Sociology Paper 1

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UNIT-I (SOCIOLOGY – THE DISCIPLINE)

1. Modernity and Social Changes in Europe and Emergence of Sociology

BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is the youngest of the recognized social sciences. The emergence of sociology is often credited to the sudden changes occurred in late 18th and 19th-century Europe. Founding fathers of sociology viz. August Comte (1798 – 1857), Herbert Spencer (1820 – 1903), Emily Durkheim (1858 – 1917), Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) lived in this era of profound upheavals in European society. These changes encompassed almost each dimension of the life of society, be it economics, politics, culture **August Comte** in France coined the word 'sociology' in his **Positive Philosophy** published in 1838. He believed that a science of sociology should be based on systematic observation and classification not on authority and speculation.

The word 'Sociology' is derived from the Latin word 'Societus' meaning 'society' and the Greek word 'logos' meaning 'study or science'. Thus, the etymological meaning of Sociology is the 'science of society' in its simplest meaning or the **study of society and the social institutions.**

The modern era in Europe and the conditions of modernity were brought about by following events. They are:

1. Renaissance and Commercial Revolution - (era of intellectual and scientific quest)

2. The Enlightenment - (dawning of the 'age of reason')

3. The Industrial Revolution - (the system of mass manufacture)

4. The French Revolution - (the quest for political sovereignty)

THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

The "Commercial Revolution" refers to a series of events between 1450 to approximately 1800. These events signaled to a shift from the largely subsistence and stagnant economy of medieval Europe to a more dynamic and worldwide system. The Commercial Revolution in this sense signified the expansion of trade and commerce that took place from the fifteenth century onwards. It was of such a large scale and organized manner that we call it a Revolution. This expansion was as a result of the initiative taken by certain European countries to develop and consolidate their economic and political power. These countries were Portugal, Spain, Holland and England. One of the important features of the Commercial Revolution was the **growth of banking**. Credit facilities were expanded, making it easy for merchants all over Europe to do business. The "cheque" was invented in the eighteenth century. Paper money came to replace gold and silver coins. Growth of companies: As trade and commerce expanded, new kinds of business organizations had to be devised to cope with this growth. "Regulated companies" arose in the 16th century. These were associations of merchants who bonded together to cooperate for a common venture.

RENAISSANCE

The **Renaissance** was a period in Italy (Europe) from the 14th to the 17th century, regarded as the cultural bridge between the Middle Ages and modern history. The renaissance period saw the beginning of the **Scientific Revolution**.

Visual art

Art, literature and science all flourished. A scientific approach to Nature

and the human body became prevalent. We can see this in the paintings of that period, which explored the smallest details of Nature and the human body.

Medicine

Dissection the human body became acceptable. Doctors and physiologists directly observed how the human body was constructed. The fields of anatomy, physiology and pathology thus benefited greatly.

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Chemistry

A general theory of chemistry was developed. Chemical processes like oxidation, reduction, distillation, amalgamation etc. were studied.

Navigation and astronomy

Vasco da Gama reached the Indian shores in 1498. Columbus discovered America in 1492. Remember, this was the era of expansion of trade and the beginnings of colonialism. A strong interest in astronomy, important for successful navigation also grew.

The Copernican Revolution

The first major break from the entire system of ancient thought came with the work of the Dutchman, Nicholas Copernicus. It was generally believed that the earth was fixed or stationary and the sun and other heavenly bodies moved around it. (This is known as a 'geocentric' theory.)

Copernicus however thought otherwise. With the help of detailed explanations, he demonstrated that the earth moved around a fixed sun. (This is a 'heliocentric' theory.) In a nutshell, science in the Renaissance period was marked by a new attitude towards man and nature. Natural objects became the subject of close observation and experiment.

It put humanism at the centre of all activities. It propagated ideology of modernism. It provided stimulus to intellectual development, rationalism, and empiricism and change orientation**.**

ENLIGHTENMENT (1715-1789)

The Enlightenment Period marked a radical change from the traditional thinking of feudal Europe. It introduced a new way of thinking. Individuals started questioning each and every aspect of life and nothing was considered sacrosanct - from the church to the state to the authority of the monarch and so on.

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

During the 18 century, European had entered the age of reason and rationalism. Some of the major philosophers whose ideas influenced the people of the time were Montesquieu, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, Adam Smith, JS Mill etc.

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

Locke, an Englishman, advocated that every individual has certain rights which cannot be taken by any authority. These rights were, right to life, right to property, and 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, a French philosopher, 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 personality best only under a government which is of their own choice. This period witnessed a dramatic change in the mental status of people. Society started thinking more pragmatically.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Biggest event that affected emergence of discipline was French Revolution which itself was influenced by Enlightenment philosophy. It led to replacement of old feudal system with a new one. Ideals of democracy, liberty and fraternity became new watch words. But they didn't come easily and the old system resisted stiffly.

The French Revolution which erupted in **1789** marked a turning point in the history of human struggle for freedom and equality. It changed the **Political Structure** of European society. It put an end to the age of

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feudalism and ushered in a new order of society. It replaced the age of feudalism by heralding the arrival of democracy.

The French society at this time was divided into three estates:

(i) **The first estate** – Clergy – Religious priests who lived a luxurious life. No taxation on church's property.

(ii) **The second estate** – Nobility – Nobles of swords and Nobles of Robes. Nobles of swords were big landlords who lived as parasite life on the hard working peasants. Nobles of the Robe were aristocrats whose rank came from holding certain hereditary judicial or administrative posts

(iii) **The third estate** – Commoners – Rest of society including peasants, artisans, merchants etc. The condition of peasants was miserable.

Reasons for the French Revolution-

1) Intellectual developments in France: Montesquieu (separation of power) + Locke (inalienable rights) + Voltaire (FOS) + Rousseau (Social contract)
2) Bankruptcy of the French government because of extravagance + American war of independence. This led the king to impose a tax on everyone irrespective of their social status.
3) This imposition of tax led the rich nobles and the clergy to demand a meeting of the Estate-General. In the meet unlike the earlier practice, the representatives of the third estate wanted all the estates to meet and vote as one assembly. But the first two estates did not agree to this.
4) Their refusal led to the formation of the National Assembly. Therefore, the National Assembly members led by their leader **Bailey** went to the next building which was an indoor tennis court. It was here that they took an Oath to draw a new constitution for France. This Oath, which marks the beginning of the French Revolution, is known as the Oath of the Tennis Court.
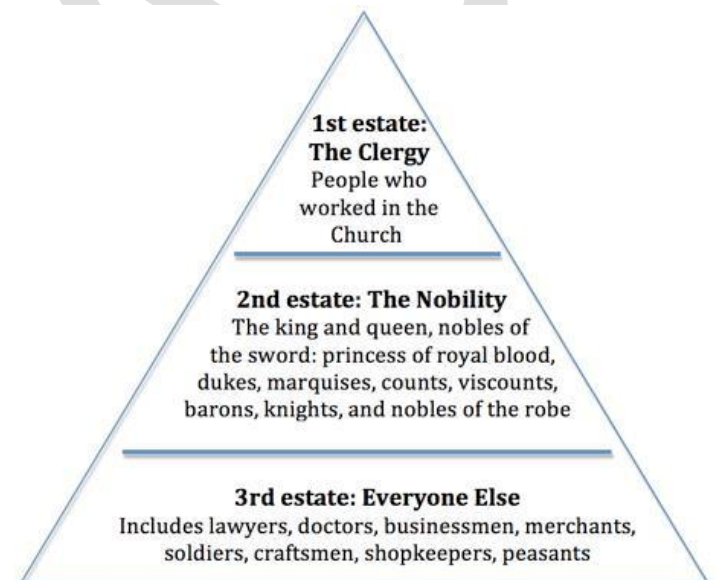
Results of French Revolution

Declaration of Rights of Man by the **Constituent Assembly (1789-1791),** comprising the members of the third estate and some liberal minded members of the other two estates, guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom from arbitrary punishments. It abolished the special rights and privileges of the clergy and the nobility. The King was no longer to rule by Divine Right. According to this declaration all men were born and remain 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, fraternity** and **equality** put an end to **the age of serfdom, despotism and hereditary privileges** found in the old feudal society.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

It began around 1760 AD in England. The foundation of

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

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

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

modern industry was laid by the Industrial Revolution, which began in England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. **Material and Social developments** are understood in form of arrival of Industrial Revolution and growth of **capitalism**. **Modernity** and Industrial Revolution gave birth to factory system of production, led to emergence of middle class and dismantling of feudal estates. These developments not only had certain positive outcomes, they also had many negative fallouts as well.

In Europe, especially England, the discovery of new territories, explorations, growth of trade and commerce and the consequent growth of towns brought about an increase in demand for goods. Earlier goods (i.e. consumer items like cloth, etc.) were produced at

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domestic levels. This means that there existed a domestic system of production. With increased demand, goods were to be produced on a large-scale.

It brought about great changes in the social and economic life of the people first in England, then in other countries of Europe and later in other continents.

Significant outcomes of the Industrial Revolution:

a) The condition of labor: A new population earning their livelihood by working in the factories arose. In the early years this working class lived in poverty and squalor. They were socially deprived system. This made them a powerful social force.

b) Sociologists recognized that the poverty of this class of workers is not natural poverty but social poverty. Thus the working class became during the nineteenth century the subject of both moral and analytical concern.

c) The transformation of property: Capital became important during the Industrial Revolution. The investment in new industrial system came to be recognized. The feudal landlords became less significant while the new capitalists gained power. Many of these new capitalists were the erstwhile landlords.

d) Urbanization accompanied by poverty and increasing crime rates.

e) Technology and the factory system

f) Surveys of social condition

g) Emergence of nuclear family system

h) Biological theories of evolution

i) Scientific approach to the study of society

j) Judged social institutions on the basis of reasons

k) Colonialism

k) Influence of enlightenment thinkers

Auguste Comte, who is also known as, the 'father of sociology', argued that the methods used in physics should be used for the study of society. He gave

sociology its name, identified three stages of human society: Theological (various phenomena were explained in religious terms), Metaphysical (explanations were philosophical) and Positivism (phenomena were explained in terms of the scientific approach to the social world).

Herbert Spencer argued for the universality of the principle of evolution. His view of the evolution of societies is known as Social Darwinism. According to him growth of society was from simple (homogeneous) to complex (heterogeneous); as it takes place in organism. He says, as society tends to evolve it becomes more and more differentiated i.e. more division of labor takes place.

The credit for developing sociology as an independent discipline and science goes to **Emile Durkheim** (1858-1917), a French sociologist. Durkheim said that sociologists study 'social facts', which are objective and exist in the consciousness of the collectivity.Thus, social fact is exterior to human mind and it constraints on human behavior. Hence, social facts do not have their origin in the individual.

In Germany, the most influential work was of **Max Weber** (1864-1920).In comparison to Durkheim, Weber said that the sociologist studies 'social action', which is an act an individual performs and assigns meaning. The task of sociologists is to understand the subjective meaning of an act.

German social thinker **Karl Marx's** ideas (1818-1883) were influential in Sociology. He argued that every society was divided into two classes, viz. 'Haves' and 'Have-nots". He believed that conflict was initiator of change in history. He, therefore, gave central importance to class and class-conflict.

CONCLUSION

Thus, modernity had impact on social, economic and political lives of people. Initially, modernity was seen positive, but its negative fallouts soon became too apparent. Modernity posed challenges which led to growth of new intellectual ideas. The questions which were posed were not answered by hitherto existing disciplines and a new 'science of society' was sought and what emerged was known as – Sociology. Due to its specific context of origin, it was also argued that

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sociology was the 'science of the new industrial society'. Thus, western sociology emerged as an attempt to make sense of modernity. Although a general context was present throughout Europe, but an immediate context for the rise of sociology was present in France with its unique socio-political situation. The upheaval that French Revolution created served as the immediate context for emergence of the discipline.

Intellectuals like **Saint Simon**, **Auguste Comte**, **Spencer** and **Durkheim** provided the early ideas which laid the formal foundation of the discipline. They made a bid to understand the cause of these new events and their consequences for society. **Simon** called the new discipline as **social physics** and it was **Comte** who called it sociology for the first time. **Spencer** followed the footsteps of Comte and gave idea of '**social evolution**' similar to biological evolution. Efforts of Durkheim led to establishment of Sociology as first department in France and Europe. Thus, despite a general impetus being present in Europe, sociology emerged as a distinct discipline in France.

The young discipline required a subject matter, facts, perspectives and methods. Popularity of natural sciences influenced the new discipline in these aspects. New methods were explored which were scientific and rational. 'State of Poor' report was the first scientific survey which came up in Europe and it highlighted that poverty is not natural, but a social phenomenon. Factual base was provided by the pre-existing historical records. Early perspectives were provided by Comte, Spencer and Durkheim.

Durkheim's contribution among these proved pioneering and his evolutionary view of sociology became one of the founding thoughts of the nascent discipline.

WHAT IS SOCIOLOGY?

August Comte in France coined the word 'sociology' in his **Positive Philosophy** published in 1839. He believed that a science of sociology should be based on systematic observation and classification not on authority and speculation.

The word 'Sociology' is derived from the Latin word 'Societus' meaning 'society' and the Greek word 'logos'

meaning 'study or science'. Thus, the etymological meaning of Sociology is the 'science of society' in its simplest meaning or the **study of society and the social institutions.**

In other words, Sociology is the study of man's behaviour in groups or of the inter-action among human beings, of social relationships and the processes by which human group activity takes place.

NEED FOR A SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

The most distinctive feature of human life is its social character. All human beings have to interact with other human beings in order to survive. Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, remarked that '**Man is a social animal**.' Both nature and necessity impel man to live in society.

Man has been trying since ancient times to take stock of his social environment and to attempt to understand the problems created by it. But in these early stages man carried on the study not of society but of the different aspects of society and that gave rise to different social sciences, like History, Economics, Political Science. Anthropology, Psychology, etc.

History is the record of unique events relating to man. Economics is concerned with his activities relating to production and consumption of wealth. Political Science deals with his political activities and institutions. Anthropology studies his activities and institutions as they existed in times long past. Psychology is interested in the springs of human action, the impulses and motives that sustain mental and bodily activity and regulate human conduct.

All these social sciences deal with social phenomena and are, therefore, interrelated and inter-dependent, each concentrates upon a particular phase of human conduct and specialises in studying it.

These social sciences do not give us a complete picture of society. They may give a snapshot view of society from various angles of vision but never a view of society in its comprehensive totality and utility. The need was, therefore, felt for a general science which should purview the society as a whole and 'sociology' was designed to achieve this end.

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SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY

Scope means the subject-matter or the areas of study. Every sciences has its own field of inquiry. It becomes difficult to study a science systematically unless its boundary or scope is determined precisely. Sociology as a social science has its own scope or boundaries. But there is no one opinion about the scope of Sociology.

The scope of sociological study is extremely wide. It can focus its analysis of interactions between individuals such as that of a shopkeeper with a customer, between teachers and students, between two friends or family members. It can likewise focus on national issues such as unemployment or caste conflict or the effect of state policies on forest rights of the tribal population or rural indebtedness. Or examine global social processes such as: the impact of new flexible labour regulations on the working class; or that of the electronic media on the young; or the entry of foreign universities on the education system of the country. What defines the discipline of sociology is therefore not just what it studies (i.e. family or trade unions or villages) but how it studies a chosen field.

