it as

a fairly recent development in the USA. Unlike Pareto, who accepted the domination of the masses by elites, Mills roundly condemned it. Since he saw elite rule as based on the exploitation of the masses, he adopted a conflict version of elite theory. Because the elites and the masses had different interests, this created the potential for conflict between the two groups.

Mills explained elite rule in institutional rather than psychological terms. He argued that the structure of institutions was such that those at the top of the institutional hierarchy largely monopolized power. Certain institutions occupied key pivotal positions in society and the elite comprised those who held command posts in those institutions. He identified three key institutions:

1. The major corporations
2. The military
3. The federal government

In practice, however, the interests and activities of the elites were sufficiently similar and interconnected to form a single ruling majority, which Mills termed the power elite. Thus, the power elite involved the 'coincidence of economic, military and political power'.

However, things had not always been so. The power elite owed its dominance to a change in the 'institutional landscape'. In the 19th century, economic power was fragmented among a multitude of small businesses. By the 1950s it was concentrated in the hands of a few hundred giant corporations which together hold the keys to economic decision.

Political power was similarly fragmented and localized and state legislatures had considerable independence. Their autonomy was now eroded by the federal government and political power became increasingly centralized. Similar centralization happened in the military organization.

These developments led to the centralization of decision-making power. The cohesiveness of the power elite was strengthened by the similar social backgrounds of its members and the interchange and overlapping of personnel among the three elites. As a result, they tended to share similar values and sympathies, which provided a basis for mutual trust and cooperation. Also, within the power elite, there was frequent interchange of personnel between the three elites. They have 'unprecedented power and unaccountability' and dominate the American society.

In Mills' analysis, the bulk of the population was picturized as a passive and quiescent mass controlled by the power elite that subjected it to 'instruments of psychic management and manipulation'. Excluded from the command posts of power, the 'man in the mass' was told what to think, what to feel, what to do and what to hope for by a mass media directed by the elite. Unconcerned with the major issues of the day, 'he' was preoccupied with 'his' personal world of work, leisure, family and neighbourhood. Free from popular control, the power elite pursued its own concerns - power and self-aggrandizement.

Marxist Perspective:

Marxist perspectives see power as concentrated in the hands of a minority in society, and is used to further the interests of the powerful.

According to Marx and Engels, power is concentrated in the hands of those who have economic control within a society. The source of power lies in the economic infrastructure. In all class-divided societies,

the means of production are owned and controlled by the ruling class. This provides the basis of its dominance. Hence, the only way to return power to the people involves communal ownership of the means of production and in a communist society, power would be more equally distributed.

They believe that in a capitalist society, ruling-class power is used to exploit and oppress the subject class. This use of power to exploit others is defined as coercion by Marx. It is seen as an illegitimate use of power since it forces the subject class to submit to a situation that is against its interests. If ruling-class power is accepted as legitimate by the subject class, this is an indication of false class consciousness.

Also, the relationships of domination and subordination in the infrastructure will largely be reproduced in the superstructure. The state (as part of the superstructure) reflects the distribution of power in society. The decisions and activities of the state will favour the interests of the ruling class rather than those of the population as a whole.

Engels believed the state was necessary to 'hold class antagonisms in check'. The exploited majority had to be held down to prevent them from asserting their interests and threatening the position of the ruling class. The simplest way the state could control the subject class was through the use of force or coercion, and the police, the prisons and the army were seen as state-run institutions used to repress the exploited members of society. Engels described democracies as the 'highest form of state' as all members of the society appear to have equal political power, which was just an illusion.

Marx and Engels did not believe that the state would be a permanent feature of society. Also, Engels pointed out that in some monarchies of 17th and 18th century Europe, the landowning aristocracy and the rising bourgeoisie were in opposition to each other and both were equally powerful. In this situation, the state could take an independent line, since the warring classes effectively cancelled each other out.

Ralph Miliband saw the state as being run by a number of elites who ran the central institutions - these included the cabinet ministers, MPs, senior police and military officers and top judges. Together they acted largely to defend the bourgeoisie. All elites shared a basic interest in the preservation of capitalism and the defence of private property. Many who occupy elite positions are themselves members of the bourgeoisie. The other elites will also tend to come from a similar background as the bourgeoisie and share a similar outlook and follow policies which support bourgeois interests. Even those from working-class backgrounds who make it into the elite will have to have adopted bourgeois values to get there.

He also observes that the economic power of the ruling class enabled them partly to shape the beliefs and wishes of the remainder of the population. This took place through the process of legitimation, which indoctrinated the public into the acceptance of capitalism. In particular, advertising is used to promote consumerism and PR is used to promote the view that the major concern of big business is public service and welfare of the community.

Nicos Poulantzas provided an interpretation which places less stress on the actions of individuals and more on the role of social structure. This is also known as a structuralist view of the state. He described the state as 'the factor of cohesion of a social formation'. The state was vital for maintaining the stability of the capitalist system. As a part of the superstructure, it would automatically tend to serve the

interests of the ruling class. It was not necessary for members of the ruling class to occupy elite positions within the state. The existence of the capitalist system was itself sufficient to ensure that the state functioned to benefit the ruling class. Similarly, the background of members of the state elite was of little importance - it was not their class origin but their class position which determined their behaviour.

Poulantzas argued that the ruling class did not directly govern, but rather its interests were served through the medium of the state. As such, the state was relatively autonomous. However, since the state was shaped by the infrastructure, it was forced to represent the interests of capitalists. The state required a certain amount of freedom in order to serve ruling-class interests. If it was staffed by members of the bourgeoisie, it might lose this freedom of action. This is because:

- As a group, the bourgeoisie is not free from internal divisions and conflicts of interest, and only an autonomous state can represent common interests and act on behalf of the class as a whole.
- Internal wrangling and disagreement among bourgeoisie might weaken its power and it might fail to present a united front in conflicts with the proletariat.
- State must have the freedom to make some concessions to the subject class to defuse any radical protests and to contain their demands within the framework of a capitalist economy.
- It promotes the myth that the state represents society as a whole.

Poulantzas divided the state apparatus into two: repressive apparatus - the army, government, police, tribunals and administration - which exercises coercive power, and the ideological apparatus - the Church, political parties, the unions, schools, the mass media and the family - which is concerned with the manipulation of values and beliefs, rather than the use of force.

Critique:

Miliband accused Poulantzas of structural super-determinism. Such a theory, he believed, could not account for the differences between fascist and 'democratic' states within capitalist systems. Also, this theory was not backed by any empirical evidence. Miliband expressed skepticism about the claim that institutions such as the family could be seen as part of the state. He also argued that the theory of relative autonomy is impossible to prove or disprove.

Gramsci believes that the working class does have some power to influence the actions of the state.

Evidence to support Marxism:

1. The effects of decisions - Westergaard and Resler argued that power can only be measured by its results. If scarce and valued resources are concentrated in the hands of a minority, that group largely monopolizes power in society.
2. Concessions to the working class - it has been seen that the reforms have left the basic structure of inequality unchanged, and there has been little redistribution of wealth. Measures have only served to defuse working-class protest and prevent it from developing in more radical direction.
3. Non-decision making - John Urry, in criticizing Dahl argues that he ignores the process by which certain issues come to be defined as decisions and others do not. Only safe decisions, that do not, in any fundamental way, challenge the dominant position of the bourgeoisie, are allowed.
4. Ideology - Westergaard and Resler argued that ruling-class ideology promotes the view that private property, profit, the mechanisms of a market economy and the inequalities which result

are reasonable, legitimate, normal and natural. False class consciousness among the working class has been produced by this. Policies are justified using the underlying assumption that the interests of capitalists are the same as the interests of the population as a whole.

Critique of Marxism:

It could not explain why the state became stronger rather than wither away in communist countries. Marxists fail to take account of the possibility that there are sources of power other than wealth.

Catherine Mackinnon sees the state as reflecting male power rather than the power of capitalists.

Anthony H. Birch suggests that Marxist evidence shows only that 'the perceived need to maintain economic growth places serious constraints on government policy'. However, many see economic growth as important, and it is plausible to claim that most of the population benefit from rising living standards.

Neo - Marxist Perspective:

Antonio Gramsci did not believe that the economic infrastructure determined to any great degree what occurred in the superstructure of society. He talked of 'reciprocity between structure and superstructure', although the infrastructure could affect what took place in the superstructure, the reverse was also possible.

He divided the superstructure of society into two parts - political society and civil society. Political society was primarily concerned with the use of force by the army, police and legal system to repress troublesome elements within the population. Civil society consisted of those institutions normally thought of as private, particularly the Church, trade unions, mass media and political parties. Gramsci claimed 'the state = political society + civil society'.

If the ruling class maintained it control by gaining the approval and consent of members of society, then it had achieved what Gramsci called hegemony. Here, he stressed the importance of ideas in society. The ruling class only maintained control to the extent that they could command the beliefs of the population through civil society. However, the state could remain hegemonic only if it was prepared to compromise and take account of the demands of exploited classes, and, for three important reasons, ruling class hegemony could never be complete:

- Historic blocs - both the ruling class and the subject classes are divided internally. Hence, no group on its own could maintain dominance of society.
- Concessions - state always had to make some concessions to the subject class.
- Dual consciousness - some ideas shared by the masses were derived from the super structure. However, in part, individuals' beliefs were also the product of their activities and experiences. To some extent, they would be able to see through the capitalist system and realize that their interests lay in changing it.

For an overthrow of capitalism, Gramsci stated that 'intellectuals' had to emerge within the subject classes to mould their ideas and form a new historic bloc of the exploited, capable of overcoming ruling-class hegemony.

Louis Althusser gives a functionalist interpretation to the Marxian conception of state. Although he viewed the state as relatively autonomous of the economic base, for him the state is fully implicated in the logic of capitalism where it functions to reproduce the modes of production. He adds, since the capitalist mode of production requires the state to reproduce its conditions of existence, there is a reciprocal determination between the economic and political levels.

Bob Jessop sees the shift towards increased specialization as a movement to 'a globalizing, knowledge-driven economy'. He states that the economic system cannot reproduce and regulate itself without some assistance from non-capitalist institutions like family. Hence, other parts of society are bound to have some autonomy from the economy. He believes that the state has operational autonomy and can even be harmful to capitalism.

Though he does agree, that with increasing globalization, capitalism manages to exercise ecological dominance. This means that the influence of the capitalist system over other parts of the society is greater than the influence of the non-capitalist parts of society over capitalism. He also sees a shift in state policies away from the Keynesian Welfare State towards the Schumpeterian Workfare Post-national Regime. The role of state shifts away from direct intervention in the economy to creating the conditions where innovative businesses can thrive.

State-centered Theories:

Eric A. Nordlinger - The state acts independently or autonomously to change society.

- Type 1 state autonomy - occurs when the state has different wishes from those of major groups in society, and implements its preferred policies despite pressure for it not to do so.
- Type 2 state autonomy - occurs when the state is able to persuade opponents of its policies to change their minds and support the government.
- Type 3 state autonomy - occurs when the state follows policies that are supported, or at least not opposed, by the public or powerful interest groups in society.

Theda Skocpol is a strong supporter of what she calls 'bringing the state back in'. She believes that states have considerable autonomy and the potential capacity to achieve their policy goals. These goals are not simply reflective of the demands or interests of the society or social groups. States can have their own goals and pursue their own interest, like increasing their own power. The capacity to do so depends on sovereign territorial integrity, a stable and reliable source of income, low debt, wider tax base, defence prowess and the ability to recruit many of the most able and highly educated members of society into their organizations. A state which undermines its own power and reduces these capacities is prone to revolution. Example: France in 1788, China in 1911 and Russia in 1917.

Michel Foucault distinguishes between the character of modern and classical power. Disciplinary power as the modern form of domination stands out in sharp contrast with sovereign power as pre-modern domination. While in the disciplinary model there is contrasting constitution of actors, the sovereignty model is based on the givenness of the actors involved.

His works analyze the link between power and knowledge. It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge. It is impossible for knowledge not to endanger power. Power, is not to be

considered as opposite to reason; but on the contrary as the necessary condition for the construction of knowledge. He strongly believes that power is not possessed but exercised. "Power is contextual in nature", he states.

Quite interestingly, he sees power being exercised only when people have some freedom. Power never allows total control and constantly produces resistances and evasions as people often try to get away from the grasp.

De Maistre also says that who holds power depends on the context.

Anthony Giddens sees power as a relationship of dependency and domination. He distinguishes between power in the broad sense and in the narrow sense. While in the broad sense, the person has the transformative capacity to directly impact the consequences, whereas in the narrow sense, the person has capacity to influence the outcome that essentially depends upon others. In the second case the thrust is on domination.

Anarchists condemn the state power and they believe that the state and all forms of political authority is both evil and unnecessary. They view the state as concentrated form of oppression; it reflects nothing more than the desire of those in power often loosely referred to as a ruling class, to subordinate others for their own benefits.

P1 - 7 a. Sociological theories of power

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 149 to 166 and 173 to 176
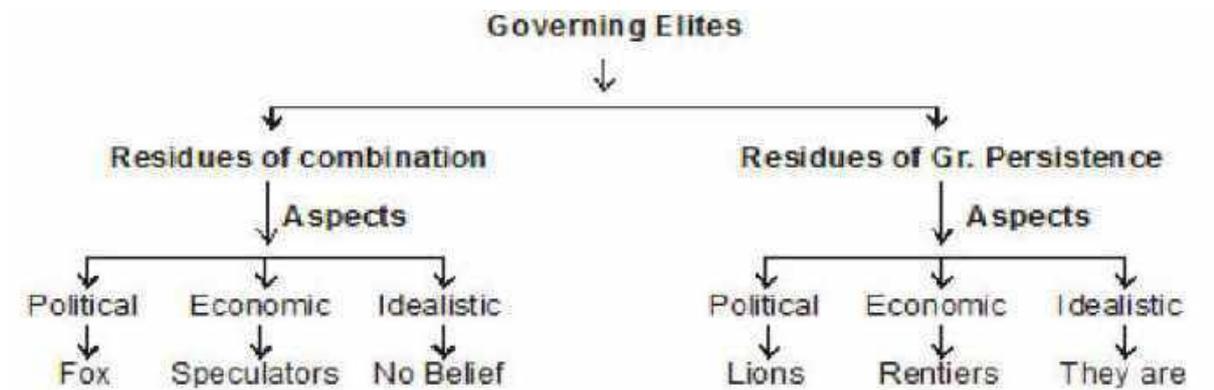
Sioux Indians - hunting society - leader for hunting buffalo meat - greater the leader's coordination of group, higher chances of success in hunting, and more food availability - power differential is functional for society.

John Stuart Mill significantly observed that 'the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will, is to prevent harm to others'. Mill identified the appropriate region of human liberty as including liberty of thought, feeling, discussion and publication, liberty of tastes and pursuits, and liberty of association or combination, provided it causes no harm to others. He asserted that liberty and democracy, taken together, create the possibility of 'human excellence'.

Sources of Power

- **Mann** (1986) would identify 4 sources of power-**ideological, economic, military, & political.**
- **Galbraith (1984)** classifies three sources of power - **personality, property and organisation**
- *Gerth and Mills*: The obedience may rest upon *fear, rational* calculations of advantage, lack of *energy* to do otherwise, *loyalty*, or any other reason.
- Robert Michel & Vilfred Pareto- Inherent. (theory above)
- Marx: in economic structure
- Weber: Class, status group and party all are sources of power
- Parsons: Value consensus and common goal achievement
- Pluralists like Dahl- Everywhere
- Antonio Gramsci- in modern societiesbourgeoisie had established hegemony, ideological leadershipor domination. Sources of power may be illegal too.
- Other: number, Skills and abilities, Media, Resources, organisation etc

Instruments of Power:

- Coercive - wins acceptance by threatening, intimidating or inflicting on others with dire consequences.
- Compensatory - offers the individual a reward or payment sufficiently advantageous or agreeable so that he (or she) forgoes pursuit of his own preferences to seek the reward instead.
- Conditioned - This kind of power is achieved by changing the attitude and belief of the individual or group. Most crucial and pervasive kind of power to the functioning of modern society.

There are four main <u>contexts</u> where power can be exercised. They may be seen in the contexts of political affairs, institutional patterning, ensuring life chances, and personal relations - Tumin

<u>2 broad perspectives of power</u> - Power as a form of authority, Power as a form of coercion.

CW Mills - segmental elites (Hollywood, Bureaucracy, Church, etc.) and system elites (military, politics and economic).

Floyd Hunter - study in Atlanta - 50% people said business class is the elite in USA.

Max Weber describes sociology as a comprehensive science of social action - 4 types:
- Zweckrational action or rational action in relation to a goal
- Wertrational action or rational action in relation to a value
- Affective action
- Traditional action

Weber adds that a charismatic leader may come to power through extraordinary methods, but his continuation in power needs legitimacy either through a recourse to tradition or relational bureaucracy - routinization of charisma.

Traditional authority corresponds to traditional action, rational-legal authority corresponds to rational action in relation to goal and charismatic authority corresponds to affective action or emotional action.

Pierre Bourdieu - 3 controlling classes exist - persons with economic capital, social/symbolic capital, cultural capital.

John Dewey - Politics is the shadow cast on society by big businesses.

Dahrendoff - political class and not economic class exerts real power - rejects Marx

Antonio Gramsci - politics means conscious action (praxis) in pursuit of a common goal.

Michael Foucault - knowledge is the source of power in the world today - post-modernist.

Rousseau - 'Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains from the state of nature, human beings moved to develop a general will which could provide the rationale for exercise of power and even kings and tyrants could not ignore the power of the general will, hence the rationale for abolition of kingdoms and bringing in Republics.

Harold Laski - *Grammar of Politics* - he propounded the view that there were plural centers of power in society, and the state was one of them.

MacIver said "The state is not coeval and coextensive with society." He re-examined the relations among different organs of society and examined three possibilities:
- Activities that the state alone could do
- Activities that the state could perform better than other associations, and
- Activities that other organizations could perform better than the state.

In his view the state was one of the great associations in society.

Marx - in his later writings - The modern state has grown so strong that in exceptional moments when bourgeoisie cannot completely dominate the other classes against which it must struggle, the state may become an arena for competing interests, an apparent mediator, and may even act independently to limit the power of bourgeoisie. For example the Factory Acts and the arguments over the Corn Laws in UK in the 1840s can be seen as a struggle between industrial bourgeoisie and the agricultural bourgeoisie. He also talks about the state being controlled by people who do not belong to the dominant class (bourgeoisie) but nevertheless exercise power in the interests of the dominant class. This reaches to the conclusion that whoever comes to power, they represent the interests of dominant class in the capitalist society. This is because for the economic development of the societies the state has to protect the interests of the dominant class.

In even later writings, Marx depicts state as supernatural, determined entirely by changes in the economic base in the society. He explains if capitalism is to survive, it requires a reasonably healthy work force educated to a level necessary to operate at the relevant level of technological development and it needs to ensure that the next generation is raised in a reasonable way to whatever standards are required. The state develops in order to fulfil these needs. In Marxist view, in a class society, super structure is indispensable to its survival. It represents the society's cultural characteristics and the institutions that promote these characteristics. Its infrastructure, its class based mode of production, survives so long as class character of the society remains unrecognized, or is considered legitimate, by those whom it subordinates. The superstructure (state as a prominent institution) ensures this happens. That means the state essentially function as a system integrator. This is how Marx views state as working in the interests of the ruling class because it is working to reproduce the sort of economic and social system that favours the class that rules. For Marx, in any state, the dominant class try to promote and protect its own interests as against the interests of other classes and formulates the laws. And thus the purpose of the state is to protect private property and its function is to oppress the non-possessing class in the interest of the

possessing class. Irrespective of the form of the state, whether democratic, republic or monarchy, it is used as an agency for the oppression of one class by another. It is only the class interests that are represented at the political level and ultimately the economic power will determine how state power is to be used.

An alternative neo-pluralist theory of the state has been developed by writers such as J.K. Galbraith and Charles Lindblom. They argue that the modern industrial state is both more complex and less responsive to popular pressures than the classical pluralist model suggests. According to them meaning of democracy is changed from one of direct popular rule to that of competition between and within elites to control the states. They argue the elites are not single integrated group but multiple centers of political power. Neo-pluralists see elites, especially corporate elites as having a greater degree of influence than other groups on government/state policy and it may constrain the effective influence of other interest groups.

7 B. Power elite, bureaucracy, pressure groups and political parties

Power Elite:

Pareto, Mosca, C Wright Mills and Elite Pluralism.

Pressure Groups:

Unlike political parties, interest groups do not aim to take power in the sense of forming a government. Rather, they seek to influence political parties and the various departments of state. They do not claim to represent wider interests, and instead aim to represent a particular interest in society. They are classified by Maurice Duverger as:

1. Protective groups - defend the interests of a particular section of society. Membership is usually limited to individuals of a particular section only. Example: Trade Unions, MCI.
2. Promotional groups - support a particular cause rather than guarding the interests of a particular social group. Membership is potentially larger and usually more varied than that of protective groups, since joining requires only a commitment to the cause. Example: PETA.

Interest groups can apply pressure in various ways:

- By making contributions to the funds of political parties.
- By appealing to public opinion. An effective campaign by an interest group can mobilize extensive public support, especially if it attracts widespread coverage by the mass media, and its arguments are seen to be valid.
- By the provision of expertise.
- By various forms of civil disobedience or direct action.
- By illegal payments to elected representatives and state officials - bribery.

Interest groups allow many individuals who are not members of political parties to participate in politics. They are necessary because even those who have voted for a government may not agree with all its policies. They also provide an opportunity to those who voted for a losing party to make their voices heard. They allow the public to make their views known to a governing party as circumstances change and new issues arise. They can mobilize public concern over issues that have been neglected or overlooked by the government.

Wyn Grant who supports an elite pluralist position claims:

- The number of pressure groups has greatly expanded and very few interests can now claim to be unrepresented.
- They now try to influence 'multiple arenas'. For example: UN, EU.
- Some pressure groups try to influence people's activities directly rather than trying to get the government to act.
- There is an increased use of direct action as it helps gain publicity.
- There is an increase in the number of pressure groups consulted by the government.

However, it remains true that some groups have a greater influence than the others.

According to Giddens, pressure groups are the carriers of democracy. With increased industrialization, division of labour also increased, and thus emerged various sections, with specialized interests. However, modern democracy demands harmonization of interests, due to which minority or sectional interest may tend to get ignored. Pressure groups represent these interests. Their presence shows the existence of pluralism, making power dispersed and decentralized in the political system.

Samuel Finer characterized them as anonymous empires. For Lambert these are the unofficial government, which implies that no government can run without taking them into consideration.

According to Functionalists, such groups play a constructive role in decision-making. They prepare the ground for the orderly political participation.

Conflict theorists on the other hand argue that although a few organizations work on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged, most of the pressure groups represent the vested interests of the business leaders, the lobbies of multinational companies, rich professionals and political leaders. They further assert that these powerful lobbies discourage political participation by the individual citizens. Marxists especially claim that liberal democratic governments disproportionately favour the interests of well-funded, well organized, pro-capitalist pressure groups.

The existence of rival pressure groups, for example supporting or opposing the increased use of nuclear power, liberalization of abortion regulations or the war in Iraq will help to ensure that both sides of these controversial issues can be fully debated.

By the provision of opportunities for political participation via "the normal channels", pressure groups may indirectly help to ensure that citizens do not turn to more radical methods in their attempts to pressurize the government. Hence, pressure groups are seen as providing a safety valve - preventing destabilizing opposition to government - and thereby increasing the overall legitimacy of the liberal democratic political system.

Pressure groups serve as a pool of talent for political recruitment, many party politicians begin their careers as pressure group activists.

Richard Heffernan raises the possibility that pressure group activity might itself reduce political participation in the long term. The failure to get demands accepted can lead to disappointment, which may in turn increase political disengagement.

Political Parties:

Political party is a group of people who come together to contest election and hold power in the government. It is seen as an organization of people interested in and working to control or influence the power structure of a community or society in a way they regard as best for their interest and presumably for the best interest of the community.

Anthony Downs - "A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election".

Giovanni Sartori defined a party as "any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office."

From the classical pluralist perspective, competition between two or more political parties is an essential feature of representative government.

Political parties are organizations that attempt to get representatives elected to positions in parliaments or their local equivalents. Pluralists claim that competition for office between political parties provides the electorate with an opportunity to select its leaders and a means of influencing government policy. Lipset argued that, for efficient government, competition between contenders for office must result in the granting of 'effective authority to one group' and the presence of an 'effective opposition' in the legislature as a check on the power of the governing party.

Pluralists claim that political parties in democratic societies are representative for the following reasons:

1. The public directly influences party policy, since, in order to be elected to govern, parties must reflect the wishes and interests of the electorate in their programmes.
2. If existing parties do not sufficiently represent sections of society, a new party will emerge.
3. Parties are accountable to the electorate, since they will not regain power if they disregard the opinions and interests of the public.
4. Parties cannot simply represent a sectional interest since, to be elected to power, they require the support of various interests in society.

Robert McKenzie stated that political parties must not be seen as the sole 'transmission belts' on which political ideas and programmes are conveyed from the citizens to the legislature and the executive. Policies are moulded and adapted due to various other factors as well.

Contrary to interest groups, a party is expected to express itself on all issues relevant for government. One expects parties to propose views on domestic and foreign policies, economic and social policies, and youth and civil policies, etc. In order to meet these requirements, each party should have a programme, in which its fundamental positioning in various areas is retained. Furthermore, one expects a party to have a consistent organization.

"Shifting values", "individualization", "event society", and "fragmentation of interests" are some social phenomena that are directly reflected on the attitude of citizens towards the political parties. Where social relationships become lost, the commitment with political parties also gets weaker.

The change in the mass media and the way of reporting, the growing competition for attention and audience, as well as the extension of "investigative" journalism have led to a new form of reporting about politics, in which ideas, values and results are less important than emotionalization, moralization, scandalization and personalization in the form of "infotainment". Political scandals and personal behaviour and misbehaviour of politicians are known faster nowadays. This is certainly a gain in transparency and democratic control but it can also contribute to the disenchantment and sometimes also the trivialization of politics and its players.

The "modern" dilemma of political parties' stems from globalization. At a national level, globalization and its consequences have reduced the room for political manoeuvres and have shifted decision-making power and management capabilities to supra-national or international players. Although citizens expect national political actors to decide on their demands and expectations, important issues cannot be resolved by national political decision makers. Consequently, political parties face a loss of confidence in their capacity to decide on important issues of national interest.

P1 - 7 b. Power elite, bureaucracy, pressure groups and political parties

Although the elite theory has been attacked on various grounds, this theory has found greater support in the context of the analyses of communist societies. T.B. Bottommore and Raymond Aron came interesting conclusions. The former says that the political system of communist countries is the pure type of "Power elite". The latter also maintains that power in communist societies can best be represented in terms of elite model. He argues that the Russian political, economic and military power are concentrated in the hands of a unified elite which has absolute and unbounded power. The mass of the population is left without any means of defence against the elite. This view is shared by Miloyan Djilas.

But this view on the communist societies was criticized by David Lane. He claims that the principal aim of Soviet elite has been industrialization and economic development of country, and centralized State control has been a means to this end rather than simply a disguise to further the interests of the political elites. So, elite rule has not been predominantly exploitive.

Although every theory of the elite has been found fault with, there is some element of truth in its analysis of political sociology. It appears to be almost universal. In India too the decision-making authority is under the influence and pressure of the business elite, the landlord elite, the journalist elite, and the Intelligentsia elite. At the base of these elites is the small English educated community. Almost all the decisions of the political centres in India are passed in favour of the urban areas, and that too those who have a finger in the pie. The concept of elite is thus an interesting analytical tool for understanding the realities of political sociology.

Elite theorists analyse society in dichotomous terms, with a nearly cohesive, homogeneous minority dominating andmorphous majority. This domination may be achieved either -

a) by possessing a monopoly of the means of violence : or

b) by monopolising the means of subsistence : or

c) through the control of 'middle-men' with specific authority in limited areas ; or

d) through 'hegemonic' control over the formulation of social values. Various means of control can be collectively employed in order to gain compliance.

Mills theory of power elite was criticised by Robert A. Dahl - as circumstantial. Dahl claimed that by omitting to investigate - where key range of decisions like expenditure, taxation, subsidies etc., Mills failed to establish where actual control lies. Weber's theory on the power of unorganised masses and pluta pluralist's theory of power are opposed to the view of Mills.

However, Floyd Hunter, who studied community power structure in states of USA and R. K. Merton supports Mills view are recruited from same class and have same background. Merton based his conclusions based on comparative study of elites in Britain, Canada, Australia etc. Raymond Aron and Bottomore have said that power in communist ~~USSR~~ best illustrated the "power elite", where they had absolute and unbound power. M. Djilas too argued that ruling minority in communist societies employ power for self-enrichment rather than benefitting the society.

David Lane, however argued that the principal aim of soviet elite has been industrialization and economic development of masses. (As tried in Kruschev's era where scientists, industrial managers influenced policies).

Critics argue that there are instances when certain dominant sections don't lose their vigour. T.B. Bottomore points out that Brahmins have been dominant in Indian cultural scene since ages without losing their 'vigour'.

At the same time, 'Superior qualities' of elites is often contested because qualities can be socio-culturally defined depending on dominant class's ideology.

. C.W. Mills believed that media plays a strong role in perpetuation of the rule of the power elites by validating their actions.

Pareto also differentiated between governing elites and non-governing elites like media, scientists, academicians, bureaucrats

Pressure Groups:

Pressure groups are organized form of active citizenry, outside the state, who put pressure on the political structure in order to bring about a change or resist a change which is either in the interest of their group or is in line with their values.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF PRESSURE GROUPS:

- Primary pressure groups and secondary pressure groups
- Sectional pressure groups [sometimes called interest groups or protective groups] and cause or promotional pressure groups and hybrid groups
- Insider pressure groups and outsider pressure groups
- Local, national and international pressure groups
- Permanent and temporary pressure groups

PRIMARY PRESSURE GROUPS are organizations which involve themselves in political activities designed to influence public policy whereas SECONDARY PRESSURE GROUPS engage mainly in nonpolitical activity and involve themselves in actual political processes only rarely.

INSIDER PRESSURE GROUPS are those groups which are most likely to be consulted regularly by governments. Example: Indian Medical Association, CII, Automobile Association, etc. OUTSIDER GROUPS may actively prefer outsider status because they themselves recognize that their own objectives are never likely to be shared by governments and believe that closer links with government will result only in the moderation of the groups' fundamental objectives.

In modern democracy they can be dysfunctional too as by representing self-sectional interest at times other interests get marginalized. It may be possible that sectional interest goes contrary to national interest. Certain pressure groups have also emerged using illegal methods e.g. terrorists organizations. Such Pressure Groups are referred as ANOMIC PRESSURE GROUP.

Thomas R. Dye - Modern urban institutional societies spawn a multitude of diverse interest groups. The resulting multiplicity and diversity reduces the likelihood that any single interest group can determine policy working in all fields.

Gabriel Almond gives 4 fold classification of pressure groups:
- Institutional - DU teachers union
- Associational - represents a particular specialized interest - workers, labourers, doctors
- Non-associational - based on primordial identities - Khap, Jat Sabha
- Anomic - coming out through a violent movement - Taliban

Merton - ritualistic bureaucracy - follow means but do not achieve goals - this spawns public anger and dissatisfaction - spurs rise of pressure groups and civil society.

The 2 prerequisites of democracy are people's participation and accountability of politicians - PG / CS ensures both and thereby helps maintain democracy and helps bring in social change.

Noam Chomsky - the worst form of autocracy is US democracy.
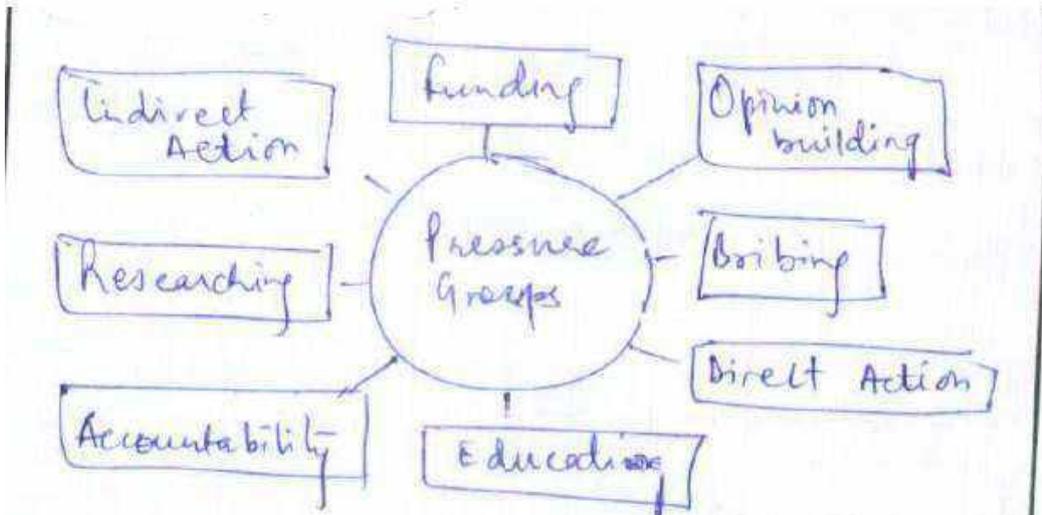
Political Parties:

They represent the competitive concept of democracy which stands opposed to the vision of homogeneity, which supposes a uniformity of the will of the people. Jean Jacques Rousseau had created this vision that in theory denies the legitimacy of conflicts and defines democracy as the identity of the government and the citizens. This concept does not accept for a plurality of parties. They are not regarded as legitimate, as they would inevitably falsify the "common will" by their particular behaviour. Deviations from the imposed and mandatory common good are not tolerated by this theory.

However, it is obvious that this concept is characteristic of totalitarian states where the diversity of parties is banned and where the "common will" is defined only by a small ruling elite. Consequently, totalitarian states are identified with Rousseau. It should be noted that even Rousseau could not clarify how this "common sense" would be discovered and decided. We have to be aware that modern societies are characterized by a diversity of interests and world-views. They need political parties as central instances for the representation of this diversity of interests within the political system.

Weber on Parties:
Whereas the genuine place of classes is within the economic order, the place of status groups is within the social order. But parties live in a house of power. Party actions are always directed towards a goal which is striven for in a planned manner. The goal may be a 'cause' (the party may aim at realizing a program for ideal or material purposes), or the goal may be 'personal' (sinecures, power, and from these, honour for the leader and followers of the party).

Lester Milbrath - 4 types of political participation in a political system - political apathetic, political spectators, transitional activists, gladiators (will contest elections).

According to La Palombara and Myron Weiner, political parties come into being when 2 conditions exist 1) attitude of citizens that they have right to influence power 2) group of elite who want to acquire power through public support.

What is a political party?
Criteria to identify political parties
Why do parties exist?
Parties and party systems
Functions of political parties
Typologies of political parties

Parties and ideologies
Challenges before political parties
Criteria for sustainable and successful party work

Political parties criticism:
1. They sometimes are defined in terms of serving interests: people take membership to further their own individual or group interests.
2. Zeigler and Dye: term political parties and elections as means to divert the public attention, they are for the creation of excitement, similar to Roman Circuses, they create false illusion, that power rests with majority by creating a false impression of representation.

Political Socialization:

Political socialization can be defined as a process of socializing in a political system through information on political symbols, institutions and procedures and internalizing the value system and ideology supporting the system. It is also a process of acquisition of political culture. This process works at individual as well as at community level through cultural transmission. It is one of the most important functions of the political system. It is also part of the general socialization which starts at the later life.

The two important components are: 1. Inculcation of general values and norms regarding political behavior and political matters and 2. The induction of an individual or some people into a particular party and learning its ideology and action programmes. The role played by mass media is equally important in educating the masses and clearing their views for making informed decisions regarding political affairs. It plays a very crucial role during elections.

- **Paul hirst** has studied interest groups as a **symptom of associationalistethics**and based upon the **distrust of the centralised state** for 2 reasons, that the state is a compulsory community although most genuine communities are freely formed, second; it made omnipotent claims to regulate social life.

- **David Reisman**
  - proposed the concept of veto groups (explained in terms of a diversified and balanced plurality of interest groups, each of which is primarily concerned with protecting its jurisdiction by blocking actions of other groups which seem to threaten that jurisdiction
  - Riesman, on the other hand, proposed a pyramid formed of two layers. Riesman did not recognize the presence of powerelite. The upper layer is occupied by veto groups.
  - Riesman lays emphasis on increasing dispersion of power and thetendency toward the dispersal of power among a plurality of organizedinterests.

- **Olsen** linked interest groups to **corruption**: Olsen has also described in his other work **The Rise and Decline of Nations**that the rent seeking comes out of protectionist policies & the state under theinfluence of organised interests which further protect andsustain the rent seeking

- **Olson** has mentioned three categories of interest groups on the basis of the their politicalconstituency; **privileged, intermediate and latent:**
  - **Privileged:** benefits from a tariff such as Reliance, or a trade union which is part of the political partysuch as All India Trade Union Congress

  - **Intermediate:**The intermediate group is not privileged butsustains its collective action on the basis of mutual watchfulness over each other's behavioursuch as the teachers associations
  - **Latent:**The third type of interest groupis neither privileged or intermediate but is more or less non-existent. People for animals, Senior citizens assn., helpageindiaetc

- **Function of political parties:**
  - Interest articulation
  - Interest aggregation
  - Political communication
  - Political mobilisation
  - Political recruitment
  - Political socialization

Kinds of political parties:

- Cartel party- high stature, less number
- Branch type- mass parties, recruit as many people as possible
- Cell type- work in clandestine manner- eg- stalni's party
- Militia- fascist, strict disciplined, army type.