Scope of sociology is more in direction of analysis of social problems and social systems and not in normative suggestion of solutions for these social problems. Early sociologists had two prime concerns – a scientific analysis of society and lay the principles of social evolution.

According to **Durkheim**, scope of sociologists is to study 'social facts' in society. Social facts should be studied in similar way as natural scientists study things. According to **Radcliffe Brown**, who adopted an anthropological-functional approach, the subject matter lies in 'structures' or patterns of social interrelations which can be studied by field work. According to **Marx**, scope of sociology is to study the dynamics of forces and relations of production. **Weber** on the other hand defines scope of sociology in terms of study of 'social action'. **Parsons** defines scope of sociology as study of 'action systems'. Hence, scope of sociology was defined by different scholars differently during different times.

During the evolutionary phases of the discipline, sociologists tried to understand society in terms of 'macro' units like religion and impact of natural sciences was apparent. **Durkheim** divided scope as – social morphology, social physiology and general sociology. **Max Weber** soon introduced 'micro view' in sociology. **Comte** divided scope of sociology as – social statics or stability and social dynamics or change. Later on **Herbert Spencer** put an evolutionary perspective and termed society an organism and widened its scope.

There are two **Schools of Thought** with different viewpoints regarding scope and subject matter of sociology.

  i.   Formal school
 ii.   Synthetic school.

SPECIALIST OR FORMAL SCHOOL

Formal school argued in favor of giving sociology a definite subject matter to make it a distinct discipline. It emphasized upon the study of forms of social relationships and regarded sociology as independent. These sociologists want to keep the scope of sociology distinct from other social sciences.

Simmel and others are of the opinion that sociology is a pure and an independent science. As a pure science it has a limited scope. Sociology should confine itself to the study of certain aspects of human relationship only. Further, it should study only the 'forms' of social relationships but not their contents.

According to **Small**, 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, bahaviour and activities, etc. According to **Max Weber** the scope of sociology consists in the interpretation of social behavior.

Social relationship such as competition, sub-ordination, division of labor etc., are expressed in different fields of social life such as economic, political, religious, moral, artistic etc. Sociology should disentangle the forms of social relationships and study them in abstraction.

Criticism of formal School

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Sorokin writes, "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".

According to **Ginsberg**, The conception of pure sociology is not practical as no social science can be studied in isolation from other social sciences.

SYNTHETIC SCHOOL

As against the Formalistic school the synthetic school wants to make sociology a synthesis of the social sciences or a general science. Modern sociologists, among them Durkheim, Hobhouse and Sorokin subscribed to this point of view.

According to this opinion, sociology is the science of sciences and all the sciences are included in its scope, it synthesizes all of them. All the aspects of social life are inter-related; hence the study of one aspect cannot suffice to understand the entire fact.

Hobhouse and Durkheim, though rejecting the encyclopedic view of sociology, resorted to a synthetic view rather than a specialist view.

Thus, **Hobhouse** viewed sociology as a science which has the whole social life of man as its sphere and not as another specialism, but he viewed its relationship with other social sciences as one of mutual exchange and mutual simulation.

Similarly, **Durkheim** viewed sociology as a **coordinating science** which was a synthesis of the special sciences and encouraged a sociological diffusion into other social sciences as well.

The scope of the subject which was limited by these discourses was given an encyclopedic view once again by **Talcott Parsons** in the 1950s through his elaborate conceptual schemes of **social system theory**.

On the other hand, sociological research was being inquired into localized and small problems. At the same time sociologists started taking up residual subjects like family and kinship, and urban and community studies which did not belong to any other field to establish 'autonomy' and a professional standing.

The next major factor deciding the scope and nature of sociology was the book **'sociological imagination'** by **C.W. Mills**, which criticized the then trend in sociology and advocated a more adventurous more imaginative studies of the momentous problems of the modern society.

It can likewise focus on national issues such as unemployment or caste conflict or the effect of state policies on forest rights of the tribal population or rural indebtedness. Or examine global social processes such as; the impact of new flexible labour regulations on the working class; or that of the electronic media on the youth or the entry of foreign universities on the education system of the country.

Feminist sociology emerged as a radical alternative and offered distinctive gender based explanations. It emphasizes centrality of gender in social change. More recently, post modernists have further expanded the scope and have tried to make it interdisciplinary as well. New issues like health, ageing, demographic issues, cybernetics, and information technology are also coming under the scope of sociology.

Ideally Sociology has for its field the whole life of man in society, all the activities whereby men maintained themselves in the struggle for existence, the rules and regulations which define their relations to each other, the systems of knowledge and belief, art and morals and any other capacities and habits acquired and developed in the course of their activities as members of society.

Thus, the scope of Sociology is very wide. It is a general science but it is also a special science. As a matter of fact, the subject matter of all social sciences is society. What distinguishes them from one another is their viewpoint. Sociology alone studies social relationships and society.

So, **Subject matter** of sociology can be defined as-:

1. Primary units of social life

    i.   Social action, social interaction, relations
    ii.   Different types of groups (family, caste etc)

2. Basic social institutions (marriage, economy, polity etc)

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3. Fundamental social processes (cooperation, conflict, deviance and change universities on the education system of the country).

What defines the discipline of sociology is not just what it studies (i.e. family or trade unions or villages) but how it studies a chosen field. There has been a great deal of controversy regarding the subject matter of sociology. Sociologists of different schools differ in their views.

SOCIOLOGY AND COMMON SENSE

Common sense is knowledge and awareness that is held communally (shared by majority of people). It does not depend on specialist. Sociology is study of society and of people and their behavior. Positivists claim that it produces scientific knowledge.

Sociology is a systematic study of society that uses a body of concept, tools and method to analyze the social content and factors behind a particular event and does not accord 'natural or inherent cause' for the same. Sociology has a 'questioning approach' to all commonly held belief and opinions and uses empirical method to verify them.

Common Sense is the idea that people know, just because it is common knowledge. However, common sense and what people think they know is not always true. When we do not know where our ideas come from or what they are based on, we simply call them 'common sense'. If we call the common sense, we do not have to prove they are true. The term 'common sense' puts a respectable front on all sorts of ideas for which there is no systematic body of evidence that can be cited.

Commonsense is culturally angled knowledge that is subjectively varied between individuals and societies. However, sociological thinking attempts to postulate a higher level of consciousness and objectiveness to the macro social trends and happenings in relation to the society as a whole.

Common sense knowledge, based on the accumulated experiences, prejudices and beliefs of the people, is often contradictory and inconsistent. On the other hand, scientific observations are based on verifiable evidence or systematic body of proof that can be cited.

For example, some common sense statements may be quoted here: man is more intelligent than women; married people remain happier than single people etc.

Common sense knowledge is based on beliefs, experiences and assumptions. Sociological knowledge is based on rigorous qualitative or quantitative research. Common sense reflects the generally accepted notions of a phenomenon and reinforces the status quo; whereas sociology, especially conflict theorists, challenges the status quo and argues for a change in the system. Common sense view is not reliable and valid, while Sociological views based on quantitative data are high in reliability and those based on qualitative data are high in validity.

Common sense equates to knowledge and experience which most people have, or which the person using the term believes that they do or should have. It is based on very limited evidence or observation. Sociological knowledge involves questioning what is considered as 'obvious'. It might lead to confirmation of common sense or refuting it.

Durkheim showed us that individuals are products of society, and that society has various characteristics that go beyond the individual, and cannot be explained by individual behaviour.

Common sense knowledge and understanding of social life must be correct some of the times otherwise people who are not sociologists could not survive. Some people possess more valid and empirical knowledge than others and this knowledge is indispensable for social life.

As sociology becomes a profession, practitioners have more time to study individuals, groups and societies thereby having more advantages over most other people. However, there are instances where people have profound understanding of the social world gained through careful, repeated and varying observations of the world. Common sense is often wrong but that does not prove that all common sense wrong.

Sometimes sociological findings confirm the common sense view; sometimes they do not. The only way to test common sense assumptions about society is to do it scientifically. Sociology relies on scientific studies in order to describe and understand a social environment.

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At times, the findings of sociologists may seem like common sense because they deal with facets of everyday life. This does not mean that there is no place for intuition or common sense in sociology. These approaches are rich sources of insights.

We can conclude that Sociology and common sense are not two opposite forces, but they complement each other at many points. Sociology uses its scientific methodologies to understand the reality or truth behind the common sense. Thus the relationship between Sociology and Common sense has been dynamic and molded by the dominant perspective in Sociology.

Special Notes

IMPORTANCE OF SOCIOLOGY

Sociology makes a scientific study of society: Prior to the emergence of sociology the study of society was carried on in an unscientific manner and society had never been the central concern of any science. It is through the study of sociology that the truly scientific study of the society has been possible. Sociology because of its bearing upon many of the problems of the present world has assumed such a great importance that it is considered to be the best approach to all the social sciences.

Sociology studies role of the institutions in the development of the individuals: It is through sociology that scientific study of the great social institutions and the relation of the individual to each is being made. The home and family, the school and education, the church and religion, the state and government ,industry and work ,the community and association, these are institutions through which society functions. Sociology studies these institutions and their role in the development of the individual and suggests suitable measures for strengthening them with a view to enable them to serve the individual better.

Study of sociology is indispensable for understanding and planning of society. Society is a complex phenomenon with a multitude of intricacies. It is impossible to understand and solve its numerous problems without support of sociology. It is rightly said that we cannot understand and mend society without

any knowledge of its mechanism and construction. Without the investigation carried out by sociology, no effective social planning would be possible. It helps us to determine the most efficient means for reaching the goals agreed upon. A certain amount of knowledge about society is necessary before any social policies can be carried out.

Sociology is of great importance in the solution of social problems. The present world is suffering from many problems which can be solved through scientific study of the society. It is the task of sociology to study the social problems through the methods of scientific research and to find out solution to them. The scientific study of human affairs will ultimately provide the body of knowledge and principles that will enable us to control the conditions of social life and improve them.

Sociology has drawn our attention to the intrinsic worth and dignity of man. Sociology has been instrumental in changing our attitude towards human beings. In a specialized society we are all limited as to the amount of the whole organization and culture that we can experience directly. We can hardly know the people of other areas intimately. In order to have insight into and appreciation of the motives by which others live and the conditions under which they exist, knowledge of sociology is essential.

Sociology has changed our outlook with regard to the problems of crime etc. It is through the study of sociology that our whole outlook on various aspects of crime has changed. The criminals are now treated as human beings suffering from mental deficiencies and efforts are accordingly made to rehabilitate them as useful members of the society.

Sociology has made great contribution to enrich human culture that has made richer by the efforts of sociology. The social phenomenon is now understood in the light of scientific knowledge and enquiry. Sociology has given us training to have rational approach to questions concerning oneself, one's religion, customs, morals and institutions. It has further taught us to be objective, critical and dispassionate.

Sociology is of great importance in the solution of international problems. The progress made by physical sciences has brought the nations of the world nearer to each other. But in the social field the world has been

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left behind by the revolutionary progress of the science. The world is divided politically giving rise to stress and conflict. Men have failed to bring in peace. Sociology can help us in understanding the underlying causes and tensions.

The value of sociology lies in the fact that it keeps us update on modern situations. It contributes to make good citizens and finding solutions to the community problems. It adds to the knowledge of the society. It helps the individual find his relation to society. The study of social phenomena and of the ways and means of promoting what **Giddens** calls **Social Adequacy** is one of the most urgent needs of the modern society. Sociology has a strong appeal to all types of mind through its direct bearing upon many of the initial problems of the present world.

Dictionary

Anthropology - नृविज्ञान / मानवशास्त्र

Scope of Sociology - समाजशास्त्र के दायरे

Social Facts - सामाजिक तथ्य

Forces of Production - उत्पादन की शक्तियां

Relation of Production - उत्पादन के संबंध

Social Action - सामाजिक क्रिया

Formal School - औपचारिक विचारधारा

Synthetic School - अनऔपचारिक विचारधारा

Feminist Sociology - नारीवाद समाजशास्त्र

Deviance - विचलन

Common Sense - सामान्य ज्ञान

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SOCIOLOGY AND OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

Sociology is defined as a science of society. It endeavors to study the social life as a whole. But the social life is so complex that it is impossible to isolate social problems from the whole range of human experience.

Sociology, for example, in order to understand a particular society has to take stock of its economic, political and cultural factors, its geographical, environments, its language, its religion, its morals, its laws and finally its interaction with the rest of the world. The divisions among the various social sciences are not clear cut, and all share a certain range of common interests, concepts and methods. The fact is that various social sciences are very much dependent on sociology for the simple reason that no aspect of human life can be detached from its social aspect.

Furthermore, the various social sciences devote themselves to the study of one aspect of human life and therefore are not in a position to give us a complete survey of the social life. Sociology seeks to study the society and to analyze it in terms of the social relations that have a pattern. Sociology seeks to explore how and why societies emerge, persist and then change.

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

More recently, post modernists have further expanded the scope and have tried to make it interdisciplinary as well. New issues like health, ageing, demographic issues, cybernetics, and information technology are also coming under the scope of sociology. Sociology has grown more interdisciplinary than ever, widening its scope in a never before manner.

1. SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

Economics is the study of production and distribution of goods and services. Classical economics approach dealt almost exclusively with interrelations of pure economic variables: price, demand and supply, money flows etc. The objective of dominant trend in economic analysis was, however, to formulate precise laws of economic

behaviour. It is more systematized and is more scientific. Economic theorists try to give laws which can predict the economic phenomenon. Scope of theory building and laws is more in economics. Law of demand and supply is universal in application.

According to **Alfred Marshall**, investigates how man earns and spends money. The focus of traditional economists have been on a narrow understanding of 'economic activity', namely the allocation of scarce goods and services within a society.

One extreme position has been adopted by **Marxists**. According to them 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.

An economist's primary concern is with all that is directly or indirectly related to the increase of material happiness of man, with the methods, and techniques of production, distribution and consumption.

Pierre Bourdieu wrote in 1998, that a true economist would look at all costs of the economy including costs of kinds, suicides and so on.

Sociological approach looks at economic behaviour in a broader context of social norms, values, practices and interests. Thus, economist's predictive abilities often suffer because of negligence of individual behaviour, cultural norms and institutional resistance which sociologists study.

Durkheim established division of labour as a social fact different from **Adam Smith's** explanation of division of labour as an economic phenomenon. Similarly, middle class may be an economic division but middle-class behaviour is certainly a social fact.

An economic activity is also a social activity and production involves social relations as well. Methods of earning money are also guided by social norms and values. Theft and robbery can never be legitimate means of earning money. Consumption behavior is also affected by social and cultural values.

Sociology would study the productive enterprises as a social organization.

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Scope of sociology is more in direction of analysis of social problems and social systems and not in suggestion of solutions for these social problems. It has wider scope as it studies all aspects of human activity. The supply of labor as affected by values and preferences influences of education on economic behavior, role of caste system in economic development and so on. 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.

According to **Durkheim**, scope of sociologists is to study 'social facts' in society. According to **Marx,** scope of sociology is to study the dynamics of forces and relations of production. **Weber** on the other hand defines scope of sociology in terms of study of 'social action'. **Parsons** defines scope of sociology as study of 'action systems'.

Sociology unlike economics usually does not provide technical solutions. But it encourages a questioning and critical perspective. Sociological laws are less universal in nature as there is little consensus in sociology over the perspective which should be used.