Political Modernization:

It is the transformation of political culture in response to changes in social and physical environment According to Huntington political modernization is a multifaceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity. Benjamin Schwartz views political modernization as the systematic, sustained and powerful application of human energies to control man's social and physical environment. Claude Welch describes political modernization as the process based on the rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of modern society.

The process of modernization of the polity leads to the emergence of some crucial problems and challenges faced by the political system. It is rooted in the changing sources of legitimation of authority.

Nation:

Nation is defined as a group of people cohesively attached with each other by the fact of belonging to one race, language, religion, culture, geographical location, etc. and have similar political ambitions and uniform historical development. The feeling attached with it is called Nationality.

Nation signifies consciousness of unity prompted by cultural, psychological and spiritual feelings, which may or may not be sovereign. The physical element of sovereignty is not as important as the psychological element of the feeling of oneness. Thus, The United Nations Organization is a union of sovereign states and not of nations. A state may consist of one nation or many nations. Similarly, a nation may be split across two or more states.

Some factors responsible for emergence of nation are - race and kinship, common religion, common history or traditions, common economic ties. Integration helps a state overcome differences between nations, and in this context, India's Unity in Diversity and America's 'Melting Pot' are the best examples.

In modern society, viewing nation and state separately would keep on creating anomalies. This realization led the thinkers and planners to integrate the two to understand the real meaning of these two concepts. In this way, the concept that developed, would understand state in reference to nation and nation in reference to state as Nation-State.

A nation is a nationality which has organized itself into a political body either independent or desiring to be independent. The state is a territorially organized people. Nation is a group of people who feel their uniqueness and oneness which they are keen to maintain. If this group of people happen to organize themselves on a particular territory and desire independence or are independent, they form a nation-state.

- Nationality is subjective, statehood is objective
- Nationality is psychological, statehood is political
- Nationality is a condition of mind whereas statehood is a condition of law
- Nationality is a spiritual possession whereas statehood is an enforceable obligation
- Sovereignty is emphasized as an essential element of state but not of nation

There are two traditions of nationalism:

- Objective - German tradition, where Nation as seen as cultural identity, and they share common language, religion, history, etc.
- Subjective - French tradition, where Nations are seen as political communities. Most modern states fall in this category, and have invented traditions to help create an imagined nation.

Marx criticized nationalism for hiding the reality of exploitation and oppression.

Tagore - I am not against this nation or that nation, but against the idea of nation itself.

Transnationalism and long-distance nationalism are some of the trends found in the modern societies.

State:

The term 'state' is commonly used as a synonym for nation, government, society or country. Aristotle defined it as a union of families and villages having, for its end, a perfect and self-sufficing life. Other Greek philosophers have viewed the state as a natural and necessary institution coming out of the needs of human beings as a political animal.

Weber in *'Politics as a Vocation'* defined state as a 'human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory'. Thus, state can be said to consist of the government or legislature which passes laws, the bureaucracy or civil service which implements governmental decisions, the police who are responsible for law enforcement, and the armed forces whose job it is to protect the state from external threats.

Marx says the state is a part of the superstructure, controlled by those who own means of production. He believed the state to be a sort of conspiracy against the working class, as the wealth of the bourgeoisie could be used to ensure that whoever is in power pursues their interests. When the classless society is established and there is no suppressive function for the state, it would be required only to perform the economic functions and hence, state would wither away. He calls the state a "committee managing the affairs of the bourgeoisies."

Durkheim in *'Professional Ethics and Civic Morals'*, traced the development of the state to the division of labour in the society. As societies became more complex, there occurred the distinction between governing and governed, which in turn resulted in the formation of state. For him, the function of state was to mediate between different interests and in particular to protect the individual against the power of smaller groups. That is how state protects individuals and balances group interests.

Hobbes and Locke argued that the society had risen out of voluntary agreement, or a social contract, and state is a neutral arbiter amongst competing groups and thus represents common good. Pluralists believe that the state is an honest broker between different conflicting groups.

Stateless 'simple' societies are called acephalous or headless societies. EE Evans-Pritchard describes the Nuer society in Africa as headless. It consists of 40 separate tribes, none of which had a head or chief.

According to MacIver, the state is an association, which acting through law as promulgated by government, endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within a community territorially demarcated universal external conditions of social order.

Das and Chaudhary - when a group of people are permanently settled on a definite territory and have government of their own, free from any kind of external control, they constitute a state.

Georgina Blakeley and Michael Saward say that 'The state is, among other things, an institutional order that aims to prevent social chaos and make social order.' It is an idea based on shared expectations about the ordering of social life, a set of organizations, and a set of practices.

Gramsci described the state as the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to maintain the active consent of those over whom it rules. He talked of reciprocity between structure and super structure. Poulantzas says state is relatively autonomous of the bourgeoisie. This helps convince masses of the state's impartiality and says that state represents proletariat's interests too.

From the above definitions certain essential properties of the state emerge - a population, a territory, a government and sovereignty. State in modern societies can be best described in terms of:

1. Ideology - it may be defined as an integrated system of beliefs and symbols which have an appeal to the followers beyond their rational and objective meaning. It has the power to sway the sentiments of the followers. It is accepted as an article of faith. Communism, religious fundamentalism, ethnicism are some of the political ideologies of states.
2. Structure - Traditional Monarchies, Totalitarian Oligarchies, Modernizing Oligarchies, Tutelary Democracies and Political Democracies
3. Function - Input functions: Political socialization and recruitment, Interest articulation, Interest aggregation, Political communication
   Output functions: Rule making, Rule application, Rule adjudication
4. Political processes
5. Basis of legitimacy - According to Weber there are three ways of legitimizing authority - Traditional, Charismatic and Legal-rational ways in modern states, but we still do see coups.

Globalization and the power of the nation - state:

In *'The Globalization of World Politics'*, John Baylis and Steve Smith identify a number of ways in which globalization has led to a new era in politics:

- Economic transformation is so fast that it has created a new world politics
- Electronic communications like internet encourage cross state boundaries
- Global culture, which is reducing the importance of national culture
- Homogenization of people and cosmopolitan culture
- Time and space are collapsing
- An emergence of global polity due to transnational social movements, groups and bodies
- Risk culture

However, they also point out that:

- Globalization is not a new phenomenon
- It has affected rich Western societies more than poorer societies, due to lack of infrastructure
- The effect on the poorer countries is not assessed by supporters of globalization
- Negative effects like global terrorism, international drug trade and human trafficking
- Global governance is an illusion as the global institutions are not under democratic control

Leslie Sklair believes that states retain some power, but any understanding of the global system must focus primarily upon TNCs. Transnational practices take place in three main spheres - the economic, the political and the culture-ideological. These correspond to the practices of - the transnational corporation, the transnational capitalist class and the culture-ideology of consumerism. Class polarization and ecological unsustainability are some of the fallouts of this globalization.

Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson in *'Globalization in Question'* believe that though the state's capacities have been reduced and changed due to globalization, they have not been eliminated altogether. The state retains a role as a 'facilitator and orchestrator of private economic actors'. People are less mobile than money, goods or ideas and state retains the control over regulation of populations.

David Held and Anthony McGrew in *'Globalization / Anti-globalization'* argue that it is possible to distinguish between two types of theorists of globalization - the globalists and the sceptics. They believe that both positions have some merit, but both are open to criticism as well. Instead, they argue to adopt a transformationalist stance with regards to globalization.

Kevin Bonnett warns that globalization can strengthen local and small-scale nationalism as a defence.

Citizenship:

Citizenship has been defined as the legal status of membership of a state. The legal status signifies a special attachment between the individual and the political community. With the creation of the modern state, Citizenship came to signify certain equality with regard to the rights and duties of membership to the state. The modern state began to administer citizenship. State determines who gets citizenship, what the associated benefits are, and what rights and privileges it entails. As a legal status, citizenship has come to imply a unique, reciprocal, and unmediated relationship between the individual and the political community. Citizenship, in short, is nothing less than the right to have rights.

A citizen is a person who enjoys rights and performs his duties in a state. Historically, the term 'Citizen' was linked with the rise of democracy. The demand for democratic government came up first in a few western societies, like England, France and the United States of America. Democracy means that everybody should have political rights. When one has political rights, the right to vote and the right to participate in decision making on important questions facing one's society, one is a citizen.

TH Marshall wrote in detail about citizenship and gave prime importance to class-struggle in modern states in which he included the ideas of Marx and Weber. Marshall envisages that capitalism has increased class struggle in modern societies, citizenship in the territorial state represented not its elimination, but its institutionalization, and the conversion of national into nation-states. In *"Citizenship and Social Class"*, he analyzed the development of citizenship as a development of civil, political and social rights. These were broadly assigned to the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries respectively.

He introduced the concept of 'Social Rights'. Social rights are awarded not on the basis of class or need, but rather on the status of citizenship. He claimed that the extension of social rights does not entail the destruction of social classes and inequality. In Britain, citizenship was obtained in three stages:

- Urban Citizenship (Civil) - 18th Century - Equality before law, individual freedom, right of speech and religion, right to possess property and to obtain contracts
- Political Citizenship - 19th Century - Right to vote and to be voted
- Social Citizenship - 20th Century - Complete participation of individuals in state

Marxist critics point out that Marshall's analysis is superficial, as it does not discuss the right of the citizen to control economic production, which they argue is necessary for sustained shared prosperity.

From a feminist perspective, the work of Marshall is highly constricted in being focused on men and ignoring the social rights of women and impediments to their realization.

Parsons argues that growth of citizenship is a measure of modernization as it is based on values of universalism and achievement.

Harold J. Laski opines that every state is recognized by its rights. The state is not only a sovereign institution liable for citizen's discipline, and having the power of obeying the orders. Some additional powers and morality are also instilled in the state.

It has 2 aspects - basis of access to citizenship and quality of citizenship rights - jus sanguine and jus soli.

The way citizens have certain responsibilities towards the state, state also has certain responsibilities towards citizens. For example: availing them those opportunities necessary for their physical, mental and moral development. In this way it is a two-way process which develops and maintains a healthy and balanced society. Global citizenship, dual citizenship are remoulding the definition of citizenship.

Democracy:

Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy reads as - 'Democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people.' Mosca argues it can be by the people and for the people but never of the people. Pluralists call it a polyarchy rather than democracy.

Robert Michels states that democracy calls for organization, which ultimately leads to oligarchy. Marxists call democracy an illusion used to sustain the false consciousness among the masses.

Schmitter and Karl - It is a system of governance, in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the cooperation of their elected representatives.

The form that democracy takes in a given context is largely an outcome of how its values and goals are understood and prioritized. 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 weight that is granted to these various goals may influence whether democracy is regarded first and foremost as a form of popular power (self-government and self-regulation) or whether it is seen as a framework for supporting decision-making by others (such as a group of elected representatives.)

Liberal democracy today is distinguished from other forms of political system by certain principles and characteristics, that is, its procedure and institutional arrangements. Institutions are necessary for the realization of principles; without principles, the institutions might be reduced to a mere formality. The two must go together. Liberal democracy works on certain principles and certain mechanisms. Broadly speaking, principles of liberal democracy include:

- Government by consent
- Public accountability
- Majority rule
- Recognition of minority rights
- Constitutional Government

Main characteristics include:

- More than One Political Party Freely Competing for Political Power
- Political Offices Not Confined to any Privileged Class
- Periodic Election Based on Universal Adult Franchise
- Protection of Civil Liberties
- Independence of the Judiciary

Conditions for successful working of a democracy:

- National Sentiment
- Spirit of Toleration
- High Moral Character
- Widespread Education
- Economic Security and Equality

Alfred Stepan states that among the basic requirements for democracy "is the opportunity to formulate preferences, to signify preferences, and to have these preferences weighted adequately in the conduct of government." According to Robert Dahl, for the proper functioning of the government, it should ensure the following institutional guarantees which include:

- Freedom of association and expression
- The right to vote
- Run for public office
- Free and fair elections
- The right of political leaders to compete for support and votes
- Alternative sources of information
- Policy making institutions dependent on votes
- Other expression of preference

Jeremy Bentham envisaged liberal democracy as a political apparatus that would ensure the accountability of the governors to the governed. For Bentham, both governors and the governed, as human beings, want to maximize their happiness. Governors, who are endowed with power, may tend to abuse it in their self-interest. Hence, in order to prevent the abuse of their power, governors should be directly accountable to an electorate who will frequently check whether their objectives have been reasonably met.

Seymour M. Lipset - Democracy in a complete society may be defined as a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials, and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office.

Civil Society:

A civil society is comprised of groups or organizations working in the interest of the citizens but operating outside of the governmental and for-profit sectors. Organizations and institutions that make up civil society include labor unions, non-profit organizations, Churches, and other service agencies that

provide an important service to society but generally ask for very little in return. Adam Ferguson is credited with the modern day understanding of a civil society.

They have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations.

Ernest Gellner describes the building block of civil society as "modular man" - an individual who is autonomous yet willing and able to associate.

A range of political philosophers, from Thomas Paine to George Hegel developed the notion of civil society as a domain parallel to, but separate from the state, where citizens associate according to their own interests and wishes.

Hegel's 19ᵗʰ century notion of civil society included the market in contrast to the contemporary concepts of civil society as a non-profit sector. Gramsci revived the term post WW2 to portray civil society as a special nucleus of independent political activity, a crucial sphere of struggle against tyranny.

According to David Held, civil society retains a distinctive character to the extent that it is made up of areas of social life - the domestic world, the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction - which are organized by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups outside the direct control of the state. Robert Putnam calls civil society the school of democracy.

Robert Michels justified their existence by observing that decentralization serves as a mechanism by which weak leaders seek to get away from the domination of the stronger ones. He laid thrust on developing the spirit of free inquiry, criticism and control of the leaders among the masses.

Larry Diamond in his article, *'Rethinking Civil Society'* says that civil society plays a significant role in building and consolidating democracy. In his view, civil society performs following important functions:

- To limit state power
- To empower citizens
- To inculcate and promote the development of democratic attributes amongst the citizens
- To provide avenues for political parties and other organizations to articulate, aggregate and represent their interest
- To function as a recruiting, informational and leadership generating agency
- A well-founded civil society could act as a shock absorbing institution to mitigate conflicts
- To generate public and political support for successful economic and political reforms
- Election monitoring
- Strengthening citizen attitudes towards the state

In an article, *'Civil Society and Democracy in Global Governance'*, Jan Aart Scholte makes a comprehensive analysis of these concepts. He identifies six areas where civil society could advance democracy:

- Public Education

- Voice to Stakeholders
- Policy Inputs
- Transparency of Governance
- Public Accountability
- Legitimacy

The civil society should have a larger agenda of democracy as a policy of global governance. The civil society not only could promote democracy at home, their impact could be clearly seen in the democratization of global order. Apart from this, the international concerns for human rights, women rights, rights of the disabled and concerns for environment have great impact on the domestic policy formulation and its implementation too.

For example, various development related NGOs and think tanks, who lobby for global debt relief and socially sustainable structural adjustment, have gone on to scrutinize public finances in national and local governments. In addition to this, women's movements have often used international laws and institutions in their favour to democratize the state on gender lines. The rights of the persons with disability also get impetus from international concerns for human rights. In all these matters civil society can offer a means for citizens to affirm that global governance arrangements.

In certain conditions, civil society can contribute to the democratization of authoritarian regimes and can help to sustain a democratic system of governance once it is established. Example: Tunisia.

The democratic dangers of civil society:

- Civil society activities may not essentially pursue democratic purpose
- It might draw away from democracy if its efforts are poorly planned and designed or executed
- Ill equipped government agencies cannot handle civil society inputs
- The state funding and benefits could corrupt the volunteers of the civic organization
- Inadequate representation could seriously undermine the very fabric of democracy
- Civil society concern for global democracy could be insensitive towards the local culture
- It may lack internal democracy

Critique:

- International grants to civil society organizations have seen mixed results
- Those who idealize civil society often talk about citizen engagement without mentioning conflict
- Civil society is essentially two-fold in nature - private in origins but public in focus. The interests pursued can be individualistic, or they can be oriented toward religion, race, or other social groupings. In a way that might generate pressure on government and further lead to societal divisions on parochial lines.

Ideology:

In the realm of political theory, the term 'ideology' is applied in two contexts:

Ideology as a set of ideas:

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

In this sense, ideology is a matter of faith, it has no scientific basis. Adherents of an ideology think that its validity need not be subjected to verification. Different groups may adhere to different ideologies and hence differences among them are inevitable.

When an ideology is used to defend an existing system or to advocate a limited or radical change in that system, it becomes a part of politics. A political ideology may lend legitimacy to the ruling class or it may involve an urge for revolution. An ideology is action oriented. It presents a cause before its adherents and induces them to fight for that cause, and to make sacrifices for its realization. For example: Nationalism, Communalism

Ideology as the science of ideas:

In this sense, it seeks to determine how ideas are formed, how they are distorted and how true ideas could be segregated from false ideas.

In a contemporary sense, the term 'Ideology' is applied to the set of ideas which are adopted by a group in order to motivate it for the achievement of predetermined goals.

Karl Marx in *"German Ideology"* and *"A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy"* dwelled on the nature of ideology. According to him, ideology is a manifestation of false consciousnesses.

Marx and Engels held that ideology is an instrument for protecting the interest of the dominant class.

However, Lenin argued that it was a neutral concept which refers to the political consciousness of different classes, including, the proletarian class. Proletariats also need an ideology - the ideology of scientific socialism for their guidance, lest they are overpowered by the bourgeois ideology.

Karl Mannheim in *"Ideology and Utopia"* rejects Marx's theory of ideology on three grounds:

- Style of thought (consciousness) of any group is only indirectly related to its interests. There is no direct correlation between its consciousness and its economic interests
- All thought (consciousness) is shaped by its social background, hence Marxism itself is the ideology of a class
- Apart from classes, other social groups, like different generations, also have a significant influence upon consciousness.

He held that the false consciousness may be manifested in two forms - ideology and utopia. Ideology represents the tendency of conservation. It relies on false consciousness to muster support for the maintenance of status quo. One the other hand, utopia represents the impetus to change. It relies on false consciousness by projecting unrealizable principles to muster support for the forces of change.

A ruling class makes use of ideology, the opposition may project a utopia. Mannheim declared that the Marxist vision of a classless society was nothing but a utopia. Hence it also uses false consciousness.

When ideology is conceived as an instrument of motivating people for the achievement of predetermined goals, it comes close to totalitarianism. Karl Popper in *"The Open Society and Its Enemies"* argued that ideology is the characteristic of totalitarianism, it has nothing to do in an open society. Hannah Arendt in *"The Origins of Totalitarianism"* defined totalitarianism as a system of total domination characterized by ideology and terror.

Both communist and fascist regimes made ample use of their respective ideologies for the mobilization of their citizens towards the achievement of their respective goals.

End of Ideology:

In mid-1950s and in 1960s, in western liberal democratic countries, it was declared that the age of ideology had come to an end. It was viewed as a tool of totalitarianism which had no place in open societies. It was also believed that at the advanced stage of industrial development, a country's social-economic organization is determined by the level of its development, and not by its political ideology. Thus, capitalist and communist countries were bound to evolve similar characteristics at the advanced stage of their industrial development, irrespective of their ideological differences.

Daniel Bell sees an increasing dominance of technical elites in the post-industrial societies, and this change in direction is not affected by any political ideology. Ralf Dahrendorf sees this as a post-capitalist society where economic and political conflict which was the basis of Marxist theory and ideology has ceased to exist. Lipset observed that in the Western democracies the differences between the Left and the Right are no longer profound. Fukuyama talks about the failure of socialism in USSR.

Rostow asserted that the adoption of different political ideologies played no role in determining the course of economic development in different countries. He built a unidimensional model of economic growth which was applicable to all countries irrespective of their political ideologies.

JK Galbraith also observed that a country's technoeconomic structure is shaped by the level of its industrialization, and not by its distinctive political ideology. Immanuel Wallerstein spoke of technology and development dependency, seeing no different between the two political ideologies.

Raymond Aaron claims that ideology is nothing more than 'opium for the intellectuals' now.

Critique:

Richard Titmuss observed that the champions of the 'End of ideology' thesis overlook the problems of monopolistic concentration of economic power, social disorganization and cultural deprivation within the capitalist system. C. Wright Mills dubbed them as the advocates of status quo. CB MacPherson asserted that the champions of this idea make a futile attempt to solve the problem of equitable distribution within the market society. Samuel P. Huntington in *"Clash of Civilizations"* talks of clash of cultures when the Western model of development was implemented in the African and Asian countries. He thus advocates the presence of ideology.

In actual practice, different ideologies will continue to exist as the vehicles of value systems preferred by different groups. They will be used for motivating people to achieve the goals cherished by their upholders. They may also be used by some groups to convince others regarding their rightful claims. Ideologies do not belong exclusively to the dominant classes; oppressed classes also have their own ideologies. They cannot be set aside as 'false consciousness'.

Ideologies could serve as meeting ground for like-minded people, instead of confining themselves to their tribe, caste, religion, region, etc. They may reflect changing social consciousness on crucial issues.

Some ideologies have given rise to strong social movements for the emancipation of various oppressed sections. Some ideologies manifest a deep concern with the future of humanity.

An ideology is identified by commitment to a cause. It rules out personal interest, bias or submission to a particular person, group or dynasty. It signifies a set of coherent ideas - perception of real and ideal from one's own position. It may also be used to make others realize that position.

Nation:

Nation is converted into a State at the time of external aggression. State is converted into a Nation due to internal disturbances. Nation needs 3 things to become a state:
- Autonomy from external influence
- Unity among its masses
- Identity which is provided by ethnicity

Weber defines nation as a community of sentiment - people's consciousness of unity - could be based on race, ethnicity, language, religion, customs, political memory or the shared experience of the others.

The Growth of Nation State - Competition and Conflict Theory:

Nation state was born of competition and conflict. The Hundred Years War gave rise to two rival groups across the English Channel each feeling a consciousness of kind — the English and the French. The War of Roses gave rise to a united English nation under the Tudor dictatorship. Rivalry in discovery and piracy on the high seas cemented national solidarity among the participants — the English, the French, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards. The American nation was born of conflict. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of French Revolution overran most of Europe and thereby sowed the seeds of national consciousness among the defeated countries. The German nation was born of conflict of war with France. The Italian nation under Mazzini and Garibaldi came into being as a resurgent movement in protest against Austrian domination.

NATIONALISM:

The concept of "Nation-state" and "Nationalism" are a relatively modern phenomena that can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia of the 17th century Europe.
- History shows Nation-state is not a natural entity but is an artificial construction to recognize sovereignty of nation-states.
- While nation is a mental construct reflected in a sense of belonging, state is a political construct with four elements; territory, population, government and sovereignty.
- There can one nation and two states like Korea, or one state and two nations like Sri Lanka, one state and one nation like Japan or one state and many nations like India.

Nationalism is a state of mind that seeks to make the nation an effective unity and the object of man's supreme loyalty. It has developed in the western world and is today growing in the other parts of the world. It has prepared the way for modern democratic nation states. It has extended the area of national liberty and individual freedom. Nationalism serves as a source of integration within the state but it is dangerous when it denies the common interest that binds nation to nation. Then it becomes ethnocentrism or chauvinism which is intolerant or imperialism which seeks territorial expansion and political domination. When nationalism cuts one people from another, it impedes the development of harmonious intergroup of international relations and sows the seeds of international rivalry and wars. In its pure form, nationalism may be binding ideal but in its narrow form it becomes a cause of serious division between nations. Nationalism is a long historical process with strong sentiments attached to it. In the words of Hayes: nationalism when it becomes synonymous with the purest patriotism will prove a unique blessing to humanity and to the world.

NATIONALITY IS A PSYCHOLOGICAL DISPOSITION OR SENTIMENT. According to ZIMMERMANN nationality like religion is subjective psychological, a condition of mind, a spiritual possession, a way of feeling, thinking and living. Nationality is an instinct. It is a cultural concept. It springs from a heritage of memories whether of great achievement and glory of disaster and suffering. MAC IVER defined nationality as a type of community sentiment created by historical circumstances and supported by common psychological factors to such an extent and so strong that those who feel it desire to have a common government peculiarly or exclusively their own.

Liberalism: Liberalism signals a **cluster of political ideals** advocated (and put into practice) **within a tradition of political thought and political activity.** Key liberal themes include the **right to private property** and advocacy of the **rule of law** as well as defence of the **traditional freedoms** — freedom of speech and artistic expression, freedom of association, religious freedom. **liberty is not a value-neutral concept,** it is always normative, always accompanied by a positive ethical charge

Libertarianism: is the **theoretical stance** of one who strictly limits the competence of government to collective defence, the protection of negative rights, rights of non-interference, and enforcement of contracts.

Freedom: The concept of **freedom is thinner** than that of liberty and **carries less evaluative baggage. Hegel** dismissed the notion, implicit in utilitarianism, that a man is free to the degree that he can do whatever his inclination lead him to desire. In this way, acceptance of moral requisites is not the acceptance of alien constraint, but is the recognition of the rational. **Durkheim** is emphatic that the individual personality is overwhelmingly influenced by the characteristics of the form of society in which he exists and into which he is socialised. On **Rousseau's** account, moral freedom is the freedom, which is attained by those who can control their own desires. For **Kant, autonomous action** consists in living in accordance with the laws, which one has determined for oneself as possible for each agent to follow.

State:

Greek philosophers like Aristotle have viewed state as a natural and necessary institution coming out of the needs of human beings as a political animal.

State in the modern sense can be defined as a community of persons, permanently occupying a fixed portion of territory, independent of external context and possessing an organized government to which the vast majority of people render obedience.

Romantic view - Amartya Sen - State is welfare centric which looks after the welfare needs of every individual.

Habermas - post modernist view of the state - public sphere is all activities connected with market or state and private sphere is all other activities. State has encroached in the private sphere and so state is hampering freedom of individual. Hence, state is not needed.
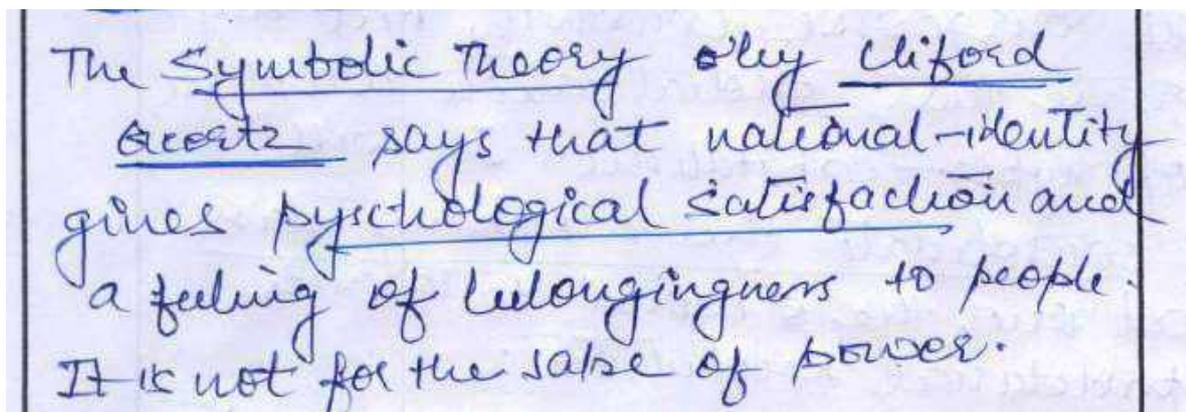
The Symbolic Theory by Cliford Geortz says that national-identity gives psychological satisfaction and a feeling of belongingness to people. It is not for the sake of power.

However, the empirical reality is that Globalization has only created a hierarchy of national-identities due to inter-dependence. Eg. the Americans are dependent on Mexicans for low-end sanitation and cleaning work.

It has led to the 'Ethnicization of occupation' as per Paul Hirst. This ethnicity is based on national-identity. Eg. Indians are engaged in software and Chinese in manufacturing fields.

man suffers from 'Double Consciousness'. He carries both the rational and modern approach in mind, but in his heart the national identity refuses to die down.

Ideology:

End of ideology debate itself is an Ideology. Ideology may be restricted to intellectual level, but it does have an identity. It represents one's beliefs and convictions. Ideology is a process and not just an economic concept vis-a-vis Socialism and Capitalism.

Van de Berghe has pointed out that "pluralist societies have often been held together by a mixture of political coercion and economic interdependence." If political power can be used to create and preserve unequal social relations, it can also be used to redress this injustice. Social conflict does indeed have its functions! However, the very exercise of power in a situation of interdependence requires some level of value-consensus however general it may be. Otherwise society would fall into a situation of total conflict, the barbarism of Hobbes' "war of all against all". Hence the insistence on the need for an ideology to support this interdependence, to contain the conflict, and to provide the value-consensus for a just and equitable society.

Civil Society:

3) 'Civil Society' was first demonstrated in the works of Thomas Hobbes & John Locke. They advocated man in state of nature progressed towards civil society for avoiding chaos due to private property ownership. The meaning & role of civil society has undergone many modification in contemporary democracy.

· Rousseau advocated it's 'general will of masses' that should form the basis of society.

· Habermas advocated it's from public place discussion like in coffee-shops, market the concept of civil society emerged which subsequently formed the basis of democracy.

Jean-Jaques Rousseau the exponent of popular sovereignty postulated public accountability of government in a different way. In his concept of the 'social contract', sovereignty not only originates in the people, it continues to stay with the people in the civil society. People give their consent to vest their sovereignty in the 'general will' which represents their own higher self. As a votary of 'direct democracy' Rousseau is convinced that sovereignty cannot be represented. In his words, "the people's deputies are not, and could not be, its representatives; they are merely its agents; and they cannot decide anything finally." Rousseau commended an active, involved citizenry in the process of government and law-making.

Kofi Annan - In modern society, state is incapable to cater to all interests. State's cooperation with civil society is a must for sustainable world peace. Example: India has no refugee policy, the gap is filled by CS/PG.

Civil society is the public space between government and market, which caters to the larger interests. All CS are PGs but not vice versa. PGs may or may not be political, but CS is never political.

Habermas - 3 types of citizens - supra occupy administrative positions in society, sub use their citizenship rights during emergency, infra are not even aware of their rights - public sphere and private sphere state is entering private sphere too, so state not needed CS/PGs converts infra to sub/supra by promoting political organizations among them, thus expanding horizon of democracy.

Civil society helps increase trust in the society.

McKean - CS promotes mass participation, so it is an invisible government. Legislature behind legislature. It thus, promotes democracy.

CS benefits:

- Converts under class, infra citizen, submerged humanity, lumpen proletariat into higher status.
- It changes social structures and institutions. Example: RTI - it converted the basic pattern of working of institutions and converted them from ritualists to conformists according to Merton.
- Benefits common man by converting from FCC to TCC. Converts from CII to CFI.
- Acts as an expertise body for the government - provides expert opinion and inputs for policy reforms.
- Helps in political socialization.
- Critique - lack concrete ideology, maybe based on primordial identities.

Mill : "CS refers to Welfare State"

∴, 17th cent. defn. is not same as today's.

Family → CS → State = Combination of both.

∴ Transitional Phase | Altruistic motive
Universal Egoism is present | Proper integration with society + individualism

Individual orientation is submerged in family's.

Hence, CS is a transitory phase towards State. Hence, "State is march of God upon Earth"

• However commenting on contemporary democracy G. Mosca argues that
- Democracy is of the people
- it may be by the people
- but it never is is for the people.

G. Mosca, inspired by Machiavelli believes that masses are coward and self-centric, thus they are perpetually (universal) under the elite rule. Thus he was skeptical about civil society.

- The classical thinkers like Rousseau has for the first time celebrated the idea of Democracy. John Locke sees civil society as an intermediary stage between state of nature and state.

- However, Anthony Giddens is quite optimistic about civil society. He believes that civil society helps in the 'Democratization of Democracy'.

- Rajni Kothari says that when civil society makes demands on state and held it accountable then 'Command Politics changes to Demand Politics'.

- Pluralists like Robert Dahl says that in Democracy their is a diffusion of power. Thus it is not only the political parties which strengthen the ~~state~~ democracy but it is done by civil society also.

- However, Critical theorists are skeptical about the state, which tries to weaken the civil society.

Thus civil society and democracy must complement

Democracy:

Personal Power Theory - was given by Plato who classified people as Commoners, Soldiers and Philosopher Kings - these qualities are not inborn but developed through a state sponsored education system to weed out 1 and 2. Machiavelli criticizes this as there is a possibility of a rise of Autocracy as absolute power corrupts absolutely. CW Mills' Power Elite and Weber's Charismatic Power Theory still allude to the fact that Plato was correct.

Joseph M Bessette coined the term Deliberative Democracy and argued that decisions should not be just be aggregating the votes

but by deliberating merits and demerits of any idea.

Hobbes, Hobhouse, Plato, Aristotle believed in merits of Autocracy over Democracy.
JS Mills, Jeremy Bentham advocated Democracy due to better Rule of Law and chance for Civil Society to grow up.
But democracies also banning books and autocracies like Syria are seeing CS rise. Cuba has good HDI in spite of being an autocracy.
Hence, no system is good or bad. "Every system is making of people (social action)" - Weber

Only 120 of 192 countries - 58% population of the world lives in an electoral democracy.

Policy Communities & Network
Mapping influence, empiricist style

- Group of actors who have a direct or indirect interest in an issue.
- Involvement may range based on the issue.
- Members often from NGOs or interest groups, brought in to be part of the decision making process.

Pluralist
Power is widely dispersed. Interest groups compete with each for state favour.
Critique: potential for lobbyists to grow strong.

Example: The United States.

Corporatist
- Power is more centralized. A few trusted actors co-operate with each other and the state in the formulation of policy. Ex: Labour & Business.
- Critique: difficult for new actors to enter the field.
- Example: Japan - Keiretsu

Dirigist
- Power centralized to the state. Interest groups informed of decisions, but not consulted during process. Interest groups lack capacity to challenge the state.
- Critique: Too much power with the state makes it difficult for citizen opinions to be heard.
- Example: France.

Iron triangle
Close cooperation between bureaucrats, politicians, and businesses.

ECONOMIC SPECTRUM

Socialism   Capitalism

extreme | left wing | centre | right wing | extreme
left | | | | right

← collectivism   individualism →
economic equality   equality of opportunity
public ownership   private ownership

centrally   welfare capitalism   laissez-faire
planned   capitalism
economy

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Dictatorship	Democracy	Dictatorship

extreme left wing	left wing	centre	right wing	extreme right wing

radical — social change | status quo — reactionary

liberalism

communism	socialism	conservatism	fascism

POLITICAL FREEDOM

	Political Freedom	
ECONOMIC CONTROL	Democratic Socialism	Democratic Capitalism	ECONOMIC FREEDOM
	Dictatorial Socialism (Communism)	Dictatorial Capitalism (Fascism)	

POLITICAL CONTROL

MORE VIDEOS

1) Radical Democracy marked by distinct decentralisation

2) Peoples democracy where there is considered to be social & economic equality i.e equitable distribution Eg. China.
They call totalitarian communist systems as democracy

Religious
3) Islamic democracy :: Eg Iran where ppl can participate only if they adhere to Islam.

4) Guided democracy : which needs to be guided by someone (faith figure) Eg: Subarto of Phillippines.

5) Liberal Democracy which is the most acceptable form of D whereas the which has the features of Secularism, Socialism, development, reduction of ineq. etc. Eg: India, USA;

6) Constitutional Dem :: Dem is enshrined in the courts Eg. France

Citizenship:

Nation states - boundaries of nation and state coincide - three major characteristics are sovereignty, citizenship and nationalism.

Nations without state - Chechnya, Kosovo, Palestine - but also peaceful like Quebec, Scotland, Wales.

Mark Smith highlights that the time has come now to stress upon the concept of ecological citizenship in the wake of global ecological crisis.

Transnational citizenship - EU.

Saudi Arabia gave citizenship to Sophia the Robot.

Global citizenship tries to expand our consciousness as citizens of the world. It allows people to be stakeholders in the future of more than one country and culture and in the process tries to obliterate boxed identities defined by blood and soil. It takes us closer to the Upanishadic vision of *Vasudaiva Kutumbakam*.

- Gilroi advocates' national consciousness has become global consciousness which is contradicted by T.K. Oommen who advocates the other way. It's national consciousness which has formed nationalities. Currently, even between Israel & Palestine is a case in point. National consciousness has not disappeared overnightly but it has taken more visible manifestation in the current era of globalisation.

Active citizenship - achievement of rights through social struggle - suffragette movement.
Passive citizenship - handed down from above by the state - India.

Marshall McLuhan predicted the global village in the 1960's. That is now a reality. As sociologists like Manuel Castells argue, we are in the information age. Aided by the flow of people and capital, new social networks are emerging. These seek to imagine a world without borders. Such a world is obviously too cosmopolitan to entertain constricted visions of nationalism. What is needed today is the option to explore multiple identities without creating a hierarchy of them. Global citizenship endorses this view. It allows people to be stakeholders in the future of more than one country and culture. It takes us closer to the Upanishadic vision of *vasudaiva kutumbakam* (entire world is a one family).

Bryan Turner - modern citizenship is largely passive citizenship as no direct democracy.

Yasmin Soysal - with ever increasing globalization, there is a need of more universal concept of citizenship based on 'personhood'.

Cohen - argues that a diaspora can emerge from a growing sense of group ethnic consciousness in different countries, a consciousness that is sustained by, amongst other things, a sense of distinctiveness, common history and a belief in common fate.

The important feature of Marshall's theory was his view that there was a permanent tension or contradiction between the principles of citizenship and the operation of the capitalist market. Capitalism inevitably involves inequalities between social classes, while citizenship involves some redistribution of resources, because of rights, which are shared equally by all.

Marshall's theory has given rise to many disputes. Critics argue that it is a description of the English experience only, and it is not a comparative analysis of citizenship. It has an evolutionary and teleological view of the inevitable expansion of citizenship, and does not examine social processes, which undermine citizenship. It does not address gender differences in the experience of citizenship. It fails to address other types of citizenship, such as economic citizenship; and it is not clear about the causes of the expansion of citizenship. Some sociologists believe that Marshall's argument can be rescued from these criticisms if the original theory is modified.

In **MARSHALL's** approach,
CITIZENSHIP
is defined as....

... a national legal status
that provides a set of rights
and duties to individuals,
sense of belonging and is
intimately related with social
services and protection
offered by the state

STEP FORWARD FROM THIS LIBERAL NOTION

CURRENT APPROACH...

- linked with *cross border*
attributions such as global,
cosmopolitan or transnational

- takes into account social
inequalities

- questions boundaries and
exclusivity of access to
citizenship rights

- promotes formal universal
access to citizenship rights →
urgent challenge

Question No.
(प्रश्न संख्या)

VISION IAS™

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anything this
margin-
(इस भाग में
कुछ ना लिखें)

③(a) 'Globalisation' is the modern world phenomena in which a nation-state is integrated to global economy, society & polity as a whole. It has engulfed the whole world which appear as a single unit. One incident in certain part of world has its visible effect on other due to globalisation itself.

• Globalisation & its effect is currently gaining importance in sociological discourse & political - Sociologists have thrown up light on the ramifications of globalisation on society & nation-state especially

• Glymae advocates globalisation has shifted the power from state to consumers. It's no longer in the hands of nation-states to rule over the choices of its population. Rather, consumers can buy anything from anywhere without intervention of state.

• Sklair rather suggest it's not consumers rather transnational companies (TNCs) which have gained advantage to the fullest. TNCs having its global exposure has taken away the power of states to dictate over the taste & preferences of masses. National boundaries are no constraints in the activities of TNCs. They set up their base across many countries & gain from the rapid globalisation.

Question No.
(प्रश्न संख्या)

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Anthony Giddens suggests globalisation has reduced time space distanciation. It's high modernity from which globalisation has spread its roots & currently affecting everybody's life.

- Modernisation, rapid communication, information technology are the gifts of globalisation which has reduced state's functional autonomy. National boundaries are blurred & national identities have mixed up.

- Poultantzas advocates it's state's relative autonomy which still has some role to play. States still formulate policies to give some concession to masses & perpetuate bourgeoisie dominance.

- Bob Jessop advocates it's operational autonomy of state in which Keynesian welfare state is converted to Schumpeterian workfare post national regime. It's not mass production & consumption itself, rather it's knowledge economy that gives emphasis on innovation.

- Nordlinger advocates it's still state's autonomy that perpetuates. He categorises state autonomy into 3 types in which state either reject, accept or modify the requests of the dominant class.

VISION IAS™

Question No.
(प्रश्न संख्या)

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- Hirst & Thompson are rather sceptical in their approach to globalisation. Globalisation has spreaded its reach like nothing & it's giving maximum benefit to the rich at the cost of poor.

- C. Wright Mills accuses 'USA to be a 'rogue state' of all & its presidents to be biggest autocrat in the era of globalisation. USA due to its structural policy has taken fullest advantage of globalisation & controlled not only own economy rather that of all other nations worldwide. Media, military, all have become slaves of nation's dictatorship. He accuses the 'power elite' i.e. corporate heads, military chief & politicians to be dictators who perpetual their dominance on others.

- Here, while globalisation is taken as a welcome step to reduce state's dictatorship, er autonomy, many sociologists have argued against it. Nevertheless, globalisation have provided opportunities to the citizens to try their footcere in other parts of world breaking the shackles of traditionality. Hence, it can be advocated as a 'necessary evil' which is 'a boon for many & bane for others.

Max weber advocates it's external aggression that converts a nation-state into citizens that binds it's citizens.

• Stuart Hall in his developmental theory glorifies current developments in formation of nation & its binding relationship with it's citizens.

• Marxist scholar, Perli Sanders rather argues national consciousness is a false consciousness which blocks the mind of it's citizens to perpetual dominance.

• Ohmae advocates globalisation has shifted the power to citizens whereas Sklair advocates it's Transnational companies that has captured power in the global world.

• Anthony Giddens calls it "high modernity" which has blurred boundaries of nation state & reduced time-space distanciation

Hence, globalisation as a constant debate among sociologist has actually be it a double-edge sword.

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4. (b) "Citizenship in the globalized world". Critically discuss. 15

Citizenship refers to a formal recognition of the living in a particular state.

From Classical scholars like Plato, Aristotle advocated for citizenship rights based on natural inequality which later became a territorial concept through Hobbes-Locke Social Contract Theory.

concept of Citizenship However, with Globalization Citizenship has transcended territorial and other boundaries but Wallerstein in his World System Theory speaks of global migration and emergence of the trans-national citizen. The Division of Labour having now become an international concept, globalization has encouraged the movement of people across nations such in pursuit of economic opportunities, etc. such that national ties are being blurred. With concepts like dual citizenship, immigration, Work visa, etc.

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Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

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Modernists like Bendix & depict argue that by integrating the world economy, Globalization acts as a unifying force leading to internationalism. This leads to decline in primordial affiliations based on territory, kinship, race, ethnicity, etc.

However, ~~citiz~~ have national citizenship has proved to be dysfunctional too as indicated by Post Modernists like Focoult. ~~in com~~ Forced assimilation of immigrants in many countries, race based discrimination, etc. has led to ethnicization of work (Blauner) ~~to~~ racial conflicts, etc. even in developed countries like the US.

The recent exit of Britain from EU ~~(Bren~~ (Brexit) indicates how anti-immigration agenda is on the rise.

Such disenchantment among minorities, & immigrants, etc has led to religious ~~revival~~ revivalism, ethnic mobilisation, etc.

7 D. Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution

Protest, Agitation, Social Movements:

The term dissent refers to ideas and activities which are different from those prevailing in a society at a given point of time. Differences of opinion and disagreement on certain issues are its base. Dissent is thus the beginning of a movement for change.

When dissent is expressed openly, it assumes the form of protest and agitation. They represent a more crystallized state of opposition and conflict. Purpose is central to an agitation, unlike opposition which is central in protest. Protest is a reaction to an event which has already occurred and an agitation can also be a future course for a protest. Dissent is central to protests, dissatisfaction is central to agitations.

Protest is a social process of opposition against any person, group or even wider society. It may occur at individual or collective level, manifest or latent level and may involve action or inaction as a tool. Some modes of protest are candle light procession, use of black bands, street theatres, songs, poetry, violence and vandalism. It is sometimes instant and reactionary organized action.

Protest seeks to reform rather than replace the existing structure. It is an organized, conscious and collective attempt to bring or to resist social change through non-institutional means. Over a period of time, if protests do not yield result, they can either disappear or evolve into a social movement.

Agitation is a social process which involves intense activity undertaken by an individual or group, in order to fulfil a purpose. Strikes, mass leave, *raasta roko*, rail *roko*, rioting and picketing are some forms. Unlike social movements which are marked by a degree of organization and sustenance, agitations are generally spontaneous and ephemeral. Both protests and agitations can institutionalize to become social movements.

A social movement is defined as a sustained collective action, aimed at bringing or resisting social change outside the sphere of established institutions. They are large informal groupings of individuals and/or organizations focused on specific political or social issues, or in other words, on carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change.

The term "Social Movement" was introduced in 1850 by Lorenz von Stein in his book *"History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present"*.

MSA Rao says that a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization, and is generally oriented towards bringing about change in the existing system. Rao considers ideology as an important component of a social movement.

Turner and Kilhan define social movement as a "collectivity which acts with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part".

Toch emphasizes that a social movement is an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem they feel they share in common.

According to Charles Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics.

Social movements in the beginning do not follow a fixed pattern of hierarchy. They are thus able to innovate new features of organization. Institutionalization would prevent any form of innovation because of its fixed structures.

Key processes behind the history of social movements are - urbanization, industrialization, universalization of education, scientific revolution and democratization.

Types of social movements - reform movements, revolutionary movements, resistance or reactionary movements, migratory movements, revitalization movements.

According to Touraine, social movements have three important functions:

- Mediation - Help to relate the individual to the larger society. Give each person a chance to participate, to express his ideas and to play a role in the process of social change.
- Pressure - Social movements stimulate the formation of organized groups that work systematically to see that their plans and policies are implemented.
- Clarification of collective consciousness - Social movements generate and develop ideas which spread throughout society. As a result, group consciousness arises and grows.

MSA Rao identified three factors relating to the origins of social movements:

- Relative deprivation - example: Naxalite movement.
- Structural strain - When the prevailing value system and the normative structure do not meet the aspirations of the people, the society faces strain. A new value system is sought so as to replace the old, and this leads to conflicts and tension, and a social movement. Usually individuals in such a situation violate the social norms. Example: Women's movements.
- Revitalization - Offers a positive alternative. Movements are started for revitalizing the existing system which is undergoing a structural strain. Urge for revitalization can generate a movement which promotes patriotism and national pride. Youth movements or the literacy movements are other examples. Movements are started in order to solve a problem collectively. Not merely protest against what they define as wrong but also try to provide an alternative.

For a social movement to emerge, people must understand the problem. The problem must be observable and objective, and when a subjective understanding or consciousness of the problem develops, social movement is generated. Leadership and ideology are other necessary factors.

Sources of problems in a social movement:

Spreading the knowledge that exists, free riders. Many social movements are created around some charismatic leader. After the social movement is created, there are two likely phases of recruitment. The first phase will gather the people deeply interested in the 'primary goal' and ideal of the movement. The second phase, which will usually come after the given movement had some successes and would look good on a résumé. People who join in this second phase will likely be the first to leave when the movement suffers any setbacks and failures. Eventually, the social crisis can be encouraged by outside elements, like opposition from government or other movements. However, many movements had survived a failure crisis, being revived by some hardcore activists even after several decades.

Components of social movements - objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership and organization.

Life cycle of a social movement:

- Stage 1 reflects the social unrest present in society. Collective tension builds up.
- Stage 2 in which collective excitement can be witnessed in the society, where people feel they have a problem in common. Certain social conditions are identified as the root cause of the misery and excitement sets in. The movement gains support and a guiding ideology. Agitation rise everywhere. This period is generally brief and leads quickly to action.
- Stage 3 is the formalization stage, though some movements like migratory movements may be able to operate without formal organization. Division of work among leaders and followers. Fund raising is systematized and ideology becomes clearer than before. The strategy and tactics for protest and for action are drawn and a moral justification for having adopted a particular course of action is established.
- Stage 4 is one of institutionalization. The movement crystallizes into a definite pattern. Efficient bureaucrats replace agitators; buildings, offices are established. The aims of the movement become accepted in that society. This period may last indefinitely.
- Stage 5 is one of dissolution. Only some movements achieve full institutionalization. Some movements end early while some dissolve after the objective has been achieved.

Collective Action and Revolution:

Theda Skocpol - A revolution (from the Latin *revolutio*, "a turnaround") is a fundamental change in political power or organizational structures that takes place in a relatively short period of time, when the population rises up against the current authorities. A revolution leads to a major process of reform or change.

Neil Smelser - when the equilibrium in society is disturbed, revolutions take place.

Revolution involves the threat or use of violence on the part of those participating. Revolutions are political changes brought about in the face of opposition from the pre-existing authorities who cannot be persuaded to relinquish their power without the threatened or actual use of violence means.

Collective action itself can simply be defined as people acting together in pursuit of interests they share - for example, gathering to demonstrate in support of their cause. Some of these people may be intensely involved, others may lend more passive or irregular support. Effective collective action, such as action that culminates in revolution, usually moves through stages 1 to 4.

Typical models of collective action and protest vary with historical and cultural circumstances. In today's society, for example, most people are familiar with forms of demonstration such as mass marches, large assemblies and street riots, whether or not they have participated in such activities. Other types of collective protest, however, have become less common or have disappeared altogether in most modern societies (such as fights between villages, machine breaking or lynching). Protesters can also build on examples taken from other countries; for instance, guerrilla movements proliferated in various parts of the world once disaffected groups learned how successful guerrilla actions can be against regular armies.

Tilly concludes that most collective violence occurrences depend not so much on the nature of the activity as on other factors - in particular, how the authorities respond. In his words, 'In the modern

European experience, repressive forces are themselves the most consistent initiator and performers of collective violence'.

For Tilly, a revolution is an outcome of a power struggle between competing interest groups. Revolutionary movements, according to him, are a type of collective action that occurs in situations what Tilly calls multiple sovereignty - these occur when a government for some reason lacks full control over the areas it is supposed administer. Multiple sovereignty can arise as a result of external war, internal political clashes, or these two combined. Whether a revolutionary takeover of power is accomplished depends on how far the ruling authorities maintain control over the armed forces, the extent of conflicts within ruling groups and the level of organization of the protest movements trying to seize power.

Tilly says little, however, about the circumstances that lead to multiple sovereignty. According to Theda Skocpol, Tilly assumes that revolutionary movements are guided by the conscious and deliberate pursuit of interests, and successful processes of revolutionary change occur when people manage to realize these interests. Skocpol, by contrast, sees revolutionary movements as more ambiguous and indecisive in their objectives. Revolutions, she emphasizes, largely emerge as unintended consequences of more partial aims. In fact, in historical revolutions, differently situated and motivated groups have become participants in complex unfolding of multiple conflicts. These conflicts have been powerfully shaped and limited by existing social, economic and international conditions. And they have proceeded in different ways depending upon how each revolutionary situation emerged in the first place.

Herbert Blumer uses the term collective action to refer to social processes and events which do not reflect existing social structure (laws, conventions, and institutions), but which emerge in a "spontaneous" way.

Locher - Collective behavior is always driven by group dynamics, encouraging people to engage in acts they might consider unthinkable under typical social circumstances.

Herbert Blumer's classification of forms of collective action:

- Crowd - crowds are emotional. But a crowd is capable of any emotion, not only the negative ones like anger and fear. Joy can also be seen as an emotion.
- Public - Park distinguishes the crowd, which expresses a common emotion, from a public, which discusses a single issue. Thus, a public is not equivalent to all of the members of a society. To Park and Blumer, there are as many publics as there are issues.
- Mass - It differs from both the crowd and the public in that it is defined not by a form of interaction but by the efforts of those who use the mass media to address an audience.
- Social Movement - They are large, sometimes informal, groupings of individuals or organizations which focus on specific political or social issues. In other words, they carry out, resist or undo a social change. Social movements are not eternal. They have a life cycle - they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.

Goodwin distinguishes between conservative (reformist) and radical revolutionary movements. American or Mexican revolutionary movements belong to the first type and French, Russian and Arab to the second.

P1 - 7 d. Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution

Social movements, in Tilly's view, tend to develop as means of mobilizing group resources either when people have no institutionalized means of making their voices heard or when their needs are directly repressed by the state authorities. They are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics - 3 elements - campaigns, repertoire of methods, WUCN displays = worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment.

Stouffer - only relatively deprived people go for movements, protests, agitations - fully satisfied are not interested, absolutely deprived lack the power.

Doug McAdam and David Snow - social movement contains 5 elements - collective action, an orientation towards change, a degree of organization, a degree of temporal continuity, institutional or non-institutional action.

Social change (Sanskritization, westernization) is continuous and ongoing - sum of countless individual and collective actions across time and space - movements are directed towards a specific goal - social movements are concentrated, preplanned action, a sense of collective identity.

In a revolution, in Hegelian / Marxian terminology, quantitative to qualitative change occurs. Social movement on the other hand, leads to change in structure. Coup is a change in political leadership by force. Rebellion is replacing one dominant class by another and nothing else changes, it also happens by force.

David Aberle - 4 types - alternative (self-improvement and limited - planned parenthood), redemptive (Alcoholics Anonymous), reformative (trade union for worker rights), revolutionary.

Old - economic and political rights
New - women, LGBT, peace - 1960s after - focus on identity, social and culture
Millenarian - *Kalki* will come, spiritual religious movements
Utopian movement - Kibbutz in Israel, Sarvodaya
Expressive movement - Hippie

Herbert Blumer theory of social unrest and he sees social movements as agents of social change - 2 types - general movement (women) and specific movement (abortion) + 1 more type - expressive
Movements can be outwardly directed for radical change or inwardly directed to change the people involved
4 stages - social ferment, popular excitement, formalization, institutionalization
Emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, decline ---> success, failure, cooption, repression, become mainstream
Blumer uses an interactionist approach to explain how people make an understanding of their situation and form collective groups to change their cause of agitation and bring about social change.

Social movement is a kind of collective action that attempts to bring change or resist it.

Morrison - relative deprivation theory - individuals who are lacking some goods or access to resources - Dalit movement.

McCarthy and Zeld - resource mobilization theory - but Chipko without any resources.

William Kornhauser - mass society theory - people who feel isolated and insignificant within a society are attracted to social movements - feel a sense of belongingness - women movement.

Political process theory, strain

Willian Gamsung studied 53 movements from 1830 to 1930 - 4 categories seen: preempted, coopted, fully successful, collapse failure.

MSA Rao: 3 types of social movements:
- Reforms movement - partial transformation in the value system without trying to change the society as a whole - Bhakti, Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj
- Transformative movement - try to bring change to traditional distribution of power - SNDP, Mahar movement
- Revolutionary movement - radical change in cultural and social systems is sought - Russian Revolution, Communist Revolution China

JH Turner added 2 more types:
- Reactionary movement - similar to transformative
- Expressive movement - individual tries to come to terms with unpleasant external reality y modifying their reaction to it - Hippies

Touraine has classified it into 8 types based on against whom this movement is waged and social knowledge behind it - these are - i) Relative deprivation ii) changing order social order iii) Control over culture iv) Nationalist - historical v) Political vi) Protecting privilege vii) neo - communist etc

A 'Social Movement' has the following characteristics:

- A social movement is deliberate, intentional, and planned in accordance with the goals and targets it aims to achieve. The efforts are made as per the strategy adopted by the concerned social movement organization.
- A social movement is a collective endeavour and not the resultant of an individual's efforts. It involves collective action as different from individual action. "However, when the collective action is somewhat sustained, as distinct from a sporadic occurrence, it does take the form of a movement. This collective action, however, need not be formally organized, but should be able to create an interest and awakening in a sufficiently large number Of people. Hence, a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization."
- A social movement is directed towards change relating to a specific aspect at hand with the given 'movement' organization. The change aimed at could be partial or complete in some statutes, norms, traditions, and values.
- Most of the social movements have some ideological base. It is the ideology which has been made as a base for attracting people to join a movement and work in accordance with the specified targets and goals.
- For running its activities properly, the social movement has an organization. It cannot be as formal as a government or private organization. It is rather a loose, informal or partial organization. Without having any organizational base it becomes difficult for the social movement to go ahead with its activities.
- Social movements have the active participation of the followers or members. They have voluntarily joined the movement in order to protect their interests. For achieving the purpose of their joining, it is a must that they actively participate in its activities.

Types of Social Movements:

- Alternative social movement - hippie
- Redemptive - religious conversion
- Reformist - sati
- Revolutionary - French, Russian
- Transformative
- Migratory - nation for Jews
- Resistance or reactionary - Islamic fundamentalists
- Expressive
- Utopian - Israeli Kibutz

Dissatisfaction --> Disenchantment --> Protest --> Social Movement - discontent theory of rise of social movements

Mancur Olson's book *The Logic of Collective Action* argues that a social movement is an aggregation of rational individual actors pursuing their self-interest. A person will join a social movement only if s/he will gain something from it. S/he will participate only if the risks are less than the gains. Olson's theory is based on the notion of the rational, utility-maximizing individual.

McCarthy and Zald's proposed resource mobilization theory rejected Olson's assumption that social movements are made up of individuals pursuing their self-interest. Instead, they argued that a social movement's success depends on its ability to mobilize resources or means of different sorts. If a movement can muster resources such as leadership, organizational capacity, and communication facilities, and can use them within the available political opportunity structure, it is more likely to be effective. Critics argue that a social movement is not limited by existing resources. It can create resources such as new symbols and identities. As numerous poor people's movements show, scarcity of resources need not be a constraint. Even with an initial limited material resources and organizational base, a movement can generate resources through the process of struggle.

Social conflict does not automatically lead to collective action. For such action to take place, a group must consciously think or identify themselves as oppressed beings. There has to be an organization, leadership, and a clear ideology. Often, however, social protest does

not follow on these lines. People may have a clear idea of how they are exploited, but they are often unable to challenge this through overt political mobilization and protest. In his book *Weapons of the Weak*, James Scott analyzed the lives of peasants and labourers in Malaysia. Protest against injustice took the form of small acts such as being deliberately slow. These kinds of acts have been defined as everyday acts of resistance.

Maladjustment theory of rise of social movements - Eric Hauffer - wrote *"True Believer"* - disabled, criminals, hippies, recently pauperized, linguistic minorities are the ones initiating / participating in social movements - because they are not properly integrated in the system and hence seek to change the system.

Relative deprivation, a feeling that you deserve better and that the existing means are useless - social movement is formed - relative deprivation theory - but issue being sometimes people cannot participate due time, or those who do not feel deprived will participate for their friends, etc. - by Stauffer.

Resource mobilization theory - money, material, influence, access to media, leader - Martin Luther King Jr. - by Tilly.

Rational Choice Theory - people weigh pro and con - but all choices may not be rational, and people may not be aware of result of choice

Same movement different culture - LGBT normal agitation in USA, revolution in Middle East.

Successful social movements become integrated into the dominant society.

ROLE OF LEADERSHIP AND IDEOLOGY IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements constitute people's efforts to organize themselves to light against inequalities, discrimination and deprivation. Widespread collective mobilization has led to organized movements with defined ideologies and leaders who have brought important changes in the societies from which they originate.

- Leaders are important for movements because THEY HELP CLARIFY THE ISSUES and THUS SHAPE THE MOVEMENT.
- PROVIDE GUIDANCE to a movement.
- PREVENT IT FROM Becoming A DESPERATE, UNRULY collection of people.
- Leadership is expected to REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE PEOPLE.
- Leaders ARTICULATE THE VIEWS of the participants.
- They PRESENT PEOPLES VIEW IN AN ORGANIZED MANNER.
- How the participant attempt to achieve the stated objectives will be largely determined by the leadership the movement can throw up.

Ideology:
- People follow the leader because of what he represents i.e. the ideas that he places before the people.
- Ideology plays a role in SUSTAINING THE MOVEMENT.
- It helps in UNDERSTANDING A SITUATION.
- It LEGITIMIZES ACTIONS perused by the people.
- Ideology makes people UNDERSTAND AND JUSTIFY THE IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR ACTIONS.
- Ideology indicates THE GOALS, MEANS ANO FORMS OF PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES of social groups and of individuals.
- It supplies the JUSTIFICATION FOR VARIOUS SOCIAL, POLITICAL ANO MORAL IDEALS.
- Ideology DISTINGUISHES A SOCIAL MOVEMENT FROM MERE INSTANCES.
- Leaders operate within ideological framework.

Terrorism:

- Like revolution, outside law but intends on creating environment of fear and terror
- Paul Johnson - 4 characteristics of terrorism - Bypass established channels of negotiation, not just by groups but also by state, democracies are most vulnerable to terrorism, may be a matter of definition (today's terrorists maybe freedom fighters of tomorrow).

Sovereignty:

Hinsley - "Sovereignty implies an idea that there is a final and absolute political authority in the political community and that no final and absolute authority exists elsewhere.

Thomas Hobbes - Social contract by all individuals. Relinquish all powers and rights to a sovereign entity. Leviathan, which in exercise of this supreme power would secure conditions of peaceful and commodious living.

Rousseau - Sovereignty of people is when citizens are obligated to only rules and laws which they have prescribed for themselves.

David Held - Sovereignty is the supreme law making and decision making power of the community. Thus ultimate source of sovereignty is people.

Characteristics of sovereignty:

Absoluteness, Exclusiveness, Permanence, Universality, Inalienability, Invincible.

Can be internal (those from inside see it as sovereign) or external sovereignty (from outside too).
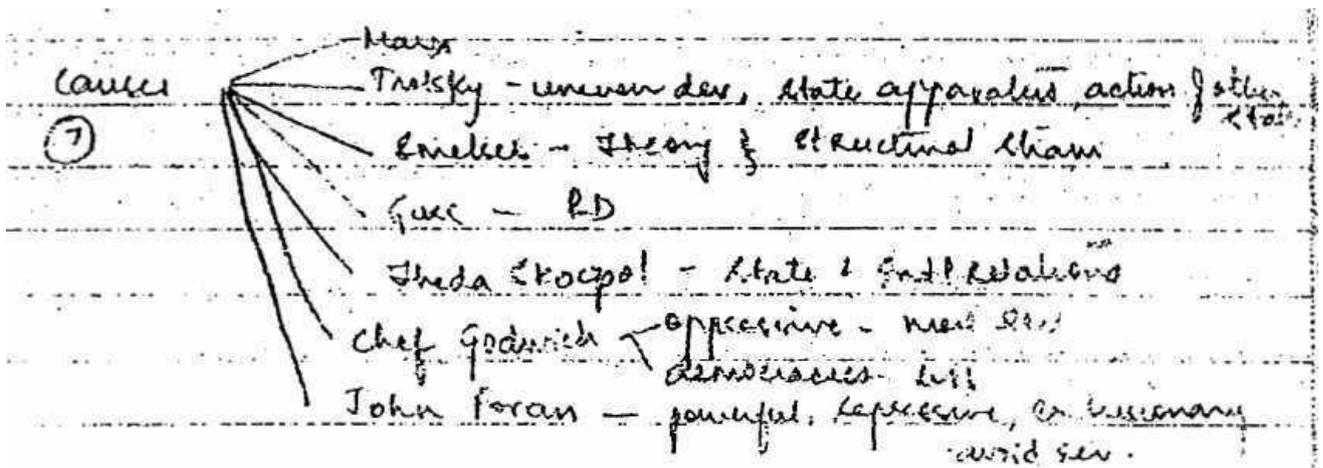

Revolution:

Samuel Huntington - Revolutions are rapid and fundamental transformation of a society's social, economic and political structures.

Types of revolutions:
- Limited revolutions - state structure is changed but socio-economic aspects are not drastically altered
- Revolution from above - elites capture power and drastic social transformation happens - Meiji, Kemal Ala Tuq
- Development from below - India
- Failed revolution

	Social Movement	Revolution
Scope	Its scope is context specific.	Its scope involves a radical change.
Nature	Usually a social movement is long drawn, sustained and organised.	Abrupt in nature, though organised, but it is sui-generis.
Methods	Various forms of peaceful agitations, propaganda to violence are used.	Usually violent, but can be non-violent too.
Semantics	It is a broader term.	It is a particular type of social movement.
Orientation	Change in system.	Change of system.
Example	Peasant movements in India.	Arab Spring in Tunisia, French Revolution and Russian Revolution.

New Social Movements:

Social Movements:
- Are networks of organizations and unorganized people who work together in loosely formed coalitions for common purpose.
- Social movements go beyond activities of interest groups.
- Often do not question legitimacy of regimes.

    The effects of post-materialism:
- Important changes are occurring on the fringes of the electoral mainstream.
- The growing role of women playing in political life.
- A new type of middle-class New Social Movement .
- Examples: The Feminist Movement, the Queer Movement, Civil Rights Movement, the Peace Movement, the Green Movement.

- Numerous social movements from mid-1960s.
- Instead of pushing for specific changes in public policy emphasize social changes in identity, lifestyle and culture .
- Emphasize concepts such as identity, culture and the role of the civic sphere.
- More importance is attached to social and cultural concerns, rather than economic or political considerations.
- Actors are from a new middle class, instead of from the lower classes, as was typical of social movements of the industrial economy.
- NSMs consist of informal, loosely organized social networks of supporters rather than members and tend to be locally-based.
- Example- feminist movement, the ecology movement or "greens," the youth movement and the peace movement.
- Social movements considered new in terms of:
    - breadth of their goals
    - kinds of people they attracted
    - potential for going global

- promote rights of humanity - Environmental movement and peace movement.
- promote rights of particular groups historically excluded from full social participation - women's movement, LGBT.
- The main feature of is that they are primarily social and cultural.
- According to Habermas new social movement are the new politics which is about quality of life, individual self-realization and human rights.
- Are located in civil society or the cultural sphere as a major arena for collective action rather than instrumental action in the state.

Classifying New Social Movements:

Simon Hallsworth identifies 2 types of NSM based the types of issue they promote:
    1. NSMs which are focused on defending aspects of the natural and social environment - e.g. environmentalism, the peace movement, animal rights.
    2. NSMs which are focused on gaining equal rights for minority and marginalized groups — feminism, civil rights, gay rights, disability rights.
He says that New social movements are based on certain issues. These issues can be of two types: Promotional and protective.

New features of social movements by Simon Hallsworth
- Extended definition of what is political to even households, individual prejudices etc.
- No central leadership
- Reject bureaucratic structures in favour of more informal structures

Anthony Giddens - As modernity has moved into phase what he calls high modernity, it has 4 features: Capitalism, Industrialism, Surveillance, Military power - Social movements are of 4 types correspondingly: Labour movements, Ecological movements, Free speech/democratic movements, Peace movements respectively.

Animal rights, anti-nuclear groups, civil rights, LGBT movements, disability environments.

1960s-1970s - 1st wave of feminism
1980s - organizations - 2nd wave
Now - 3rd wave

Environmentalism:
The 'green' ideas about the relationship between society and nature
Two types of environmentalism:
    - Wilderness Movement - focuses on the health of the planet- the wilderness, forests and oceans that cannot protect themselves.
    - Environmental justice movement- concerned with the environmental hazards and social and economic inequalities faced by the poor (black community).

Peace movement:
Seeks to achieve ideals such as the ending of a particular war (or all wars), minimize inter-human violence in a particular place or type of situation, and is often linked to the goal of achieving world peace. Means to achieve these ends include advocacy of pacifism, non-violent

resistance, diplomacy, boycotts, peace camps, moral purchasing, supporting anti-war political candidates.

Old and new Social Movements

Since the late 1960s or so, there has been a spurt of social movements across the world and there was a diversity of movements like students movements of 1960s, feminist movements of 1970s, gay right movements of 1980s and gay right movements of 1990s. French sociologist Alain Touraine coined the term *New Social Movement* in 1975. They collectively fall under the category of New Social Movement (NSM). They are *new* because they have new issues, new organisation, new social constituencies, new methods.

The *Old Social Movements* clearly saw reorganisation of power relations as a central goal. The old social movements functioned within the frame of political parties. For example, The Indian National Congress led the Indian National Movement and The Communist Party of China led the Chinese Revolution. In the old social movements, the role of political parties or a political ideology was central.

NSM were not about changing the distribution of power in society, but about the quality-of-life issues such as having a clean environment. New Social Movements are significantly different from previous social movements of the industrial economy.

GLOBALISATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Globalisation has made genuine global social movements possible. People are able to join together through networks of human rights organisation, internet, humanitarian group, NGOs, environmental groups and so on. Organisation of global level protest against Iraq War in 2003, protests against WTO, organisation of World Social Forum parallel to the World Economic Forum, public mobilisation against violence in Syria and Middle East in 2012, etc. are some examples of global scale of social movements.

I. According to Habermas in his *New Social Movements, 1981*, the new social movements are the *new politics* which is about the quality of life, individual self-realisation and human rights whereas the *old politics* focus on economic, political, and military security.

II. Some NSM theorists, like Frank Parkin, in his *Middle Class Radicalism, 1968*, argue that the key actors in these movements are different as well, as they are more likely to come from the new middle class rather than the lower classes. Thus, they have new social constituency belonging to artists, youths, students, middle income groups and so on.

III. The primary difference is in their goals, as the new movements focus not on the issues of materialistic qualities such as economic well-being, but on issues related to human rights and other liberal ideals of society (such as gay rights or pacifism). The new movements, instead of pushing for specific changes in public policy, emphasise social changes in identity, lifestyle and culture. They were not primarily constructed around social class or concerned with economic redistribution. Nor did they function like interest groups and they generally had quite broad agendas.

IV. The most noticeable feature of new social movements is that they are primarily social and cultural and only secondarily, if any, political. They didn't seek to take over state, but work at a cultural level to bring social change.

They employed new organisational forms and means of mobilisation. Unlike pressure groups that have a formal organisation and *members*, NSMs consist of an informal, loosely organised social network of *supporters* rather than members in an organised manner. Paul Byrne described New Social Movements as *relatively disorganised* or *polycephalous* or multi-headed.

Their methodologies were also different and they use a variety of them. They use methodologies from political lobbying to sit-ins and alternative festivals. But, the most distinctive feature of these is their non-violent and symbolic direct action. They aim to capture moral high ground and also use mass media extensively.

NSM are a testimony that while faith in traditional politics is waning, citizens are rising themselves to take direct action and becoming more participative. They have helped in revitalising democracy in its existing framework. New social movements have elements of old as well and one cannot put the two in watertight compartments. Gail Omvedt, in her book *Reinventing Revolution, 1993* points out that concerns about social inequality and the unequal distribution of resources continue to be important elements in these movements.

However, NSM are criticised because many of their features were also present in the old social movements as well. Further, many of social movements have institutionalised themselves as well, for example, in the case of PETA, Greenpeace and Gay Liberation Front.

Millenarian Movement

It refers to a class of movements, generally the religious ones, which often originate in times of turmoil and rapid change involving disruption of traditional norms. Situations of plague, famine, drought, etc. used to create such conditions in the past. They are also found in urban areas which are expanding rapidly and where traditional norms are undermined. They promise redemption or sudden transformation of the world and soon. Their ideology is derived from the religious beliefs or scriptures or cultic beliefs which hail arrival of a saviour. In Christianity, it is believed that Christ will descend on earth from heaven and will rule for thousand years. Similarly, Hindus believe that Vishnu will re-incarnate as a saviour in the form of *Kalki* in Kaliyug to end the evil order. Many other religions also have similar beliefs. An Islamic example is the support for the Mahdi in Sudan in 1880s.

As a result of prophetic events, adherents of such movements start to organise themselves in organisations to prepare themselves for prophetic changes. Millenarian movements prophesy a merger of the world of supernatural and the world of man, in a new order, free from pain, death, sin and all human imperfections. Such movements have occurred in many areas of the world and at all levels of society, but they are more common among the deprived group.

According to David Aberle – '*A sense of blockage, of the insufficiency of ordinary action is the source of more supernaturally based millenarian movements*'. Ghost Dance Religion of Tetons of Sioux, Cargo Cult of South Pacific Islanders, etc. are examples of such Millenarian Movements. In India, Birsa Munda led tribal movement is also an example of such a movement, in which, the tribals believed that Munda is their divine saviour. In colonial nations, such movements occurred frequently as they promised liberation from suffering.

Marxian view of religion as a response to exploitation and oppression also helps to explain such movements. According to Engels, '*Such movements are an indication of awakening of proletarian self-consciousness and they are an attempt of the proletariat to change the unjust order*'.

- New Social Movements are first and foremost <u>social</u>, unlike 'old' social movements they are not obsessed with the Economic or Political aspects.

- They are product of the <u>post-Industrial society</u>. They emerged in the west around

1960s (Roughly around the time when New Religious movements emerged).

- They are not about citizenship rights as such but more about active citizenry who is concerned about the social condition of the human beings.

- Unlike old social movements like the Proletarian Revolution (October Revolution) in Russia, which was driven by the Lower class, New Social Movements are carried by the emerging Middle class.

- Eg: Women's movement
  Ecological movement
  Environmental movement

  - They are concerned with values and not necessarily they seek power (like Backward class Movement) or control over material Resources. (like Proletariat movement)

- However, their structure is loose; with no clearly defined features and leadership.

8 A. Sociological theories of religion

Religion is a cultural system of commonly shared beliefs and rituals that provides a sense of ultimate meaning and purpose by creating an idea of reality that is sacred, all-encompassing and supernatural.

Functional definition by Yinger - Religion is a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with the ultimate problems of human life.

Substantive definition is concerned with the content of religion rather than its functions or purpose - Durkheim defined religion in terms of a distinction between the sacred and the profane. Sacred objects produce a sense of awe, veneration and respect, whereas profane objects do not.

Sociology versus philosophy versus theology of religion:

Sociology of religion does not ask, whether God exists. Rather, sociology of religion asks, if people believe that God exists, 'why do they believe', 'how do they come to believe?' 'how do they describe their God?' and 'is there any relationship between their description of God and their social conditions?'

Philosophy has many specializations like metaphysics, epistemology and ethics. Metaphysics is, broadly put, the study of the abstract. As a metaphysician, a philosopher or religion has to deduce arguments for and against the existence of God. Epistemology is a study of the 'basis' of knowledge. Accordingly, as an epistemologist, a philosopher of religion examines the possibility of knowing God through various means.