Policy makers are more and more relying on society along with economics to formulate workable policies. For example –Nobel laureate **Amartya Sen's** work on **Welfare Economics** is one such example where economics and sociology club together.

Hence, both sociology and economics study same topics but from different angles. Sociology, not only facilitates discussions but also social desirability of goal.

2. SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Aristotle defined political science as a study of state. Conventional political science was focused primarily on two elements: political theory and government administration. Neither branch involves extensive contact with political behaviour. Sociology is devoted to the study of all aspects of society, whereas conventional

political science restricted itself mainly to the study of power as embodied in formal organization.

Political Science is a branch of social science dealing with the principles of organization and government of human society. It deals with social groups organized under the sovereignty of the state. Subject matter of political science is more codified. It tends to turn attention towards the processes 'within' the government. Since the forms of government, the nature of government organs, the laws and sphere of the state activity are determined by the social processes. It shall therefore be quite correct to say that without sociological background, the study of political science will be incomplete.

Though do not fall exclusively under the scope of sociology, political systems too influence society every minute. Hence, a discipline call **Political Sociology** was born as a meeting ground.

The need for better policies for development among the newly decolonized nations has also brought together sociologists and political scientists. The influence of sociology in the field of political science has been to direct attention towards political behaviour and to encourage scientific generalizations and explanations.

Political science provides laws which affect welfare of masses; sociology provides data and basis of these laws and policies. Social considerations like caste, kinships, demography etc play an important role in political decisions and especially elections. Political science treats only conscious activities of man, sociology treats unconscious activities of man also.

Political science starts with the assumption that man is a political being, sociology goes behind this assumption and tries to explain how and why man became a political being.

Barner writes, "The most significant thing about sociology and Modern political theory is that most of the changes which have taken place in the political theory in the last thirty years have been alone the line of development suggested and marked out by sociology.

To **Marx**; people who control economy, control politics (base – structure theory). To **Weber**; political inequality is a universal truth across time and space, and to **critical**

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theorists; politics is nothing but authoritative allocation of values in society. **Talcott Parsons** also identifies political role affecting society through a social systems approach.

Feminist sociologists largely trace patriarchal elements in political systems.

Hence, we see that there are many meeting grounds for political science and sociology such as rise of civil society, pressure groups etc. Political sociology is coming up in a big way and extracting from both political science and sociology. It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish political science from political sociology. Also 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.

3. SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY

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

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**. According to **G E Howard**, 'History is past sociology, sociology is present history'.
According to **Park**, 'In the same sense that history is the concrete, sociology is the abstract science of human experience and human nature.'

History is primarily concerned with the past and essentially tries to account
for the change over the time while the main focus of sociology continues to search for recruitment patterns and to build generalizations. However it is becoming increasingly clear that historiography and sociology can not 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 that the two shall continue to borrow from each other extensively.

Contemporary history is no more about laying facts but also interpreting them in interdisciplinary manner. Sociology gives deeper understanding of societies from the recent past and similarly history has some answers to societies as we see them today. Sociologists produce generalizations while historians describe unique events. This distinction hold true for traditional narrative history, but are only partly true for modern historiography. With the Works like **Weber's** Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism and **Pitrin Sorokin's** Social and Cultural Dynamics, the line for demarcation between history and sociology is becoming increasingly blurred.

History has been starting point of many researchers. **Durkheim** had history department called Annales under Febver in University. **Marl Bloch** explains different feudal societies in historical context.

Malinowski reached Trobriand Islands to study primitive societies which are perfect evidence of history existing in present times.

Social history is an important factor of social change and to **Marx** all superstructures are found on economic history of man. Though sociology benefits from history, it should not be taken on face value as different historians present facts differently.

Contemporary journals like economic and political weekly, Journal on prison studies, economic and historical review, journals on women studies and disciplines like Indology speak volumes about interlinkages between history and sociology.

Now a days, history is not only concerned with 'which and what events', but also 'how' of events. This emphasis on 'cause and effect' has brought the two disciplines closer. Hence, theoretical boundaries between both the disciplines have overlaps and forth contribute to its each other's development.

4. SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology in most countries 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

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social anthropology and cultural anthropology 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.

Sociology and social anthropology had quite different origins. Sociology originated from philosophy of history, political thought and positive sciences while anthropology has descended from biology. But both anthropology and sociology study the same subject matter i.e. man. Time and cultural elements are the only aspects that separate them.

In the earlier periods of their growth the two disciplines grew up in close cooperation with each other in terms of the concepts used, areas of interest and their methods of study as can be seen in the works of founders which cannot easily be assigned exclusively to either one of the disciplines.

Social anthropologists generally live in the community that they study in order to observe and record what they see. Their analysis is essentially qualitative and clinical. On the other hand, sociologists often rely on statistics and questionnaires and their analysis is often formal and quantitative.

The small units of study which the social anthropologists require are fastly disappearing because of the influence of Western ideologies and technologies. Placed in such a situation, both the social anthropologists and sociologists are concerned with the process of economic growth and social changes.

Both the disciplines are equally useful in studying the African and Asian societies which are changing under the impact of the West. It is no longer the prerogative of sociologists to study advanced societies.

The works of **Talcott Parsons and R.K Merton** are attempts towards an adaptation of functionalist approach to study industrial societies and **William White** has adopted participant observation for the study of modern industrial society. Thus the disciplines are increasingly merging into each other.

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.

There is an increasing number of anthropological studies in advanced societies, like the studies of little community, kinship groups, etc. Some basic concepts such as structure, function, status, role, conflict, change and evaluation are used by both sociologists and social anthropologists. These feature differences indicate the interdependence of sociology and social anthropology in understanding social behavior.

5. SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Psychology is the science of man's experience and behavior and its subject matter which includes basic instincts, sympathy, suggestions, imitations, passions and so on. Psychologists are concerned with conducting research on specific cognitive processes, such as stress, grief, anger, depression, intelligence, love, intelligence and learning, motivations and memory, nervous system and reaction time, hopes and fears.

Sociology seeks to bring social problems like economic injustice, – family, individual, religion, power, marriage, inequality, social stratification, hate crimes, alcohol addiction, obesity, environmental racism, and healthcare disparity to the public eye. Instead of dwelling on individual human thought, sociology inherently deals with how people relate with one another and behave towards others. Sociologists observe certain populations, research current issues, and evaluate how the problems will affect the wellness of society. Sociology studies the organization of social groups, central values and the various forms of institutional behavior arising on account of them.

On the relation between the two disciplines, there are two extreme views as **J S Mill** sought to establish primacy of psychology over all other social sciences and believed that all laws are derived from the laws of mind. **Durkheim** on the other hand made a radical distinction

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between the phenomena studied by sociology and psychology respectively. His study of 'Suicide' even tended to ignore psychological disposition while taking into account social phenomenon.

Sociology was to study social facts defined as being external to individual mind and exercising the coercive action upon them, the explanation of social facts could only be in terms of other social facts not in terms of psychological facts. Thus, sociology and psychology are totally separate disciplines. The divergence between sociology and psychology can be illustrated from various studies. In the study of conflict and war, there have been mutually exclusive sociological and psychological explanations. In the studies of stratification and political behavior the two disciplines have remained divergent.

Social psychology, which serves as a bridge between psychology and sociology, 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.

According to **Ginsberg** many sociological generalizations can be more firmly established by being related to general psychological laws. German scholar **Weber** came to believe that sociological explanations can be further enriched if an attempt is made to understand social behavior in terms of underlying meanings. Such understanding was conceived in terms of common sensual psychology. According **Gerth and Mills,** the study of social psychology is the interplay between individual character and social structure.

6. SOCIOLOGY & PHILOSOPHY

Modern philosophy and sociology came into existence during same time period to explain the social crisis of Europe in the 19th century.

Historically, sociology has its closest relationship with philosophy. Philosophy attempts to study reality in totality. Sociology also began its journey with philosophical ambitions, their causes, supreme values, grand theories and ultimate ends were sought.

August Comte, in his book – positivistic philosophy said all societies passed through 3 stages– theological,

metaphysical and scientific. Similarly, **Herbert Spencer** propounded revolutionary theory of society. Marxism is another grand theory which delves on philosophical questions. **Durkheim** claimed that sociology contributes to philosophy more than any other science.

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. For example – concepts like dharma, individualism, liberalism, alienation" since of both value and fact.

To conclude, philosopher who is well acquainted with sociology and sufficiently grounded in philosophy could become more competent in their respective fields.

Dictionary:

Demography - जनसांख्यिकी

Base Structure - आधार

Super Strructure - अधिरचना

Social Anthropology - सामाजिक मानवशास्त्र

Theological Stage - धर्मशास्त्रीय चरण

Metaphysical Stage - तत्वमीमांसिय चरण

Scientific Stage - सकारात्मक चरण

Epistemological Philosophy - ज्ञानमीमांसिय दर्शन

Axiological Philosophy - मूल्यमीमांसिय दर्शन

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UNIT-II
(SOCIOLOGY AS SCIENCE)

SCIENCE, SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND CRITIQUE

Over the past three hundred years since the Enlightenment, the 'scientific method' has emerged as the predominant, universally accepted approach to acquiring knowledge. As against religious faith, magic and superstition, the scientific method is a way of arriving at an empirical, impartial and reliable representation of the world. The development of the scientific method as the principal mode of acquiring knowledge emerged during the Renaissance through the works of numerous pioneering scientists and philosophers such as Nicolaus Copernicus (1473- 1543), William Harvey (1578-1657) etc.

● Early sociologists tried to establish sociology as a science, and their arguments are mainly on the methodology of sociology. Auguste Comte was the first one to propound this theory and called the new discipline 'social physics'. Herbert Spencer's organismic analogy was guided by similar influences of biological sciences and Darwinism.

What is Science??

Science is a body of systematic knowledge. Science is based on reason and evidence. A science is "a branch of knowledge or study dealing with a body of facts or truths systematically arranged and showing the operation of general laws." Science collects facts and links them together in their causal sequence to draw valid inferences. Science adopts scientific methods. Scientific knowledge is acquired through observation, experimentation, generalisation etc. Science has the following characteristics such as objectivity, observation, accurate prediction, experimentation, accurate measurement, generalisation and cause-effect relationships:

1. Objectivity: Scientific knowledge is objective. Objectivity simply means the ability to see and accept facts as they are, not as one mightwish them to be. To be objective, one has to guard against his own biases, beliefs, wishes, values and preferences. Objectivity

demands that one must set aside all sorts of the subjective considerations and prejudices.

2. Verifiability: Scientific knowledge is based on verifiable evidence (concrete factual observations) so that other observers can observe, weigh or measure the same phenomena and check out observation for accuracy.

3. Ethical Neutrality: Science is ethically neutral. It only seeks knowledge. How this knowledge is to be used, is determined by societal values. Knowledge can be put to differing uses. Knowledge about atomic energy can be used to cure diseases or to wage atomic warfare.

4. Experimentation: A scientific research adopts a certain sequential procedure, an organised plan or design of research for collecting and analysis of facts about the problem under study. Generally, this plan includes a few scientific steps—formulation of hypothesis, collection of facts, analysis of facts (classification, coding and tabulation) and scientific generalisation and predication.

5. Reliability: Scientific knowledge must occur under the prescribed circumstances not once but repeatedly. It is reproducible under the circumstances stated anywhere and anytime. Conclusions based on casual recollec-tions are not very reliable.

6. Precision: Scientific knowledge is precise. It is not vague like some literary writing. Precision requires giving an exact number or measurement. Instead of saying "most of the people are against love marriages," a scientific researcher says, "Ninety per cent people are against love marriages".

7. Accuracy: Scientific knowledge is accurate. Accuracy simply means truth or correctness of a statement or describing things in exact words as they are without jumping to unwarranted conclusions.

8. Abstractness: Science proceeds on a plane of abstraction. A general scientific principle is highly abstract. It is not interested in giving a realistic picture.

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9. Predictability: Scientists do not merely describe the phenomena being studied, but also attempt to explain and predict as well. It is typical of social sciences that they have a far lower predictability compared to natural sciences. The most obvious reasons are the complexity of the subject matter and inadequacy at control etc.

Auguste Comte opines like other natural sciences sociology also governed by some natural laws. Hence Sociology is a Science. Comte claimed that sociology uses four different kinds of methodologies, namely observation, experiment, comparison and historical research as a special case of comparison. According to Auguste Comte and Durkheim, "Sociology is a science because it adopts and applies the scientific method." Sociology makes use of scientific methods in the study of its subject matter. According to Martha Nussbaum, Sociology is a useful science as it solves the problems of society.

Why is Sociology a Science??

1. Sociology adopts scientific method: Sociology studies social events by adopting scientific method. It employs scientific methods as scales of Sociometry schedule, case study, interview and questionnaire which is used to quantitatively measure social phenomenon. Durkheim's sociological method rests firmly on the experience of biology, which had emerged by then as a science of living beings.

2. It is based on empiricism: For Durkheim, sociology is a study of social facts. A social fact is "a thing that is external to, and coercive of, the actor". Because they are external, social facts cannot be investigated by introspection. We should use empirical research. A typical use of this methodology is in his analysis of suicide. Durkheim used statistics on suicide rate to establish his argument that suicide is a social phenomenon. He refused alternative hypotheses because their predictions did not agreewith the actual statistical data. This is an admirable attempt of empirical research of society.

3. Sociology makes accurate observation: Observation is possible in the field of sociology even if it does not possess a laboratory. The whole social world is the laboratory of sociology. Sociology makes observation of

changes in the society through various parameters, for example a change in the attendance of school students all over country can be observed by the start of mid-day meals in the school, in Bihar school attendance of girls increased by providing them cycles; the use of toilets all over country have increased by educating the people about the effects of the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan. Even if Sociology does not possess a laboratory still it makes accurate observations. Hence Sociology is a science.

4. Objectivity is possible in Sociology: Like natural sciences Sociology also makes objective study. The statement that dowry is a social evil is an objective statement which is based on facts collected by sociologists. Further Survey and revivification proves this. Sociology can also make objective study of social phenomena. New techniques and methods are also introduced to make social phenomena more objective. Hence Sociology is a science. Weber said that objectivity is possible through methods like Verstehen and Ideal Type.

5. Sociology describes cause-effect relationship: Like natural sciences Sociology also traces the cause and finds the answers. While studying family or population growth Sociology has traced the relationship between family disorganisation and divorce and population growth and poverty. Family disorganisation is the cause of divorce and population growth is the cause of poverty. Thus sociology describes cause-effect relationships in social disorganisation and population explosion. Hence sociology is a science.

6. Sociology makes accurate measurement: Sociology, like natural sciences, also accurately measures social phenomena or relationships. By using statistical methods, socio-metric scale, scales of measurement sociology effectively and accurately measures social relationships. HenceSociology is a science. Durkheim in his study of suicide try to find out accurate measures with the help of data available to him.

7. Sociology makes accurate Prediction: Like natural sciences sociology does frame laws and attempts to predict more accurately. On the basis of cause-effect relationship sociology can accurately predict the future. If there will be dowry in society then it will lead to suicide, poverty.

8. Sociology makes generalization: The notion that generalization drawn by social sciences are not universal proved wrong. Like natural sciences Sociology became able to draw generalization which is universally

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applicable. The concept of incest taboo-prohibited sex relationship among blood relatives is a universal truth. Durkheim also claimed that the meaning of Social Facts remain the same.