Theologians are necessarily believers. They believe in the existence of God (in whatever from it may be) and try to understand the nature of divine beings by studying the faith of its believers. By analyzing the people's experience of God, theologians try to understand God and God's plans.

Evolutionary Theory:

It is concerned about the origin of religion and its basic purpose.

Comte - three stages of evolution of any society sees theological as the first stage. Religion originated from human consciousness to give answers to questions about the unknown. It served to satisfy human inquisitiveness. With the advent of science, the very same questions will be explained and answered differently. This renaissance led by science will lead to disappearance of religion from the society. Thus, he sees an interlinkage between advancement of human consciousness, progress of human society and displacement of religion with the rise of rationality.

Spencer - gave the 'Ghost Theory' of religion. He believes that primitives got the idea of a person's duality from dreams, which were considered as real-life experiences by them. They believed that the dream-self moves about at night while the shadow-self acts by the day. This notion of duality is reinforced by peoples' experiences of temporary loss of sensibilities and the permanent death. The idea of ghosts grew into idea of God. Ghosts of ancestors were considered divine. Thus, ancestor worship is root of all religions. Spencer views God and religion as the product of human fear. With the growth of

science, man develops the ability and confidence to face nature and its calamities. He is no more afraid of diseases or disasters. He is able to manipulate nature. This will lead to loss of fear, and hence the decline of religion.

EB Tylor - he also views an evolutionary process and divides human history into three stages - magical, religious and scientific. He believes that all three answer questions of the human mind, and each stage represents a more developed human consciousness. It also shows a movement from a tribal society to a medieval society and finally to a modern society. Animism.

James Frazer - He wrote about magical and religious practices in different cultures of the world. He talks about two types of magic - Homeopathic Magic (driven by the 'Law of Similarity') and Contagious Magic (driven by the 'Law of Contact' - example: Jumi women of Maoris are clean shaven so that no one can steal their hair and use it for black magic). He believes that magic and science are not logically different, rather science is an advancement of magic. Magic was also a means to coming to terms with the supernatural and gaining control over the environment. Both are based on human consciousness and where magic ends, science starts.

AE Crawley argues that religion is built around taboo and is a product of fear.

RH Lowie sees religion as a response to awe and amazement. Magic and emotion make religion, while magic with no emotions makes science.

Functionalist Perspective: - This perspective examines religion in terms of society's needs. Society requires a certain degree of social solidarity, value consensus, harmony and integration between its parts and religion makes contributions to meeting such functional prerequisites.

Emile Durkheim:

The sacred and the profane: In *'The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life'*, Durkheim argued that all societies divide the world into two categories - the sacred and the profane. Religion is based upon this division. It is a unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things - things that are set apart and forbidden. A tree, a pebble, anything can be sacred. There is nothing about the particular qualities of these things that make them sacred. Sacred things must be symbols, must represent something. The relationship between sacred symbols and what they represent, helps to understand the role of religion in society.

Totemism: Durkheim called the religion of various clans of Australian Aborigines, totemism. It is the simplest and most basic form of religion according to him. Each clan has a totem, usually a plant or an animal. The totem is a symbol of the clan and is represented by drawings or 'churingas' made on wood or stone. However, the totem is also the most sacred object in Aborigine ritual. It is 'the outward and visible form of the totemic principle or God.' Durkheim argued that as the totem is at once the symbol of God and of the society, in worshipping God, people are in fact worshipping society. Society is the real object of religious veneration. Sacred things are considered superior in power to profane things, and particularly to man. Humans are inferior and dependent on them. This relationship between humanity and sacred things is exactly the relationship between humanity and society. Totems are used because it is easier for a person to visualize and direct his feelings of awe towards a symbol then towards a complex thing like a clan.

Religion and the 'collective conscience': Durkheim believed that social life was impossible without the shared values and beliefs that form the collective conscience. In their absence, there would be no social order, social control, social solidarity or cooperation. In short, there would be no society. Religion reinforces the collective conscience. Worship of the society, provides it with greater power to direct human action. It recognizes the importance of the social group and man's dependence upon it. Religion thus strengthens the unity of the group and promotes social solidarity. Durkheim also emphasized the importance of collective worship.

Critique:

1. He studied only a small number of Aboriginal tribes, hence generalization may be incorrect; It is more relevant to small, non-literate societies where there is a close integration of culture and social institutions, and where members share a common belief and value system.
2. He overstates the degree to which the collective conscience permeates and shapes the behavior of the society, this is especially seen in multi-faith societies.
3. Overstresses social order and continuity instead of social dynamism and transformation.
4. Gives no importance to individual and emotional needs of human beings in seeking religion.
5. Views religion as essentially reductionist, thus rejecting spirituality embedded in it.

Bronislaw Malinowski:

'Magic, Religion and Science' - His work in the Trobriand Islands provided him with insights on religion in a small, non-literate society. Like Durkheim, he sees religion as reinforcing social norms and values and promoting social solidarity. However, he does not see religion as reflecting society as a whole or religious ritual as worship of society. He sees religion as being concerned with situations of emotional stress that threaten social solidarity.

Religion and life crises: Anxiety and tension tend to disrupt social life. Situations that produce these emotions include crises of life such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. Death is the most disruptive of these events and Malinowski sees the comfort and support provided to the bereaved as a way to check their emotions. It controls the stress and anxiety that might disrupt society. Death is socially destructive, and at a funeral ceremony the social group unites to support the bereaved, and thus expresses social solidarity which reintegrates society.

Religion, prediction and control: Events that cannot be fully controlled or predicted also produce tension and anxiety. Malinowski noted that such events were surrounded by ritual, which he sees as a form of religious practice. For example: When the Trobrianders went fishing in the calm waters of the lagoon, where catch was easy and abundant, there were no rituals attached to it. However, when they went fishing in the open sea, where the weather was uncertain and the catch was unpredictable, it was preceded by rituals to ensure a good catch and protect the fishermen. Thus, rituals reduce anxiety by providing confidence and a feeling of control. These rituals are also a social event, where the group unites to deal with situations of stress and further strengthens the group unity.

Critique:

He exaggerates the importance of religious rituals in helping people to cope with situations of stress and uncertainty. Tambiah points out that elaborate rituals are also associated with the cultivation of taro

and yams on the Trobriand Islands. This is related to the fact that these are used by men as payment to their sisters' husbands. Men who fail to do so show that they are unable to fulfil significant social obligations. These rituals are therefore simply related to the maintenance of prestige in that society and have little to do with cementing solidarity or dealing with uncertainty and danger.

Talcott Parsons:

Religion and value consensus: Parsons argues that human action is directed and controlled by norms provided by the social system. The cultural system provides more general guidelines for action in the form of beliefs, values and systems of meaning. The norms are integrated and patterned by the cultural system's values and beliefs. Religion is part of the cultural system and religious beliefs provide guidelines for human action and standards against which people's conduct can be evaluated.

For example: The Ten Commandments demonstrate how many of the norms of the social system can be integrated by religious beliefs. The commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' integrates diverse norms that direct behavior which prohibits manslaughter, murder and euthanasia.

Religion and social order: Parsons also sees religion as being addressed to particular problems that occur in all societies and disrupt social life. These problems fit into two categories. The first consists of 'events which individuals cannot foresee and prepare for, or control, or both'. One such event is premature death. Here, Parsons sees religion as a mechanism for adjustment to such events and as a means of restoring the normal pattern of life.

The second problem area is that of 'uncertainty.' This refers to endeavours in which a great deal of effort and skill has been invested, but where unknown or uncontrollable factors can threaten a successful outcome. Example: inability to predict or control the effect of weather upon agriculture. Here, religion provides a means of adjusting and coming to terms with such situations through rituals which act as a 'tonic to self-confidence.'

In this way, religion maintains social stability by relieving the tension and frustration that could disrupt social order.

Religion and meaning: As a part of the cultural system, religious beliefs give meaning to life, and answer "man's questions about himself and the world he lives in." Social life is full of contradictions that threaten the meanings people place on life, and religion helps to 'make sense' of all experiences, no matter how meaningless or contradictory they appear. Example: "Why do men suffer deprivation and pain?" "Why does evil go unpunished?" Religion provides meaning to events that people do not expect, or feel ought not to happen and this allows intellectual and emotional adjustment. And this adjustment promotes order and stability in the society.

Radcliffe Brown argues that religious ceremonies, for example, in the form of communal dancing, promoted unity and harmony and functioned to enhance social solidarity and the survival of the society. Religious beliefs contained in myths and legends, he observes, express the social values of the different objects which have a major influence on social life such as food, weapons, day and night etc. They form the value consensus around which society is integrated.

Kingsley Davis argues that religious beliefs form the basis for socially valued goals and a justification of them. Religion provides a common focus for identity and an unlimited source of rewards and punishments for behavior.

Merton, a twentieth century functionalist, introduced the concept of dysfunction. Talking about religion, for instance, he pointed out the dysfunctional features of religion in a multi-religious society. In such a society religion, instead of bringing about solidarity, could become the cause of disorganization and disunity.

Odea and Yinger, Joan Davies - contemporary functionalists who talk of "Personal Experience of God." Thus, one is not expected to justify his faith in God and to what extent in modern society. They believe that transcendental belief, faith in supernatural force and rituals constitute the essential ingredients of religion in today's world. It does not have a collective appeal; rather different people find different forms of these ingredients appealing. However, it is argued that the ultimate experience is the same. Path chosen for divinity is different, but the benefits obtained are similar. Gaps are created by science and these are filled by religion and vice versa. Thus, religion is functional and there is a mutual coexistence of religion and science.

Critique of the functionalist approach:

It emphasizes the positive contributions of religion to society and tends to ignore its dysfunctional aspects. With its preoccupation with harmony, integration and solidarity, functionalism neglects the many instances where religion can be seen as a divisive and disruptive force. It gives little consideration to hostility between different religious groups within the same society, or the internal divisions within a community over religious matters or the multiple religious conflicts throughout the history.

Maintains the status quo, promotes fatalism and pessimism, acts as an obstacle to progress and development. Hinders promotion of human intellect.

Secularization - What is viewed as secularization in other theories is seen as simply religious change in functionalist terms. Functionalist theorists argue that religion takes different forms in apparently secular societies. It is more individualized, less tied to religious institutions. The character of modern industrial capitalist society, particularly its rampant individualism, is thus seen to be expressed in the differentiated character of religion in a society like the USA. Although seemingly having little basis for integration, the celebration of individualism is itself an integrating feature of such diverse religious forms. Moreover, new and distinctive forms of religion may perform latent functions for the system by deflecting adherents from critical appraisal of their society and its distribution of rewards.

Communism - In anti-religious societies such as some communist states, this argument cannot hold, but here it is claimed that functional alternatives to traditional religion operate. Other systems of belief such as communism itself fulfill the same role as religion. National ceremonials, ritual celebration of communist victories, heroes, etc., meet the same need for collective rites, which reaffirm common sentiments and promote enhanced commitment to common goals.

Marxist Perspective:

From Marx's point of view, religion is a form of mystification - a distortion of the real relationship between people and inanimate objects. Through religion, humans project personal characteristics onto the impersonal forces of nature - they create Gods whom they believe to have control over nature. This renders nature potentially open to manipulation by humans, for example through prayer or sacrifice. To Marx, this is a form of alienation. People create imaginary beings or forces which stand above them and control their behavior.

Marx believed that religion was rooted in societies that alienated and exploited their members, and when such societies were superseded, religion would no longer be necessary. The proletariat would remove the need for religion by replacing the oppressive capitalist society with a communist one.

Thus, to Marx, religion is an illusion that eases the pain produced by exploitation and oppression. It is a series of myths that justify and legitimate the subordination of the subject class and the domination and privilege of the ruling class. It is a distortion of reality which provides many of the deceptions that form the basis of ruling class ideology and false class consciousness.

In his words, "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people." It is both, an expression of real suffering and a protest against suffering, but it does little to solve the problem and instead helps to make life more bearable and thus dilutes the demand for change. It merely stupefies its adherents rather than bringing them true happiness and fulfillment.

It cushions the effects of oppression by:

1. Promise of 'salvation from bondage and misery' in the afterlife.
2. Making poverty more tolerable by offering a reward for suffering and promising compensation for injustice in the afterlife.
3. The hope of supernatural intervention to solve problems on earth.
4. Justification of the social order and a person's position within it.

Religion is also an instrument of oppression. It acts as a mechanism of social control, maintaining the existing system and reinforcing class relationships. By offering an illusion, it produces a false class consciousness that diverts people's attention from the real source of their oppression and helps to maintain ruling class power.

The ruling class also adopts religious beliefs, but to justify their position both to themselves and to others. They also often directly support religion to further their interests.

The caste system of traditional India, 'divine right theory' that supported the medieval monarchs of Europe, Egyptian belief that the Pharaohs were Gods, slave owners approving conversion of slaves to Christianity believing it to be a controlling and gentling influence - are all evidences that support Marxist view of religion in society.

Critique:

Evidences suggest that religion does not always legitimate power, it is not simply a justification of

alienation or a justification of privilege, and it can sometimes provide an impetus for change. Example: Protestant ethics and capitalism.

It does not explain the existence of religion where it does not appear to contribute to the oppression of a particular class. Nor does it explain why religion might continue to exist even when the oppression has come to an end. Example: In USSR even under communism, where the state actively discouraged religion and many places of worship were closed, religion did not completely die out.

Neo - Marxist Perspective:

Fredrick Engels in *'On the History of Early Christianity'* recognized the active role that may be played by religion in effecting revolutionary social change. Engels compared some of the early Christian sects that opposed Roman rule to communist and socialist political movements. He said that while Christianity originated as a way of coping with exploitation among oppressed groups, it could become a source of resistance to the oppressors and thus a force for change.

Otto Maduro - places emphasis on the idea that religion has some independence or 'relative autonomy' from the economic system of the bourgeoisie. He believes that members of the clergy can develop revolutionary potential where oppressed members of the population have no outlet for their grievances, and can pressurize priests to take up their cause.

Rational Choice Theory:

R. Stephen Warner argued that a whole new paradigm had emerged in the sociology of religion. The old paradigm assumed that a truly religious society was one in which a single religion dominated society as a whole and people automatically became members of the dominant Church at birth. Any departure from this was seen as evidence of religious decline. However, this model did not fit the experience of the USA, or even the recent development of religion in other parts of the world, and a new perspective was therefore required. From this perspective, the greater the religious pluralism, the more successful religion was likely to be. This new perspective is known as rational choice theory.

1. It originates from the USA and is largely based upon the experience of religion in the USA.
2. It assumes that most people are naturally religious.
3. It argues that there are rational reasons behind belief in religion - people believe in religion because there is something in it for them. It thus adopts a more individualistic stance.
4. Religion is seen in similar terms to a market in which individual consumer choices are important in determining whether a particular religion is successful or not.
5. The overall success of religion depends partly upon the 'supply-side' - that is, whether consumers of religion have a good selection of alternative products (religious organizations) to choose from.
6. Rational choice theory generally rejects the view that religion is declining.

Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge - Exchange Theory - Human desires: They believe that religion helps to meet universal human needs. They claim that 'humans seek what they perceive to be rewards

and try to avoid what they perceive to be costs.' This provides a straightforward basis for human decision-making but individuals still face problems:

1. Many of the things that people desire, for example wealth and status, are scarce and cannot be obtained by everybody.
2. Some things that people strongly desire may not be available at all. Example: a desire for life after death.

These desires provide the basis for religion.

Compensators: They recognize that, for example: religion might not actually provide people with eternal life, but what it does offer is a 'compensator.' A compensator is a belief that a reward will be obtained in the distant future or in some other context which cannot be verified. In the absence of immediate rewards, people are liable to seek compensators instead.

Compensators and the supernatural: Sometimes individuals want rewards that are so great and so remote from everyday experience that the possibility of gaining them can only be contemplated alongside a belief in the supernatural. Example: quest for 'meaning' in life. Only a belief in a God allows one to have answers to such fundamental questions. Thus, religion offers general compensators based on supernatural assumptions.

Religious pluralism and secularization: Since religion answers universal questions and its compensators meet universal human needs, religion can neither disappear nor seriously decline. In fact, American society has become characterized by increasing religious pluralism as people have sought new sources of compensators if their Church becomes less appealing as a source of compensators.

It has also been observed majority of people who say they have no religious affiliation express considerable belief in the mystical and supernatural. Hence, they have not lost their need for supernatural compensators. Also, where agnosticism or atheism existed in one generation, it tended not to be passed down to succeeding generations.

Critique: by Steve Bruce

1. Evidence shows that secularization is indeed taking place. Not all humans are seeking what religion has to offer.
2. Evidence also shows that towns in USA with greater religious pluralism have lower rates of Church membership, and not the highest rates as the theory predicts.
3. He does not believe that in choosing religion, people can behave like consumers. This is because there is no clear way to compare the costs and benefits of rival beliefs.

Symbolic Theory:

Peter Berger - in *'Social Construction of Reality'* sees religion from a phenomenological perspective, as different and unique for each. Everyone is born with an empty mind into which is injected values, norms, etiquettes, culture via which we try to relate with the world around us. This refers to 'Nomos' or norms which are a part of culture and are inherited by individuals by socialization. These Nomos vary from culture to culture and society to society.

Conformance to these Nomos leads to 'Universality of Meaning'. When we find someone's behavior not conforming to our Nomos we have a negative perception about that person. Thus, religion is nothing but a product of one's cultural Nomos and is used to reflect on food, dress, behavior, etc.

Respect for differential Nomos is needed to minimize conflicts in a society. Religious conflicts are a result of differing Nomos.

Religion is an everyday experience, and driven by Nomos, we go for certain behavior. This comprises the plausibility structure. It gives direction to life, allows to reflect on others, carries shared values and can help transmit them to the future generations.

Thus, religion is a product of Nomos, using which we go for 'Universality of Meaning' and this results in plausibility of structure.

David Luckmann - talks about "Invisible Religion." He claims that not visiting the Church or not performing rituals does not mean that a person is irreligious. Religion is a unique experience for each person. It has not disappeared from individual life, rather the extent to which it is practiced and present in one's life is only known to him or her. This is invisible religion.

Clifford Geertz - religion is present due to the presence of bafflement, sufferings and evils. A powerful force like God is sought to deal with these problems. Religion is thus present in hearts and souls and experienced in everyday life.

P1 - 8 a. Sociological theories of religion

Naturism - The Nature-Myth School - Max Muller.

- Naturism means the belief that the forces of nature have supernatural power. Max Muller claims naturism to be the earliest form of religion. He argues that naturism arose from man's experience of nature, in particular the effect of nature upon man's emotions. Nature contains surprises, terror, marvel and miracles. Awed by the power and wonder of nature, early man transformed abstract forces into personal agents. Man personified nature. The force of wind became the spirit of wind, & power of sun became spirit of sun. Thus Naturism is explained as man's response to the effect of the power and wonder of nature & upon his emotions.

Functions of Religion:

- Social change
- Integrative force
- Social control
- Intellectual function
- Normative role
- Solace and comforting function
- Stabilization
- Ritual role
- Social control
- Supplements empirical knowledge

Steve Bruce's definition of religion: 'beliefs, actions and institutions that assume the existence of supernatural entities with powers of action. or impersonal powers or processes possessed of moral purpose' 'which can set the conditions of, or intervene in, human affairs.'

Comte called sociology religion of positivism.
1st stage of his Law of 3 Stages was Theological (Supernatural Being)- it had 3 sub stages:
- Fetishism (spirit is present in all inanimate things).
- Polytheism - priests and Gods were formed for the first time.
- Monotheism - single God, some form of rationality emerged for the first time.
2nd stage was Metaphysical - about abstract forces - Supernatural Power.
3rd stage was Positivism which began with Enlightenment and FR.

Sacred - encompasses the social community, profane are personal and private.

Durkheim - Totem - National flag example - he stated that religion is primarily concerned with three kinds of activities:
- maintaining a separation between sacred and profane,

- laying down a system of beliefs for the faithful, and
- setting up a system of rules that forbids certain ways of acting.

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

Paul Radin emphasized the emotional aspects of religion.

Turner - "Religion is not a cognitive system, a set of dogmas alone, it is a meaningful experience and experienced meaning".
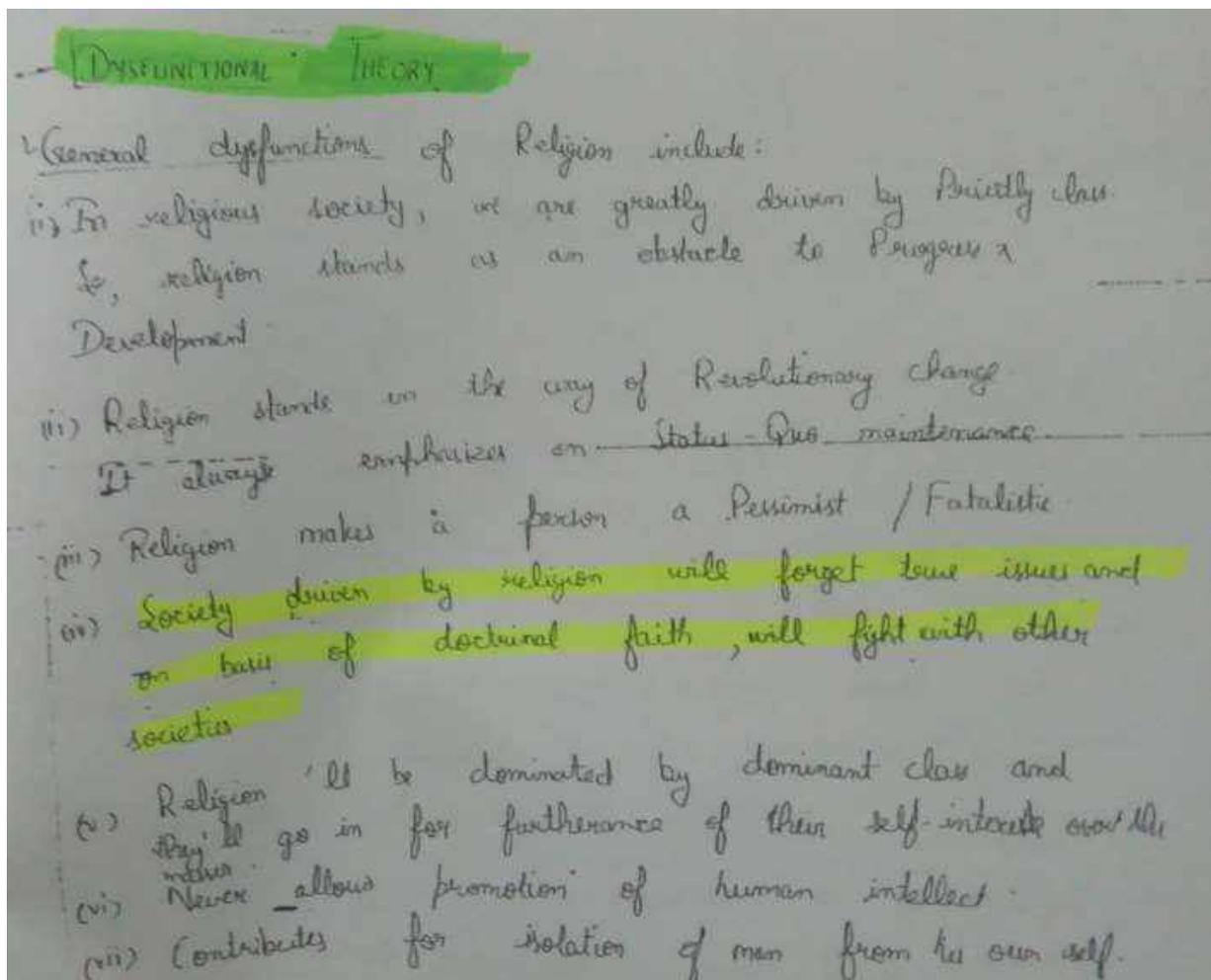
Merton commented upon the role of collective participation in the life of the tribal peoples, and the practices that seemingly appeared non-rational in terms of cause and effect, certainly acquired a significance when viewed in terms of their contribution to social solidarity. He thought this to be the latent function of religion. Merton further wondered if functional alternatives could be developed for religion, and whether communism itself shared the operational details of religious rituals.

Parsons - USSR had no religion and disintegrated - religion is functional and necessary.
Rules and regulations by law, ideas by education and values by religion = integration.

Bryan Wilson - religion is irrational and will be replaced by science.

Douglas - the present is as religious as the past and the past was as secular as the present.

Runciman - religion is an individual's quest for meaning and not about society / collective moralism as envisaged by functional theorists.

DYSFUNCTIONAL THEORY

General dysfunctions of Religion include:

(i) In religious society, we are greatly driven by Priestly class & religion stands as an obstacle to Progress & Development

(ii) Religion stands in the way of Revolutionary change. It always emphasizes on Status-Quo maintenance.

(iii) Religion makes a person a Pessimist / Fatalistic.

(iv) Society driven by religion will forget true issues and on basis of doctrinal faith, will fight with other societies.

(v) Religion 'll be dominated by dominant class and they'll go in for furtherance of their self-interest over the masses

(vi) Never allows promotion of human intellect.

(vii) Contributes for isolation of man from his own self.

8 B. Types of religious practices: animism, monism, pluralism, sects, cults

Animism:

Animism refers to the belief that not only humans, but non-human entities are also spiritual beings, or at least embody some kind of a life-principle. Animism encompasses the belief that there is no separation between the spiritual and physical (or material) worlds, and souls or spirits exist, not only in humans, but also in animals, plants, natural phenomena such as thunder, geographic features such as mountains or rivers, and other entities of the natural environment.

Many philosophers such as Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas contemplated the possibility that souls exist in animals, plants and people. However, the currently accepted definition of animism was only developed in the 19th century, by Sir Edward B. Tylor. In his book *"Primitive Culture"*, Tylor developed "The thesis of Animism". In this, he defined "Animism" (from Latin '*Anima*' which means 'soul') as "A given form of religion in which man finds the presence of spirit in every object that surrounds him."

According to him, man's ideas of spirits primarily originated from his dreams. In his dreams man, for the first time, encountered his double. He realized that his double or duplicate is more dynamic and elastic than his own self. He further considered that his double, though it resembled his body, is far more superior in terms of power than his body. He believed that the presence of a "soul" in human body is responsible for this elasticity of images in dreams. Shadow and reflection were other puzzling phenomena.

Taking these facts into consideration, primitive mind considered that when man sleeps, the 'soul' moves out of the body of man 'temporarily' and when he is dead, it leaves the body 'permanently'. According to Tylor, the most ancient form of religion is animistic practice of 'Ancestor Worship'. Man believed that after death, his ancestors exist in form of their souls. These souls may be 'benevolent' or 'malevolent'. Realizing this, in order to convert these souls into 'protecting spirits', man made them 'periodic offerings'. In primitive communities this is known as Ancestor cult and Ghost Worship.

According to Tylor, the primitive man was not in a condition to distinguish between animate and inanimate objects. Therefore, he conceived that like 'life and soul' associated with human body, they should be associated with every object both animate and inanimate. Realizing this he started worshipping rocks, trees, streams, everything surrounding him extending the notion of soul to all of them. Tylor argues that religion in the form of animism originated to satisfy man's intellectual nature to meet his need to make sense of death, dreams and visions.

In this world view, humans are considered a part of nature, rather than superior to, or separate from it. Rituals are considered essential for survival, as they win the favor of the spirits of one's source of food, shelter, and fertility and ward off malevolent spirits.

Contemporary animist traditions include African traditional religions and aboriginal Guanches in the Canary Island. Teton Sioux of America practice an animistic religion and perform Ghost Dance ceremony to appease spirits. Shintoism of Japan, is also highly animistic and spirits of nature, or kami, are believed to exist everywhere. The New Age movement commonly purports animism in the form of the existence of nature spirits and fairies. *Pitra* and *Shraddh* are also associated with belief in soul of the ancestors.

Monism:

Monism is a religious-philosophical worldview in which all of reality can be reduced to one "thing" or "substance." This view is opposed to dualism (in which all of reality is reducible to two substances - good and evil, light and darkness, form and matter, body and soul) and pluralism (all of reality is comprised of multiple substances).

Many of the early, pre-Socratic philosophers tried to understand the underlying nature of the reality that surrounded them. They wanted to determine what everything could be reduced to. For example, for Thales, the first principle of everything - that from which everything is derived - was water. For Anaximenes, it was air. For Heraclitus everything was in constant flux (or change), therefore, all reality was change. While for, Parmenides, Being or Reality is an unmoving perfect sphere, unchanging, undivided. Plotinus and Adi Shankara are two other philosophers who have also preached Monism.

In metaphysics, the term was first used by Christian Wolff, to denote the philosophical theories which recognized only a single kind of reality, whether physical or psychical.

In the religious-spiritual outlook, Monism is the underlying worldview of those who hold to a form of Pantheism. Pantheism is the worldview that God is the ultimate source of being, and that all of reality is a manifestation of this God. Pantheism sees no real distinction between God and the universe. Plotinus taught that ultimate being resided in the One. From a series of necessary emanations, out of the One, comes the Divine Mind (Nous), the World Soul (Psyche), and the material world (Cosmos).

Monism can also be seen in the scientific realm in naturalistic materialism.

Broadly speaking, the concept of monism refers to faith in one God, one body of ritual, one set of ideology and moral doctrines. During the medieval period, religion offered a foundation to the formation of political state. It was believed that religious differences all over the world can only glorify the variations in political identity of the state. For example: Roman Empire emerged as a Christian state. Middle East gave way to the rise of Islamic states, in the post Egyptian civilization.

However, during the 18th century, slave trade, colonialism, expansion of the territorial boundaries of the state because of warfare gave rise to the emergence of culturally pluralistic societies. However, the major concern of the state was to transform multiculturalism into cultural uniformity. It was believed that when a single religion has monopoly over truth, it helps to effectively reinforce the social norms. Therefore, the state patronized one religion, permitted missionaries to lure ethnic minorities to go for religious conversions. As a result, multi ethnic groups, because of coercion and persuasion became a part of artificially constructed monistic societies. These monistic societies glorified one sovereign ruler, one ideology, one culture developing intolerance to cultural distinctions. Monism strengthened religion and stood opposite to pluralism.

After the advent of industry, free trade and democracy in Europe, discrimination and power of the Church reduced, and pluralism replaced the monistic society.

In a society where monism is close to the heart, but pluralism becomes the rule of law, conflict arises. Anti-conversion movements, communal tensions, riots are some manifestations of a glorified monism challenging a state's commitment to ideological pluralism.

Pluralism:

Religious pluralism refers to the belief in two or more religious worldviews as being equally valid or acceptable. More than mere tolerance, religious pluralism accepts multiple paths to God or Gods as a possibility and is usually contrasted with "exclusivism," the idea that there is only one true religion or way to know God.

- Pluralism is not diversity alone, but the energetic engagement with diversity. Diversity can and has meant the creation of religious ghettoes with little traffic between or among them. Today, religious diversity is a given, but pluralism is not a given; it is an achievement. Mere diversity without real encounter and relationship will yield increasing tensions in our societies.
- Pluralism is not just tolerance, but the active seeking of understanding across lines of difference. Tolerance is a necessary public virtue, but it does not require Christians and Muslims, Hindus, Jews, and ardent secularists to know anything about one another. Tolerance is too thin a foundation for a world of religious difference and proximity. It does nothing to remove our ignorance of one another, and leaves in place the stereotype, the half-truth, the fears that underlie old patterns of division and violence. In the world in which we live today, our ignorance of one another will be increasingly costly.
- Pluralism is not relativism, but the encounter of commitments. The new paradigm of pluralism does not require us to leave our identities and our commitments behind, for pluralism is the encounter of commitments. It means holding our deepest differences, even our religious differences, not in isolation, but in relationship to one another.
- Pluralism is based on dialogue. The language of pluralism is that of dialogue and encounter, give and take, criticism and self-criticism. Dialogue means both speaking and listening, and that process reveals both common understandings and real differences. Dialogue does not mean everyone at the "table" will agree with one another. Pluralism involves the commitment to being at the table - with one's commitments.

While religious pluralism has been in existence since at least the 17th century, the concept has become more popular since the latter half of the 20th century in Western Europe and North America. Specifically, the idea of religious ecumenism (religions working together as one) and the recently popularized interfaith movement have led to the increased acceptance of religious pluralism in popular culture. Studies by the Barna Group and others have noted the growth of ideas related to religious pluralism in American culture in recent years. In many cases, even significant numbers of people identified as Christians believe there is more than one way to heaven.

Pluralism is more than the sharing of certain values or agreement on some social issues. Buddhists and Christians both agree that helping the poor is important, but such limited concord is not pluralism. Pluralism has to do with lending credence to competing truth claims and accepting diverse beliefs regarding God and salvation. In addition, two or more religions can share some doctrinal beliefs yet remain fundamentally different as belief systems. For example, Muslims and Christians agree that there is only one God - yet both religions define God differently and hold many other irreconcilable beliefs.

The existence of religious pluralism depends on the existence of freedom of religion. Freedom of religion is when different religions of a particular region possess the same rights of worship and public expression. Freedom of religion is consequently weakened when one religion is given rights or privileges

denied to others, as in certain European countries where Roman Catholicism or regional forms of Protestantism have special status. Religious freedom has not existed at all in some communist countries where the state restricts or prevents the public expression of religious belief and may even actively persecute individual religions. Religious pluralism has existed in the Indian Subcontinent since the rise of Buddhism around 500 BC and has widened in the course of several Muslim settlements (Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire). In the 8th century, Zoroastrianism established in India as Zoroastrians fled from Persia to India in large numbers, where they were given refuge. The colonial phase ushered in by the British lasted until 1947 and furthered conversions to Christianity among low caste Hindus.

The rise of religious pluralism in the modern West is closely associated with the Reformation and the Enlightenment. Blackledge and Hunt in *"From Uniculturalism to Multiculturalism"* advocate that cultural pluralism is the foundation to the rise of a multi-cultural society. Multi culturalism according to them is a European concept that did not get much of approval from the African subcontinent where people preferred to go for ethnic diversity. Cultural uniformity is as a coercive manner was induced into socialist societies and most of the Islamic states of middle-east and the search for a homeland for Jews at Israel glorified the idea of creation of political state on the basis of mono cultural identities. When Europe went for pluralism this idea did not receive a global endorsement. As a result, monistic societies went for religious revivalism and consolidation emphasizing on religious education, religious laws are emerging as the civil laws of the state. Hence a great ideological difference between monistic and pluralistic societies has been seen.

In case of pluralistic societies, deprivation and inequality gave way to sectarian mobilizations. In case of America, blacks got unified as a challenge to the political doctrine of pluralism during early 19th century that gave rise to the integration of black immigrants from different parts of the world. Challenge to pluralism comes from sectarian mobilization from within and the glorification of monistic states from outside.

Clifford Geertz in *"Islam Observed"* mentions his case study of Indonesia. He found out that their exposure to Spanish colonialism, Dutch colonialism and subsequently western values, did not change their commitment to Islamic values. He asserts that the search for monism is a rebellion and revolution, than simply being a myopic orientation to one's own culture and religion. Islamic revivalism was the foundation to their independence and therefore cultural monism came as a predominant force in Indonesia.

Rowena Robinson in *"Sociology of Religion in India"* advocates that Gandhi's call for *Ramarajya* was greatly driven by a call for implicit monism and explicit pluralism. Gandhi wanted that Hindus and Muslims should stay together as equal partners to modern India. But he strongly believed that Hindu cultural values can offer a right direction to the people to go for a disciplined life. In a society where monism is close to heart, but pluralism becomes the rule of law, people driven by emotion will stay committed to religion. She believes that anti-conversion movements, communal tensions in the country are the manifestation of glorified monism challenging to state's commitment to pluralistic ideology.

Amartya Sen in his article *"Secularism in India"* considers that India's pluralism has always been a doctrine of the state that mostly fails to internalize because of illiteracy, rural living and commitment to tradition. He believes that these orientations can only be transformed with the expansion of modern education, rise of modern employment and expansion of urbanism to rural pockets of Indian society.

Sect:

A sect is a subgroup of a religious, political or philosophical belief system, usually an offshoot of a larger religious group. The word sect comes from the Latin '*secta'*, meaning an organized religious body, oriented towards 'a course of action or way of life'. Sects were originally groups that broke away from the dominant religion because of a disagreement over the interpretation of the religion.

Roy Wallis defined sects as deviant groups that see themselves as uniquely legitimate. They deviate from society's norms or values in a significant way and like Churches, do not accept the right of other religions to claim any authority for their beliefs.

Members of sects are predominantly lower class and have usually attained membership through conversion (initiation procedures for membership). The power structure in a sect is informal and leaders are untrained and typically chosen by the members.

The chief feature of a religious sect is that it is a voluntary association. Young children cannot usually enter a sect by being baptized. Sects have many beliefs and practices in common with the parent religion, but are differentiated by a number of doctrinal differences.

Sects are concerned with purity of doctrine and with the depth of genuineness of religiosity. As a result, demands are made upon the member to be an active participant, even a leader or missionary, as a warrant of his faith.

Sect is initially leader focused, but it may continue after his demise. Often worship is characterized by an intensity and open commitment which is lacking in main stream religion.

Sects are, in Peter Berger's words, 'in tension with the larger society and closed against it', and their proliferation is an evidence of secularization.

Belonging to a sect is often the dominant factor in a member's life. The organization of sects tends to be in terms of small face-to-face groups, without a hierarchy of paid officials and a bureaucratic structure.

Steve Bruce attributes the development of a range of religious institutions, including sects and cults, to a general process of modernization and secularization. He believes that the weakness of more conventional institutionalized religions has encouraged some people to consider less traditional alternatives.

Weber argues that sects are most likely to arise within groups which are marginal in society. Members of groups outside the main stream of social life often feel they are not receiving either the prestige and / or the economic rewards they deserve. One solution to this problem is a sect based on what Weber calls a 'Theodicy of Disprivilege'. Such sects contain an explanation for the disprivilege of their members and promise them a 'sense of honour' either in the afterlife or a in a future 'new world' on earth.

However, sects are not confined to the lower strata of the society. For example: the Christian Science sect has a largely middle-class membership. The concept of relative deprivation can be applied to members of all social classes. In subjective terms, certain members of the middle class may feel more deprivation than the poor. Relative deprivation applies to the middle-class Hippy in California who rejects values of materialism and achievement and seeks fulfillment in Transcendental Meditation. It

applies equally to the unemployed Black American who joins the Black Muslim. Both experience deprivation in terms of their own particular viewpoints. Many are also attracted to the communal lifestyle which a sect offers.

Stark and Bainbridge see sects emerging when more successful members of a religion try to reduce the amount of tension between religion and the outside world, the less successful resent and break away.

Sects tend to arise during a period of rapid social change. In this situation, traditional norms are disrupted, social relationships tend to lack consistent and coherent meaning and the traditional 'universe of meaning' is undermined. Thus, Bryan Wilson sees the rise of Methodism as a response by the new urban working class to the chaos and uncertainty of life in the newly settled industrial areas. He argues that, newly emergent social groups are, at least in the context of a society in which the religious view of the world dominates, likely to need and to evolve new patterns of religious belief to accommodate themselves to their new situation. In a situation of change and uncertainty, the sect offers the support of a close-knit community organization, well defined strongly sanctioned norms and values, and a promise of salvation. It provides a new and stable 'universe of meaning' which is legitimated by its religious beliefs.

H. Richard Niebuhr argues that sects are necessarily short-lived for the following reasons:

1. the fervour and commitment of members cannot be sustained past the first generation.
2. the social marginality and isolation of the group, which was a major factor in the formation of the sect, may disappear. Example: Sects with an ascetic creed tend to accumulate wealth which affords them entry into the mainstream of society.

The sect then either ceases to exist or develops into a denomination. Its extreme teachings and rejection of the wider society no longer fit the social situation of its membership. If it changes into a denomination, its beliefs are modified to fit in with those of the mainstream of society; it develops a bureaucratic organization with a hierarchy of paid officials. Example: as the Methodists rose in status during the 19th century, the strict disciplines of the sect and its opposition to the wider society were dropped, and it became a denomination. If large number of sects develop in response to major religions it may lead to conflict and religious intolerance or to the rise of a tolerant and pluralistic society.

Cult:

The concept of "cult" was introduced into sociology in 1932 by Howard Becker, as an expansion of German theologian Ernst Troeltsch's Church-Sect typology. Troeltsch's aim was to distinguish between three main types of religious behavior - churchly, sectarian and mystical. Becker created four categories out of Troeltsch's first two by splitting church into "ecclesia" and "denomination", and sect into "sect" and "cult". Like Troeltsch's "mystical religion", Becker's cults were small religious groups lacking in organization and emphasizing the private nature of personal beliefs.

Steve Bruce sees cults as a loosely knit group organized around some common themes and interests but lacking any sharply defined and exclusive belief system. A cult tends to be more individualistic than other organized forms of religion due to this lack of a fixed doctrine and they tolerate other beliefs.

Stark and Bainbridge see cults as a product of cultural importation or cultural innovation. They divide cults into three types:

1. Audience cults - least organized and involve little face-to-face interaction. Contact maintained through mass media and occasional conferences.
2. Client cults - more organized and usually offer 'services' to their followers. Example - Scientology.
3. Cult movements - try to satisfy all the religious needs of their members and do not permit membership of other faiths.

The term often highlights smaller religious movements or movements involving particularly intense religious devotion. The cult is a voluntary organization open to all who wish to join or participate in it. According to Johnson, 'In general the cults are not strict, except in financial matters.' Yet it tends to regulate its members as per its doctrine and system of rituals which are well defined. A cult emphasizes one doctrine (above all others) or it focuses upon a God or Goddess with certain definite characteristics.

Cults often have customers rather than members and these customers may have relatively little involvement with any organization once they have learnt the rudiments of the beliefs around which the cult is based. Roy Wallis sees cults as deviant religious organizations that do not claim to have a monopoly on the truth, they are pluralistically legitimate.

Characteristics of Cult:

1. A cult, also has a high degree of tension with the surrounding society, but its beliefs are (within the context of that society) new and innovative. It may seek to transform society but more often concentrate upon creating satisfying group experience.
2. Cults are not reactionary or revolutionary, they are revisionary.
3. Cult is a supplementation of religion than being a challenge to religion.
4. Cult's existence is greatly linked to the life span of the cult leader. He or she is a charismatic person for his followers.
5. Cults are engaged in catering to day-to-day problems of people. Cult may have inherent contradictions but various questions posed by followers are addressed by the cult leader.
6. Over a period, a cult may develop into a sect. Example: Calvinism to Protestantism.
7. In Indian society, according to K.M. Pannikar it was during Mughals rule that sectarian division among Brahmins was greatly glorified - Shaivism and Vaishnavism, because Hinduism was losing its great tradition due to loss of political patronage.
8. If there is distance between people and religion, people endorse various cults.

Origin of Cult:

Jeffery Adden - almost all religions of world including Christianity began as cult. Sociologists maintain that unlike sects, which are products of religious schism and therefore maintain continuity with traditional beliefs and practices, cults arise spontaneously around novel beliefs and practices.

The social reality of cult is essentially rooted in heroic act. This act is a system of worship, a complex of feeling and attitudes of symbol (gestures, words, rites and rituals) and primarily a relationship with sacred object and the world beyond. It involves co-activity and a social boundary. In it, the relationship between the deity and clergy is not negligible but secondary.

Cult seems to flourish in metropolitan centers where culturally heterogenous populations are thrown together and they widely feel the impact of rapid social change. It creates a situation of contingency and powerlessness and thus the problem of adjustment. The cult often meets the need of that situation.

P1 - 8 b. Types of religious practices: animism, monism, pluralism, sects, cults

Animism - E.B. Tylor

Animism means belief in the spirits. E.B Tylor believes this to be the earliest form of religion → He argues that animism derives from mans attempt to answer two question - 'what is it that makes difference b/w living & dead body?' and 'what are those human shapes that appear in human dreams?'. To make sense of these events, early philosophers invented the idea of soul. The soul is a spirit being which leaves the body temporarily during dreams and visions, and permanently at death. → Once invented the idea of spirit was not applied simply to man, but also to many aspects of natural and social environment. Thus animals and even man made objects were invested with spirits. Tylor argues that religion in the form of animism, originated to satisfy mans intellectual need, to make sense of death, dreams & vision. Thus, Tylor concludes that religion originated from a belief of spiritual beings.

Monism in philosophy can be defined according to four kinds:

1. Idealism, phenomenalism, or mentalistic monism which holds that only mind is real.
2. Neutral monism, which holds that both the mental and the physical can be reduced to some sort of third substance, or energy.
3. Physicalism or materialism, which holds that only the physical is real, and that the mental can be reduced to the physical.
4. Holistic gnoseology, which holds that only a global approach to reality, by means of a global knowledge, is able to get the truth. Holistic gnoseology is therefore an anti-specialist way to get a supposed deeper and comprehensive reality.

Supernaturalism postulates the existence of non-personalized supernatural forces that influence human events
- These non-personalized forces are called *mana* which exist in certain objects
- Other objects have a religious taboo against touching or even looking upon

Animism: R Marett who put forth the theory of Animatism which refers to the belief in anything or anybody who is animate or endowed with life and that life is considered to have a supernatural power or force.

Naturism: According to Max Muller the earliest form of religion was probably worship of nature. The prayers in the Rig Veda convey worship of natural objects in Vedic times. Expressions such as clouds send rains, the sun rises and sets, the moon orbits the earth and

trees yield fruits convey the belief in some inherent power in clouds. sun, moon and trees.

Early theorists like Marx, Weber said religious organizations fall along continuum - churches at one end, cults at other, sects somewhere in between. But the applicability doubtful in non-Christian religions.

Example: Bhatt in India religious groups - mat, marg, sampradaya, sangh, panth, samaj, ashram, akhara, etc.

Usually out of charismatic leader, leadership vacuum filled by institutionalization.

Church:

- Large well established religious body, normally formal bureaucratic structure, hierarchy of religious officials, tend to represent conservative face of religion.
- Along with spirituality, develops interests in wealth and temporal power.
- Also establishes interest in social order which legitimizes power, possessions, privileges and interests.
- Involvement of church in secular matters often led to conflicts in secular-political world.
- Church accommodates itself into secular world and more socially inclusive unlike sects.

Denominations:

Grow out of sect and sect grows out of Church.

Howard Becker - a denomination is a sect which has cooled down and become an institutionalized body rather than an active protest group.

Johnson - line between Church and Denomination is not very clear. Denomination is when sect becomes respectful and becomes large in terms of members, includes middle and upper class.

Macionis - Denomination is a Church independent of State - Example: Baptists, Lutheranians.

Roy Wallis	Respectable	Deviant
Uniquely Legitimate	Church	Sect
Pluralistically Legitimate	Denomination	Cult

Some cults also help in utilitarian needs - example: Osho guided people in their business.

Religious Movements:

New Age Movements are a form of religious movements which started in 1960s and 70s. They took various forms. For example, some of them were world affirming and hence, they didn't reject the dominant religions and world completely, but focused on ways of self-realisation of individuals. Roy Wallis distinguished between three different types of such New Religious Movements world-rejecting, world-affirming and world-accommodating. He has classified Krishna Consciousness as *world rejecting*, Mahesh Yogis' Transcendental Meditation as *world affirming* and Neo-Pentecostalism as *world accommodating*. Generally, cults have the features of world affirming movements. Followers of new age movement seek out and develop alternative ways of life in order to cope with the challenges of modernity. For this reason, sometimes they call themselves as *spiritual* rather than religious movements alone. They encourage individuals to move beyond the traditional values and live their lives actively and reflexively. This was the time when The Beatles also came to India in 1960s, for spiritual solace in Mahesh Yogi's Transcendental Meditation. These New Age movements value personal experience over and above the *truths* offered by the traditional institutions and employed media like yoga, self-healing and clairvoyance.

Religious pluralism:

Steve Bruce - religious pluralism results from a variety of sources and it has undermined the communal basis of religious orthodoxy as well.

Peter Berger has linked the growth of the pluralistic beliefs to the growing trend of modernization and secularization as pluralistic beliefs undermine the one absolute truth.

Bryan Wilson - with pluralization of society, religious values become personal values and no longer remain community values.

Atul Kohli - the earlier notion that pluralism breeds tolerance is not correct.

Wallis advocated world-accommodating religion are most stable, whereas world-rejecting religion will ultimately pave way for world-affirming religions.

8 C. Religion in modern society: religion and science, secularization, religious revivalism, fundamentalism

Religion and Science:

Religion is a social phenomenon which broadly refers to a cultural system of commonly shared beliefs and rituals that provides a sense of ultimate meaning and purpose by creating an idea of reality that is sacred, all-encompassing and natural.

Science is a search for knowledge as well as method for solving problems in a value-neutral and positivistic ways. Science and religion have intrigued the imagination of sociologists from the very start. Both religion and science meet at certain places and depart at some.

Similarities:

- Understanding - Both are forms of human understanding. Both are cognitive.
- Cooperation - Religion is more collectively oriented than science, but science too emphasizes team-spirit and co-operation of the scientific community.
- Wars - On many occasions in the past as well as present, in many a war, science and religion have both acted against humankind.
- Coming together - rational thought and science developed with the rise of protestant ethics.

Differences:

- Experimentation - Science depends on observation, experimentation and verification, whereas religion is taken on faith value. Science believes in precision and measurement, which is not possible for religion. It also believes in neutrality and objectivity.
- Application - Scientific knowledge has more concrete application in the form of technology, which might help in manipulating nature. Religion cannot establish such concrete and immediate results.
- Universalism - Scientific knowledge and method are valid universally, whereas principles of religious life differ from society to society.
- Science deals with the known or the empirical world. But religion is concerned with the unknown or supernatural world.
- Religion is not only cognitive but also moral. Tells right from wrong. Science makes no such attempt.
- Pitirim Sorokin - Religion based on unquestionable faith but science based on questionable thesis.
- Sumner and Keller - it is difficult to find any type of religion which has welcomed free enquiry.

Desacrilization - supernatural forces are no longer seen as controlling the world, action is no longer directed by religious belief, and human consciousness has become secularized.

Stephen Jay Gould developed the NOMA principle - non-overlapping magisterial principle. He claims that one type of human need is a need to understand how nature works. This he calls the magisterium of science. However, humans also have a drive to give meaning to their own lives and to find a basis for their moral views. This is covered by the magisterium of religion. Since meanings and morality are too subjective, and cannot come from facts, religion can fulfill this purpose without being in direct conflict.

Peter Berger says that science played a major role in secularization of the consciousness.

HE Barnes says that even if there exists conflict between fundamentals of religion and modern science, none exists between the latter and humanism because the humanists frankly base their religion upon the findings of science.

William Sims Bainbridge - Instead of existing independently, sometimes it may be possible for religion to actually encourage the development of science. Example: Monotheism may imply that the universe follows a single set of laws rather than being chaotically unknowable. Some concepts of modern physics have close affinities to Asian religious or mystical movements.

Some religions, particularly Scientology claim to be based upon scientific knowledge.

Scholars with a positivist assumption, very often, tried to contrast religion with science. For them, religion, when subjected to scientific analysis, ends up merely as something irrational. They argued that under the impact of rapid industrialization, religion was losing its ground. Comte believed that theological stage was the beginning, metaphysical stage was the next and scientific stage was the last in the evolution of human societies and emphasized that religion will end after further growth of science.

Durkheim and Marx both predicted an end of religion with time but though science is growing we see a resurgence in religion in different forms. Example: A day before the Mars Orbiter Mission was about to enter Mars's orbit, ISRO scientists offered a model of the artificial satellite at a temple. Thus, religion seems to be fulfilling some higher purpose for those scientists, who go to a temple not as a scientist but as a human being.

Weber - claimed that modern society is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world.' Rational action rejects the guidelines provided by emotion, by tradition or by religion. It is based on the cold, deliberate reason of the intellect, which demands that the rationale for action can only be based on the proven results.

Bryan Wilson in *'Religion in a Secular Society'* argues that a rational world view is the enemy of religion. It is based on the testing of arguments and beliefs by rational procedures, on assessing truth by means of factors that can be quantified and objectively measured. Religion is based on faith and as such is non-rational. Its claim to truth cannot be tested by rational procedures.

Richard Dawkins - belief in all 'supernatural Gods' is simply a delusion completely at odds with all scientific beliefs. Faith is an evil because it requires no justification and brooks no argument.

Steve Bruce stresses the importance of rationalization and of technology, rather than science itself. He argues that science and religion can coexist quite easily. Technological advances reduce the number of times that people turn to religion to solve problems, and have given individuals a greater sense of control over the natural world.

Einstein - science without religion is lame, religion without science is blind.

Postmodernists suggest that societies are moving beyond scientific rationality of modernity, partly because they have started to mistrust science due to it failures and negative side-effects. Religion in its real sense is not conflicting with science. It is only dogma or the distorted version of religion that conflicts with science. If religion respects and accepts the values of science and if science recognizes and

accepts the reality and necessity of religion then there could be no conflict between religion and science.

<mark>Secularization:</mark>

<mark>Wallace and Bruce</mark> define secularization as the diminishing social significance of religion. <mark>Macionis</mark> terms it a historical decline in the importance of supernatural and sacred. It is a process by which man is trying to explain the material world, the social world and the spiritual world on the basis of rationality and scientific temper. It is the decline in the authority of religious institutions. In beliefs, values, practices and processes by which religious institutions and symbols legitimize support and justify various aspects of society and culture.

<mark>Berger</mark> defines secularization as the "Process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols". It occurs at three levels:

- Social - separation of religion and state
- Cultural - arts, literature and philosophy
- Individual - secularization of an individual

<mark>Bryan Wilson</mark> - secularization is the process by which religious thinking, practice and institutions lose significance. Example: marriages being solemnized by courts and decrease in Church attendance. He gives three features of a secular society:

- The prevalence of Instrumental Values
- The prevalence of Rational Procedures
- The prevalence of Technological Methods

<mark>Haralambos</mark> - proving or disproving secularization is tricky because of different definitions of religiosity. He divides religion into two types: institutional religion and general religion of beliefs and values.

At institutional level, there are four distinct ways of secularizations:

- Decline in organized religious participation, societalization. Societalization signifies that modern societies are different from close-knit communities of earlier times. They have different motivations, ideologies and religious values cease to dominate the ideological sphere.
- Disengagement and differentiation - of the influence of Church in the wider societal institutions.
- Religious pluralism - <mark>Berger</mark> argues that the emergence of denominations weakens the influence of religion as there is no longer a single 'universe of meaning' provided for all members of society. The continuing proliferation of sects has also been interpreted in the same way.
- Secularization of religious institutions - <mark>Will Herberg</mark> believes that Church today spreads American values and not religious values, while <mark>Berger and Luckmann</mark> claim that American Church has undergone change in its plausibility structure. Denominations have undergone internal secularization to survive and prosper in a secular society.

At general level of beliefs and systems also, there are four trends of secularization:

- Generalization - <mark>Parsons</mark> - as religious institutions become increasingly specialized, their ethics and values, their belief system becomes increasingly generalized.
- Individualism - <mark>Robert Bellah</mark> - Religion increasingly becomes an individual affair. There has been a move from collective worship to privatized worship and from clerical to individual interpretation of doctrine.
- Transformation - <mark>Weber</mark> - change to secular guides to action - Protestantism.
- De-sacralization - supernatural forces are no longer seen as controlling the world.

Importance of mass media and globalization - through these, secular values transmit throughout the world and each society adopts its specific secularization process. Example: India's secularization model is different from that of the USA.

<mark>Weber</mark> - increased rationalization results in disenchantment. Hence, secular societies will emerge where religion is not absent, rather it is a product of religious reforms. Secular society will be disciplined, rule bound and bureaucratic, based on legal-rational behavior.

<mark>Durkheim</mark> - religion would lose some of its importance as a force for integrating society. Social solidarity would increasingly be provided by the education system rather than the sort of religious rituals associated with the simpler societies. He speaks of a 'Civil Religion' developing.

<mark>Comte</mark> believed his third and final stage of societal evolution will include secularization.

<mark>Luckmann</mark> - In *'Invisible Religion'* says religion still alive but has receded from public sphere. With increasing modernization, religion will not have same authority as in traditional times.

<mark>David Martin</mark> - Earlier attendances in Church were high in order to socialize and it was seen as a part of middle-class respectability. Now with technology, many other means to socialize.

<mark>Malinowski</mark> - Religion has social and psychological roles. Social role is being taken up by secular ideas but it continues to grow at psychological level (answer to fear and anxiety).

<mark>Parsons</mark> - Existential puzzles which cannot be answered by science, are answered by religion. It fills the moral vacuum. Secularization is a product of appropriate values - effective neutrality, specificity, self-orientation, universalism.

<mark>Davie</mark> suggested that there has been a move towards 'believing without belonging', people maintain a belief in God or a higher force, but practice and develop faith outside institutionalized forms of religion.

Secularization paradigm by <mark>Steve Bruce</mark> - Protestantism initiated the changes in beliefs that promoted secularization. Structural differentiation (of institutions, including the Church) and social differentiation (urbanization, physical separation) contributed to it. And also did individualism and societalization (close-knit, integrated societies replaced by modern states and cities). Schisms (split in religion), pluralism and technology were other contributors.

People seek worldly goals but resort to religion to enhance the chances of fulfilling those goals. Cognitive role of religion been taken over by science.

Above all, however, religion in the late modern world should be evaluated against a backdrop of rapid change, instability and diversity. Even if traditional forms of religion are receding to a degree, religion still remains a critical force in our social world. The appeal of religion, in its traditional and novel forms,

is likely to be long-lasting. Religion provides many people with insights into complex question about life and meaning that cannot be answered satisfactorily with rationalist perspectives.

Religious Revivalism:

Religious revivalism is a term applied to mass movements which are based upon intense religious upheaval. Periodic religious revivals which seek to restore commitment and attachment to the group are a regular observable feature of religious traditions. Revivalism happened in the 18th century in the western society among Methodists. In India, Arya Samaj was an important revivalist movement which was based on Shuddhi. It aimed at converting back to the fold, those Hindus who had converted to other religions.

One view shared by early sociological thinkers was that traditional religion would become more and more marginal to the modern world. Marx, Durkheim and Weber all believed that a process of secularization was bound to occur as societies modernized and became more reliant on science and technology to control and explain the social world.

The enduring popularity of new religious movements presents a challenge to the secularization thesis. Opponents of the thesis point to the diversity and dynamism of new religious movements and argue that religion and spirituality remains a central facet of modern life.

Rodney Stark points out that religion is not only providing a source for integration, it is instrumental for the social division as well. Taking this view point into consideration one can offer a critic to the Comteian argument that in modern society use of science will continue to cause the decline of religion. In reality religion is a universal force, it appears in different forms in the history of human society, influencing political, social and cultural life of man in a multidimensional manner.

Michel Maffesoli - We live in times of tribes even today. These are neo tribes whose existence is based on shared identities. Commitment towards the neo tribes is lose, weak and short lived. Hence, there is a need to come together, which is provided by religion. There is something eternal about religion.

Davie - Secularization is a complex process. There are different kinds of religious behavior - in Western Europe, Church attendance is low but people are 'believing without belonging'. Nordic countries see high attendance but it is a form of 'belonging without believing'. Thus, secularization cannot be measured through existing Churches as it excludes new religions. Eastern societies see little evidence of secularization. Instead, religious fundamentalism and revivalism is seen.

Berger notes the growing importance of religion in politics and sees contemporary societies undergoing re-sacralization or revivalism.

Third world countries - Only technological component of modernity has been absorbed. Globalized world has led to return to traditionalism in lot of ways.

Robert Bellah speaks about 'Civil Religion' - a quasi-religious loyalty binding individuals in a basically secular society. For example: communism, excessive nationalism. Political events, Birthdays, Martyr Days are glorified. After French Revolution 'The Religion of Supreme Being' was founded, which worshipped the revolution.

Fundamentalism:

One way of religious revival is religious fundamentalism and the concept was popularized by Cartis Lewis. Fundamentalism as a concept was first used in 1910-1915 when anonymous authors published 12 volumes of literature and called them *'The Fundamentals of the Faith'*. The print media used this word with reference to conservative protestant group in North America which were concerned about liberal interpretations of the Bible and insisted on sticking to the "fundamentals" of the faith.

Lionel Caplan defines fundamentalism as a belief in the timelessness of sacred writings and a belief that such writings apply to all kinds of environments. In its popular usage, the term fundamentalism is applied to a wide array of religious groups around the world.

Macionis terms it a conservative religious doctrine which opposes intellectualism and worldly accommodation and is in favour of restoring traditional other worldly religion.

It is comparatively a newer phenomenon, and is largely seen as a response to globalization. As the forces of modernization progressively undermine traditional elements of the social world - such as the nuclear family and the domination of women by men fundamentalism has arisen in defense of tradition.

The most important characteristic of fundamentalists is their belief that a relationship with God or some other supernatural force provides answers to personal and social problems. In addition, fundamentalists often wish to "bring the wider culture back to its religious roots," and purge out impurities in way of life.

Fundamentalists usually conceive of history as a "process of decline from an original ideal state," which includes the "betrayal of fundamental principles".

Fundamentalists do not distinguish between what is sacred and what is profane in their day-to day lives. Religious principles govern all areas of social, economic and political life. They believe that only their view of the world is possible and that this view is the correct one - there is no room for ambiguity or multiple interpretations.

Within religious fundamentalist movements, access to the exact meanings of scriptures is restricted to a set of privileged 'interpreters' - such as priests, clergy or other religious leaders. This gives these leaders a great amount of authority - not only in religious matters, but in secular ones as well. Religious fundamentalists have become powerful political figures in opposition movements, within mainstream political parties (including in the United States) and as heads of state (for example in Iran).

Hunter identifies the following distinctive features of fundamentalism:

- Interprets sacred texts literally
- Rejects religious pluralism
- Pursue personal experience of God's presence through spiritual revival
- Opposes secular humanism, reason or rationalism
- Endorses conservative political goals

TN Madan identifies the following features:

- Affirmation of inspiration, final authority of scriptures

- Not an original impulse, rather a reaction to what is perceived to be a crisis
- Intolerance towards dissent
- Cultural critique of modern societies
- Appeal to tradition, but in a selective manner
- Pursuit of political power
- Charismatic leadership

Traditionalism and fundamentalism are different. Fundamentalism spills to other domains like politics. There is an element of activism present in it. It is inward looking and self-producing. Fundamentalism appears to be traditionalistic but it is not. There is a sharp boundary between pure inside and polluted outside.

P1 - 8 c. Religion in modern society: religion and science, secularization, religious revivalism, fundamentalism

Religion and Science:

Poles apart - evolutionary theorists

Weber - religion has to change to match the spirit and doctrine of science.

Durkheim - sacred = secular - science is not opposite to religion.

Parsons - rise of capitalism is due to science but its sustainability is dependent on religion which performs integration.

Science gives power - religion gives wisdom to use that power.

Fustel de Coulange advocate that man earns this experience of religion from out of family hearth and it derives man towards quest for meaning. Thus science and religion are concordant. Robertson smith talks about regulatory and stimulative role of religion. He says that religion gives wisdom and controls egoism. It stimulates man to go for collective moralism.

Science	Religion
Science is considered as inquisitive and deliberative.	Religion is considered as imaginative and speculative.
Science drives man to shape his own destiny.	Religion pushes man towards fatalism.
Science believes in precision and measurement.	Religion has no such provisions.
Science brings the unknown to the level of observable reality.	Religion often depicts God as beyond the reach of normal human beings.
Science is liberating and enlightening and promotes questioning of everything.	Religion binds individuals and promotes status quo and tradition.
Science is based on rationality.	Religion is based on the belief in sacred.
Science promotes individual innovations, though team works are also there.	Religion is more collectively oriented.
Scientific knowledge and method are valid universally.	Religious principles are accepted within a particular community only which believes in those principles.

Science, Technology and Social Change:

- Science is a systematic body of certified and changing knowledge based on observable facts and the methods used to acquire this knowledge.
- Technology is applied science. Tools tend to be much more efficient when they are made using science.
- Sociology was born out of response to rise of technology - Industrial Revolution.

- **LH Morgan** was one of the first to discuss the role of technology - human society passed through stages of savagery, barbarianism and civilization. These 3 stages represented different levels of technology.
- **Parsons** - talks about change in information flow or energy flow in the system. Change in energy flow is the result of change in technology.
- **Leslie White** tried to explain process of social evolution in terms of technology. An evolution has three components: techno-economic, organizational and ideational. Culture changes due to change in technology. Primitive man used muscular energy but now mental power dominates.
- **William Ogburn** - every technological innovation when absorbed by society, needs a support system. Example: To absorb automobile - education system, family system, occupational system underwent change. It creates a chain reaction, a domino effect.
- Change in demographics with rise of technology. Five stages of demographic transition.
- Gender equality and technology - easier for women participation and emancipation (services sector).
- Education seen as a form of investment.
- Ecology and environment.
- Work and leisure undergoes change.

Secularism:

SECULARISM

SECULARISM on the other hand, can be defined on the basis of three perspectives

- People-Centric,
- State-centric and
- India-centric (in the context of India)

1) PEOPLE-CENTRIC secularism emphasizes on the idea of separating religion from politics, economy, education, social life and culture.
2) STATE-CENTRIC secularism emphasis on the need to keep the state protector to all religions.
3) INDIA-CENTRIC secularism underlines the importance of the unity of all people against communalism.

SECULARISM being an ideology consists of the following five ideas:

(a) IT STRESSES ON HUMAN AUTONOMY. It recognizes INDIVIDUAL TO BE MASTER OF HIS OWN LIFE. Human beings are responsible for their own destinies. It places faith on human rationale, rather than divine guidance.

(b) IT ASSERTS THAT SEPARATION OF RELIGION FROM STATES and stresses that family relations, education, morality, knowledge and values are also free from clutches of religion.

(c) IT PUTS STRESS ON REASON and INQUIRY.

(d) SECULARISM WELCOMES PLURALISM AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. Pluralism of religion is supported by an attitude of tolerance towards other religions.

(e) IT IS NOT ANTI-RELIGION.

SECULARISM : EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE :

SECULARISM WAS THE MAIN GOAL OF REFORMATION AND THE RENAISSENCE THAT TOOK PLACE IN EUROPE in 15th and 16th centuries. MARTIN LUTHER, the principal initiator of the protestant reformation, had advocated that it is the right of individual to understand the words of God without taking the guidance of the church.

- Reformation was basically a religious movement which later on becomes reactionary. Two important features or effects of reformation were:

(i) it did not produce more toleration and religious liberty.

(ii) Illiterate masses i.e. popular masses were unaware of the reformation process religion continued to be a mainstay of talk.

- The renaissance advocated rational thinking and challenged the theological uses of cosmos. To make this idea reachable to people, mass education, free press and social movement were used. CHARLES BRADLAUGH, the great secularist, belived that extensive propaganda played crucial role in ensuring secularization.

In the emerging modern nation states, democracy was proclaimed in England, France etc. The right of freedom of conscience was granted to them which happened to pass through three stages:
   1) In first stage people struggled for religious tolerance.
   2) In second stage religious freedom of conscience was asserted.
   3) In third stage genuine freedom of conscience was accomplished.

Aggressive secularism is being imposed by stealth. It demonstrates similar traits to totalitarian regimes - denying people the right to a religious identity - Sayeeda Warsi

Ashish Nandy - Secularism may also lead to religious revivalism when supported by relative deprivation.

Secularization:

The process by which the sphere of influence of religion was contained in institutions and human consciousness is secularization.

Peter Berger defined secularization as the 'process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols'. He calls secularization a myth.

Secularization causes a decline in the social importance of religion and minimizes the role of religion in the social and political affairs of society.

Bryan Wilson argued that western societies had been undergoing a long term process of secularization. He defines secularization as the process whereby religious beliefs, institutions and practices lose social significance.

Harvey Cox gave the following Key characteristics of secularization:
1. Urbanization
2. Pragmatism
3. This worldliness attitude
4. Pluralism
5. Tolerance

Secularization for its development required social milieu. It can be further elaborated in the following way:
- In the context of feudal lords and bourgeoisie: In England and the Netherland, the conflict between feudal lands and bourgeoisie started in 18th century. Feudal lords led a lavish life. They made huge donation to religious institutions and these institution prayed to God for lord's well-being. Bourgeoisie in order to attack feudal lords took the help of scientific and rational outlook. As a result of which, feudal privileges based on heredity, oppression on the basis of sovereignty the "divine rights" of feudal lords to rule was challenged on rational grounds.
- In the content of the capitalist class and the wage-earners : Disraeli divided the capitalist society into two nations viz. the wage earners and the capitalists. The wage-earners were devoid of means of ownership of production. After being paid a subsistence wage, these workers were alienated from the fruits of their labour. They welcomed religion in order to tolerate such a harsh situation. Capitalists also made use of religion to bullet their brutal deeds. They also used religion to pacify violent wage earners.

Secularization and Other Institutions:
- The Church of England is subordinate to the British sovereign.
- French government shows no preference for any religious group and prohibits clerics from teaching in the public schools.
- Monaco, where Catholics comprised 92% of the population in 2000, has implemented the most anti-clergy legislation in the west.
- Church property belongs to the state.
- Worship services outside the church were forbidden.
- The government can open any place of worship and determine the number of clerics in it.
- The clergy cannot vote, participate in politics.
- The Church cannot own radio and television stations.

Religious revivalism refers to mass movements based upon intense religious excitement seeking to restore religious commitment and attachment to a group.

"Religious revivalism is" gaining widespread acknowledgement. Sect, cults, denominations have grown rapidly. Giddens calls it the rise of high modernity which has shifted man's focus from more rigid to softer religious ideas & NewAge religion has become a readymade recipe for man's busy day-to-day activities. Audience cult, client cult & cult movements have come into prominence.

Fundamentalism:

Radicalization is the process, fundamentalism is the ideology - the ultimate result is Militantism.

'Men never do evil so completely and cheerfully as when they do it from religious conviction.' - Blaise Pascal

Gabriel Almond, R. Scott Appleby and Emmanuel Sivan define fundamentalism as a discernible pattern of religious militance by which self-styled "true believers" attempt to arrest the erosion of religious identity, fortify the borders of the religious community and create viable alternatives to secular institutions and behaviours. - structural causes are: education and communication, rationalization, civil society, migration, economic problems, western imperialism, but also needs a contingency and chance, human choice and leadership (ideological catalyzers or organizers and coalition makers).

Mark Juergensmeyer - ultimate aim of all religions is the achievement of order on earth, which will lead to peace and harmony. However, to achieve this order, paradoxically, violence must sometimes be used.

Samuel P. Huntington - '*The clash of civilizations*' - interactions between people of different civilizations are increasing, these increasing interactions intensify civilization consciousness - likely to see an "us" versus "them" relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicity or religion - he calls this unsecularization - diverging civilizational values result into conflicts.

Rise of fundamentalism by Bruce:
- Secularization and modernization have upset the traditional beliefs and fundamentalism emerges as a reaction for restoration.
- Threat perception against a common enemy.
- Charismatic leader, potential recruits.
- Political support.
- Ideological cohesion in the religious text.

Giddens identifies 5 characteristics of Fundamentalists:
- Seek to return to traditional basics.
- Believe their view is the only true view of the world.
- Justify their views by reference to sacred texts and dogma (narrow minded beliefs).
- Avoid contact with people who hold other views.
- Rely on guardians of religion to interpret sacred texts and lay down rules which determines their lifestyle.

Iranian movement led by Ayatollah Khomeini, Sikh fundamentalist upsurge by Sant Bhindranwale, Islamic Jamati Islami

- **Karen Armstrong** believes it's not war on terror, rather by other means fundamentalists can be calmed down. Educational & economic advance is the proper way to refrain fundamentalist group from such activities. So, west should not directly impose its authoritarian sanctions on east, particularly islamic world, rather should; give time & space to them to nurture themselves in fast changing modernity.

POLITICS, RELIGION AND EDUCATION VS FUNDAMENTALISM:

The fundamentalists criticize the idea of separation of religion from politics and state. They say God is omnipotent and political rule comes under his domain, how can then the state be outside religious realm?
THEY INSIST ON RELIGIOUS CONTROL ON EDUCATION IMPORTANT IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. The fundamentalists advocate boycott of modern state-run schools where teaching is not through traditional religious system. THE MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS DEMAND THAT ALL LAWS MUST BE DESIRED FROM THE KORAN AND THE SUNNAH. They suggest harsh punishments like emulation of hands and feet, public flogging etc. for crime done. THE AMERICAN FUNDAMENTALISTS suggest death penalty for murder adultery sodomy, rape, homosexuality, kidnapping, etc. FUNDAMENTALISM IS ANTI SCIENCE AND DENIES THE VALIDITY OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE WHICH IS OUTSIDE THE RELIGIOUS REALM.

EQUALITY OF RELIGIONS VS. FUNDAMENTALISM:

The fundamentalists do not believe in the equality of all religions. They say how on false religions be treated as equal to the true religion. On the similar line, they oppose the concept of the unity of all religions. They are opposed to reason, rationalism, humanism and secularism. The fundamentalists are also opposed to the idea of sovereignty, democracy and constitutional government

- Stages of Fundamentalism
- Aspects of Fundamentalism

i) Capitulation

Silently surrender
Fundamentalists being powerful try to silence liberals in this stage.
Dominant group makes the others accept their ideas.

ii) Exodus

Now fundamentalists forcibly remove non-believers from their territory

iii) War

Now outright killing is undertaken in final stage

- Holocaust, 9/11, Syria are worst examples
  Nazism, Fascism, Totalitarianism are other prominent examples.
- It may be Religious or Political.

- Religion which was a matter of faith is now going
- for division based on their interpretation /political ideology leading to intensifying religiousity in today's world.

Fundamentalism and Communalism:

Communalist leaders need not be religious leaders.

Fundamentalists want to convert the whole world, communalists want to communalize their own social community, because they need a binary opposite to mobilize its members.

Clifford Geertz, an American anthropologist, wrote, "When we speak of communalism in India we refer to religious contrasts, when we speak of it in Malaya we are mainly concerned with racial ones, and in the Congo with tribal ones".

Similarities between fundamentalism and Communalism:

- Both attack the concept of separation of religion from politics and the state.
- Both oppose unity of all religions.
- Both advocate control over education.
- Both believe in restoration of the past values and greatness.
- Both share the notion that founding of religion led to the achievement of near-human perfection.
- Both oppose secularism.