Why Sociology is Not a Science??

Following are the arguments with which it is said that sociology is not a science:

Why is Objectivity difficult in social sciences?

● Cultural effects
● Social situations effects
● Perception effects
● Effects of history and old ideas
● National or ethnic superiority

1. Lack of objectivity: Sociology cannot be called a science because it cannot maintain complete objectivity with social phenomena. Sociologist has his own prejudice and bias hence he cannot observe his subject with complete detachment. Sociology deals with social relationships which cannot be studied like physical objects. Hence objectivity is not possible in Sociology. Weber has said that objectivity is not possible but the researcher should try to be value neutral in his approach to deal with the agents and situations.

2. Lack of Experimentation: Sociology is not a science because it can't make experimentation. Sociology deals with human relationships which cannot be put to laboratory tests. We can't see or weigh human relationships because they are abstract in nature.

3. Lack of Prediction: Like natural sciences Sociology can't accurately make prediction. Natural Sciences make prediction on the basis of certain data. But Sociology deals with social relationships and human behavior which are so uncertain and peculiar that we can't make any accurate prediction about it. It is difficult to predict the trends or speed of social change, for example the laws related to preventing atrocities on Women have not been able to bring the required change in society, and crime rates against women have not been controlled. In Fact nuances of some females for the misuse of laws like Domestic Violence Acts etc. have now been used against them. Hence sociology is not a science.

4. Lack of accurate measurement: Sociology can't make accurate measurement like natural sciences. In Sociology we have no such measuring instruments as used in natural sciences like meter etc. Besides, sociology deals with social relationships which is qualitative in nature which can't be measured. Love between mother and son can't be measured in quantities. Hence Sociology is not a science.

5. Lack of Generalisation: Sociology can't make generalisations like natural sciences which is universally applicable. Sociology deals with human behaviour and no two individuals are alike. Hence the conclusions drawn by Sociology can't be uniform or universally applicable. Social Phenomena is so complex and complicated and is governed by so many factors that it is really difficult to draw a conclusion which will be universally applicable.

Like in daily soaps it is seen that generally the relationship between mother in law and daughter in law is very sour. But this is not correct, this is more of a thing in North India, in South Indian The relation between two is very good as marriage is generally with the extended families.

6. Terminological Inefficiency: Sociology suffers from terminological inefficiency. Sociology has not yet become able to develop an adequate setof scientific terms. Many terms used in Sociology are vague and carry different meanings to different persons. For example the term caste and class has not yet acquired clear meaning. Hence Sociology is not a science. It is said that not only social sciences, even the natural sciences suffer from limitations, like testability, unpredictability etc. Karl Popper said that Science is not a body of knowledge but the method of approaching. According to him sociology has key features of science like- perspectives, subject matter etc.

Sociologist Robert Bierstedt in his book "The social order" has explained the nature of Sociology in the following way:
1. Sociology is a social and not a natural science.
2. Sociology is a positive and not a normative science.
3. Sociology is a pure science and not an applied science.
4. Sociology is an abstract science and not a concrete science.
5. Sociology is a generalising science and not a particularising
science.
6. Sociology is both a rational and an empirical science.

The Basic elements of Scientific Method
a) Perspective
b) A well-defined Subject Matter- it constitutes the domain of science
in which investigations have to be carried out.

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c) Methodology- the series of steps to carry out collection and analysis of data.

Scientific knowledge is cumulative or incremental in the sense that existing theories are fertile sources of new hypotheses, which are subjected to experimental verification leading to the development of new theories and laws.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the scientific method as 'as a method or procedure that has characterised natural science since the 17th century, consisting in systematic observation, measurement and experiment, and the formulation, testing and modification of hypotheses'. In General, scientific methods should give results that are not only capable of verification by others, but also that have universal applicability under similar conditions. Science is not concerned with individual cases or instances but with classes and groups of objects and events of which the individual is only a specimen. According to Goldhaber and Nieto, the scientific method is a group of techniques to investigate a phenomenon, acquiring new knowledge or the correction and integration of previous knowledge.

● The scientific method consists of systematic observation, definition, classification, measurement, analysis and interpretation. These activities are performed in a standardised sequential manner from the conceptualisation of a research question, developing a research design for answering them, interpretation of the results and prediction and verification of the same.

● The critical characteristic of the scientific method lies in the procedure or steps involved in proposing hypotheses to explain phenomena, and designing experimental studies to test them in such a fashion that we may arrive at universally accepted facts. The procedure should enable other researchers to arrive at the same results when doing the experiment under similar conditions.

● The main steps or stages of the application of the scientific method are:

1. Observation and description of phenomenon- There is a need to have an idea of the subject which one wants to study. One must have assumptions and some description about the topic of research. Basically it depends on the will of a researcher. Weber has said that at this stage the values are unavoidable. There can be consideration of funds, aconsideration of popular topics, and consideration of the person being part of the same group to which the problem is related.

2. Formulation of a hypothesis to explain the phenomenon: Next step is to form a tentative explanation of the problem or the topic. Very often this is called Hypothesis. Hypothesis is a structural phenomenon. It is possible that some may not be able to construct a hypothesis. So, one can begin with a generalised idea as the Maliownsky did in his research.

Hypothesis is a general statement about a relationship between phenomena that is open to being tested or becoming the subject of a systematic investigation. It may be derived logically from existing data or may be a stray hunch, guess or observation. Analogies or similarities are an important source of hypotheses. The hypothesis should be specific, conceptually clear, related to available theories and techniques so that it can be tested.

3. Collection of Data: Information or the data is collected from the field of study. Various methods are used to collect the data like surveys, interviews etc.

4. Classification and Interpretation of Data: Classification of data is necessary because without classification the results cannot be interpreted. It is necessary to do generalisations and conclude the results. Karl Pearson said that most scientific endeavours do not find any basic truth or a reliable conclusion. So they remain content with the experiences of the field of the study.

5. Comparison with similar studies: The next step is to see and review similar works. This is needed to locate oneself in the right perspective. After this finally a report is prepared.

6. Theory: A sociological theory is a set of ideas that provides an explanation for human society. Theories are selective in terms of their priorities and perspectives and the data they define as significant. As a result they provide a particular and partial view of reality**.** When the generalisations are found to be repeatedly true over time again and again, it results in the formulation of general laws or theory.

Social research essentially involves using experience to arrive at a conjecture, testing the conjecture, arriving at a result, making some prediction from the result and then testing it out again.

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Social scientists tried to apply the techniques of the natural sciences for the study of human psyche and society. But it was soon found that social reality is very different, and it is not possible to apply the classical scientific method without modification for its study due to the following reasons:

1. Complexity of Social Data: No two persons are exactly alike and even the behaviour of the same individual varies under different circumstances. So, it is difficult to generalise about social phenomena in the form of universal cause-effect relationships. For example, most people will run away from a burning building, but some may stay behind risking their own lives to save others.

2. Social Phenomena is Unpredictable: Due to the complexity of social phenomena, it is difficult to predict human behaviour and arrive at laws that are universally true under identical circumstances. This is in contrast to the high level of predictability that prevails in the case of physical and chemical phenomena.

3. Plurality of Causes and Intermixture of Effects: Not only do social phenomena have a range of causes, but it is also difficult to clearly distinguish between cause and effect in the case of social data. For instance, higher rates of crime in a city may be due to unemployment, inflation and/or lax policing. Then, poverty may lead to higher rates of disability in society because more people become disabled due to lack of access to adequate nutrition and healthcare; but disability may also lead to poverty in that more disabled persons will find it difficult to get and maintain a job because they are disabled, leading to a higher incidence of poverty among disabled persons.

4. Social Phenomena are Heterogeneous: Since there are multiple causes and it is difficult to demarcate between causes and effects, the relative homogeneity detected in natural phenomena gives way to a high level of diversity and heterogeneity in the case of social phenomena.

5. Difficulty in Measurement and Quantification: Due to such diversity, it is difficult to quantify and consequently measure social categories. This is unlike the case of mass, weight, gravity, current and other physical and chemical phenomena. For instance, urbanisation, indiscipline, assimilation and other social concepts are difficult to translate in quantitative terms.

6. Subjectivity of the Researcher and Objectivity of the Research: Since the subject and object of study, namely human beings, are the same, the experimental method becomes particularly difficult to apply. Then, laboratory experimentation is difficult in the case of human behaviour and social phenomena because it would introduce an artificiality in the research as subjects would be aware that they are being studied, challenging the possibility of complete objectivity. Moreover, in the case of social data the issue of bias of the researcher and objectivity of findings also arises. Due to these limitations Scientific Methods are criticised:

1. Sociological and historical studies of science like the works of Michael Polanyi (1891-1976), Ludvik Fleck (1896-1961), Karl Popper (1904-1994) etc. have highlighted the socio-cultural roots of the scientific method. They have shown how the ideals of pure science such as universality, objectivity and value-neutrality are more ideological concepts than actual facts when operationalised in the actual process of research.

2. One of the most powerful criticisms is that in the garb of objectivity, a great deal of bias and prejudice is cloaked. For instance, racism underlies the science of eugenics just as sexism colours reproductive biology. In fact, the inhuman medicinal research carried out during the Nazi regime in Germany was embedded in a radical notion of science completely bypassing the whole issue of human morality.

3. Feminist theoreticians contend that the way knowledge is generated is deeply gendered, implying that the scientific method is itself flawed because it reflects a male perspective of the world.

4. As controlled (laboratory) experiments are not possible is sociology, hence finding universal laws is difficult in sociology.

5. Science has been criticized for lacking justification for any methodological prescription. The justification of superiority of one methodology over another cannot be logically and empirically ascertained.

6. The lack of specific definition of concepts makes application of theories complex. There is the difficulty of knowing to which area a theory applies. . The fact of the possibility of alternative theories is also a problem as far as the problem of choice, simplicity, testability, relevance, and adequacy is concerned.

MAJOR THEORETICAL STRANDS IN RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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Research is a methodical and structured effort to explore a specific problem that needs a solution. It contributes to the general body of knowledge, by either giving a new dimension to an exciting knowledge, or by offering solutions to new problems. P.V. Young describes "Social research is a scientific undertaking, which by means of logical methods, aim to discover new facts or old facts and to analyse their sequences, interrelationships, causal explanations and natural laws which govern them."

● Social science research is a methodical and objective investigation of social developments and the precipitating factors behind them. It has the potential of being applied to understand similar situations. After due validation, social science research eventually leads to the development of a theoretical framework for understanding social issues. The systemic nature of probing mandates the use of various tools and techniques that are used to gather information pertaining to the issue. The method of gathering information and strategy adopted determines the nature of the study. The strategy used for conducting any study is based on certain assumptions.

● Advancement in the field of natural sciences influenced social science researchers to also apply the same methods of enquiry, observation, experimentation and comparison to their discipline. Positivism, initially promoted by Auguste Comte, was later adopted by many sociologists who believed in the need for a scientific approach to the study of society which throws up accurate knowledge which can be verified in other contexts. The research methodology is being enriched by various researchers like Positivists, Functionalists, Interpretivists, Feminists, Postmodernists and so on.

● Giddens (1989) defines sociology as: "Sociology is the study of human social life, groups and societies. It is a dazzling and compelling enterprise, having as its subject matter our own behaviour as social beings. The scope of sociology is extremely wide, ranging from the analysis of passing encounters between individuals in the street up to the investigation of world-wide social processes". Sociology is a significant subject so it is almost impossible to know all its aspects, it is only possible to learn how to apply "sociological imagination", that is why all the sociological theories may be broadly divided into macro and micro approaches.

a) **Macro sociology** includes several important sociological perspectives such as: functionalism that focuses on relationship between the parts of society and how aspects of society are functional and Conflict Theory which main focus is competition for scarce resources and how the elite control the poor and weak.

b) **Micro sociology** is one of the main branches of sociology, examining the nature of everyday human social interactions and agency on a small scale. Micro sociology is based on interpretative analysis rather than statistical or empirical observation. It includes a theory of Symbolic interactionism that focuses on the use of symbols and face-to-face interactions.

Comte believed that he had discovered a law that all human societies passed through 3 stages: the theological, the metaphysical and the positive. In the first stage humans believed that events were caused by the actions of the gods; in the second, events were caused by the abstract forces; but, in the third scientific rationality triumphed so that the scientific laws formed the basis of explanation.

POSITIVISM AND ITS CRITIQUE

Positivism emerged out of a situation in which there was tremendous optimism centred on the cognitive power of science. Modern sociology evolved at a specific juncture of European history when the entire social landscape altered because of the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment and the French revolution. It was indeed a new age, and sociology as a formal-academic discipline was trying to make sense of it. In fact, the roots of early positivism could be found in the first half of the nineteenth century in France. There was a significant change in the domain of knowledge. The separation of science and philosophy became inevitable; new scientific journals started appearing, and a close link between science and industry was established. It was felt that there was a single scientific method applicable to all fields of study. Possibly Saint Simon (1760-1825), one of the early sociologists, articulated this aspiration rather sharply. He pleaded strongly for extending the scientific outlook from the physical sciences to the study of human beings. It was an urge to create some kind of social physics so that sociology could accomplish its historical mission: completing the unfinished agenda of the Industrial Revolution. Indeed, this close affinity with science gave birth to positivism. Auguste Comte was the first person to use the word Sociology and he also coined the term

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Positive Philosophy. He believed that there was a hierarchy of the scientific subjects, with sociology at the pinnacle of that hierarchy. He was confident that scientific knowledge about society could be accumulated to improve human existence so that society could be run rationally without religion or superstition getting in the way of progress. Emile Durkheim advocated a similar methodology of the Comte. He has been widely regarded as a positivist. Durkheim's classic study of Suicide is often seen as a model of positivist research and it does indeed follow many of the methodological procedures of positivism.

According to Comte, the positivist rule of the sociological study should be confined to observable or directly measurable phenomena. Main features as suggested by Comte of Positivism:

a) First, as a positivist, Comte believed that the scientific study should be **confined to collecting information about the phenomena that can be objectively observed and classified**. Comte argues that sociologists should not be concerned with the internal meanings, motives, feelings and emotions of individuals.

b) The second part of the positivism **concerns its use of statistical data**. Positivists believed it was possible to classify the social world in an objective way. Using these classifications it was then possible to count sets of observable social facts and so produce statistics. Example- Durkheim collected Data on Social Facts such as suicide rate and membership of different religions.

c) The third stage of positivist methodology entails **looking for correlations between different social facts.** A correlation is a tendency for two or more things to be found together, and it may refer to the strength of the relationship between them. Example- In his study of suicide Durkheim found an apparent correlation between a particular religion, Protestantism, and a high suicide rate.

d) The fourth stage of positivist methodology involves a search for **causal connections.** If there is a strong correlation between two or more types of social phenomena, then a positivist sociology might suspect that one of these phenomena was causing the other to take place.