Differences of perception:

In a multi-religious society, a fundamentalist tends to be communal, while communalists quite often, are not fundamentalists. As, in India, AIMIM, the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS, the BJP, the Akali Dal, etc. are communal parties but are not fundamentalists:
- Fundamentalists seriously urge for the actual revival of the pristine past whereas communalists though appeal, they are more focused on modem world.
- Fundamentalists are deeply religious and put their entire ideology on religion whereas communalists use religion just to give political power.
- Fundamentalists want to Christianize or Islamize or Hinduize the whole world. Communalists just want to communalize their own society.

Fundamentalism	Communalism
It stresses upon the infallibility of scriptures.	It is a strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group rather than to a society. The allegiance can be based out of religion, race, ethnicity, etc. In India, basis of allegiance had been religion.
Fundamentalists tend to separate certain communities from the mainstream.	Religion based opposition in Indian context. This is ideological and usually becomes active during the phases of social upheaval. For example, the 1947 communal flairs.
It aims to establish a normative order by various means, from wars to speeches to peaceful methods.	It aims to establish its supremacy through violence, which often involves hatred. This is a situation where religion and religious communities view each other with hostility and antagonism.
Fundamentalism is a movement and such movements are often led by charismatic leaders. For example Ayotollah Khomeni in Iran, Sant Bhindranwale in India.	Communalists have a mass psyche. Communalism becomes apparent only at certain occasions. It may not be sustained like fundamentalism as a movement.
They reject all corrupt lifestyles and aim to purge community of such evils. Bhindranwale talked of the fallen Sikhs, who shave off their beards and cut their hair.	Communalism doesn't have such a reformative agenda.
Fundamentalist movements are reactive and a response to what the persons involved like the leaders and participants consider a crisis. For example, Arya Samajis through Shuddhi Movement, showed such urgency.	It usually emerges when there are conflicts of interests and a sense of insecurity and suspicion exists in one or both the groups. Antagonism is central in communalism while promotion of the original is central in fundamentalism.
The pursuit of political power is very important to fundamentalists.	It is more protective of its own rights and beliefs and is exclusionary in nature.

9 A. Family, household, marriage

The family has often been regarded as the cornerstone of society. In pre-modern and modem societies alike, it has been seen as the most basic unit of social organization and one which carries out vital tasks such as socializing children. A particular type of family, the nuclear family (based around a two-generation household of parents and their children), was seen as well-adapted to the demands of modem societies.

George Peter Murdock in a study entitled *Social Structure* (1949), examined the institution of the family in a wide range of societies. Murdock took a sample of 250 societies, ranging from small hunting and gathering bands to large-scale industrial societies. He claimed that some form of family existed in every society and concluded, on the evidence of his sample, that the family is universal.

Murdock defined the family as follows: "The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults."

Bell and Vogel define the extended family as 'any grouping broader than the nuclear family which is related by descent, marriage or adoption'.

Either on its own or as the basic unit within an extended family, Murdock found that the nuclear family was present in every society in his sample. This led him to conclude that: "The nuclear family is a universal human social grouping. Either as the sole prevailing form of the family or as the basic unit from which more complex forms are compounded, it exists as a distinct and strongly functional group in every known society."

However, some variations in the family structure has also been seen - Nayars of Kerala, Matrifocal families - black families in Central America and USA often do not include adult males, LGBT households.

Yanina Sheeran argues that the 'female-carer core' is the most basic family unit. She says: "The female carer unit is the foundation of the single mother family, the two-parent family and the extended family in its many forms. Thus, it is certainly the basis of family household life in Britain today and is a ubiquitous phenomenon, since even in South Pacific longhouses, preindustrial farmsteads, communes and Kibbutzim, we know that female carers predominate."

Functionalist Perspective on the Family:

From his analysis of 250 societies, Murdock (1949) argued that the family performs four basic functions in all societies, which he termed the sexual, reproductive, economic and educational (socialization). The family does not perform these functions exclusively. However, it makes important contributions to them all and no other institution has yet been devised to match its efficiency in this respect.

The family's functions for society are inseparable from its functions for its individual members. It serves both at one and the same time and in much the same way.

Critique of Murdock:

The family is seen as a multi-functional institution which is indispensable to society. Its 'many-sided utility' accounts for its universality and its inevitability. In his enthusiasm for the family, however, Murdock did not seriously consider whether its functions could be performed by other social institutions and he does not examine alternatives to the family. As D.H.J. Morgan notes in his criticism, Murdock does not answer 'to what extent these basic functions are inevitably linked with the institution of the nuclear family'. Also, Murdock's nuclear family is a remarkably harmonious institution and some other researchers do not share Murdock's emphasis on harmony and integration.

Parsons argued that the American family retains two 'basic and irreducible functions' which are common to the family in all societies. These are the 'primary socialization of children' and the 'stabilization of the adult personalities of the population of the society'.

There are two basic processes involved in primary socialization: the internalization of society's culture and the structuring of the personality. Unless culture is internalized - that is, absorbed and accepted - society would cease to exist, since without shared norms and values social life would not be possible. However, culture is not simply learned, it is 'internalized as part of the personality structure'. The child's personality is moulded in terms of the central values of the culture to the point where they become a part of him or her.

Parsons argued that families are "factories" which produce human personalities. He believed that they are essential for this purpose since primary socialization requires a context which provides warmth, security and mutual support. He could conceive of no institution other than the family that could provide this context.

Once produced, the personality must be kept stable. This is the second basic function of the family: the stabilization of adult personalities. The emphasis here is on the marriage relationship and the emotional security the couple provide for each other. This acts as a counterweight to the stresses and strains of everyday life which tend to make the personality unstable.

This function is particularly important in Western industrial society, since the nuclear family is largely isolated from kin. It does not have the security once provided by the close-knit extended family. Thus, the married couple increasingly look to each other for emotional support.

Adult personalities are also stabilized by the parents' role in the socialization process. This allows them to act out 'childish' elements of their own personalities which they have retained from childhood but which cannot be indulged in adult society.

Today's families are "atomistic families" which fit well into the demands of the modern industrial society.

Critique of Parsons:

Parsons has been accused of idealizing the family with his picture of well-adjusted children and sympathetic spouses caring for each other's every need. It is a typically optimistic modernist theory which may have little relationship to reality.

His picture is based largely on the American middle-class family. He largely fails to explore functional alternatives to the family. He sees socialization as a one-way process, with the children being pumped full of culture and their personalities being moulded by powerful parents. He tends to ignore the two-way interaction process between parents and children.

Parsons sees the family as a distinct institution which is clearly separated from other aspects of social life. Some contemporary perspectives on the family deny that such clear-cut boundaries can be established. The family as such cannot therefore be seen as performing any particular functions on its own in isolation from other institutions.

Marxist Perspective on the Family:

Friedrich Engels's '*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*' combined an evolutionary approach with Marxist theory, arguing that, as the mode of production changed, so did the family.

During the early stages of human evolution, Engels believed that the means of production were communally owned and the family as such did not exist. This era of primitive communism was characterized by promiscuity. There were no rules limiting sexual relationships and society was, in effect, the family.

The monogamous nuclear family developed with the emergence of private property, in particular the private ownership of the means of production, and the advent of the state. The state instituted laws to protect the system of private property and to enforce the rules of monogamous marriage. This form of marriage and the family developed to solve the problem of the inheritance of private property.

Eli Zaretsky argues that the family in modem capitalist society creates the illusion that the 'private life' of the family is quite separate from the economy. In a society in which work was alienating, Zaretsky claims that the family was put on a pedestal because it apparently 'stood in opposition to the terrible anonymous world of commerce and industry'. The private life of the family provided opportunities for satisfactions that were unavailable outside the walls of the home.

However, he believes that the family is unable to provide for the psychological and personal needs of individuals. He says 'it simply cannot meet the pressures of being the only refuge in a brutal society'. The family artificially separates and isolates personal life from other aspects of life. It might cushion the effects of capitalism but it perpetuates the system and cannot compensate for the general alienation produced by such a society.

He sees the family as a major prop to the capitalist economy. The capitalist system is based upon the domestic labour of housewives who reproduce future generations of workers. He also believes that the family has become a vital unit of consumption. The family consumes the products of capitalism and this allows the bourgeoisie to continue producing surplus value. To Zaretsky, only socialism will end the artificial separation of family private life and public life, and produce the possibility of personal fulfilment.

Jennifer Somerville argues that Zaretsky exaggerates the importance of the family as a refuge from life in capitalist society. He underestimates 'the extent of cruelty, violence, incest and neglect' within families. He also exaggerates the extent to which family life is separated from work.

Feminist Perspective on the Family:

They challenge the image of family as being based upon cooperation, shared interests and love, and have tried to show that some members, mostly men, obtain greater benefits from families than others.

Marxist feminists:

Margaret Benston stated that the fact that the husband must pay for the production and upkeep of future labour acts as a strong discipline on his behaviour at work. He cannot easily withdraw his labour with a wife and children to support. These responsibilities weaken his bargaining power and commit him to wage labour.

Fran Ansley sees the emotional support provided by the wife as a safety valve for the frustration produced in the husband by working in a capitalist system. Rather than being turned against the system which produced it, this frustration is absorbed by the comforting wife. In this way the system is not threatened. 'Wife as a sponge'.

David Cooper in *'The Death of Family'* saw family as an 'ideological conditioning device' that conditions children to accept their own exploitation. The family lays down behaviour patterns in which people submit to those in authority. Children learn to obey their parents, just as they will obey employers in later life. Every child has the potential to be an artist, a visionary, or a revolutionary, and to see through ruling class ideology, but this is stifled by the submission of the self to the demands of the family.

Diane Feeley argues that the structure of family relationships socializes the young to accept their place in a class stratified society. She claims that the family with its 'authoritarian ideology is designed to teach passivity, not rebellion'. Thus, children learn to submit to parental authority and emerge from the family preconditioned to accept their place in the hierarchy of power and control in capitalist society.

Critique:

D.H.J. Morgan says the perspective 'presuppose a traditional model of the nuclear family where there is a married couple with children, where the husband is the breadwinner and where the wife stays at home to deal with the housework'. This pattern is becoming less common and the critique of this type of family may therefore be becoming less important.

Marxist feminists may therefore exaggerate the harm caused to women by families and may neglect the effects of non-family relationships (apart from class) on exploitation within marriage. They also tend to portray female family members as the passive victims of capitalist and patriarchal exploitation. They ignore the possibility that women may have fought back against such exploitation and had some success in changing the nature of family relationships. Furthermore, they are not usually prepared to concede that there may be positive elements to family life.

Radical feminists:

Christine Delphy and Diana Leonard see the family as an economic system. It involves a particular set of 'labour relations in which men benefit from, and exploit, the work of women - and sometimes that of their children and other male relatives'. The key to this exploitation is that family members work not for themselves but for the head of the household. Women in particular, are oppressed, not because they

are socialized into being passive, nor because they are ideologically conditioned into subservience, but because their work is appropriated within the family.

Women provide '57 varieties of unpaid service' for men, including providing them with a 'pliant sexual partner and children if he wants them'. Wives do sometimes resist their husband's dominance - they are not always passive victims but 'economic and social constraints' make it difficult for women to escape from the patriarchal family.

Difference feminists:

Linda Nicholson believes that there is a powerful ideology which gives support to a positive image of family life. She argues that this ideology only supports certain types of family while devaluing other types. Nicholson contrasts what she calls the 'traditional' family with 'alternative' families.

The fact that they have some advantages does not mean that traditional families are better than alternative types. From Nicholson's point of view, different types of family suit different women in different circumstances. She believes that the distinction between traditional and alternative families should be abandoned. The distinction implies that traditional families are better, when this is often not true. In any case, the idea of the traditional family misleadingly implies that such families have long been the norm, when in fact they have only become popular in recent times, and have never been totally dominant.

By the late 1990s so many people lived in alternatives to traditional families that the idea of the traditional family had become totally outdated. Nicholson therefore concludes that all types of family and household should be acknowledged and accepted because they could suit women in different circumstances. She advocates the celebration of greater choice for people in deciding on their own living arrangements.

Cheshire Calhoun believes that it is not family life itself that leads to the exploitation of women, rather it is family life within patriarchal, heterosexual marriages that is the problem.

Lesbians who live outside heterosexual families can hardly be directly exploited by relationships within such families. Indeed, lesbians are uniquely placed to avoid dependence on men within families. However, Calhoun does believe that they are disadvantaged by the ideology of the heterosexual family.

According to Calhoun, gays and lesbians have historically been portrayed as 'family outlaws' Their sexuality has been seen as threatening to the family. They have been portrayed as 'outsiders to the family and as displaying the most virulent forms of family disrupting behaviour'. However, Calhoun believes that the anxiety among heterosexuals about gays and lesbians has in fact been caused by anxiety about the state of the heterosexual nuclear family.

She concludes that such scapegoating of lesbians and gays is used to disguise the increasingly frequent departures from the norms of family life by heterosexuals.

Michael Young and Peter Willmott in their book, *The Symmetrical Family*, attempt to trace the development of the family from pre-industrial England to the 1970s. They suggest that the family has gone through four main stages:

- Stage 1 - the pre-industrial family: The family is a unit of production.
- Stage 2 - the early industrial family: individual members were employed as wage earners. Throughout the 19th century, working-class poverty was widespread, wages were low and unemployment high. The family responded to this situation by extending its network to include relatives beyond the nuclear family. This provided an insurance policy against the insecurity and hardship of poverty. The extension of the nuclear family was largely conducted by women who 'eventually built up an organization in their own defence and in defence of their children'. The basic tie was between a mother and her married daughter, and, in comparison, the conjugal bond (the husband-wife relationship) was weak. Women created an 'informal trade union' which largely excluded men.
- Stage 3 - the symmetrical family: This family is characterized by 'the separation of the immediate, or nuclear family, from the extended family'. The trade union of women is disbanded and the husband returns to the family circle. The conjugal bond is strong and relationships between husband and wife are increasingly 'companionate'. The nuclear family has become a largely self-contained, self-reliant unit. The transition to this stage was aided by increase in real wages, welfare state provisions, increased employment opportunities for women, increasing geographical mobility, reduced fertility.

They argue that 'In its capacity as a consumer the family has also made a crucial alliance with technology.' Industry needs both a market for its goods and a motivated workforce. The symmetrical family provides both. Workers are motivated to work by their desire for consumer durables. This desire stems from the high value they place on the family and a privatized lifestyle in the family home. This provides a ready market for the products of industry.

Young and Willmott found that the home-centered symmetrical family was more typical of the working class than the middle class. They argue that members of the working class are 'more fully home-centered because they are less fully work-centered'. Partly as compensation for boring and uninvolving work, and partly because relatively little interest and energy are expended at work, manual workers tend to focus their attention on family life. Young and Willmott therefore see the nature of work as a major influence on family life.

Applying the Principle of Stratified Diffusion to the future (writing in 1973), Young and Willmott postulated the possible development of a stage 4 family - asymmetrical family, with more asymmetrical conjugal roles.

Talcott Parsons argued that the family has become: on the 'macroscopic levels, almost completely functionless. It does not itself, except here and there, engage in much economic production; it is not a significant unit in the political power system; it is not a major direct agency of integration of the larger society. Its individual members participate in all these functions, but they do so as individuals, not in their roles as family members.

However, this <u>does not mean that the family is declining in importance</u> - it has simply become more specialized. Parsons maintained that its role is still vital. By structuring the personalities of the young and stabilizing the personalities of adults, the family provides its members with the psychological training and support necessary to meet the requirements of the social system. Parsons concluded that 'the family is more specialized than before, but not in any general sense less important, because society is dependent more exclusively on it for the performance of certain of its vital functions'. Thus, the loss of certain functions by the family has made its remaining functions more important.

N. Dennis argues that impersonal bureaucratic agencies have taken over many of the family's functions. As a result, the warmth and close supportive relationships that existed when the family performed a large range of functions have largely disappeared.

Dennis argues that, in the impersonal setting of modem industrial society, the family provides the only opportunity 'to participate in a relationship where people are perceived and valued as whole persons'.

In *The Family and Marriage in Britain*, Ronald Fletcher argued that not only has the family retained its functions but those functions have 'increased in detail and importance'. Specialized institutions such as schools and hospitals have added to and improved the family's functions, rather than superseded them. Even though the family has largely lost its function as a unit of production, he argued that it still maintains a vital economic function as a unit of consumption.

State education has added to, rather than removed, the socialization responsibility since parents are expected to do their best to guide, encourage and support their children in their educational and occupational choices and careers. Compared to the past, parents are preoccupied with their children's health. State health and welfare provision has provided additional support for the family and made its members more aware of the importance of health and hygiene in the home.

Anthony Giddens in *'The Transformation of Intimacy'* argues that pre-modern relationships in Europe were largely based around 'economic circumstance'. People got married to particular people largely to provide an economic context in which to produce a family. For the peasantry, life was so hard it 'was unlikely to be conducive to sexual passion'. The aristocracy also married for reasons to do with reproduction and forming economic connections between families.

However, in the 18th century, the idea of <u>romantic love</u> began to develop. Romantic novels played an important part in spreading the idea of romantic love. It was also related to the limitation of family size, which allowed sex to be separated from pregnancy and childbirth.

Romantic love contains the idea that people will be attracted to one another and this attraction will lead to the partners being bound together. In theory, romantic love should be egalitarian. In practice, however, it has tended to lead to the dominance of men. For women, dreams of romantic love have all too often led to grim domestic subjection.

Giddens argues that in the most recent phase of modernity, the nature of intimate relationships has undergone profound changes. <u>Plastic sexuality</u> has developed which involves sex being freed from its association with childbirth altogether. It is now a type of leisure pursuit. However, it is not only technological development (contraceptives) that led to the emergence of plastic sexuality, but crucially

the development of a sense of the self that could be actively chosen. This process can be described as the growth of <u>social reflexivity</u>. Reflexivity describes the way in which people reflect upon the institutions that are part of the social world and try to change them for the better.

Romantic love is increasingly replaced with confluent love, which lasts only so long as it benefits the lover. <u>Confluent love</u> is active and contingent. Romantic love meant that once people had married, they were usually stuck with one another, no matter how the relationship developed. Now people have more choice: whereas divorce was previously difficult or impossible to obtain, married people are now no longer bound to stay together if the relationship does not work.

Rather than basing relationships on romantic passion, people are increasingly pursuing the ideal of the <u>pure relationshi</u>p, in which couples remain because they choose to do so. As the idea of confluent love becomes consolidated as a real possibility, the more the idea of finding the Mr. or Mrs. Right recedes and the more the idea of finding the right relationship becomes crucial. The pure relationship is held together by the acceptance on the part of each partner that, until further notice each gains sufficient benefits from the relationship to make its continuance worthwhile. Each partner in the relationship constantly monitors their concerns to see if they are deriving sufficient satisfaction from the relationship for it to go on.

<u>Individualization</u> involves an extension of areas of life in which individuals are expected to make their own decisions. ==Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim== in '*Normal Chaos of Love*' say that the proportions of possibilities in life that do not involve decision making is diminishing, owing to factors like Protestant ethic, urbanization, secularization and social and geographical mobility.

If pre-modern societies gave people little choice about their roles in families and marriages, they did at least provide some stability and certainty. They say the nuclear family seems to offer 'a sort of refuge in the chilly environment of our affluent, impersonal, uncertain society, stripped of its traditions and scarred by all kinds of risk. Love will become more important than ever and equally impossible'.

Love offers the promise of an 'emotional base' and a 'security system', which are absent in the world outside. However, contemporary societies prevent the formation of such relationships. The apparent greater choice over relationships can create problems in making them work, and the quest for individual fulfilment by both partners in a relationship makes it difficult for them to find common ground.

Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that antagonism, between men and women are on the rise. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim claim that the battle between the sexes is the central drama of our times, as evidenced in growth of the marriage counseling industry, family courts, marital self-help groups and divorce rates. But even though marriage and family life seem to be flimsier that ever before, they still remain very important to people. Divorce is increasingly common, but rates of remarriage are high. The birth rate may be declining, but there is a huge demand for fertility treatment. Fewer people may choose to get married, but the desire to live with someone as part of a couple is certainly holding steady. What can explain these competing tendencies?

They claim that today's battle of the sexes is the clearest possible indication of 'people's hunger for love'. People marry for the sake of love and divorce for the sake of love; they engage in an endless cycle of hoping, regretting and trying again. While on the one hand the tensions between men and women are high, there remains a deep hope and faith in the possibility of finding true love and fulfillment.

Stephanie Coontz in *'The way we never were'* shows that the traditional family was not so golden after all. It witnessed high death rates, average length of marriage was only 12 years, most children saw death of at least one parent by 21, there was a strict authority of parents, women were meant to be virtuous, while men could be licentious.

Household - Single individuals/group of people who are co-residents and commensal. Single individual or group of individuals sharing common residence, living room and essentials of life such as food.

Amartya Sen calls the household as a cooperative-conflict unit:

- Household and family are organized along lines of residence and kinship respectively. The two may not coincide with each other at all times and at all places.
- The term 'feminization of poverty' denotes the economic hardship of women headed households.
- He says, the ability to negotiate and decide does not remain static and varies with time, with difference in experiences of household members and invocation of norms, constraints and propriety. It is here that the household is visible in its cooperation-conflict form.
- Household faces two problems simultaneously - cooperation (adding to total availabilities) and conflict (dividing total availabilities). Who does what and who takes what responses leads to problem of cooperation and conflict. Sexual DOL is one part of such arrangement.
- Sen adds a new dimension than just economic and income of Marxists.

Marriage - Socially acceptable and approved sexual union between two adult individuals.

P1 - 9 a. Family, household, marriage

Family:

Functions of family - social (Durkheim, Parsons), cultural, psychological (Parsons, Bob Edwards), economic.

Main characteristics of family:
- Universality
- Emotional basis
- Limited size
- Formative influence
- Nuclear position in the social structure - the family is the nucleus of all other social organizations
- Responsibility of the members - members have certain responsibilities, duties and obligations
- Social regulation

Parsons - family has become structurally differentiated - family acts as an interface between personality system and cultural system.

According to Burgess and Lock the family is a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a single household interacting with each other in their respective social role of husband and wife, mother and father, brother and sister creating a common culture.

Nimkoff says that family is a more or less durable association of husband and wife with or without child or of a man or woman alone with children.

According to Maclver family is a group defined by sex relationships sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children.

Kingsley Davis describes family as a group of persons whose relations to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are therefore kin to one another.

Malinowski opined that the family is the institution within which the cultural traditions of a society is handed over to a newer generation. This indispensable function could not be filled unless the relations to parents and children were relations reciprocally of authority and respect. Family is the cornerstone of every human society. Society can exist without any other institution except family.

Durkheim - Family is a society in miniature. It is also driven by conscience collective, has DOL, checks deviance. Social fact.

Haralambos - study of Blacks, central Americans - woman and dependent children better unit as family. Mother child relationship is an atom of every society.

John Bowlby study of delinquent kids revealed that all the delinquent kids lacked intimacy with their mothers and had insensitivity towards pains of others, thus don't hesitate before violence.

Bob Edwards - in modern nuclear families, physical punishment is replaced by counselling services. This is a new role of family.

Israeli Kibbutz - children don't live with parents as collective rearing in dorms.

Vogel and Bell have presented a dysfunctional explanation based on finding of an extensive study of American families containing an emotionally disturbed child. They argued that often the tension and hostility of unresolved conflict between parents are projected on the child. The child is thus used as emotional scapegoat by the parents to relive their tension. Scapegoating the child served as a personality stabilizing process for the parents and keeps the family united. But the cost of such unity is paid by child.

Edmund Leach has concentrated on the kin and wider community in *"A Runaway World"*. Today the domestic household is isolated, the family look inward upon itself; there is an intensification of emotional stress between husband and wife and parents and children. This strain is greater than most can bear. Thrown back almost entirely on its resources, the nuclear family becomes like an over loaded electrical circuit. The demand upon it is too great and fuse blows. In Leach's words the parents and children huddled together in their

loneliness, take too much of out of each other. This strain is greater than most can bear. "The parents fight, the children rebel."

R.D. Laing in *"The Politics of Family"* referred to family group as a nexus. He argued that highest concern of the nexus is reciprocal concern. Each partner is concerned about what others think feels and do. Within the nexus, there is the constant unremitting demand for mutual concern and attention. As a result there is a considerable potential for harm, family members are in an extremely vulnerable position. Thus, if a father is angry over his son, given the nature of nexus, son is concerned about his father's opinion and cannot burst it off lightly. In self defence, he may run to his mother who offers protection. In this way, Laing argues, a family can act as a gangster protection, each other mutual protection against each other's violence. According to Laing, family is the root of all problems in society. Some families live in perpetual anxiety of an external persecuting world. Moreover, the most dangerous feature of the family is the inculcation of obedience in the minds of sibling. Later in Life, they become officials , blindly and unquestionably following orders.

Anthony Giddens - it is premature to say that modern industrial societies are going for nuclear family. Rather upper class Brits go for extended families (guided by culture and heredity), middle class go or nuclear families (with expressive love) and the lower class is always on the move (unstable marriage, unstable family, poverty, residence shift). Hence family differs from one class to another and there is no uniform family size.

David Popenoe says change in societal institutions also depends on state ideology, support and politics. Example: Scandinavian countries have more live-in or same-sex households due to liberal state policy.

William Goode in a cross-cultural comparison of change in institution of family finds how woman-headed households are on the rise in Philippines, rise in nucleated households in South Africa and almost no change in countries like Iran.

Madness and Civilization - materialism is injected into child's mentality even before he knows about it, through the "culture of gifts" by parents who try to compensate for lack of time.

Nuclear family = prolonged childhood - because child remains a constant focus of attention, and hence remains emotionally dependent.

Peter Laslett - Census 1851 data in England showed only 10% joint families. Anderson later studied recent census data and found 23% - hence joint family increased - mainly to share rent. Sussman similarly found no tendency of decline in joint family in USA.
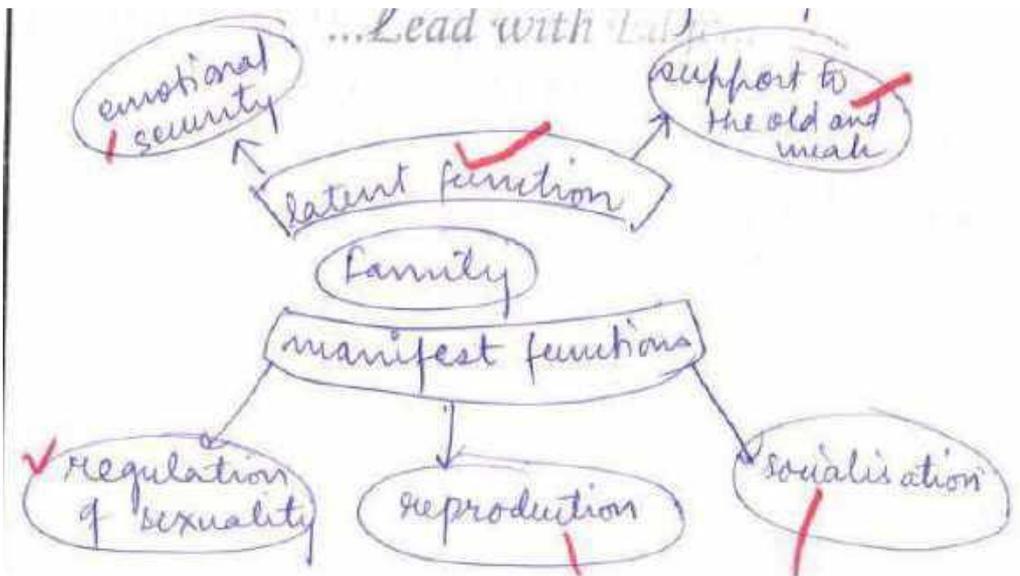
Lawrence Stone maintains family is universal & has undergone many changes in course of evolution. In tribal society, elementary family was seen which converts into extended restrictive family in agrarian society due to private ownership of property. In modern capitalist society, nuclear family has come into picture due to least dependence on Kinship groups

> · Clifford Geertz condemns family for its direct role in violence, suicide, emotional breakdown inside society. He argues due to huge gap between expectation of family members of achievement, man suffers from mental imbalance which leads to dysfunctionalities in social structures.

Kingsley Davis - Functions of family:
- Social - Reproductive, Maintenance, Placement, Socialization
- Psychological: affection, security

Functions of family - Horton and Hunt
- Protective function
- Affectionate function
- Sexual Regulation function
- Socialization function
- Economic function
- Reproductive function
- Status definition/social placement function

But they say that today:
- Sexual regulation function has reduced
- Reproductive function has declined in importance
- Socialization function has grown in importance
- Affectional and companionship function has grown in importance
- Economic, physical protection function has declined

> Although, Talcott Parsons and William Goode believed that in modern society isolated nuclear family is the best suitable form but what has actually happened is as follows:
> corporate Family → Nuclear Family → Serial Monogamy
> Household ← Run-away Family ←

Marriage:

Macionis - Legally sanctioned relationship, involves economic cooperation, sexual activity, childbearing - expected to be enduring - love marriages are lesser stable than arranged because based on only emotion which wax and wane.

Incest is not allowed universally - Malinowski says if incest, then nurturing and socializing suffers.

Samuel Johnson - Monogamy prevalent mostly because ratio is 1:1. No man can have 2 wives but by preventing somebody else from having one.

Polyandry is so rare that Murdoch calls it ethnographic curiosity, Todas of South India, Namib bushmen, Yaruro of Venzuela - happens when resources are limited, to avoid division. Mainly fraternal polyandry.

Kinship:

- The kinship system - social bonds based on blood (consanguinity), marriage (affinity) or adoption.
- Social recognition of biological or affinity relationships. Social recognition is very important. Example: Malinowski noted that in Trobriand islands, sexual intercourse and child birth are unrelated. There is sexual freedom and they believe that soul of a dead

person enters mother's womb. Thus, they acknowledge relationship between mother and child and not father and child. Similarly, adopted child has no biological relationship with parents but is recognized by society.

- Kinship relationships can be shared or direct. Shared - example: siblings, called collaterals; direct- descent - example: mother son.
- In most societies rules of descent, inheritance and group identity overlap.

9 B. Types and forms of family

Forms of family classified on the basis of:

- Marriage - monogamous, polygamous
- Nature of residence - patrilocal, matrilocal, neolocal
- Ancestry or descent - patrilineal, matrilineal, bilineal, multilineal
- Size or structure and the depth of generations - nuclear, joint
- Nature of relations among the family members - conjugal, consanguine
- Focus of attention - patronymic, matronymic

P1 - 9 b. Types and forms of family

Empty shell - couple stays together, but no emotional commitment - maximum in India - spouses live together and remain legally married, but their marriage exists in name only.

Dual career families - earlier both in similar professions, now greater diversity.

Kotler - 6 pocket syndrome - 1 kid pampered by parents and 2 sets of grandparents.

Changes with Industrial Society:

Kingsley Davis - Major items in variation of marital relation: no. of spouses; authority; strength of bond, choice of spouse, residence.

William Goode - World revolution in family patterns - did global survey of family institutions:
- Industrialization tends to undermine extended family and larger kinship groups.
- High geographical mobility decreases frequency and intimacy of contact.
- Many functions performed by family taken over by outside agencies.
- Not just industrialization but western idea of nuclear family further spreading nuclearism.
- Role bargaining: individual tries to attain best possible bargain in relationship with others.
- Says, rate may differ but in all societies families moving towards same end - institutionalizing of conjugal family form or nuclear family.

Goran Therborn counters Goode and denies convergence of different family types into one:
- Families not becoming increasingly similar but varied and diverse patterns visible.
- Families are ageing due to falling global birth rates.

Young and Wilmott
- Stage 1 - Symmetrical family in agrarian societies: Family unit of production with family members.
- Stage 2 - Asymmetrical family in early Industrialization disrupted family unit with men working outside and women at home - strict DOL.
- Stage 3 - Symmetrical family - reunites but around family as a unit of consumption. Men more leisure time and spend with family.
- Stage 4 - Asymmetrical family - empty shell and disoriented family because of too much career orientation.

(a) Co-habitation → Couples decide to live together without marrying.

Allan & Crow believe that such arrangements are the result of 'increasing dissociation between marriage, sex and parenthood'. They studied the British society in 1990s and concluded that alternative family forms are fast emerging.

9 C. Lineage and descent

The term "lineage" consists of all descendants in one line of a particular person through a determinate number of generations. Where the living members constitute of recognized social group it may be called lineage group. Sometimes the lineage consists of all descendants through male of a single ancestor which is called a patrilineage or an agnatic lineage; one consisting of descendants through female is known as matrilineage.

Lineage usually has exclusive common ritual observance, perhaps totemic in nature and is usually exogamous. The clan is often the combination of a few lineages and descent may be human or human like animal or plant or even inanimate. Radcliffe Brown defines lineage as sib, which is a consanguineous group, but its members do not share a common residence.

Descent is the principle whereby a child is socially affiliated with the group of his or her parents. A descent group is any social group in which membership depends on common descent from a real or mythical ancestor.

Apart from the function of exogamy, unilineal descent groups tend to be 'corporate' in several other senses. Their members may often come together for ritual and ceremonial functions, for instance, for collective worship of lineage Gods, totems or ancestors.

P1 - 9 c. Lineage and descent

Kinship is a relationship based upon blood and marriage. Within a family, both the types are present, so family is the smallest unit of kinship. Number of families related via these two criteria makes up kinship.

Simple society --> identity based on kinship
Feudal society --> based on land
Today --> based on occupation
Hence, from an exhaustive role in simple society, kinship today has a restrictive role.

Multiple lineage groups are present inside a single kinship group:

Kinship group	Lineage group
Gives social inclusivity	Gives property rights
All inclusive	Gender specific
Can be squeezed with advent of modernity	Does not change even in the face of modernity

Descent talks of origin, lineage talks of inheritance. Lineage is a specific part of the descent group.

Kinship   (greater social ties)
    |
Descent (social ties)
    |
Multiple lineages (inheritance)

Fictitive kinship, ritual relationship = *mooh bola bhai, behen*

In some societies the child is regarded as a descendant equally of both father and the mother, except that titles and surnames are usually passed down along the male line. Such a system is termed Bilateral or Cognatic. The individual belongs simultaneously to several descent groups - those of two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, and so on. This link is limited only by memory. Example: Yaho tribe of Nigeria (one side movable property other side immovable), Saha tribe of Brazil - Females inherit from mother and sons inherit from father.

In some societies one finds that the child is affiliated to the group of either parent, depending on choice, or to one parent for some purposes (for instance, inheritance of property) and to the other parent for other purposes (for instance, the inheritance of ritual or ceremonial roles). This is called DOUBLE UNILINEAL DESCENT.

Principle of COMPLEMENTARY FILIATION - explains the significant ritual and social roles of the mother's brothers in the lives of their sister's children.

Clan as a descent group: believe to share same ancestor. May be mythical as in case of gotra.

Functions of descent group:

- Exogamous: Strong sense of shared identity.
- Cultural function: come together for ritual and ceremony functions.
- Property management: descent group will have a built-in authority structure, with power normally exercised by senior males, and it may well own corporate property.
- Role sharing: An individual's economic rights and responsibilities defined by his/her position.
- Jural Units: many societies unilineal descent groups internally decide their own disputes.

Descent and Inheritance:

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

- 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 was inherited 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, succession to office to chieftainship, kingship, dynasty politics etc. In such cases, individual's status is said to be 'ascribed', not 'achieved'.
- Though it's not much of a feature of modern societies, one should not underestimate the importance of kinship connections in modern societies too. Often one finds that in a family if father is a doctor or lawyer the son or daughter is also likely to choose the same occupation.

9 D. Patriarchy and sexual division of labour

Patriarchy - literally, rule by father, this concept is used to refer to a system that values men more and gives them power over women.

Sexual division of labour is a system in which all work inside the home is either done by the women of the family, or organized by them through the domestic helpers.

From primitive to modem societies, it is found that division of labour Is a universal phenomenon. Earlier, it was highly based on sex and age, and today in modern times, it is based on talents. If division of labour in considered a biological concept, then it will be termed as a sexual division of labour. If it is socially and culturally derived and decided, then gender-based division of labour.

Tiger and Fox argue that human behaviour is based on human bio-grammar. The bio-grammar is a genetically based programme which pre-disposes mankind to behave in certain ways. Because of this, compared to women, men are more aggressive and dominant. The differences are partly due to genetics inherited from men's primate ancestors, and partly due to an adoption of a way of life. Thus, male dominance is a sex-linked characteristic. Male and female adapted to a sexual division of labour in a hunting society. Compared to cultural change, genetic change is slow - thus male and female bio-grammar of a hunting society is still in existence. Therefore, the division of labour is sex based.

G.P. Murdock finds biological difference between men and women are the basis of the sexual division of labour in society. He says that men with their superior physical strength can better undertake the most strenuous tasks. Not handicapped by the physiological burdens of pregnancy and nursing, men can take on the activities like hunting, fishing, while women can take on activities of gathering food, cooking, washing. Murdock surveyed 221 societies ranging from hunting and gathering bands to modern nation states and found that the sexual division of labour is present in all societies in his sample.

Parsons has described two important functions of the isolated nuclear family - Primary socialization of children and Stabilization of adult personality. Parsons characterizes women's role in family as expressive - she provides warmth, security and emotional support to her husband. Male role is instrumental which leads to stress and anxiety, and the expressive female relieves the tension by providing him with love, consideration and understanding. Parsons argues that for the family to operate effectively as a social system there must be a clear-cut division of labour.