Other Features of Positivism

1. It believes in the **unity of method**. Sociology is not different from the natural sciences as far as the method of enquiry is concerned.
2. It celebrates **objectivity and value neutrality**. It, therefore, separates the knower from the known, subjectivity from objectivity, and fact from value.
3. **Sociology is not common sense**. It rests on explanatory principles, which give a universal character to the discipline.
4. Positivism emphasises on **deductive approaches**. It gives focus on theorising as given in natural sciences.
5. **Sociology is a formal and organized body of knowledge**, characterized by specialized skills and techno-scientific vocabulary.
6. **Sociology can strive for abstraction and generalization**. Human experiences can be explained through law-like generalizations.
7. The **scientific knowledge of society can be used for social engineering.**

Criticism of Positivism

The French sociological tradition saw the evolution and consolidation of positivism. But then it reached the other parts of the world and became a powerful sociological method. It sought to give a 'scientific status' to the discipline. The search for precision, objectivity, causality and value neutrality made it acceptable. This positivist social science found its logical culmination in the cult of numbers, in the mathematization of social phenomena, in the urge to reduce qualitative human experiences into quantified statistical figures. And it has also its remarkable achievements. Marxists and Functionalists both invariably fall under the category of Positivists as they make deterministic and predictive statements about the social actors. But later the criticism started for the use of Positivists method:

a) First, it is possible to say that what is applicable in the domain of nature is not necessarily applicable in the domain of human society. Because, unlike nature, society consists of self-reflexive agents who think, argue, contest, and through their practices and actions transform the world. Hence society cannot be subject to abstract/universal generalizations. Positivism, it is alleged, undermines the creativity, reflexivity and agency of social actors.

b) Second, it can also be argued that the so-called "ethical neutrality" of positivism reduces it to a mere technique, separated from moral/political issues. And,

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paradoxically, it is precisely the politics of positivism. The establishment to legitimize itself often uses its scientific nature. In other words, positivism can prove to be pro-establishment, status quoist, noncritical and non-reflexive.

● In the twentieth century this critique of positivism came rather sharply from critical theorists, or the adherents of the Frankfurt School
Marxism.

● From Adorno to Horkheimer to Marcuse, the central thrust of their argument was that positivist science was nothing but a form of instrumental rationality leading to domination and manipulation of human and natural resources. They critiqued this instrumental rationality, and pleaded for a more critical, reflexive, qualitative and emancipatory social science.

c) For post-modernists, there is no foundational truth that can prove to be objective, there is no universal totalising theory (like Marxism) that can overcome local contexts and heterogeneity, and there is no "superior" method (like science or positivism).

d) Positivism that seeks to legitimise the 'certainty' of science gets eroded by-

● For Karl Popper science is like a conjecture subject to refutation.

● For Thomas Kuhn, science is conservative, and prevails because scientists too like any other group of people, are being guided by peer group pressure and other socialising forces.

● For Paul Feyerabend, science has its own history of domination and violence, which is enough for the de-legitimation of the positivistic foundation of social science.

e) Anthony Giddens is categorical about the fact that nature and human society are two different realms of enquiry. Nature is not a human production, but society is being perpetually created, renewed and altered by human agents. That is why there are limits to natural science methodology in sociology.

f) Another critique that came strongly against positivism came from Gouldner, who felt that positivism with its methodological coldness separates the knower from the known and therefore he pleads for a reflexive sociology.

FACT, VALUE AND OBJECTIVITY

Fact- A fact is taken as something definite or something which happens or which is correct. According to one view, fact is an observation which is based upon experience. In other words, fact is a correct observation.

● According to the 'concise oxford dictionary', a fact is happening of an incident ,a correct statement, a matter of experience, the reality of situation, the conclusion of some observation or actual present phenomenon . Thus, facts are true and they are the real elements of incidents. According to Durkheim, social facts are actually existent; religion, mores, and beliefs.

● A fact has its own existence. Facts can be perceived as the same by everyone. They remain the same in every situation and for all observers. Objective facts constitute the subject matter of the natural sciences.

● Objective facts refer to those aspects of reality which exist independent of the observer and thus are amenable to the sensory observation of the observer. All positive sciences begin with the premise that their respective fields of study are constituted by objective facts.

● Even in sociology one dominant tradition is based on the premise that social facts are objective facts. Durkheim was one of the important founders of this tradition in sociology. He pointed out that not all facts about human behaviour are necessary social facts. According to him a fact is a social only in so far as it exists extra of the individual and exercise constraints over him.

● Positivists conceptualised sociology lying on the bedrock of facts and empirical knowledge. To make sociology a science, attention must be given on factual analysis and not on subjective interpretations and individual perceptions.

● However, another tradition of sociology- the interactionist tradition disagrees with the above view point. Interactionists like Max Weber, GH Mead and Herbert Bloomer believe that outwardly observable aspects of social life tell only part of the story. For a comprehensive understanding of social life the subjective meanings and motives of the actors should be taken into account. These subjective meanings are not objective facts since they are not amenable to sensory observations at all.

Value- Values refer to socially accepted standards of desirability. Values define what is important, worthwhile and worth striving for. Thus values act as a guide to social behaviour and help in challenging the activities of the individual members towards socially desired objectives.

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● In fact values act as general standards from which more specific goals and norms of the society can be deduced and in terms of which they can be evaluated.

● Further the linkage between the social life and individual personality is achieved by the internalisation of values through the process of socialisation. The examples of values are happiness, health, success, hard work, freedom etc.

● Values can be categorised into two types- End Values and Means Values. End Values are those ultimate standards in terms of which all other goals which guide social action are evaluated and judged. Thus happiness, success, health and freedom are examples of End Values. On the other hand Means Values which act as means for attaining the end values i.e. success.

● In Parsonian sociology, values occupy a very important place as basic standards which guide all action and for Parsons' societal integration depends upon value consensus among the members.

● For the Marxian view point, it is the interests, particularly economic interests, which guide the social action and values are viewed as means of legitimising the pursuit of interests.

● Values play an important role in shaping social behaviour. There is a distinction between fact and value. Classical sociologists like Durkheim and Weber favoured this distinction for making sociology a truly scientific discipline.

Objectivity- A study in which the subject matter is the centre of attention and prejudice is given no place, is known as objective study. In an objective study, the subject matter is observed and described as it is, without exaggeration or diminution. Reasoning and intellect are more important than belief and faith in an objective study**.**

● Objectivity is basically an exact information and exact interpretation.

● Objectivity is the goal of a scientific investigation. Sociology also being a science aspires to for the goal-objectivity.

● Objectivity is the frame of mind so that the personal prejudices, preferences or biasness of the social scientists do not contaminate the collection and analysis of data. Thus, scientific investigation should be free from the prejudices of race, colour, religion, sex or ideological biases.

● Need of Objectivity in sociological research has been emphasised by all the important sociologists. For example- Durkheim, in the 'Rules of the Sociological

Method' stated that social facts must be treated like things and all preconceived notions about the social facts must be abandoned.

● Even Max Weber emphasised the use of objectivity when he said that Sociology must be value free.

● According to Radcliff Brown, the social scientist must abandon his ethnocentric biases while carrying out research.

● Maliownsky advocated 'cultural relativism' while conducting anthropological field work in order to ensure objectivity.

However, objectivity continues to be an elusive goal at the practical level. Gunnar Myrdal states that total objectivity is an illusion which can never be achieved. All the research is always guided by certain viewpoints which involve subjectivity. Myrdal suggested that basic viewpoints should be made clear. Myrdal believed that subjectivity can creep at various stages in the course of sociological research.

● Personal preferences influence the choice of the topic of research. Beside personal choice the ideological biases acquired in the course of education and training also have a bearing on the choice of the topic of research.

● Subjectivity can also creep in at the time of the formation of the Hypotheses. All the sociological theories are produced by and limited to particular groups whose viewpoints and interests they represent. Thus the formulation of hypotheses will automatically introduce a bias in the sociological research.

● Subjectivity can also creep in the course of selection of empirical data. No technique of data collection is perfect. Each technique may lead to subjectivity in one way or another. Thus complete objectivity continues to be an elusive goal. All that van be don't s to minimise subjectivity:

a) The researcher should make his value preference clear in the research monograph.
b) Highly trained and skilled research workers should be employed.
c) Various methods of the Data collection should be used and the results should be cross checked.
d) Field limitations should be clearly stated in the research monograph.

Value Free Sociology

The subject matter of sociology is human behaviour in society. All social behaviours are guided by values. Thus

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study of social behaviour can never be value free. Social research is in itself a type of social behaviour and is guided by the value of "search for true knowledge".

● Max Weber said that Value free sociology means that the sociologist while carrying out research must confine himself for the relevant values only, he called this value relevance. The values can operate at three levels:

a) At the level of philological interpretation.

b) At the level of ethical interpretation in assigning value to an object of enquiry.

c) At the level of rational interpretation in which the sociologists seek the meaningful relationship between phenomena in terms of causal analysis.

● The point of value interpretation is to establish the value towards which an activity is directed. It is not to judge such activity as either good or bad.

● Otherwise the sociologist should observe value neutrality while conducting sociological research, it means:

a) Sociologists should exclude ideological or non-scientific assumptions from research.

b) Sociologists should not make evaluative judgments about the empirical evidence.

c) Value Judgement should be restricted to the sociologist's area of technical competence.

d) Sociologists should remain indifferent to the moral implications of his research.

e) Sociologists should make their own values open and clear.

f) Sociologists should refrain from advocating particular values.

● Value neutrality in the above sense enables the social scientist to fulfil the basic value of scientific enquiry i.e. 'search for true knowledge'. However in practice it has been extremely difficult to fulfil the goal of value neutrality. Value creeps at various levels of sociological research. All that a sociologist can aim is to minimise the subjectivity i.e. value contamination in his research.

NON POSITIVIST METHODOLOGIES

Exponent of Non Positivism is Max Weber. Non-positivists emphasize that social reality is viewed and interpreted by the individual himself/herself according to the ideological positions he/she possesses. Therefore knowledge is personally experienced rather than acquired from or imposed from outside.

● The non-positivist believes that reality is multi layered and complex and a single phenomenon is having multiple interpretations.

● They emphasize that the verification of a phenomenon is adopted when the level of understanding of a phenomenon is such that the concern is to probe into the various unexplored dimensions of a phenomenon rather than establishing specific relationship among the components, as it happens in the case of positivism.

● Non-positivity is marked by three schools of thought. They are phenomenology, ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism. All these schools emphasize human interactions with phenomena in their daily lives and suggest qualitative rather than quantitative approaches to social inquiry.

● Qualitative, biographical, phenomenological, ethnographical, case study approaches are the examples of non-positive approaches. The two paradigms (positivist and non-positivist) are concerned with two concept of social reality, while positivism stand for objectivity, measurability, predictability, controllability and construct laws and rules of human behaviour; non-positivist essentially emphasize understanding and interpretation of phenomena and making meaning out of this process.

Positivist and Non-Positivist Paradigm - Comparison

CHARACTERISTIC	POSITIVIST	NON-POSITIVIST
Dominant data type	Quantitative	Qualitative
perspective	Objectivist	Subjectivist
focus	Scientific	Humanistic
methodology	Experimentalist	Interpretivist
context	Traditionalist	Reflexive/ reactive

Interpretive and Qualitative Methodology

Despite the considerable influence of the scientific approaches to sociological methodology, an alternative series of interpretive or qualitative approaches has long existed within sociology. These approaches claim either that scientific approaches are inadequate on their own for collecting, analysing and explaining data, or that they are totally inappropriate in a subject that deals with human behaviour. Thus some sociologists who advocate the use of interpretive and qualitative approaches suggest that they should be used to supplement scientific quantitative methodology.

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Qualitative Data: Quantitative Data are the data in a numerical from (official statistics on crime, suicide etc.). Qualitative data are usually presented in words. These may be a description of a group of people living in poverty etc.

The Interpretive Approach: Sociologists who take an interpretive approach are usually the strongest advocates of qualitative data. They argue that the whole basis of sociology is the interpretation of social action. Social action can only be understood by interpreting the meanings and

motives on which it is based. Many interpretive sociologists argue that there is little chance of discovering these meanings and motives from quantitative data.

● Some interpretive sociologists reject the use of natural science methodology for the study of social action. They see the subject matter of the social and natural sciences are fundamentally different. The natural sciences deal with matter. Since matter has no consciousness, its behavior can be explained simply as a reaction to external stimuli.

● Unlike matter, people have consciousness. They see, interpret and experience the world in terms of meanings; they actively construct their own social reality. Meanings are constructed and reconstructed by actors in the course of social interaction.

● People do not react automatically to external stimuli as positivists claim. Instead, they interpret the meaning of a stimulus before responding to it.

Max Weber defined sociology as the study of social action. Action is social when it takes account of other members of the society. Weber believed that an explanation of social action necessitated an understanding of the meanings and motives that underlie human behaviour. According to Weber, understanding motives could be achieved through verstehen- imagining yourself to be in the position of the person whose behaviour you were seeking to explain.

1. **Symbolic Interactionism:** Symbolic interactionism traces its roots in the pragmatist philosophers such as Peirce, Dewey, Cooley, and Mead. As Ken Plummer notes, "it seeks to unify intelligent thought and logical method with practical actions and appeals to experience". The sociologists who developed and have continued this perspective include Blumer, Becker, Goffman, Denzin, and Hochschild.

● Some of the characteristics of the symbolic interaction perspective are an emphasis on interactions among people, use of symbols in communication and interaction, interpretation as part of action, self as constructed by others through communication and interaction, and flexible, adjustable social processes. Its concern tends to be the interaction order of daily life and experiences, rather than the structures associated with large scale and relatively fixed social forces and laws.

● While the symbolic interaction perspective is sometimes associated with Mead, it was Herbert Blumer (1900-1987) who took Mead's ideas and developed them into a more systematic sociological approach. Blumer coined the term symbolic interactionism in 1937, keeping this sociological perspective alive.

Blumer notes: The term "symbolic interaction" refers, of course, to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or "define" each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their "response" is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response in the case of human behavior.

▪ According to Blumer, the characteristics of this approach are

(i) human interaction, (ii) interpretation or definition rather than mere reaction, (iii) response based on meaning, (iv) use of symbols, and (v) interpretation between stimulus and response. Holton and Cohen note that Blumer made this theory more individualistic and less concerned with larger social processes than did Mead.

▪ In Blumer's view, symbolic interactionism rests on three basic premises:

a) Human Beings act on the basis of meanings that they give to objects and events rather than simply reacting to external stimuli such as social forces, or to internal stimuli such as organic drives. It rejects both societal and biological determinism.

b) Meanings arise from the process of interaction rather than simply being present at the outset and shaping the

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future action. The meanings are not fixed and pre-formed rather they are created, modified, developed and changed within interaction situations. In the process of interaction actors do not follow pre-set norms or mechanically act out the established roles.

c) Meanings are the result of interpretive procedures employed by the actors within interaction contexts. By taking the role of the other, actors interpret the meanings and intentions of the others. Thus the meanings that guide action arise in the context of interaction via a series of complex interpretive procedures.

▪ Plummer notes four characteristics of the symbolic interaction perspective. Some of these were illustrated in the reading from Simmel:

❖ **Symbols:** While the social world is composed of material and objective features, what distinguishes humans is their extensive and creative use of communication through symbols. The history, culture, and forms of communication of humans can be traced through symbols and it is through symbols that meaning is associated with interpretation, action, and interaction. At one level symbols may seem fixed, but the symbolic interaction perspective emphasizes the shifting, flexible, and creative manner in which humans use symbols. The process of adjustment and change involve individual interactions and larger scale features such as norms and order. The symbolic interactionist studies and analyzes the processes involved in all aspects of the use of symbols and communication.

❖ **Change, Adjustment, Becoming:** The symbolic interactionist perspective considers people as active agents, but quite different from the rational, self-centred, autonomous, individual of nineteenth century liberalism. People are actors or agents and the social world is an active one – with constant adjustment and organization as essential features of social interaction. The self is created through such interactions, but it is not necessarily a fixed and inflexible self, but one that is constantly adjusting to others. The concern is with how the self develops, how individual lives develop a biography, how social order is constantly being created, and how larger social forces emerge from these. For the symbolic interactionist, the world is an active one and society is this active social world.

❖ **Interaction:** Plummer notes that this perspective is not just concerned with the individual or with society, but "with the joint acts through which lives are organized and societies assembled". Actions are not individual actions as in rational choice models, nor with personal meaning in the Weberian sense, nor with the unit act of Parsons. Rather, actions are always joint, with the mutual response and adjustment of the actor and others considered. The self if one which emerges not just from the individual, but with how others see the person, and how the person responds to and develops his or her own responses to this.

❖ **Empirical:** Perhaps one of the main reasons that symbolic interaction has remained an important theoretical influence during most of the twentieth century is its attention to what actually occurs as humans interact. While the symbolic interaction perspective may seem to lack well developed concepts, logical models, or theoretical rigour, it makes up for this by studying social interaction of actual people in the social world. Given that it concerns human interaction, which is something that any student of sociology is part of, the raw materials for study of this interaction are available to anyone. At the same time, the study requires careful observation, an ability to pay attention to detail, and a consideration of the accepted and routine. While it may be difficult to abstract from the perspective of each sociologist, empirical study must move beyond the prejudice and bias of the observer.

▪ A critique of Symbolic Interactionism:

● **Interaction in a Vacuum:** Interactionists have often been accused of examining human interactions in a vacuum. They have tended to focus on small-scale face-to-face interaction, with little concern of its historical or social setting. Thus in criticism of Mead, Ropers said that the activities which Mead sees men engaged in are not historically determined relationships rather they are merely episodes, interactions, encounters and situations.

● **The origin of Norms:** Although Social interactionists claim that action is not determined by structural norms, interactionists do admit the presence of such norms. William Skidmore comments that interactionists largely fail to explain the reason for certain actions of people in certain situations. Skidmore also said that interactionism consistently fails to give an account of social structure.

● **The Source of Meanings:** The interactionists are criticised for not explaining the source of meanings. Critics argue that the meanings which interactionists talk about are not spontaneously generated by the social structure. The Marxists argued that the meanings

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that operate in face-toface interaction situations are largely the product of class relationships.

● Leon Shaskolsky argues that Symbolic Interactionists emphasize American values of liberty, freedom and individuality and in this they have failed to account for the harsher realities of social life .

2. **Phenomenology:** Literally, phenomenology is the study of "phenomena": appearances of things, or things as they appear in our experience, or the ways we experience things, thus the meanings things

have in our experience.

▪ Phenomenology studies conscious experience as experienced from the subjective or first person point of view. Phenomenology was originally developed by a German mathematician named Edmund Husserl in the early 1900s in order to locate the sources or essences of reality in the human consciousness.

▪ It wasn't until the 1960s that it entered the field of sociology by Alfred Schutz, who sought to provide a philosophical foundation for Max Weber's interpretive sociology. He did this by applying the phenomenological philosophy of Husserl to the study of the social world.

▪ Schutz postulated that it is subjective meanings that give rise to an apparently objective social world. He argued that people depend upon language and the "stock of knowledge" they have accumulated to enable social interaction. All social interaction requires that individuals characterize others in their world, and their stock of knowledge helps them with this task.

▪ Social phenomenology is an approach within the field of sociology that aims to reveal what role human awareness plays in the production of social action, social situations and social worlds. In essence, phenomenology is the belief that society is a human construction.

▪ The central task in social phenomenology is to explain the reciprocal interactions that take place during human action, situational structuring, and reality construction. That is, phenomenologists seek to make sense of the relationships between action, situation, and reality that take place in society. Phenomenology does not view any aspect as causal, but rather views all dimensions as fundamental to all others.

3. **Ethnomethodology:** Ethnomethodology, literally meaning people's methodology, is the method by which people study the social order in which they live. The term when broken down into three parts can be explained as ethno, which means a specific socio-cultural group, method, which refers to those methods, and techniques that this group uses to negotiate everyday life situations, and ology, which refers to the orderly account of those methods and techniques. It tries to identify the procedures through which the social order develops. It describes the strategies people use in their actual descriptions of the social settings.

▪ Through this method of sociological analysis, a common-sense view of the world is produced by observing and studying the way in which individuals converse and behave in everyday life, providing an alternative to mainstream approaches of Sociology. Bogdan and Taylor state that ethnomethodology is about the process by which people make sense out of the situations in which they find themselves.

▪ Ethnomethodologists often suspend their own common sense assumptions to study the way people use common sense in their everyday lives. It helps by producing accounts of those methods which people use in their everyday situations. The way people rationalize or justify their everyday actions is taken into consideration.

▪ According to ethnomethodologists, by studying or examining the routine practices and activities of the everyday lives of people, the actor's conception of objects or events can be understood. This is because; people take up different roles and different structures of meaning in varying situations. While doing this, they develop various rationalities for their actions.

▪ The concept stemmed from the work of Harold Garfinkel in 1954 while he was examining the performance of jury members. Garfinkel was interested in the process through which social order is achieved. Garfinkel criticizes conventional sociology for using the same meanings as done by the ordinary people in the society in order to create social order and meaning.

Ethnomethodology may perhaps be more a technique responsible for sociological approaches, unlike hypothetical ones. Here, sociologists are to position themselves far from the universal perspective of community actors, circumstances, and social interactions, and observe the universally acknowledged perceptive that public actors have taken on and, at least absolutely, acknowledged as they keep on social relations and social interactions. It not only asks the sociologist to establish and evaluate what precisely these are and how they have progressed in terms of development, but also raise issues or assess critically these, to increase the likelihood of whether these are

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publicly appropriate and just, as well as to reflect on substitutes.

▪ While Talcott Parsons, with respect to his top-down structural approach believed that this is achieved through socialization, i.e. society is structured on the basis of some limited set of rules and values. However, for Garfinkel, it was achieved through a bottom-up process whereby people construct the social order through innumerable improvisations of their conduct adapted to particular situations.

▪ Social anthropology, education studies, studies about science and technology, and various other fields took up ethnomethodology for their research. There are two main concepts in it; indexicality and reflexivity.

▪ Ethnomethodology views that meaning is always potentially unclear, that nothing has a fixed meaning and is primarily based upon context. Garfinkel calls this characteristic as indexicality. But indexicality threatens the social order because, without fixed and clear meanings, communication would not be possible. This problem is solved through the incorporation of the concept of reflexivity. By reflexivity, one can understand that our common sense of knowledge helps us to render meanings depending on the context of situations in everyday life.

▪ Ethnomethodologists conduct their research studies through various methods such as observation which is mostly nonparticipant observation, conversations, interviews, documentary method, ethnomethodological experiments, and so on. According to ethnomethodologists, conventional sociologists are constructing a sense of social order in the same way as a layperson: namely, meanings are regarded as substantive and unproblematic. Consequently they are taken for granted. By contrast, ethnomethodologists argue that the proper task of sociology is to sort out the interpretive rules by means of which we establish our sense of order, rather than engage in reflexively establishing that sense.

Criticism

▪ A common criticism of ethnomethodology is that it does not tell us anything very important. By definition, the big political and social issues of the day are beyond its scope, since the concern is with how we constitute this world, rather than what we constitute it as being.

▪ It is argued that the rules it draws out are also comparatively low level and merely tell us what we already know. It denies the constraints of social life upon the actor. Alvin Gouldner says that they ignore the fact that interactions and reality are shaped by the differential power relations that exist in the society.
▪ It is microscopic and trivial; this also suggests bias.
▪ Anthony Giddens said that ethnomethodologists have no practical goals or interests. They appear to lack any motives and have a detached view of the society.
▪ Critics like H. Goldthorpe argued that ethnomethodologists appear to dismiss everything that is not recognised and accounted for by the members of the society.

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UNIT- III (RESEARCH METHOD AND ANALYSIS)

Research refers to a systematic study of one's chosen subject for arriving at both new and valid conclusions. In sociology, we claim to engage in scientific research of social phenomena. Scientific research engages in a search into one's chosen subject with the aim of contributing to the body of existing knowledge on that subject. While giving an example of social work research, Reid has pointed out that research is not always what is called 'scientific'. It may be limited to gathering useful information. Many times such information is very important for planning a certain action and making crucial decisions. Further data collected in such a research work may lead to the construction of a theory at some later stage.

Bernard has suggested that all researchers need to ask:
● Does the subject of your research really interest you?
● Is it possible to carry out a scientific inquiry on the topic of your research?
● Do you have enough resources to start and complete your research?
● Are you likely to face any ethical or moral problems by asking your research questions or by using certain methods and techniques of research?
● Is the subject of your research theoretically significant and interesting?

The choice of research depends on multiple factors. 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. Some may wish to improve the prevailing conditions of some aspect of life and may decide to work on the same socially useful piece of research. Others may like to work on a problem considered important enough for scientific investigation.

Types of Research

Irrespective of the fact that a research is scientific, theoretical or pragmatic, it has to be methodical and make use of established research methods.
1. Basic and applied
2. Descriptive and analytical
3. Empirical and exploratory
4. Quantitative and qualitative

5. Explanatory (causal) and longitudinal
6. Experimental and evaluative
7. Participatory action research

Different Purposes of Social Research:
One of the purposes may be to understand a phenomenon that has so far been not researched. If researched, it may be based on unauthentic information. A research carried out with the explicit purpose of this nature is generally called exploratory or formulative research.
Another purpose may be to work further on some already known and explained phenomenon. It may involve testing a set of hypotheses in the area of one's chosen subject of research. Research with this purpose is known as descriptive research.
Yet another purpose may be to establish a causal relationship among the variables in a 'laboratory' type of setting. A researchmwith this purpose is given the name of experimental research.

1. **Basic (or pure or fundamental) and Applied research:** One can look at basic research as pure or fundamental research because it concerns the principles or laws or fundamental rules and aims of achieving knowledge for its own sake. It pertains to the quest for knowledge about a phenomenon without concern for its practical use. Pure research can be done to verify and remove doubts. Pure research can also be done to reject or support existing theories about social phenomena. Sociologists have generally carried out pure research in order to discover laws governing social phenomena. Pure research is quite often the basis of evolving necessary concepts and technical terminology. While pure research discovers principles and laws, applied research discovers ways of applying them to solve social problems. Applied research focuses on analysing and solving social problems. In sociology, we carry out applied research in the fields of social, semi-social, and socio-psychological problems. Sociologists work on pure research when they seek to find out why crime is committed or how a person becomes a criminal. If some sociologists try to find out how one

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can rehabilitate criminals and control their deviant behaviour, they are engaging in applied research.

2. **Descriptive and Analytical Research:** Descriptive research describes a social situation, social events, social systems, social structures, etc. Its main purpose is to describe the state of affairs as it exists. For instance, a' study of drug abuse would cover questions like the extent of drug abuse among college students, the nature of drugs taken, the causes of taking drugs, the sources of drugs, the effects of taking drugs, etc. The main characteristic of this type of research is that researchers have no control over the variables. Descriptive research uses the survey. It describes accurately and precisely a wide variety of the characteristics of the population in general as well as the population of different regions and communities.

▪ In analytical research, the researcher has to use facts or information already available, and analyse them to make a critical evaluation of the material. Looking beyond the ideas, facts and figures already collected, a social analyst assumes that behind the accumulated data there is something more important and revealing than the facts and figures. One of the tasks in the analysis of data, especially those pertaining to social and personal problems, is the establishment of a causeand- effect relationship.

3. **Empirical And Exploratory Research:** Empirical research relies on the experiences or observations alone, often without due regard to systems and theory. It is data-based research, coming up with conclusions which are capable of being verified by further observation or experiment. In such a research it is necessary to get first hand facts to have a working hypothesis, and to set up an experimental design. Such research is appropriate when proof is sought that certain variables affect other variables in some way. Evidence gathered through experiments or empirical studies is a powerful support for a given hypothesis.

▪ Generally, exploratory research is qualitative which becomes useful in formulating hypotheses or testing hypotheses and theories. In this research, the assumption is that the researcher has little or no knowledge of the problem or situation under study, or is unfamiliar with the structure of the group under study. Exploratory studies are also appropriate for some persistent phenomena, like deficiencies in the functioning of educational systems, corruption among the political elite, harassment by police, rural poverty, etc. Exploratory studies are quite valuable in the social

sciences. They are essential in a researcher breaking new ground.

4. **Quantitative And Qualitative Research:** Quantitative research is based on the measurement of quantity or amount. It is applicable to phenomena that can be expressed in terms of quantity. This type of research is based on the methodological principles of positivism and others to the standards of strict sampling and research design.

▪ Qualitative research presents a non-quantitative analysis or is concerned with a qualitative phenomenon that is a phenomenon relating to or involving quality or kind. For instance, a researcher may want to investigate the reasons for human behaviour, he or she should use techniques such as word association tests, sentence completion tests, story completion tests, and similar other projective techniques. Qualitative research is especially important in the behavioural sciences where the aim is to discover the underlying motives of human behaviour. Generally, positivists, who use surveys and experimental methods, carry out quantitative research. Those who critique positivist epistemology carry out qualitative research.

▪ According to Ramkrishna Mukherjee, 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.

5. **Explanatory (or causal) and Longitudinal Research:** Explanatory research explains the causes of social phenomena. It aims to establish a relationship between variables, i.e., how one is the cause of the other, or how when one variable" occurs the other will also occur. For instance, explaining the relationship between drug abuse and the lack of family control. It does not involve comparison and the factors of change.

▪ Longitudinal research involves the study of a problem or the same body of phenomena over a period of time, for example, prevalence of AIDS among males and females in India in 1979, 1989, and 1999. Such studies indicate the trend. 'The research can also be cross-sectional. This study covers a broad range of phenomena at a single point in time.

6. **Experimental and Evaluative Research:** Experiments are, theoretically, the purest way of dealing with the problem of cause and effect. Therefore, the experiment is the most sophisticated way of getting at the problems of explanation. Controlled experiments involve the manipulation of circumstances. The researcher needs to

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identify factors which are significant and then introduce them to or exclude them from the situation so that their effect can be observed.

The identification of causal factors, the introduction or exclusion of factors to or from the situation enables the researcher to pinpoint the factors that actually cause the observed outcome to occur.

▪ Social workers have become increasingly involved in evaluative research. The essence of evaluative research can be reduced to the three basic questions- (a) How effective is the program (or agency, procedure, or administrative structure)? (b) How efficient is the program? (c) Should the activity continue? Is the program effective or efficient? According to Mark and Henry, a competent evaluator may not ignore the value problems presented.

7. **Participatory Action Research:** From its beginning, action research had its involvement with practical issues, the kind of issues and problems, concerns and needs that arise as a routine in the real world. There are the following four defining characteristics of action research.

▪ Practical: It is aimed at dealing with real world problems and issues, typically at work and in organisational settings.

▪ Change: Both as a way of dealing with practical problems and as a means of discovering more about change in social phenomena, is regarded as an integral part of research.

▪ Cyclical process: Research involves a feedback loop in which initial findings generate possibilities for change, which are then implemented and evaluated as a prelude to further investigation.