According to John Bowlby, it is essential for mental health and wellbeing that infants and young children experience a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with their mother. His argument implies that there is a genetically based, psychological need for close and intimate mother-child relationship. Thus, the division of labour is sex based.

According to Ann Oakley, "the division of labour on basis of sex is not universal, and, there is no reason, why it should be". Human cultures are diverse and endlessly variable. They are the creation of human inventiveness rather than invincible biological forces. Since human cultures are changing, so there is a change in whole lifestyles, which eventually changes division of labour in society.

While criticizing Murdock, she says he is biased because he looked at other cultures through both western and male eyes. Similarly, she attacks Parsons, arguing that the expressive housewife/mother

role is not necessary for the functioning of the family unit. It merely exists for the convenience of the male. Therefore, she concludes that gender roles are culturally rather than biologically determined.

Sherry B. Ortner claims that it is the universal devaluation of women, and not biology, that ascribes women their status in society. Thus, if this universal evaluation changed, then the basis for female subordination would be removed. Ortner argues that women are universally defined as close to nature because their physiology and its functions are more concerned with the natural processes, surrounding the reproduction of species. And so, they are entrusted with child care and primary socialization. They develop more personal and intimate relations with others, specially their children. By comparison, men have wider range of contacts and less personal and particular relationships by engaging in politics, warfare and religion. Thus, men are seen as being more objective and less emotional. In this way, it can be said that subordination of women is due to the cultural evaluation of their biological make up.

Ernestine Friedl provides an explanation for both sexual division of labour and gender division of labour and supports cultural explanation for this. She tested her hypothesis by examining hunting and gathering bands and small-scale horticulture societies. Friedl argues that, the distribution of scarce or irregularly available resource (meat in hunting society) is the source of power. Those who distribute such resources gain prestige. Thus, in comparison to females, males are attached with high prestige and honour. Similarly, in horticulture societies, defending the property requires lot of courage and sacrifices. And so, a greater prestige and honour is attached with it, which shows the dominance of men. Also, activities with danger are undertaken by men, as loss of men can still ensure that the population survives, but the loss of women cannot be adequately compensated.

Shulasmith Firestone claims that the mothering role is the root cause of sexual division of labour, and its remove can lead to gender equality.

Hochschild calls working women doing house work as *second shift* for women and a *stalled revolution* - where house work still remains women's duty. Also, men work like repairs, lawn mowing are not regular activities, but cooking, cleaning are strictly time bound.

P1 - 9 d. Patriarchy and sexual division of labour

Sex refers to the permanent and immutable biological characteristics common to individuals in all societies and cultures, while gender defines traits forged throughout the history of social relations. Gender, although it originates in objective biological divergencies, goes far beyond the physiological and biological specifics of the two sexes in terms of the roles each is expected to play. Gender differences are social constructs, inculcated on the basis of a specific society's particular perceptions of the physical differences and the assumed tastes, tendencies and capabilities of men and women. Gender differences, unlike the immutable characteristics of sex, are universally conceded in historical and comparative social analyses to be variants that are transformed over time and from one culture to the next, as societies change and evolve.

Gender relations are accordingly defined as specific mechanisms whereby different cultures determine the functions and responsibilities of each sex. They also determine access to material resources, such as land, credit and training, and more ephemeral resources, such as Power. The implications for everyday life are many, and include the division of labour, the responsibilities of family members inside and outside the home, education and opportunities for professional advancement and a voice in policy-making.

A patriarchal structure where a number of factors coincide:
- when descent is reckoned patrilineally
- when inheritance of major property is from father to son
- when residence is patrilocal, and
- When authority is concentrated in the hands of senior males

There is no society on earth whose features are exact reverse of these. For even in matrilineal, matrilocal systems, which are fairly rare, major property is usually controlled by males. For this reason, term 'matriarchy', though often found in literature, is probably a misnomer, and there is no conclusive evidence to support that matriarchy was a universal early stage in development of kinship systems.

Goran Therborn - *Between sex and power*

He studied 5 major family types across 20th century, shaped by particular religions:
- Sub Saharan - African (Animistic)
- European/North American (Christian)
- East Asian (Confucian)
- South Asian (Hindu)
- W. Asia and N. Africa (Islam)

Following structure across families: patriarchy; marriage/non-marriage regulation of sexual behaviour; fertility and birth control measures.

Patriarchal power declines in 2 stages:
- After WW-1 - Russian Revolution promoted equality
- Sexual revolutions of mid 70s, International Women Year - 1975, second wave of feminism and legislative powers to women in many countries and larger public role.

Ann Oakley says ~~that~~ in 'Sexual Politics', that women suffer from the patriarchal values instilled in all stratification system because of following failures:

(i) ~~Enrop~~ unequal wages
(ii) Domestification of Wife
(iii) Violence in two forms
   - Symbolic violence (eg. pornography)
   - Expressive violence
(iv) State apathetic role

9 E. Contemporary trends

Rapoport Et Al argue that diversification of family can happen on any of these variables:

- Organizational - DOL
- Cultural - multi ethnic, multi religious families
- Class - variations along class structure
- Life course - different types of families can be formed at different life courses
- Cohort - Connections between generations - ageing family
- Sexual diversity (added by Giddens)- homosexuals

Families in global context - Giddens - In developing countries, widespread changes are occurring:

- Spread of western culture
- Development of centralized governments
- Government policies on families
- Reproductive technologies
- Large scale migration from rural to urban
- Employment opportunities away from land

Goran Therborn identifies some features of diversity common across societies:

- Declining influence of kinship groups
- Trend towards free selection of spouse
- Increasing recognition of women rights
- Higher levels of sexual freedom
- General recognition towards children rights
- Increase acceptance towards same sex partnership

Macionis states the following reasons for high divorce rates in the West:

- Individualism on the rise
- Economic independence - acquisitive spirit
- Legally easier to get a divorce
- Social acceptance of divorce
- Greater overall prosperity - easier to set individual household
- Measuring scale for marriages is tougher now

Giddens says that divorce rate does not indicate rejection of a marriage but indicates to rising expectation from married life. Parsons and Fletcher also second him by indicating that increased rate of remarriage supports this argument.

Nicky Hart in '*When Marriage Ends*'- identifies three factors:

- Affecting values attached to marriage: Increased expectation from marriage
- Affecting degree of conflict: dual roles and strain on marital relationship

- Affecting opportunities to escape from wedlock: legally easier and socially acceptable

She says that conflict between worker role of female and normative expectations of family also lead to marital breakdown.

P1 - 9 e. Contemporary trends

Also to read in brief - Vikash Ranjan Book - Pages 384 to 398 - Contemporary Trends

Neal Gross argues that what he calls regulated traditions - traditions that constrain and limit people's behaviour in families - have declined in importance. These include rigid gender divisions within marriage, the confinement of childbirth to within marriage, and the requirement that marriage is a lifelong relationship. However, this has not resulted in a free-for-all in which anything goes (as seems to be implied by individualization theorists like Ulrich Beck). This is because meaning-constitutive traditions have remained important. These traditions involved culture, lifestyle and values that continue to shape people's behaviour without imposing strict and inflexible rules on that behaviour. Thus, for example, people continue to value marriage and see it as an ideal without regarding it as the only possible option. For this reason, individualization theories might overestimate the amount of change in family life and underestimate the degree of continuity.

Jennifer Somerville - Changes in the institution of marriage have been exaggerated. Vast majority of people still get married, most marriages continue, most people still live in a household dominated by a married couple.

Domestic violence:

Steinmetz - Family provides training ground of violence.

Conservationists don't attribute it to patriarchy but to dysfunctionality of families.

Giddens - 2 reasons for widespread domestic violence:
- Because relates to family - emotional intensity very high
- Certain level of violence accepted and even approved (control child)

Goode - Prevalent more in lower classes. Poor have fewer other means of control like higher income or education qualifications. Also stress may be induced due to cycle of poverty.

Visits to kin reduced - Mobrien and Deborah study of East London families - 14% lone parent families; 14 % step parent families; 62% dual career families. Visited parents: 60% financial purposes and 80% babysitting purposes.

Wilmott uses the term dispersed extended family.

Rapoport and Rapoport: Diversity in families:
- Symmetrical nuclear (roles same - both go to work, both take care of kids, etc.)
- 1/3rd single parent families
- Cohabitation without marriage
- Reconstituted families
- Homosexual families
- Communal living families: increasing divorces. All living together.

Remarriage, Blended / step / reconstituted families - Difficulties:
- biological parent elsewhere
- cooperation issues
- varying expectations

) "Mediatisation of relations" → as
S.JODHKA says
— seen in family
— grparents wishing "Happy Birthday" to
children on facebook
— overuse of social media.
— SKYPE FAMILIES

SOCIAL CHANGE IN MODERN SOCIETY

10 A. Sociological theories of social change

Horton and Hunt - social change is change in social structure and social relationships of a society. They differentiate between cultural change and social change even though both overlap at many times.

Lundberg - social change refers to any modification in established patterns of inter-human relationships and standards of conduct.

Wilbert Moore - social change is a significant alteration in structure over time in behavior patterns and culture, including norms and values.

Social Evolution - a universal movement from an indefinite unstable homogeneity to definite stable heterogeneity. It is value loaded in terms of direction and structure (towards complexity). Evolution expresses continuity and direction of change. It means more than growth. 'Growth' implies a direction of change but essentially in size or quality. Evolution involves something more intrinsic, a change not only in size but also of structure.

Progress (quantitative) - any change in existing environment that makes it easier for a person or a group to live. Example: technology is considered an index of progress. Progress implies change in direction towards some final desired goal. It involves a value judgement.

Development (qualitative) - desirable form of social change. It is value loaded in terms of proceeding in a particular direction which is desired by the society and is planned. Example: FYPs

Change - value neutral. Represents only alteration. Change in the system is a quantitative change, change of the system is a qualitative change.

Nature of social change:

- Universal phenomenon, Community change and not individual change.
- Speed is not uniform, Nature and speed is affected by and related to time factor.
- Occurs as an essential law. May be as a result of natural course or planned efforts.
- Definite prediction is not possible, Shows chain reaction sequence.
- Results from an interaction of a number of factors.
- Social changes are chiefly those of modification or of replacement.

Evolutionary Theories of Social Change:

They are based on the assumption that societies gradually change from simple beginnings into more complex forms. View it as unilinear, progressive, gradual and beneficial.

LH Morgan upholds a materialistic conception of evolution. He believes that as human needs increase, man innovates and develops technologies to satisfy those needs. With a dramatic change in technology, all other dimensions of social life change. He mentions seven stages of technological development through which society has moved from savagery to barbarism to civilization.

August Comte upholds an ideational conception of evolution. He explains change as the outcome of intellectual development. The three stages viewed by him were Theological, Metaphysical and Rational.

Herbert Spencer upholds a naturalistic conception of evolution. He views the society as an organism (made of interconnected parts - the social institutions), and believes that like an organism, societies are also characterized by a progressive increase in size. This increase is either due to internal factors like population growth or due to external factors like migration, and results into an increase in differentiation and integration. He examined certain stages which the societies in course of their evolution passed.

- Simple society - herd or band
- Compound society - tribe and chiefdom
- Doubly compound society - city state and kingdom
- Trebly compound society - empire and modern nation-state

LT Hobhouse takes advancement in human knowledge as the chief indicator of development and presents an evolutionary sequence of five stages:

- Stage of preliterate societies
- Stage of literacy and proto-science - Babylon, China
- Stage of reflective thought - Vedic period
- Stage of critical thought - Greece
- Stage of modern science - from 16th century

Durkheim views social change as an evolution of a society from highly undifferentiated to differentiated. This is a movement from a mechanical and simple society to an organic and complex society. The increasing differentiation will eventually replace the mechanical solidarity with organic solidarity.

Lenski and Lenski - Some changes are cyclic and unpatterned, but evolutionary process of cumulative change is the predominant pattern. Cumulative changes occur in two ways - innovation and selection. Innovation produces new variations and selection decides which variation should lead. Both these processes happen at two levels - at the level of individual society and at the world system.

Critique:

- Franz Boas opposes the view that universal laws govern all societies.
- Have a value bias, and cynically label the simply societies as primitive or savage.
- May explain long term ends but not changes on a smaller scale.
- Do not explain significant differences between societies at the same level of evolution.
- Stages of evolution are not fixed in reality; leapfrogging or backward movement is also possible.
- There can be no final stage. It is always a value laden concept.
- Lacks support of data.

Neo - Evolutionary Theory of Social Change:

Parsons builds his theory based on the model of biological theory of evolution. The fundamental principle of evolution is the capacity for adaptation. This capacity depends upon two basic processes -

differentiation and integration, and change in culture is very important for both. According to Parsons, cultural change accompanied by increasing differentiation is characterized by increasing generalization of cultural values, which then helps in greater integration. Applying this model, he identified five stages of evolution, according to increasing level of differentiation and integration:

- Primitive society, like Australian aborigines
- Archaic society like Mesopotamia
- Historical society like China and India
- Seedbed society like Greece
- Modern society like USA, Europe

He talks about evolutionary universals. If a civilization at a lower evolutionary stage adopts certain evolutionary universals belonging to a higher stage, it can easily leap over one or more stages altogether. Example: Europe was at a lower stage of evolution than India and China, but leapfrogged into modernity after Enlightenment and Renaissance.

Conflict Theories of Social Change:

Hegel spoke of dialectical idealism as a source of social change.

Marx was inspired by this theory and modified it to dialectical materialism:

1. Law of Unity and Conflict of Opposites - there are internal sides, tendencies, forces of an object or phenomena, which are mutually exclusive but at same time presuppose each other. Inseparable interconnections of these opposite tendencies are responsible for the unity of opposites. This contradictoriness is universal. The opposites coexist and one is inconceivable without other. However, these opposites cannot coexist peacefully - their contradictory, mutually exclusive character necessarily causes a struggle between them. It is important to note that unity of opposites is a necessary condition of conflict, because it takes place only where opposite sides exist in one object or phenomenon. This contradiction and conflict of opposites is the main source of development of matter and consciousness. Development is thus, a struggle of these opposites.
2. The Law of Negation of the Negation - The history of society also consists of a chain of negations of the old social order by the new. As Raymond Aron puts it, capitalism is the negation of feudal society, and socialism would be the negation of capitalism, hence negation of negation.
3. The Law of Transition of Quantity into Quality - According to this law, process of change is not simple or gradual but is a product of quantitative advances, which result in abstract qualitative changes at a particular moment, when mature conditions are present. There is never a repetition of occurrences. This change is always from lower to higher, simpler to complex and homogeneous to heterogeneous levels of reality.

Coser speaks of positive consequences of conflict. He believes that social solidarity within a group increases in face of conflict with other groups. This leads to an improved understanding of opponent, and creates new avenues of interaction, and thus change in the group. It may also give rise to some unchartered areas of co-operation between different parties. For example: the emergence of the Red Cross during WWI. Conflict thus, can be functional, integral and may even lead to innovation.

Collins sees conflict as a struggle over legitimacy of authority relations. It is a constant feature of any society, and hence social change as inevitable, as the interests of different groups are diverse.

Dahrendorf says that social conflict is ubiquitous, and hence social change is also ubiquitous. Every element in the society renders some contribution in this disintegration and change. Every society is based on coercion by few members, and this creates political conflict, which leads to change.

Critique:

- Does not explain all changes
- At times, conflict impedes change as there is a fight to maintain the status quo
- There are many dysfunctions of conflict as well

Neo - Conflict Theories of Social Change:

One of the main concerns of neo-conflict theorists is "mass culture." It refers to distribution of cultural products like music, dance, paintings, etc. to the masses. As a result, it has made masses passive, who rather than engage with each other are engaged in consumption of this mass culture. Therefore, the spread of mass culture has made people intellectually inactive and politically infertile. Habermas and Adorno are proponents of this idea.

Herbert Marcuse echoes this view in his concept of alienation of leisure, which results in creation of false needs.

Gramsci talks about ideological hegemony. Schools, Churches and media are some apparatus of this hegemony. To counter this, the working class must develop an alternative ideology by contradicting dominant hegemony.

Althusser speaks about state control through both Ideological State Apparatus and Repressive State Apparatus.

Cyclical Theories of Social Change:

Cyclical theories of social change focus on the rise and fall of civilizations, attempting to discover and account for these patterns of growth and decay.

Oswald Spengler, through a study of 8 civilization, pointed out that the fate of civilizations was a matter of destiny. Each civilization is like a biological organism and has a similar life-cycle of birth, maturity, old age and death. Book - *'Decline of West'*

Pitirim Sorokin, in *'Social and Cultural Dynamics'* propounds a cyclical theory of social change. He shows that every social system has a definite cultural stage and a change in it makes changes in the whole social system, which is called social change. He has illustrated mainly two and overall three cultures:

- Sensate - material and sensual aspects are given importance
- Idealistic - a transitional phase between the two extremes, it has characteristics of both the ideational and the sensate culture
- Ideational - this culture is spiritual, mystical and indeterminate

Here sensate and ideational are extreme cultural stages. On reaching any of the extreme levels, society faces a change in all its institutions. Thus, whole of human history is a history of cultural dynamics.

- Sorokin believes in the 'principle of eminent change', and that the forces of change are inherent in the nature of the culture itself.
- This is also linked to the 'principle of limits'. It states that there are limited possibilities of change and a limit to the number of alternations that can develop in a system. When all combinations are complete, repetition occurs, and hence societies change instead of progressing or decaying.
- The motion of change is irregular and in the form of fluctuations. Hence, the movement from one stage to the other cannot be predicted.

Arnold Toynbee in *'A Study of History'* studied 21 civilizations. He focuses on the key concepts of challenges and response. He believes that every civilization arises through double combined factors - the presence of a creative minority and environmental conditions.

Every society faces challenges, at first from the environment, and later from internal and external enemies. The creative minority devices various means to deal with these challenges. The nature of responses to these challenges determines the fate of a society. A society which fails to respond effectively, dies. This may be due to failure of the creative power of the minority, masses reluctance to follow the successful elites, thus resulting in a loss of unity, or due to revolt of the external proletariat.

He does not believe that all civilizations will inevitably decay. He has pointed out that while history is a series of cycles of growth and decay, each new civilization is able to learn from the mistakes of, and borrow from, the other cultures.

Vilfredo Pareto in *'The Mind and Society'* has divided the whole social system into two parts: elites and masses. Elites consist of both governing and non-governing elites. Elites could be further divided into two groups - residues of combination and residues of group persistence.

The first group is imaginative, innovative, entrepreneurial, has a readiness to take risks, craves novelty and originality. Whereas the second group values prudence, cautiousness, traditionalism, safety and stability. The first rule by manipulation, while the second by direct action.

The first group is politically called fox, economically called speculators and they are non-idealists. The second group is politically called lion, economically called rentiers and they are idealists.

When the first group is in power, a speedy change is seen in the society. However, when people realize their demerits, they are replaced by the lions. However, again in due course, people become dissatisfied due to absence of any innovation or creativity in the society. And this readies the ground for the foxes to again come to power. The process keeps on going, and Pareto calls this the 'circulation of elites', which is the cause of social change. He thus claims that 'History is a graveyard of aristocracy.'

Critique:

Horton and Hunt state that the cyclical theories fail to explain why different societies respond differently to change.

Ritzer points out that they do not consider socio-psychological factors, and cast masses as virtual pawns.

Structural Functional Theory of Social Change:

Despite emphasis on social order and stability, Parsons does not deny the possibility of social change. It results from specific nature of individual social systems as well as from the very nature of motivational orientations, which organize action systems of members in a society.

The first links social systems to its external boundary conditions, such as ecology, resources, physical and environmental conditions as well as to historical factors such as cultural contacts, diffusion of ideas and interests and to social strains arising out of these historical factors.

The second relates it to motivational elements in action systems, which are essentially directional in nature. The direction of orientation of motives and values generates harmony as well as strain in the social system.

The first leads to stability, the second to change.

Parsons viewed social change at two levels, firstly, change which emerges from processes within the social system, and secondly, the processes of change of the social system itself.

A primary factor related to processes of change within the social system is increase in population, its density and aggregation. Factors causing strain towards change are change in demographic factors, change in physical environment, change in technology, new cultural configuration, development of new religious ideas. These factors are not exclusive, but work in independent plurality.

Cultural factors bring about changes within the social system through a continuous process of "rationalization" and "traditionalization" of values and beliefs. This happens gradually, through the moving equilibrium - change does not disturb the social equilibrium, it alters the state of equilibrium.

Parsons illustrated the processes of social change within the social system by drawing examples from the family system. Earlier, family performed the functions of reproduction, education, socialization, economic, recreational, etc. A process of differentiation takes place when the society becomes more and more complex. Different institutions like school, factory take over some of the functions of the family. New norms, values and beliefs are shaped to integrate the new institutions with the society.

Change of the social system can occur through a revolution. But Parsons does not believe that any revolution can bring about absolute or radical change as predicted by Marx. It only brings about a certain degree of change as - members starting the revolution develop their own self-interest or often the goals of a revolution are not achievable.

Through the change of the system, the society changes from Archaic (primitive) to Intermediary (with population increase) to Lead Society (due to education, Industrial Revolution, French Revolution, etc.) However, this is not an evolutionary theory as a society does not necessarily pass through all the stages. Hence, this is also known as Neo-Evolutionary Theory.

Critique: by Pierre L. Van Den Berghe

- Reaction to extra systemic change is not always adjustive
- Change can be revolutionary sudden and profound
- Social structure itself generates change through internal conflicts and contradictions
- Cumulative dysfunction is possible, which can make chaotic revolution inevitable

P1 - 10 a. Sociological theories of social change

Praveen Kishore Notebook - Pages 112 to 130

Social change has been defined by Wilbert Moore as a significant alteration over time in behaviour patterns and culture, including norms and values.

Humans - 5 lakh years --> agriculture - 12000 years --> civilized human - 6000 years --> changes - 400 years --> rapid changes - 100 years

- In ideational stage, close people-to-people interaction takes place ie it's community oriented in which division of labour is not prominent. People possess traditional values & society its simple & closed type.
- Whereas, in Sensate stage, society is fragmented & people are highly individualistic. Division of labour is prominent & skilled people drive society towards maturity.

Sorokin's theorisation finds close proximity with Durkheim's organic solidarity & mechanical solidarity & Tonnies 'Gesellschaft' & 'Gemeinschaft'.

MALINTEGRATION THEORY OF CHANGE - Neil J. Smelser - According to Smelser over a period of time incompatibilities may develop between parts of the social system. This may lead to conflicting pressure of demands over different sectors of the society. For example, in some cases, the opposition between the social group of one kind or another; in other cases, the system of incompatibilities may cut across group division. These inconsistencies may generate structural strain in the system. Such situation of structural strain may sometimes lead to collective mobilization and social movement may emerge to bring about social change. However, structural strain alone is not enough to generate a change oriented social movement. Other conditions whose presence are essential are :
- Growth and spread of generalized belief
- Precipitation factors
- Mobilization of participants for action

R.K. Merton:
According to Merton over a period of time, parts become dysfunctional and these dysfunctional parts give rise to Mal-integration and maladjustment with the social system. Mal-integration are manifested in the form of conflict. For the system to survive, the conflict has to be resolved. Therefore, the dysfunctional parts may be replaced by its functional alternatives or functional equivalent. This, in turn, would bring about a partial change in the structure.

DIFFUSIONIST THEORY OF CHANGE:
Diffusionist theory of change locates the source of change outside the society. According to Diffusionist, the process of change begins with culture. When cultural contact takes place, various possibilities may happen:

- The cultural trait may be accepted in parts or in totality
- The cultural traits may be accepted after modification
- The cultural traits may be rejected

The acceptance or rejection of cultural traits depends firstly on intensity of contact; thus if there is the direct cultural contact leading to acculturation process, recipient culture may be transformed to a great extent. Secondly, if the coming cultural traits are related to the peripheral aspects of the recipient's culture, then there is great chance of its acceptances, for example, how easily Indians have accepted Jeans and Pizzas, but if it is related to the core values of the recipient culture, then it will face a lot of resistance. In fact, a change in core values of the recipient culture may even give rise to revivalist type of protest movement.

Robert Redfield in his studies of Mexican community had developed the concept of great and little tradition to analyze social change, resulting due to diffusion. Milton Singer and Mckim Marriot have tried to approve this model of study of Social change in India. According to this approach, the social structure of civilization operates at two levels: first that of the folk or ordinary people and second that of the elite. The culture of folk comprise the little tradition, while that of elite comprises the great tradition. Now, while studying the process of social change through diffusion, the impact of diffusion should be analyzed at two levels. Yogendra Singh has attempted an analysis of social change in this manner.
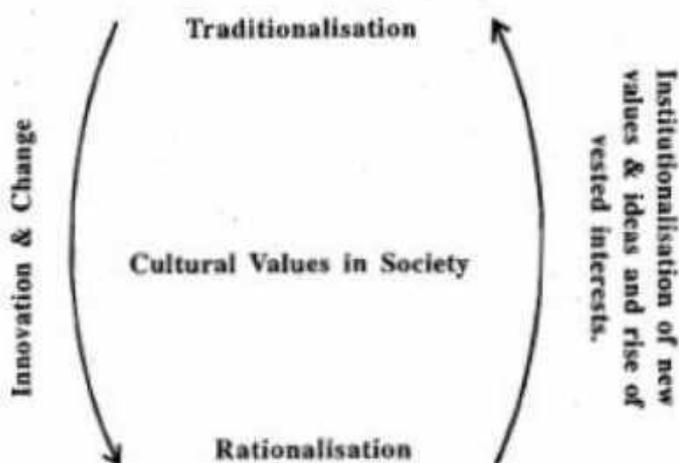

Figure 28.1 Changes within Social Systems: An Example

Structural Functional perspective:

- Order and stability are primary concerns
- Dominant condition of society is stability and consensus and not conflict or coercion
- Change generally occurs in a gradual, adjustive fashion and not in a sudden, revolutionary way
- Change occurs due to three sources:
  - Adjustment of the system to exogenous change - war, conquests
  - Growth through structural and functional differentiation - changes in the size of population through births and deaths
  - Innovations by members of group within society - inventions and discovery

Concept of dynamic equilibrium has change built into it - society in imperfect balance and open to adjustive changes.

Social-psychological theories of social change:

- Activities of people constitute the essence of change
- Max Weber - Change in society due to rational thinking and questioning - values + infrastructure - drive towards modernity is not just always technical but also ideological - Protestant Ethics
- David McLelland -'Need for achievement' or the n-factor
- Everett E Hagen - earlier traditional societies = fixed status levels, authoritative, non-creative and non-innovative. But today wave of status disregard. Creativity, curiosity, openness.

Concept of social transformation:

Literal meaning of concept is 'changing form/appearance/character/alter out of recognition.'

Specifically used by Karl Marx in his book *'German Ideology'* to mean a facet of social change which arises out of contradictions in society

and leading to rapid change or revolution.

May give rise to social problems as well, like social disorganization (inadequacies in social system, ineffective working of status and roles), deviant behaviour.

The term ' cultural lag ' is often used to describe the state of disequilibrium between material and non-material aspects of a culture. Ogburn (1886-1959) who coined this word, explained that ' cultural lag' occurs when parts of a culture that were once in adjustment with each other change at different rates, and become incompatible with each other. Ogburn (1922) pointed out how the non-material culture(values, beliefs, norms, family, religion) often lags behind material culture (technology, means of production output of the economic system). For example, family planning technologies (i.e. material culture) have advanced, but people take their time to accept them. Some sections of the population may reject the very idea of 'family planning' and believe in having a large family. Again, when an event such as increase in population or a depletion in natural resources cause a strain in society, it takes some time for the society to understand and absorb the strain and alter its values and institutions to adapt to the change. But in order to function smoothly, societies adjust to maintain and restore themselves.

Ogburn theory of Cultural Lag

- He provided cultural theory of social change.
- He divided culture into two:
  (1) Material culture – S&T
  (2) Non material culture – belief, ideology, values, etc.
- His basic argument is that non-material culture changes more slowly than material culture. Therefore, creating cultural lag.
- In primitive societies harmony existed as both culture existed. Simultaneously, due to slow process of change. However, in modern societies, material culture is changing at faster pace thus creating "cultural lag".

Ex. Computers-Kundli.
Change in S&T – Change in martial law
Change in S&T – Change in child adoption

8(a) According to Gillen and Gillen, social change is a change in social relations caused by geographical, cultural and economic factors. ex: a decrease in fertility among Indian women has resulted in social change of increased participation in labour force.

However, change may not always be a welcoming one. Conflict theorists believe social change was a result of struggle of the oppressed. Coser in his book 'The Nature of Power' writes conflict is necessary for social change. ex: it was urbanisation that resulted in high cost of living and in turn caused breaking up of traditional joint family.

V. Allen further notes that social change through a conflict is initiated if the oppressed feel they would be devoid of justice under the incumbent regime. For ex: the workers party of Brazil caused toppling of Lula due to high unemployment and corruption.

Marx championed the conflict theory and said economic deterministic nature leads to change. The Proletariat is exploited by the Bourgeoisie. It causes alienation of the working class, its sole aim is profit-maximisation and these oppressive form change a class-in-itself to a class-for-itself.

Marx says that "history of mankind is history of class struggle". The oppressed class of capitalist society would rise to establish a communist society.

Oppenheimer further advocates that conflict theory has its origin in relative deprivation. for ex: the women movements in 1920 of england demanded universal suffrage just like men.

Conflict theory is seen as good by George simmel who believes it exposes the wrong being done in the society.

However liberals like Montesquieue and Locke felt social change does not necessarily mean conflict. ex: The green revolution in India did transform the agrarian society but caused no conflict. Pg 21

10 B. Development and dependency

Change is a value-neutral concept whereas development is a value-laden concept. Only planned and desired changes can be described as development.

Economic development of a class does not necessarily trickle down to the entire population. Social development includes satisfaction of basic needs, essential amenities, physical and mental health, literacy, vocation, social integration and minimization of disparities.

Dudley Seers states that development is about creating right conditions. It is the capacity to attain basic needs, job, equality, participation, adequate educational levels belonging to a nation.

David Korten sees justice, sustainability and inclusiveness as components of development. While Amartya Sen equates development to freedom.

Brundtland Commission on environment and development defined sustainable development as a development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs.

Dependency Theories:

Classical Economics claimed that development and growth in the first world will lead to trickle-down effect on the third world countries.

Dependency theory rejects this view. Its main propositions are:

1. It differentiates between un-development and under development. Under development means resources are used in such a manner that it benefits the dominant. Low income countries are not underdeveloped, rather they are mis-developed.
2. Poor countries are poor due to unequal integration with the system, example: colonialism, WTO
3. Alternative uses of resources are preferable to the resource usage patterns imposed by dominant states. Example: Cash crop farming for export
4. National interest can only be satisfied by addressing the needs of the poor within a society, rather than the satisfaction of corporate or governmental needs
5. Dominance of dominant is maintained not just through external agents but also through elites of the dependent state

Solution is self-sufficiency. It does not mean autarky but a controlled integration with the world.

Theotonio Dos Santos defined dependency as a historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics. It is a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected. Its features are:

1. Dependency characterizes the international system as comprised of two sets of states, variously described as dominant/dependent, center/periphery or metropolitan/satellite. The dominant states are the advanced industrial References nations in the Organization of Economic Co-

operation and Development (OECD). The dependent states are those states of Latin America, Asia, and Africa which have low per capita GNPs and which rely heavily on the export of a single commodity, or a few commodities, for foreign exchange earnings.

2. The assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external forces include multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications, and any other means by which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interests abroad.

3. The relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns. Moreover, dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism.

Development and Dependency Theory developed as a Latin American reaction to the Neo-Classical Model which stated that poor countries are poor due to lack of technology and the solution lies in trickle-down economics. This view was rejected by dependency theorists. There are three variants of dependency theory:

Dominant - Dependent Model:

This developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch.

Prebisch's initial explanation for the phenomenon was very straightforward - poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries, who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The "Value Added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports. These further results into BoP Crisis and a Debt Trap which may further diminish the autonomy of the poor countries.

Prebisch's solution was similarly straightforward: poorer countries should embark on programs of import substitution so that they need not purchase the manufactured products from the richer countries. The poorer countries would still sell their primary products on the world market, but their foreign exchange reserves would not be used to purchase their manufactures from abroad.

Three issues made this policy difficult to follow. The first is that the internal markets of the poorer countries were not large enough to support the economies of the scale used by the richer countries to keep their prices low. The second issue concerned the political will of the poorer countries as to whether a transformation from being primary products producers was possible or desirable. The final issue revolved round the extent to which the poorer countries actually had control over their primary products, particularly in the area of selling those products abroad.

Metro - Satellite Model:

Most dependency theorists regard international capitalism as the motive force behind dependency relationships. Andre Gunder Frank in *"Development of Underdevelopment"* states: "historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and

continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole".

According to this view, the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labor which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world. The dependent states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities, and cheap labor, and also serve as the repositories of surplus capital, obsolescent technologies, and manufactured goods. These functions orient the economies of the dependent states towards the outside: money, goods, and services do flow into dependent states, but the allocation of these resources is determined by the economic interests of the dominant states, and not by the economic interests of the dependent state. This division of labor is ultimately the explanation for poverty and there is little question but that capitalism regards the division of labor as a necessary condition for the efficient allocation of resources. The most explicit manifestation of this characteristic is in the doctrine of "comparative advantage".

This theory also believes that economic and political power are heavily concentrated and centralized in the industrialized countries. Hence, any distinction between economic and political power is spurious and governments will take whatever steps are necessary to protect private economic interests, such as those held by multinational corporations.

AG Frank suggests that developing countries should make their own power blocs on the line of OECD, to break the monopoly of the developed countries. Another option can be to isolate oneself like erstwhile China and Paraguay. They can also breakaway at a time when the metropolitan country is weak, in time of war or recession.

World System Theory:

In the 1960s international financial and trade systems were beginning to be more flexible, in which national governments seemed to have less and less influence.

In this changing order, Immanuel Wallerstein felt that there were wider forces that impacted and influenced small and underdeveloped nations and the nation-state level of analysis was no longer useful to explain conditions in underdeveloped countries. New global systems of communications, new world trade mechanisms, the international financial systems, and transfer of military links were influencing the world. These factors created their own dynamic at the international level, and at the same time, they were interacting with internal aspects of each country.

He argues that the world capitalist economic system is not merely a collection of independent countries engaged in diplomatic and economic relations with one another, but must instead be understood as a single unit. This world system is seen as comprising four overlapping elements:

1. A world market for goods and labour
2. The division of the population into different economic classes, particularly capitalists and workers
3. An international system of formal and informal political relations and competition
4. The carving up of the world into three unequal economic zones, with the wealthier zones exploiting the poorer ones

All countries in the world fall into one of these three zones. They are termed as:

1. Core - the most advanced industrial countries, taking a lion's share of profits in the world economic system. Political, economic and military powers. Example: USA, Germany, Japan
2. Periphery - low income, largely agricultural countries that are often manipulated by core countries for their own economic advantage. They export raw materials and are the market for finished goods of the core, this unequal trade limiting their economic development. Example: several countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia
3. Semi-Periphery - these countries occupy an intermediate position. They are semi-industrialized, middle-income countries that extract profit from the periphery and in turn yield profits to the core. Example: Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile

Technology is the central feature of the core proposition. Surplus flow of wealth occurs from periphery to the core. They periphery depends on the core for technology. However, both are dependent on each other and change in one affects the other as well. Example: Brexit and Syrian War.

Although the world system changes very slowly, it is envisioned that the 21st century will see a multi polar world with economic power being shared between the old and the newly developed countries.

Optimistic View of Dependency Theory:

Fernando Henrique Cardoso believes that the main problem faced by the undeveloped countries is the lack of autonomous technology and a developed sector of capital goods. To develop these, they need to insert themselves into the circuit of international capitalism. The inflow of foreign investments creates islands of highly developed modern enterprises in the sea of backwardness and traditionalism. These islands serve as an example, they educate a skilled working class, train a local managerial elite, open up opportunities for cooperating subsidiary enterprises and produce incentives to imitate their economic success.

Entrepreneurial motivations are born and spread, local middle class slowly arises and early accumulation of local capital begins. At some stage, these incremental quantitative changes may produce a qualitative leap and takeoff to indigenous growth and development, gradually diminishing the dependence.

The global economic interconnections appear as means towards ultimate emancipation rather than instruments of continuing subjugation. Examples: Brazil, Mexico, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong.

Critique of Dependency Theories:

1. Goldthorpe - fail to explain the rise and fall of Latin American countries - they developed borrowing technology from USA, but fell due to corruption and political turmoil. Therefore, dependency model lacks empirical evidence.
2. Samir Amin - dependency theory explains problems but fails to provide concrete solutions.
3. They do not provide any substantive empirical evidences to support its arguments. There are few examples that are provided but many exceptions exist which do not fit in with their core periphery theory, like the newly emerged industrial countries of South East Asia.