▪ Participation: Practitioners are the crucial people in the research process. Their participation is active not passive.

8. **Comparative Method:** The comparative method, so called, is the process of comparing situations, groups, cultures, or whatever, which are similar and yet which differ in known ways. Marx, Durkheim and Weber all used some form or other of comparative methods. They have adopted very different approaches to their comparative analyses.
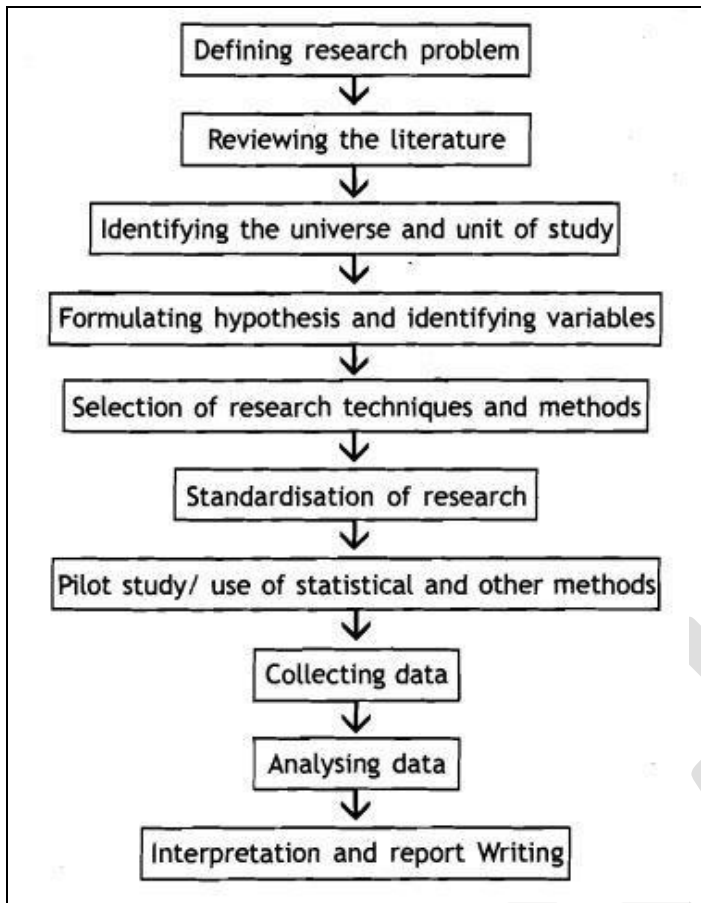
Elements of Research Methodology

The basic elements that build research methodology are
a) **Concepts:** Concepts are the building blocks of social research. It is the significant symbol/component of social scientific language. All concepts are essentially the abstractions of reality. A reality has several dimensions; hence a concept can convey several meanings and impressions. The concepts are defined according to the theoretical orientation of the researcher and bring coherence into the abstraction of the phenomenon under study.

b) **Propositions or Hypotheses:** Propositions are the statements of interrelationships among concepts. The definitions of particular concepts as subjects of research involve explicit or implicit contrast between the concepts under consideration and the set of all other possible subjects chosen from the same universe.

c) **Theories:** Theories as the systems of concepts and propositions that explain the relationships and underlying principles characterising a phenomenon. There could be "grand range" theories, which attempt to fit together in logical patterns vast areas of human behaviour. 'There could also be a theoretical system with a modest scope involving a small number of concepts and propositions. The three elements provide the scaffolding to reach a research methodology. All three elements are related to each other in a cyclical fashion. While you can define a concept by using a theory, the concepts in turn shape the content of theories.

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Defining research problem → Reviewing the literature → Identifying the universe and unit of study → Formulating hypothesis and identifying variables → Selection of research techniques and methods → Standardisation of research → Pilot study/ use of statistical and other methods → Collecting data → Analysing data → Interpretation and report Writing

▪ The data is usually gathered using structured research instruments.
▪ The results are based on larger sample sizes that are representative
of the population.
▪ The research study can usually be replicated or repeated, given its high reliability.
▪ Researchers have a clearly defined research question to which objective answers are sought.
▪ All aspects of the study are carefully designed before data is collected.
▪ Data is in the form of numbers and statistics, often arranged in tables, charts, figures, or other non-textual forms.
▪ Projects can be used to generalize concepts more widely, predict future results, or investigate causal relationships.
▪ Researchers use tools, such as questionnaires or computer software, to collect numerical data.

QUANTITAIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS QUANTITATIVE METHODS

Quantitative research involves the collection and analysis of data that is quantifiable. Quantitative methods emphasize objective measurements and the statistical, mathematical, or numerical analysis of data collected through polls, questionnaires, and surveys, or by manipulating preexisting statistical data using computational techniques. Quantitative research focuses on gathering numerical data and generalizing it across groups of people or to explain a particular phenomenon. This is generally used by the Positivists and Functionalists. Durkhiem had used this in his study of suicide.

● The goal in conducting quantitative research study is to determine the relationship between an independent variable and a dependent or outcome variable within a population. Quantitative research designs are either descriptive or experimental. A descriptive study establishes only associations between variables; an experimental study establishes causality. Main characteristics of Quantitative Method:

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Advantages	Limitations
a) Allows for a broader study, involving a greater number of subjects, and enhancing the generalization of the results. b) Quantitative data is more efficient and able to test hypotheses. c) Allows for greater objectivity and accuracy of results. d) Applying well established standards means that the research can be replicated, and then analyzed and compared with similar studies; e) Researcher can summarize vast sources of information and make comparisons across categories and over time; and, f) Personal bias can be avoided by keeping a 'distance' from participating subjects and using accepted computational techniques.	a) Quantitative data is more efficient and able to test hypotheses, but may miss contextual detail; b) Uses a static and rigid approach and so employs an inflexible process of discovery. c) The development of standard questions by researchers can lead to "structural bias" and false representation, where the data actually reflects the view of the researcher instead of the participating subject. d) Results provide less detail on behaviour, attitudes, and motivation. e) Researchers may collect a much narrower and sometimes superficial dataset. f) Results are limited as they provide numerical descriptions rather than detailed narrative and generally provide less elaborate accounts of human perception; g) The research is often carried out in an unnatural, artificial environment so that a level of control can be applied to the exercise. This level of control might not normally be in place in the real world thus yielding "laboratory results" as opposed to "real world results"; and,

QUALITATIVE METHODS

The word qualitative implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. Major characteristics of Qualitative Research Below are the three key elements that define a qualitative research study and the applied forms each take in the investigation of a research problem.
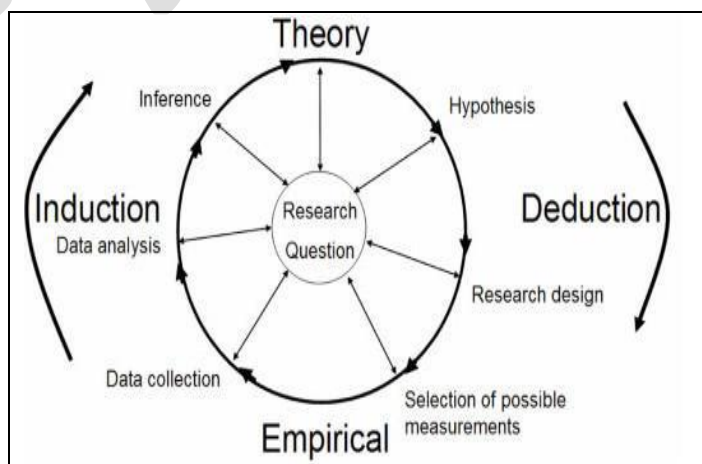
a) **The Design**
● Naturalistic - refers to studying real-world situations as they unfold naturally; non-manipulative and non-

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controlling; the researcher is open to whatever emerges for him.

● Emergent - acceptance of adapting inquiry as understanding deepens and/or situations change; the researcher avoids rigid designs that eliminate responding to opportunities to pursue new paths of discovery as they emerge.

● Purposeful - cases for study [e.g., people, organizations, communities, cultures, events, critical incidents] are selected because they are "information rich" and illuminative.

b) **The Collection of Data**

● Data - observations yield a detailed understanding; interviews capture direct quotations about people's personal perspectives and lived experiences; often derived from carefully conducted case studies and review of material culture.

● Personal experience and engagement - researcher has direct contact with and gets close to the people, situation, and phenomenon under investigation; the researcher's personal experiences and insights are an important part of the inquiry and critical to understanding the phenomenon.

● Empathic neutrality - an empathic stance in working with study respondents seeks vicarious understanding without judgment (neutrality) by showing openness, sensitivity, respect, awareness, and responsiveness; in observation, it means being fully present (mindfulness).

● Dynamic systems - there is attention to process; assumes change is ongoing, whether the focus is on an individual, an organization, a community, or an entire culture, therefore, the researcher is mindful of and attentive to system and situational dynamics.

c) **The Analysis**

● Unique case orientation - assumes that each case is special and unique; the first level of analysis is being true to, respecting, and capturing the details of the individual cases being studied; crosscase analysis follows from and depends upon the quality of individual case studies.

● Inductive analysis - immersion in the details and specifics of the data to discover important patterns, themes, and interrelationships; begins by exploring, then confirming findings, guided by analytical principles rather than rules.

● Holistic perspective - the whole phenomenon under study is understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts; the focus is on complex interdependencies and system dynamics that cannot be reduced in any meaningful way to linear, cause and effect relationships and/or a few discrete variables.

● Context sensitive - places findings in a social, historical, and temporal context; researcher is careful about the possibility or meaningfulness of generalizations across time and space; emphasizes careful comparative case study analysis and extrapolating patterns for possible transferability and adaptation in new settings.

● Voice, perspective, and reflexivity - the qualitative methodologist owns and is reflective about her or his own voice and perspective; a credible voice conveys authenticity and trustworthiness; complete objectivity being impossible and pure subjectivity undermining credibility, the researcher's focus reflects a balance between understanding and depicting the world authentically in all its complexity and of being self-analytical, politically aware, and reflexive in consciousness.

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Advantages	Limitations
a) Obtain a more realistic view of the lived world that cannot be understood or experienced in numerical data and statistical analysis. b) Provide the researcher with the perspective of the participants of the study through immersion in a culture or situation and as a result of direct interaction with them. c) Allow the researcher to describe existing phenomena and current situations. d) Develop flexible ways to perform data collection, subsequent analysis, and interpretation of collected information. e) Yield results that can be helpful in pioneering new ways of understanding. f) Respond to changes that occur while conducting the study like extended fieldwork or observation and offer the flexibility to shift the focus of the research as a result. g) Provide a holistic view of the phenomena under investigation. h) Respond to local situations, conditions, and needs of participants. i) Interact with the research subjects in their own language and on their own terms. j) Create a descriptive capability based on primary and unstructured data.	a) Drifting away from the original objectives of the study in response to the changing nature of the context under which the research is conducted. b) Arriving at different conclusions based on the same information depending on the personal characteristics of the researcher. c) Replication of a study is very difficult. d) Research using human subjects increases the chance of ethical dilemmas that undermine the overall validity of the study. e) An inability to investigate causality between different research phenomena. f) Difficulty in explaining differences in the quality and quantity of information obtained from different respondents and arriving at different, nonconsistent conclusions. g) Data gathering and analysis is often time consuming and/or expensive. h) Requires a high level of experience from the researcher to obtain the targeted information from the respondent. i) May lack consistency and reliability because the researcher can employ different probing techniques and the respondent can choose to tell some particular stories and ignore others. j) Generation of a significant amount of data that cannot be randomized into manageable parts for analysis.

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	Quantitative	Qualitative
General framework	Seek to confirm hypotheses about phenomena	Seek to explore phenomena
	Instruments use more rigid style of eliciting and categorizing responses to questions	Instruments use more flexible, iterative style of eliciting and categorizing responses to questions
	Use highly structured methods such as questionnaires, surveys, and structured observation	Use semi-structured methods such as in-depth interviews, focus groups, and participant observation
Analytical objectives	To quantify variation	To describe variation
	To predict causal relationships	To describe and explain relationships
	To describe characteristics of a population	To describe individual experiences
		To describe group norms
Question format	Closed-ended	Open-ended
Data format	Numerical (obtained by assigning numerical values to responses)	Textual (obtained from audiotapes, videotapes, and field notes)
Flexibility in study design	Study design is stable from beginning to end	Some aspects of the study are flexible (for example, the addition, exclusion, or wording of particular interview questions)
	Participant responses do not influence or determine how and which questions researchers ask next	Participant responses affect how and which questions researchers ask next
	Study design is subject to statistical assumptions and conditions	Study design is iterative, that is, data collection and research questions are adjusted according to what is learned

Triangulation Method: The term triangulation refers to the practice of using multiple sources of data or multiple approaches to analyzing data to enhance the credibility of a research study. Originating in navigational and surveying contexts, triangulation aligns multiple perspectives and leads to a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of interest. Researchers differ in the emphasis placed on the purposes of triangulation; some investigators view it as critical to establishing corroborating evidence, and

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others focus on its potential to provide multiple lines of sight and multiple contexts to enrich the understanding of a research question. Particularly associated with qualitative research methods, triangulation typically involves examining data from interviews, focus groups, written archives, or other sources. Triangulation is often used in studies that combine both quantitative and qualitative approaches, and it is sometimes referred to as mixed methods or multimethod research. Norman Denzin identified four types of triangulation.

▪ First, data triangulation involves using multiple sources of data

▪ Second, investigator triangulation involves employing several evaluators to engage in observations or analyze participant responses.

▪ Third, in theory triangulation, multiple theoretical perspectives are considered either in conducting the research or in interpreting the data.

▪ Last, methodological triangulation, which is the most commonly used form of triangulation, engages multiple methods to study a single problem.

TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

One of the most important elements in a research project is the data collection method. This method means good preparation and organization of collecting data in order for researchers not to have a problem to face too much information collected, which can become a major obstacle rather than help in the project research. It is necessary to understand different approaches and methods for collecting data and that have great importance in preparing research and organizing data collection in a systematic way. Technique of data collection depends on various factorsdata required is quantitative and qualitative; it is primary and secondary data.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Primary sources of information consist of data collected by researchers themselves during the course of their work. Secondary sources consist of data that already exist. Primary sources would include data collected using questionnaires, conducting interviews or carrying out participant observation. Secondary sources include official statistics, mass media products, diaries, letters, government reports, other sociologist's works and historical and contemporary records.

Ethnography, Participant Observation and Field Study

Ethnography is also known as 'ethnomethodology' or 'methodology of people'. This type of research method basically intends to study culture through close observation and active participation. It focuses on studying socio cultural phenomena of a community. The ethnographer/ researcher collects information regarding the socio cultural phenomena from a lot of people belonging to the community under study. Participant observation and field study are part of ethnography. Malinowski's study of Trobriands Islands is an example of Ethnography.

Observation may be defined as a process in which one or more persons observe some real life situation/process/event and record pertinent occurrences. It is used to evaluate the overt behaviour traits of the individuals in controlled and uncontrolled situations.

● Observational research is a qualitative research method where the target respondent/subject is observed and analysed in their natural/real-world setting. Observational research is used when other data collection procedures, such as surveys, questionnaires, etc. are not effective or adequate. When the goal is to evaluate an ongoing behaviour process, event, or situation; or when there are physical outcomes that can be readily seen.