4. Highly abstract and tend to use homogenizing categories such as developed and underdeveloped, which do not fully capture the variations within these categories.
5. They consider ties with multinational corporations as detrimental, while one view has been that they are important means of transfer of technology.
6. They contain Eurocentric biases, for example the assumption that industrialization and possession of industrial capital are crucial requisites for economic progress. The inability to think beyond the state as the primary essential agent of economic development. Also, there is a Eurocentric bias in de-emphasizing of production undertaken by women, and in not realizing the hazardous implications for the environment of industrialization.
7. They underplay the role of culture, and wrongly treat wealth as a zero-sum game. They consider only economic factors and are too simplistic and like a protest - Cultural Globalization Theory
8. Cannot explain occasional success stories like Brazil, Singapore, Hong Kong, Argentina and Mexico.

Though on the face of it, dependency theories may not seem to be reflecting contemporary circumstances and situations, and some of their formulations have been questioned. However, in the face of growing interconnected economies and political economy, it is worthwhile to critically evaluate these theories.

P1 - 10 b. Development and dependency

Modernization theories:

Daniel Lerner in *'Passing of traditional society'* defines modernization as the process of social change in which development is the economic component.

Features are: structural differentiation and specialization, capitalism, rational choice, growth of bureaucracy - rational and role differentiation, democracy, emancipation

Modernisation				
Technological	**Economic**	**Political**	**Social**	**Psychological**
• inanimate sources of energy • modern machines • heavy technology	• market • capital • commodity • consumerism	• freedom • individualism • democracy • political participation	• mobility • occupational differentiation • universalism • specificity • urban-industrial culture • literacy and modern education	• cosmopolitan mind • achievement orientation • empathy

Perspectives on modernization - ideal-typical, diffusionist, psychological and Marxist

Ideal typical - 2 types:

- Pattern variable perspective - Neil J Smelser - Pattern variables of development need to be understood. These processes sometimes occur simultaneously and sometimes at different times. For example, in many colonies, agriculture became commercialized without industrialization.

- Historical stage perspective - Walt Rostow - *"Stages of Economic Growth"* - the processes of change are simple and self-sustaining. Economic growth could be achieved by following a five-stage model of growth. He suggested that "all societies can be placed in one of five categories or stages of economic growth".
    - Traditional society - output is limited because of the inaccessibility of science and technology
    - Preconditions for take off
    - Take off
    - Drive to maturity
    - Mass consumption

Macionis - role of rich nations in modernization - control population, foreign aid, food, technology.

Psychological perspective of modernization- Need for achievement - David McClelland

Anthony Giddens calls modernity a Juggernaut. Modernity is given dynamism by three essential aspects:

- Time - space separation - technology squeezes the time and space separation
- Disembedding social system - Symbolic tokens and expert systems
- Reflexivity of modern society - knowledge develops, both at individual and institutional level. Earlier, people could not do much, as knowledge was fixed

However, Giddens ignores the role played by power and class, and also does not consider that reflexivity may not always positive.

Also, Giddens says that Globalization has always taken place but its pace and intensity has increased rapidly in the last few decades under the impact of technology.

Critique of modernization theories:
- LDCs are worse off today
- Rich countries often block the path for development of poor countries
- Assumes that the characteristics of developed countries are modern, and thus desirable
- Dependency theory

- Ignore the way governments can work with the private sector to spur economic development

India - Socialist path and mixed economy --> Sectoral Development --> Community Development and Cooperative Movement --> Target group planning

Charles Murray - Dependency Culture - individuals who rely on state doles rather than enter the labour market.

Dutch disease is the negative impact on an economy of anything that gives rise to a sharp inflow of foreign currency, such as the discovery of large oil reserves. The currency inflows lead to currency appreciation, making the country's other products less price competitive on the export market.

Social progress may or may not be planned but social development is always planned.

Underdevelopment = resources are not used efficiently due to fault linkup with the global system
Undevelopment = resources are not used at all

Decolonization (political) has been replaced by recolonization (economic) which is a product of market, skill, capital and technological dependency of third world on the developed countries.

CIA played a role in overthrowing of non-capitalist friendly governments in Guatemala, Nicaragua and Chile between 1950s and 1970s - misdevelopment due to manipulation

MNCs like DeBeers and Shell played a role in the conflicts in Africa.

Ronald Robertson - 'glocalization' - global products getting modified to take up local shapes.

10 C. Agents of social change

Three Basic Sources of Social Change:

1. Discovery - A shared human perception of an aspect of reality which already exists. It is an addition to the world's store of verified knowledge. However, it becomes a factor in social change only when it is put to use, not when it is merely known.
2. Inventions - A new combination or a new use of existing knowledge. Inventions can be material (technology) or social (alphabet, trade union). Each invention may be new in form (in shape or action), in function (what it does), in meaning (its long-range consequences) or in principle (the theory or law on which it is based).
3. Diffusion - refers to the spread of cultural traits from one group to another. It operates both within and between societies. It takes place whenever societies come into contact with each other. Diffusion is a two-way process. The British gave us English; but they adopted several terms in English from us, for example: Sahib, Juggernaut. Diffusion is also a selective process. We adopted English language, but not their beef-eating habits. Diffusion generally involves some modification of the borrowed elements of culture either in form, function or meaning.

Exogenous and Endogenous Origin of Change

In practice, the origin of change, can rarely be assigned wholly to exogenous or endogenous category. It could be said that in the modern world, the changes taking place in the developing countries have been stimulated to a large extent, by Western technology introduced in most cases by colonial rule. But even in such countries, social change has depended to a great extent upon the activities of various social groups within the society.

Acceptance of and Resistance to Social Change

Innovations are rarely accepted totally. The specific attitudes and values of the society, the manifest usefulness of the innovations, the compatibility of the innovations with the existing culture, vested interests, and the role of change agents are some of the important factors that affect the degree of acceptance of and resistance to social change.

Demographic, Technological, Cultural, Political, Economic, Educational factors affect social change.

- Physical Environment - climate change, deforestation, changing rainfall patterns
- Population Changes
- Isolation and Contact - Greenwood says war and trade have always brought intercultural contact and today tourism is adding to the contacts between cultures
- Social Structure - According to Ottenberg, a society which stresses conformity and trains the individual to be highly responsive to the group such as the Zunis is less receptive to the change than a society like the Ileo who are highly individualistic and tolerate considerable cultural variability.
- Attitudes and Values - Trobriand Islanders had no concept of change and did not even have any words in their language to express or describe change

Some Factors that Affect Direction and Rate of Change:

1. Geography, Population and Ecology - These can bring about sudden changes or set a limit on social change. Climatic conditions, natural resources, physical location of a country, natural disasters can be important sources of change. Example: Floods, Birth Rate, Death Rate, Migration, Soil Erosion, Water and Air Pollution.

2. Technology - Ogburn's concept of 'culture lag'. The modern factory, means of transportation, medicine, surgery, mass media of communications, space and computers technology etc. have affected the attitudes, values and behaviour of people across societies.

3. Values and Beliefs - Weber's PESC. He proposed that some historical situations, doctrines or ideas may independently affect the direction of social change. Conflict over incompatible values and beliefs can be an important source of change, example: caste system. Conflicts between group within a society, have been and are a major source of innovation and change, example: French Revolution

4. The role of individuals in social change - It has been pointed out that the contribution by men of genius and leaders to social change is important. The "great men" faced a set of circumstance, and their influence arose in part from their ability to draw out persuasively the latent aspirations, anxieties and fears of large numbers of people. They were also charismatic leaders who owed their positions to personal qualities, and left upon events the mark of their own convictions.

Bottomore defines social forces as values and tendencies which are resultants of the interaction of individuals, yet which confront any single individual as something external to him, and relatively impervious to his individual criticism or influence.

Agents of Social Change:

Positivism	Max Weber	Phenomenological		
Agency of social change lies outside human beings		Human beings themselves are biggest agents of social change		
Marx - Factors of Production Veblen - Technology Durkheim - Social Facts Sorokin - Culture Comte - Philosophers Parsons, Spencer - Demography	Infrastructure and Values both - PESC	As Individuals		Collectively
		Exceptional Actors	Ordinary	Social Movements like Satyashodhak Samaj
		Creative Minority	Official Position	
		Pareto - Elites	Judiciary	Padman

Depends on two criteria - locus of agency and intentionality of agency, and hence there are four types:

- Latent change originating from below - customs, lifestyles
- Latent change originating from above - child marriage due to crackdown on child labour
- Manifest change originating from below - mass mobilization for reforms
- Manifest change originating from above - policy reforms

Technology and Social Change:

- Empowering people - Kisan Credit Card, Aadhar, Twitter, Printing Press, Railways
- Creating regional imbalances - Smart Cities
- Proletarization due to automation and deskilling
- Impact on Family

Economy and Social Change:

- Women SHGs, MGNREGA
- Land reforms
- Demonetization

Culture and Social Change:

- Sanskritization, Westernization
- Religious Revivalism and Fundamentalism

Law and Social Change:

- Abortion Bill
- Debate on Euthanasia
- Decriminalization of Suicide
- Section 377 of IPC
- Reservation
- Article 21A
- Triple Talaq

P1 - 10 c. Agents of social change

Social Change is the process of transformation of patterns of inter-human relationships and modes of social conduct. Parsons explained social change through the twin process of structural differentiation and value generalization (example: adoption of constitution).

Harold Isaacs - "The fragmentation of human society is a pervasive fact in human affairs and always has been. It persists and increases in our own time as part of an ironic, painful, and dangerous paradox: the more global Our science and technology, the more tribal our politics; the more universal our system of communications, the less we know what to communicate; the closer we get to other planets, the less able we become to lead a tolerable existence in our own; the more it becomes apparent that human beings cannot decently survive with their separatenesses, the more separate they become. In the face Of an ever more urgent need to pool the world's resources and its powers, human society is splitting itself into smaller and smaller fragments"

There are five broad types of sources or causes of social change: environmental, technological, economic, political and cultural.
- Environment - natural disaster, oil discovery
- Technology - steam engine, railway, gunpowder, printing press, writing paper, plantation agriculture - Veblen said 99% social changes are due to technology
- Political - war, universal franchise
- Cultural - religion, status of women, sports (cricket - equate with racial pride of the colonies)

Japan example of turnaround through technology, economic and political change - by 1970s became engineering exporters to US from whom they had initially learnt.

Bottomore - 2 sources of change in India - technology from the west and social planning of USSR.

SC Dube - study of Community Development Program of Planning Commission in UP covering 153 village. People accept which can be more strictly called technological innovations. Example: seeds, fertilizers, which give immediate results but those that affect social structure like cooperative methods, land reforms, improved sanitation are accepted slowly. Dube also highlights the importance of communication in bringing change.

Gunnar Myrdal in his study of south Asian countries - Great Asian Drama - momentum of Indian planning had failed - no land reforms, population control.

See: Where does social change originate? What are the initial conditions of large scale changes to begin? What is the rate of change? To what extent is change fortuitous?

Morris Ginsberg - Factors of Change:

- Conscious desires and decisions of individuals
- Individual acts influenced by changing conditions
- Structural changes and structural strains
- External influences
- Outstanding individuals or group of individuals
- Confluence of different elements converging, example: revolution
- Fortuitous occurrences, example: black death, natural disasters

Technology and Social Change:

- Ogburn - cultural lag (material versus non material culture)
there are two principal dimensions of culture: material and non-material. While the cognitive and normative aspects are non-material, the material dimension is crucial to increase production and enhance the quality of life. For integrated functioning of a culture the material and non-material dimensions must work together. But when the material or technological dimensions change rapidly, the non-material aspects can lag behind in terms of values and norms. This can give rise to a situation of culture lag when the non-material dimensions are unable to match the advances of technology
  - Introduces change by bringing alternatives
  - Leads to change in interaction patterns - study by Goleman into an industry that introduced robotics
However, Sorokin says sometimes non-material culture changes faster than material culture.
Dipankar Gupta's 'mistaken modernity' concept is similar to cultural lag.

Ideology and Social Change:

- Provides direction
- Can be an impediment for change as well - <mark>Weber</mark> - religions of the East
- As a facilitator of change - male female equality, non-violence, Protestantism

Competition, Conflict and Social Change:

- Competition - MNCs, open markets
- Conflict - <mark>Dahrendorf</mark>, <mark>Marx</mark>, <mark>Bottomore</mark> (conflict between generations due to incomplete socialization)

Role of Individuals in Social Change - <mark>Bottomore</mark>- voluntary acts of individuals - social forces

Culture and Social Change:

- Discovery, invention and diffusion
- Culture, diversity and change

Migration as an agent of Social Change

Deviance and Social Change

War / Catastrophe and Social Change

Charisma and Social Change

Social Movements and Social Change

Caste, Continuity and Change

Religion and Social Change:

1. Interaction between Religion and Social Order:

Social Order as a concept may imply one or many of the following meanings (i) Arrangement of institutions in the society; (ii) Arrangement of roles and statuses in the society; (iii) A smooth, well-coordinated functioning of this 'structure'.

2. Salient features of Religion:

- Religion has a cognitive function
- Religion has an intellectual function
- Religion is a social institution because community of believers constitutes its basis
- Religion is an ensemble of rituals and beliefs

A particular religion explains doctrines which explain inequalities as natural and God-given. Some religions revolve around the concept of personal salvation so much that, they explain human misery in terms of 'sin' or the 'fallen state of humankind.

Most often religious sentiments and symbols are invoked, new meanings are attributed to rituals and beliefs, and in the process religion becomes a vehicle of collective mobilization, for a group of believers who would like to be 'liberated'.

3. Determining Factors:

- New evidences / researches which cast the message of the scriptures / holy books / founder of the religion in a new light.
- Social origins (social class, ethnicity, etc.) of the clergy, clerics, priests
- Medium through which stabilization or change is disseminated
- Reinterpretation of the Holy Books / Scriptures / Texts in the light of scholarly debates
- Political status of the religions community - ruled by a colonial regime / themselves
- Sects / Cults / Denominations: example - During the 12th century, Brahmanical Hinduism dominated the social order. Rigid caste and ritual systems were the order of the day. The Veera Saiva Movement was headed by Basaveshwara, who was the Chief Minister and Treasurer to Bijjala 11, Kalachuri King. Veera Saiva movement fought a relentless struggle against oppressive Brahmanical Hindu order. It challenged norms and values advocated and enforced by the Brahmins. Adherents of Veera Saiva movement, held Siva as supreme God. All those who submit themselves before Siva, are equal irrespective of sex, caste and class, preached Basaveshwara.

4. Social Change:

- Religion and the Economic Order: Weber PESC, religion an illusion Marx
- Religion and the Political Order: Every religion has a political idea - a mode of power and authority, a particular understanding of sovereignty. In other words, 'Kingdom of God' and 'Darul Islam' are political ideas. Hindu caste system, Kshatriya is ruler. Many kings clearly remained subordinated to authority of the Pope. Jews, Birsa Munda- Dharti Aba or father of world, Islam revival.
- Religion and the Cultural Order - Durkheim - totem as collective effervescence. Festivals, Easter, Crucification - culture and religion closely linked. Some events of history celebrated to perpetuate a message or bring about a change. Idea of good / evil.

Role of Social Control:

Social control is the means by which society establishes and maintains order.

The two most important goals sought to be achieved by social control are :
- Conformity to norms and expectations of the group
- Maintenance of order in society

GOALS OF SOCIAL CONTROL: conformity, uniformity, solidarity, continuity, social change

Methods of social control:
- Informal / primary social control - family, playgroups, neighbourhood, community
- Formal / secondary social control - positive sanctions in the form of reward, honour, and negative sanctions by way of punishments, expulsion

Means of social control: Custom, Law, Religion, Education, Family, Leadership, Mass media, Force

Types of mechanisms: Preventive, Manage tensions, Check deviant behaviour mechanism (psychological/physical/economic sanctions), propaganda mechanism - moulding public opinion

Consequences of Social Change:

Negative: Alvin Toffler - Future Shock; Neil Postman - Technopoly; Health

Positive:
4 tigers - Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea;
Domino effect-
- technological convergence by Rosenberg - machines make machines
- Serendipity - Accidental discoveries - Fleming's penicillin and X Ray

Categories of agents of social change:

- Cultural factors
- Ideas and values - Rationalization of religion by Protestants
- Social structure - Proletariat Revolution
- Political factors - French Revolution
- Environmental and Physical factors
- Economic factors
- Demographic factors
- Religious factors
- Technological factors
- Conflict and change
- Social movements and change

Changing paradigm of society:

Kuhn's idea - *Structure of Scientific Revolution* book

The concept of scientific paradigm, and particularly the sociological paradigm, is closely connected to sociological theories.
If we assume that a scientific paradigm represents a general hypothesis of scientific knowledge, a general knowledge which can be presented both as a practical one and as a specific matrix of scientific research, then we can talk about a wider and more exact system of views, attitudes and theories concerning the scientific explanation of objective reality.
In its Widest meaning, a scientific paradigm is "a set Of facts and convictions which is systematically presented, that is presented as a theory whose function is to initiate theoretical productions, and practical research in certain fields thereafter, so that it appears in this

sense as a source of some future or already existing theoretical composition"

According to Merton(1979), at least five functions of a paradigm in sociology may be specified:
   a) the function of defining concepts,
   b)the function of decreasing the probability of unconscious introduction of latent assumptions and concepts,
   c)the function of cumulating theoretical interpretations,
   d)the function of concept systematization, and,
   e)the function of qualitative analysis codification.

In the mid-1970s, when the paradigm concept was at the height of its influence, sociology was characterized by three basic paradigms—the "social facts," "social definition," and "social behavior" paradigms. These differed fundamentally in their image Of the subject matter Of sociology, with the social facts paradigm focusing on large-scale social structures and institutions, the social definition paradigm on the way people construct their social worlds and act and interact on the basis Of those constructions, and the social behavior paradigm on behavior that is less dependent on social constructions.

A new sociological paradigm is created on completely new assumptions and knowledge, such as: the openness of history, entropic comprehension of the world (a danger of the planet destruction), the beginning of an era of great cultural transformations, mutual permeance of social processes of continuity and discontinuity, the necessity of free human actions development, the appearance of new agents of social changes, the beginning social movements, the outset of new factors of social dynamics.

An emerging paradigm highlights the importance of new flows of migration, a growing tension between social democratic and neo-liberal ideologies, new security challenges, the rise of new and improved media of communication, and developments in late capitalism, form a background.

Paradigm Shift

	[1850s]	[1950s]	
SOCIETY:	Agrarian	Industrial	Information
ECONOMY:	Agricultural	Manufacturing	Service
WORK TIME:	Nature	Clock	Flextime
TRADE CENTER:	Mediterranean	Atlantic	Pacific
FORM:	Tribe	Town	Technopolis
TRAVEL:	Walking	Driving	Flying
WORLDVIEW:	Familial	National	Global
ORIENTATION:	Past	Present	Future
ETHNIC VIEW:	Conformity	Uniformity	Diversity
POWER/SOURCE:	Family/Muscle	State/Money	Individual/Mind
EDUCATION:	Grade School	High School	College/Grad.Sch.
LEARNING:	Kinesthetic	Auditory	Visual
LOYALTY:	Family	Institution	Individual
OPTIONS:	Minimal	Many	Multiple
LIFESTYLE:	Ritual	Reformation	Revolution
RELIGION:	Tribal	Organized	Self-Help

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10 D. Education and social change

The term 'education' is derived from the Latin word, *educare* which means, 'to bring up', 'to lead out', and 'to develop'. In the simplest sense, therefore, education refers to the process of bringing up, leading out, and developing individuals as mature, adult members of society.

Education is nothing but the acquisition of knowledge that has been accumulated by society.

For long education has been identified with progress and prosperity. In fact, the spread of education is treated as an effective solution to the problems of economic decline, hunger, and human poverty.

Durkheim said that education is crucial in terms of preserving a certain degree of homogeneity, and ingraining the essential elements of collective life. He had rejected the idea that education can be the force to transform society. He argued that education is only the image and reflection of the society. It imitates and reproduces the latter; it does not create it. Education can be reformed only if society itself is reformed.

Mannheim argued that no teaching was sound unless it trained people to be conscious of the social situation in which they find themselves, and to be able after careful deliberation to make their choices and take decisions. Education, must therefore be for mobility, for flexibility of thought and action, for producing individuals with a high general level of culture so that they adapt to changing economic and social conditions.

According to Gramsci, the possibility of social change largely depends on the education of the working class. Political revolutions are always preceded by the creation of a new cultural climate, so he was always insistent on the need to educate workers.

Francis J. Brown remarked that education is a process which brings about changes in the behavior of a society, while Lester F. Ward regarded education as a means of social progress.

Parsons sees schools as a miniature society where a child learns universalistic values which are necessary for social integration. Feminists like McRobbie and Sue Lee criticize the schooling system for reproducing feminine roles in girls, thus perpetuating gender stereotypes.

Education can be planned to produce social change. We know that literacy does stimulate economic and social development. Educational innovation is more likely to produce a desired change if innovation in education is coordinated with changing other parts of the social structure.

Education often contributes to igniting, accelerating and sustaining the process of change, by disseminating and cultivating knowledge, information, skills and values appropriate to the changing socio-economic and political structure.

According to Kamat, there are four positions regarding education and social change:

1. Education is for itself and has nothing to do with social change.
2. Education is determined completely by social factors and can therefore, play no role in changing society. It follows social change.

3. Education is an autonomous or relatively autonomous factor and therefore can and does induce social change.
4. Educational change and social change must take place simultaneously.

Kamat conceptualized the relationship between education and social change in India in three stages:

In the first stage, he talks about the early British period to the end of the 19th century. In this period, the colonial socio-economic and political structure was established in India. However, it also played a kind of liberating role in breaking down traditional norms and values, which were in consonance with the older feudal, socio-economic politic and were a hindrance to itself. It also sowed the seeds of new norms and values - of a bourgeoisie society and modern nationalism. This liberating influence was internalized and worked in two directions:

1. Towards a close scrutiny of the indigenous social systems and culture leading to powerful movements of social and religious reform and protests movements like Satya Shodhak Samaj
2. Towards the process of self-discovery, self-assessment in the context of the new situation, leading to the creation of an alternative center of social cohesion, the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation.

In the period between the two world wars, education assumed a mass character. Occupational and social mobility occurred among segments of population that were hitherto unnoticed. So far, education had spread mainly to the upper caste and urban upper strata in society. Now it began to percolate to sections lower in the social hierarchy, the middle castes and middle strata. This carried the process of nationalism and social awakening still further, to the working class in the towns and to the peasantry in the countryside. The process considerably strengthened the movement for national liberation as well as the movement for social change. Meanwhile, the growth of the colonial system of education was developing serious contradictions within itself and also vis-à-vis the colonial socio-economic structure. This provided added edge to the principle contradiction between the British imperialism and the Indian people. This contradiction was reflected in large-scale unemployment among the educated on the one hand and the liberating influence in the strength and militancy of the powerful student and youth movement or the other.

In the third stage, from post-Independence period up to the mid-sixties the process of social and political awakening took further strides. Its two aspects, conformity and liberation, were also operating. At the same time, the contradiction within the education system, in relation the development, socio-economic structure has also sharpened.

According to Olive Banks the precise relationship of the education system to social and economic change is extremely complex and it is almost impossible to draw conclusions that are not misleading. The concept of education as producing or impeding social change is enormously complicated by the fact that the education system is a part of the society, which is itself changing. Consequently, the real issue is that of the inter-relationship between educational institutions and other aspects of the society. Moreover, it is this inter-relationship which makes it so difficult to use the educational system to produce conscious or planned social change. The education system cannot be seen in isolation from its social context. Thus, educational reform is not a universal panacea, however, that does not minimize its importance.

P1 - 10 d. Education and social change

Impediment, Pre-condition, Consequence - what kind of education and what kind of Social change?

Education is an instrument of social change, education follows social change

1. Battles fought over school curricula by politicians and other decision makers highlight the social, political and economic significance of education.
2. Education can fulfill several functions in society, including socialization, social placement and training for the workforce.
3. Schools also transmit cultural norms and expectations such as time discipline and obedience to authority via the curriculum.
4. Some sociologists argue that educational institutions are the best way to ensure that the most qualified people get the most desirable and prestigious jobs in a meritocratic society.
5. In contrast, critics contend that the main role of education in a capitalist society is the creation and maintenance of an efficient and malleable work force.

Today's society is knowledge society - degrees are valued more than skills - hence educated unemployment.

Real impact of education in bringing social change depends on:
• Access to education
• Content of education
• Support from various social structures

Durkheim - major function of education is the transmission of society's norms and values. It creates social solidarity - the welding of a mass of individuals into a united whole. Individuals learn to cooperate with those who are neither their kin nor their friends. Learns to respect rules, self-control. Schools transmit both - general values which provide the 'necessary homogeneity for social survival' and specific skills which provide the 'necessary diversity for social cooperation'. Value consensus and a specialized DOL whereby specialists combine to produce goods and services thus unite industrial society. School = society in miniature.
Critique - multicultural societies, which culture will you teach in schools? Transmit dominant class culture, which serves the interest of the ruling class rather than society as a whole. Emphasizes individual competition through the exam system rather than encourage social solidarity.

Habermas - education brings unhappy consciousness.

Kohler - higher the education of a person, more he is excluded from public sphere.

Althusser - Education is Ideological State Apparatus - it makes a person a slave of mass culture propounded by dominant ideology.

Ivan Illich - the pupil confuses teaching with learning, grades advancement with education and a diploma with competence. Schools suffocate creativity and deskill the individuals as they become more dependent on capitalist system.

Parsons - school is place for secondary socialization - universalistic - along with religion and law, it guides the personality system.

Pierre Bourdieu - replicate cultural norms - middle class values - the major role of education system is cultural reproduction. This does not involve transmission of the culture of society as a whole as Durkheim argued, but, instead, the reproduction of the culture of the 'dominant classes'. Bourdieu refers to the possession of the dominant culture as cultural capital because via the educational system, it can be translated into wealth and power.

Lipset's studies show that the higher one's education, the more likely one is to believe in democratic values and support democratic practices. At the same time there is evidence to suggest that there is no necessary connection between education and democracy.

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis - education in capitalist societies plays the part of reproduction of labour power. Education is subservient to the needs of those who control the workforce - the owners of the means of production. Hidden curriculum to create hard-working, docile, obedient, malleable and highly motivated workforce - acceptance of hierarchy, motivated by external rewards - illusion of equality of opportunity and a myth of meritocracy - education reproduces inequality by justifying privilege and attributing poverty to personal failure.

Antonio Gramsci - in capitalist societies, people possess dual consciousness. In part, they are indoctrinated through socialization by institutions like the state, education system and religion into accepting capitalist system as legitimate. However, their day-to-day experience of oppression and exploitation contradicts the false class consciousness fostered by the bourgeoisie. Consequently, people are unlikely to accept capitalist ideology fully.

- Margaret Archer in "Social Transformation" advocates the comparision in education system in Britain, USA & France is reflection of ideologies practiced by people of corresponding societies.

- In criticising to functionalists like Christopher Jencks, Ivan Davis & David Hargraves who glorify the role of education in promoting equality, tolerance, discipline among members of society, Basil Bernstein in "class, code & conduct" advocates education as a product of dominant class ideology which perpetuate dominance of their own ideology.

- Bowles & Gintis, although do not criticise Parson but they find out that violence, crime observed in American society is due to stark contrast in difference of education in high class & low class people.

- Ivan Illich in "Deschooling Society" has advocated disbanding of schools as an institution of imparting education & suggests that education should be practiced in public space like cyber space.

- Hence, the role of education is contested by many in changing as well as being changed by society. As Foucault advocates, knowledge is power & it flows through every nook & corner of society & he gives prominence to knowledge-power over state-power.

- Education as Preparation for Social Role in Ideal State
- Education as Cultivation of Reasoning Ability

- Education as means of Social Control
- Nature and Scope of Education: Cross-Cultural Perspective
- Social and Human Development Indicators
- Education for Capacity Building of the Poor and the Marginalized
- Ending Gender Discrimination: Gender differences in enrolments and dropouts are acute in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.
- Education mediates and maintains the cultural heritage of the society. But, whilst seeking to conserve, education must also ensure that culture lag in society is minimized.

Education brings social change by way of affecting existing value systems and beliefs, creating capacity among the individuals to absorb new ideas and opening up of avenues for social mobility. Education fosters personal development and self-fulfillment. It encourages the individual to develop his or her mental, physical, emotional and spiritual talents to the fullest. Hence, education and social change are linked in the following way:

- Initiate social change
- Capacity to welcome change
- Equality of opportunity
- Moral agent
- Economic role
- Development of knowledge in different fields
- Fights orthodoxy, promotes liberal ideas
- Social mobility
- Evaluate change
- Accept change
- Stabilization of eternal values

Education follows social change:
- Educational Changes due to Social Forces
- Educational Changes due to Social Needs
- Educational Changes due to Cultural Changes

Mark Twain famously said *I never let my schooling get in the way of my education*. Modern education has become synonymous with schooling and it removes focus from wider learning opportunities. Raymond Boudon, in his *Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality, 1974*, shows that the role of education in providing avenues for social mobility is not very significant. In fact, education based on equality only perpetuates inequality. Power, wealth and other material resources play a greater role in such societies. Commercialisation of education has further diluted the role of education in social change as there is now unequal access to quality education based on one's class. Children of working class only have *working class suited* education which offers only limited avenues. According to Paul Willis, working class kids get only working class jobs as differential education leads to differential reproduction of cultural values. According to Pierre Bourdieu, education also helps in reproducing *cultural capital* which is as necessary as social capital and economic capital. Cultural capital influences acquisition of other capitals as well. Thus, cultural reproduction in schools in unequal societies also leads to unequal educational attainments. Sally Tomlinson, in her *Education in Post-Welfare Society, 2005*, also makes a similar point and laments it being reduced as a means of economic development. According to her, education should be *liberalising, humanising and democratising force*.

Indian context:

Dr. Radha Krishnan: "Education is an agent for social change what is simple societies was done by the family, the religious, social and political institutions has to be done by the educational institutions today."

According to recent figures, there are 6.9 lakh educational institutions in India. Over 70% of these are primary schools. These are funded by the government, municipal corporations and private bodies. The largest number of these institutions are funded and run by the government; however if we look at the figures of those who gain access to the prestigious institutions for higher education, a majority come from the small percentage of private schools.

Education and the Disprivileged - Bhattacharya - "To the extent the previously disprivileged are brought within the ambit of institutionalized education there are three modalities of articulation between the system of privileges and the education system: (a) education reproduces and perpetuates inequalities between the privileged and the disprivileged, or (b) education enables a part of the

disprivileged to attain upward social mobility without affecting privileges as a system, or (c) education plays an adversarial and even subversive role, challenging privileges or inequality as a system. The first mode preserves homeostasis, the second submerses homeostasis through co-optation of the upward mobile, the third proposes metastasis or a subversion of the regime of privileges"

<u>Innovations in Education at the Grass-roots:</u>

Barefoot College of Tilonia, Rajasthan: In 1972, a group of university students inspired by Gandhian principles, established The Social Work and Research Centre (SWRC) under the leadership of Bunker Roy. They set up the Barefoot College in Tilonia with the mission of tapping local wisdom and initiative in order to empower the villagers themselves. The Barefoot College does not draw on the Role of Education in expertise or experience of professionals from the formal education system, Social and Human rather the villagers are encouraged to identify and use their own skills, Development: Emerging Perspectives knowledge and practical experience to make provision for drinking water, health, education, employment, fuel and other' basic needs. The Barefoot technologists have solar electrified several thousand houses in at least eight Indian states, installed hand pumps in the Himalayas, and planned and implemented piped drinking water. Apart from the technologists, the Barefoot educators serve as trained pre-primary and night school teachers. About 3000 boys and girls attend more than 150 night schools run by the Barefoot educators.

Neha Bhosle - Rank 15, UPSC CSE 2019

10 E. Science, technology and social change

According to Marx, even the formation of social relations, mental conceptions and attitudes are dependent upon technology. This is because with a change in forces of production, relations of production change. Thus, technological innovation leads to a change in the superstructure.

Jacques Ellul - 'The Technological Society' - claims that in modern industrial societies, technologism has engulfed every aspect of social existence in much the same way Catholicism did in the middle ages. The loss of human freedom and the large-scale destruction of human beings and the planet are due to the increasing use of certain types of technology which has begun to threaten the life support systems of the earth as a whole.

Ogburn - technology changes society by changing our environment, to which we in turn, adapt.

Relationship between economy, technology and society:

Technologies have been described as bodies of skills, knowledge, and procedures for making, using and doing useful things. They center on processes that are primarily biological and physical rather than on psychological and social processes.

Economy of any society is related not only to the social standards of the community but it is also a function of tools and technological inventions that have taken place in that society.

Some social aspects of technological development:

- Industrial Corporations
- Theses of Marx and Weber
- Emergence of affluent workers
- Alienation of modern workers

Study *'The Affluent Workers in The Class Structure'*, conducted in England in 1970's by Goldthorpe and Lockwood, to examine the embourgeoisement hypothesis.

This study pictured the affluent worker as someone who regards his factory as only a source of his livelihood. He does not have any sense of pride in belonging to his factory. He does not develop a sense of friendship or comradery with his fellow workers. Work does not give him a sense of identity or meaning in life. He seeks his identity in his leisure time activities. He looks forward to going home and spending time with his family and a small circle of intimate friends. He leads a very private life and zealously guards his privacy. He continues to be a member of the trade union but he is not an active participant in the Union's affairs. He looks upon the union as a mere instrument in his getting higher wages. Thus, instead of becoming an active agent of social transformations the worker is becoming a passive acceptor of the system and is interested only in getting a better deal for himself from the system. All this evidence seems to specifically contradict Marx's comments on the role of the working class in capitalist societies.

P1 - 10 e. Science, technology and social change

Science - method of study to any phenomenon - observation, experimentation and verification - 2 types: natural and applied.

Applied science is termed as technology.

Factory system of production → increased trade → political and legal systems to handle these complexities → Bureaucratization

Energy and food security, nuclear war, rise of middle class, women rights movement, mechanization of agriculture, communication, transportation, dissemination of information, lessened cultural isolation and paved the way for cultural uniformity, individualism has supplanted traditionalism, conquest of time and space, urbanization, biotechnology, fertility technology, internet and porn.

Though science claims to serve larger social interests, it has lately been hijacked by vested interests of elites, MNCs or developed countries to retain their domination over the world - science is a double edged sword, while it has improved standard of living, it has enslaved us to technology - also nuclear, WMDs.

Printing press - Benedict Anderson has argued that this helped the growth of nationalism, the feeling that people who did not even know of each other's existence feel like members of a family. It gave people who would never meet each other a sense of togetherness. Anderson thus suggested that we could think of the nation as an 'imagined community'.

In independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru, called upon the media to function as the watchdog of democracy.

James Katz and Satomi Sugiyama - mobile phone as a fashion statement. Miniature aesthetic statement.

Digitalization - Andre Beteille says an agent of social change must be ridden of all pre-conceived notions and must be accessible to all. Digital India fulfills this criteria.

Leslie White - technology when complemented by increase in energy consumption leads to social change.

Development of technology in pre-modern societies:

- Simple societies - During this time two great discoveries were made which gradually replaced hunting life with new forms of economic organizations of greater complexities. These discoveries were: (a) domestication of animals and (b) agriculture.
- Pastoral Societies
- Peasant Societies
- Rise of Agricultural Surplus
- Emergence of New social Institutions: The inception of feudalism took place at this time
- Division of labour
- Growth of cities

Development of technology in modern societies:

- Leonardo da Vinci (1452 - 1519) was also a remarkable engineer and architect who devised new weapons and even made drawings of aeroplanes
- Industrial Revolution
- Different ways of industrialization - American Example and Japanese example (since Meiji Restoration in 1868)

Modern technology and work relationships:

- Has strengthened trend towards deskilling of jobs. Example: The secretary's skill is broken down into operations which can now be handled by machines and less skilled workers.
- Job creation: new set of skills
- Technology and unionism
- Women and technology: On one hand empowered. But, A recent study of the impact of modern technology points out that the Japanese workers spend more time away from their wives and have bound their women even more securely to the home, because of modern household gadgets and television.

Thorsten Veblen has summarized the impact of the technology in terms of following points :

- Impact on social life :
  - Individuality
  - Disparity of sex ratio
  - Decline of community life
  - Problems of housing
  - Crime, corruption and competition.
  - Psychic conflict and disease
- Impact on family life :
  - Disorganization of joint family
  - Decrease in the function of the family
  - Employment of women
  - Love, inter-caste, late marriage and divorce
- Impact of economic life :
  - Development of capitalism
  - Division of labour and specialization
  - Higher standard of living
  - Large scale production and development trade
  - Economic depression and employment
  - Industrial dispute, disease and accident
- Impact on religion : Secularization
- Impact on rural society :
  - Migration
  - Mechanization of Agriculture
  - Agricultural Development
  - New Class Formation

Technology has increased social mobility. People gain better employment, education at the click of a button.

Science and Technology has enabled better usage of demographic dividend. The young can be skilled and educated for greater economic growth.

It has promoted gender equality as women become equally skilled and contribute to workforce.

The World Economic Forum credits technology for creating an enabling environment for the minorities.

It has diffused role of middlemen and enhanced transparency. The National Agriculture Market provides access to nation-wide market for farmers.

It has also promoted greater ideals of democracy through people's participation. Twitter SEVA and My Gov.In are portals where citizenry voices it grievances and pleasures alike.

However, it has also increased threat to social fabric. Cyber crimes like espionage, child pornography and cyber bullying cause damage to selected section of society.

Marxists further feels advancement in technology as cause for greater labour exploitation due to increased working hours.

Religious fundamentalism is seen as a by-product of process of secularism promoted by technological advancement.