The purpose of observation is to: to capture the human conduct as it actually happens; to provide more graphic description of social life; to study important events and situations; to verify and extend the generalisations or theories formed on the basis of other studies; and to gain insights into the problem.

● Observational research typically provides qualitative data as the researcher is observing the subject in their natural setting. The output of Observational research is sometimes followed with a quantitative survey to support certain behaviours/observations correlate and derive more meaningful insights.

● P V Young said that – observation is a systematic viewing along with consideration of seen phenomenon.

● According to Ram Ahuja, observation is defined as a planned methodical watching that involves constraints to improve accuracy.

Types of Observations

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a) **Participant –Non Participant:** In **participant observation**, the investigator becomes a part of the group or phenomenon. Then the investigator becomes a participant or member of the group and also investigates / observes the situation. He participates in all the activities and functions of the group and simultaneously observes the behaviour of the group.

● The investigator has to play twin roles such as observer and participant. He introduces himself in a disguised manner. To enable the group to accept him as a member, the observer has to plan how to enter into the group and be accepted by the group. The observer is involved in the setting/ group, which is being studied as a research subject.

● The observer also shares the Observation Method activities of the community studied and observes what is going on around. It allows close proximity to the subject studied; therefore it gives an opportunity for intimate study.

● The observation is supplemented with the interaction, conversations and interview, so that more authentic data is collected.

● By living with the group, the language, habits etc. could be learnt by the researcher, which in turn can be used to converse in the native language and helps in free flow of the information from the group. However, to know what the subject is really doing, the observation is the best in comparison to enquiring the members of the group.

● Even the data collected from conversation could be validated through the observation i.e. the statements made by the members could be checked for its accuracy.

● As a participant, the observer gets a position in the group and learns the pattern of activity. It could be possible that the period of observation could be a long term i.e. continued for months. Therefore, the range of material collected could be good and qualitative but it could be enormous in quantity. While the data is recorded the context has to be given.

● Participant observation method is better than many other methods of data collection. This method is used in social sciences to study the society and behaviour of its members. The type of information collected through this method would not be possible through other methods**.**

● Greater degree of participation by the researcher may also result in developing close relationships with the group. Further, he may learn to follow the behaviour

pattern of the group and may get accustomed to it. In turn, the behaviour of the group may not look different and the observer may develop sympathy for the group resulting in emotional attachment with them. This type of activity may destroy the quality of information / data collected.

● It may be worth noting that participation becomes more difficult when one wants to get information from the different strata of the society which are antagonistic to each other or in direct conflict with each other. Based on the relationship, it is essential to decide the degree of participation and the type of relation between the observer and the observed**.**

● This method is being used by sociologists, anthropologists, where the observer becomes part of the group and makes the observation.

● Example- Maliownsky's study of tribes, MS Srinavas Study of Rampura village, A Beteille's study of Sripura village, AF White study of Chicago gangs.

Major limitations of Participant Observation Method:

● The samples used are very small and untypical for the generalisations to be made on the basis of the findings.

● Such studies cannot be replicated, so that results can be checked. It is therefore difficult to compare the results with the findings of other studies.

● The data from this method rely upon the particular interpretations of a single individual, and are specific to a particular place and time. Cicourel admitted that his participation observation study relied heavily upon his own observational and interpretive skills

● It is quite possible that different results could be found with different researchers through this method.

● The account of social life produced by this method is the result of a highly selective method of data collection.

● Validity of the data is bound to be affected by the presence of the researcher as it will prevent the subjects from acting naturally.

In participant observation method, certain limitations are also identified:
▪ When the observer becomes part of the group, naturally he gets accustomed to the behaviour, it may affect on maintaining the objectivity of data. ▪ Unforeseen factors might interfere with the observational work.

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▪ The ego, anger, prestige of the observed may create impact on the data as well as create problems to the researcher.

▪ After some time the observer may get accustomed to the behaviour of the group and may fail to note the important details.

▪ Interrelatedness of the investigator to the situation has to be taken into consideration. He/she might be influenced with the events.

▪ The observer needs to spend longer time and adjust to the situation, which may not be possible for a long time.

▪ The observation could be subjective. Possibly all the data is not possible to be recorded.

▪ This method could not be used for study of illegal activities.

▪ Complete observation of each and every event may not be possible or may not be needed.

In **non-participant observation**, the observer gets detached with the

group and does not participate or intervene in their activities. Here he observes their behaviour and there is also a possibility that the behavior of the subject may become unnatural /gets changed. In this type of observation, the observer is ever present but never participating. In this case both feel uncomfortable. Further, there is no standard set of relationships or role patterns for the non-member observer to follow.

Observation involves varying nature and extent of involvement or participation by the observer**. Raymond Gold**, in his article 'Roles in sociological field observations', published in the journal Social Forces in 1958, proposed four different roles to the observer. They range from participant to non-participant.

▪ The **complete participant observer:** Here the researcher becomes a fully-fledged member of the group under study and is fully involved in the group's activities. The purpose of the observation is hidden.

▪ The **participant as observer:** Here both the participants and researcher are aware that the participants are being observed. There is full disclosure about the observation.

▪ The **observer as participant:** Here involvement with participants is deliberately kept to a minimum. There is only partial disclosure.

▪ The **complete observer:** Here observers are not noticeable and not exposed to any social contact – they

observe in a very public place. The purpose of the observation is kept completely hidden.

b) Systematic-Non Systematic Observation Method: In Systematic observation, stated procedures are used for observation and recording the data has to be done following certain rules or logical approach. This data could be possibly replicated.

● Unsystematic observation does not follow any rules or logic and replication becomes difficult.

c) Structured-Unstructured: Structured observation is organised and planned which employs formal procedure. The units to be observed have to be carefully defined. It is also necessary to define the information to be recorded, selection of data and standardisation of conditions of observation; the observer is supposed to know the situation and therefore need to prepare a specific plan for collection and recording the data. In this type, the categories of observation have to be developed. It is subjected to high levels of control and differentiation.

● The unstructured observation is contrasting to the above situation. The participant observation could be of this type as the observer may have to observe many things for a longer time and may not be able to structure his program. Further, he will depend on the natural situation, which is not in his control and difficult to structure. However, the researcher should decide the relationship between him and the group; the period of observation; type of behaviour to be observed, etc.

a) Direct-Indirect: In direct observation, the observer merely records what occurs. No attempt is being to control / manipulate the situation. Indirect observation is being made where either the subject is dead or refuses to take part in the study. The observer may observe the physical traces left behind and make conclusions about the subject. For example the police may visit the site of the crime and look for traces left by the criminal for further investigation or study.

b) Natural-Laboratory: Natural observation is made in natural settings. While the laboratory observation is made in the laboratory

Case Studies and Life Histories

Case studies are in-depth investigations of a single person, group, event or community. Typically, data are

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gathered from a variety of sources and by using several different methods.

● P V Young describes case study as "a comprehensive study of a social unit be that unit a person, a group, a social institution, a district or a community." In brief, it can be said that case study method is a form of qualitative analysis where in careful and complete observation of an individual or a situation or an institution is done; efforts are made to study each and every aspect of the concerning unit in minute details and then from case data generalisations and inferences are drawn.

● Becker claims that case study can be used to develop more general theoretical statements about the regularities in social structure and process. Case study of a particular society can be used to falsify a general theory about social life. Thus Gough's study of Nayar society showed that family structures are based upon a marital bond and not universal.

● Case study can also be used to produce typologies, or a set of categories defining types of a social phenomenon. Douglas suggested that case study can be used to discover different types of suicides by uncovering the different social meanings of suicide.

● Case studies can be helpful in generating new hypotheses. Paul Wills study of a single school has produced a number of hypotheses about the relationship between education and capitalist socities.

Advantages	Limitations
● It provides detailed (rich qualitative) information.	● Can't generalize the results to the wider population.
● It provides insight for further research.	● Researchers' own subjective feelings may influence the case study (researcher bias).
● It permits investigation of otherwise impractical (or unethical) situations.	● It is difficult to replicate.
	● It is time-consuming.

Life Histories- Life Histories are a particular type of case studies- the whole study concerns one individual's life. They can be carried out using a variety of methods but most frequently use extended, unstructured interviews.

● Some life histories make considerable use of personal documents.

● Ken Plummer argues that they have a number of uses and can be of considerable value in developing

sociological theory. They can help the researcher develop an understanding of the meaning of concepts used by those he is studying.

● Some feminist researchers argue that life-history research is useful for helping women to understand their situation and helping them to change it.

● For critical researchers generally, life-history research can help 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.

SURVEYS

Survey research is basically a method of gathering information from a population on a given subject. Unlike qualitative research, survey research invariably covers a large population; but it does not imply that it collects information from each and every individual. Statisticians have designed various methods of drawing a representative sample from a given population, which can reveal trends for the entire population.

● Quantitative research methods are often classified into two types, namely, census and sample based survey research. When information is gathered from each and every member of the population, or in other words, when all units of the population are covered for information, it is called census. But it is an expensive, lengthy and time-consuming process. Therefore, researchers focus on a portion (or unit) of the population; it is from the study of a part that we arrive at an understanding of the whole. When a part (or section, or unit) of a population is studied, it is called 'sample survey research'. The term 'sample' is used for the part of a population that is subjected to study. Identifying such a portion or sample population is not easy. In order to make a survey scientific and representative, one must follow a scientific procedure.

Stephen Ackroyd and John A Hughes have distinguished 3 main types of surveys:

c) **Factual Survey-** It is used to collect descriptive information. The government census can be seen as the type of factual survey.

d) **Attitude Survey-** It is often carried out by opinion poll organisations. Instead of producing descriptive information about the social world, this type of survey attempts to discover the subjective states of individuals. Many polling organisations collect information about

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attitudes to political policies and personalities. Information on attitudes is often collected by sociologists interested in voting.

e) **Explanatory Survey-** It is more ambitious than the other types, since it goes beyond description and tries to test theories and hypotheses or to produce new theories. Most sociological surveys contain some explanatory element. The success of any survey depends ultimately on the quality of the data it produces. Most social surveys use questionnaires' as a means of data collection.

Advantages	Limitations
● It is a practical way to collect data. ● Once in use questionnaires can be used to collect large quantities of data from a considerable number of people over a relatively shorter period of time. ● Even when questionnaires are administered by interviewers this involves relatively little personal involvement, or danger or sacrifice on the part of the researcher, when compared with some participant observation studies. ● The result of questionnaire research can be relatively easily quantified, and with the assistance of computers the data can be analysed quickly and efficiently. ● Since each respondent responds to the same set of questions, any differences in response should, in	● The biggest disadvantage of the questionnaire is low response rate. ● Weber's methodological position implies that such data can be only one of the types of data required in sociological research. ● Interactionists see statistical data as inadequate for producing sociological explanations of human behaviour. ● Phenomenologists see the data produced through this as an artificial creation of the researcher. ● It is reliable but lacks validity. Validity of the data may be reduced if the respondent's inability or unwillingness to give accurate replies to the questions. ● Validity is also doubted because of the distance maintained between researcher and the subject of the research, particularly in the case of postal questionnaires.

theory, reflect real differences between the respondents. The figures produced can be checked by other researchers and their reliability should therefore be high.

● Only when the data are quantified by means of reliable measuring instruments can the results of different studies be directly compared.

● From a positivist point of view, statistical data from questionnaires can be analysed so that new theories can be introduced.

● Many sociologists like Marshall regard questionnaires as a suitable method for testing precise hypotheses in a rigorous manner.

● In many circumstances they are used where resources are very limited, and data is needed on large numbers of people.

● It cannot be assumed that the different answers to the same question reflect real differences between respondents. The respondents can interpret questions differently.

● Respondents cannot provide information that is not asked. It is difficult to develop hypotheses during the course of the research.

● To interpretive sociologists it precludes the possibility of understanding the meanings and motives of the subject of the research.

● Researchers often use leading questions which need to be avoided.

● As the questions are pre-set, they do not provide an opportunity to the subject to give information according to his own will.

● Questionnaires are less successful in those social contexts where oral traditions reign and written traditions

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| | are
in the back seat.

● A researcher cannot control the
conditions under which a questionnaire is filled. |
| --- | --- |

Interviews

An interview is generally a qualitative research technique which involves asking open-ended questions to converse with respondents and collect elicit data about a subject. The interviewer in most cases is the subject matter expert who intends to understand respondent opinions in a wellplanned and executed series of questions and answers.

● According to Neuman "the interview is a short term, secondary social interaction between two strangers with the explicit purpose of one person's obtaining specific information from the other…. Information is obtained in a structured conversation in which the interviewer asks pre-arranged questions and records answers, and respondent answers."

● Ranjit Kumar in his book Research Methodology (1999) opined that "any person- to- person interaction between two or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind is called interview."

Types of Interview

The type of interview to be chosen will definitely depend on the research topic, purpose of research and population under study.

a) **Structured Interviews:** Structured interviews are defined as research tools that are extremely rigid in their operations and allow very little or no scope of prompting the participants to obtain and analyze results. It is thus also known as a standardized interview and is significantly quantitative in its approach. Questions in this interview are pre-decided according to the required detail of information.

▪ Structured interviews are excessively used in survey research with the intention of maintaining uniformity throughout all the interview sessions.

▪ They can be closed-ended as well as open-ended – according to the type of target population. Closed-ended questions can be included to understand user preferences from a collection of answer option whereas open-ended can be included to gain details about a particular section in the interview.

Advantages	Limitations
● Structured interviews focus on the accuracy of different responses due to which extremely organized data can be collected. Different respondents have different types of answers to the same structure of questionsanswers obtained can be collectively analysed.
● **They can be used to get in touch with a large sample of the target population.**
● The interview procedure is made easy due to the standardization offered by structured interviews.
● Replication across multiple samples becomes easy due to the same structure of interview.
● As the scope of detail is already considered while designing the interview, better information can be obtained and the researcher can	● Limited scope of assessment of obtained results.
● The accuracy of information overpowers the detail of information.
● Respondents are forced to select from the provided answer options.
● The researcher is expected to always adhere to the list of decided questions irrespective of how interesting the conversation is turning out to be with the participants.
● A significant amount of time is required for a structured interview.

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analyse the research problem
in a comprehensive manner
by asking accurate research questions.

● Since the structure of the
interview is fixed, it often generates reliable results and
is quick to execute.

● The relationship between the
researcher and the respondent
is not formal due to which the
researcher can clearly understand the margin of error in case the respondent
either degrees to be a part of
the survey or is just not interested in providing the
right information.

Advantages	Limitations
● Due to the informal nature of unstructured interviews – it becomes extremely easy for researchers to try and develop a friendly rapport with the participants. This leads to gaining insights in extreme detail without much conscious effort. ● The participants can clarify all their doubts about the questions and the researcher can take each opportunity to explain his/her intention for better answers. ● There are no questions which the researcher has to abide by and this usually increases the flexibility of the entire research process.	● As there is no structure to the interview process, researchers take time to execute these interviews. ● The absence of a standardized set of questions and guidelines indicates that the reliability of unstructured interviews is questionable. ● In many cases, the ethics involved in these interviews are considered borderline upsetting.

b) Unstructured Interviews: Also called as in-depth interviews, unstructured interviews are usually described as conversations held with a purpose in mind – to gather data about the research study. These interviews have the least number of questions as they lean more towards a normal conversation but with an underlying subject.

▪ The main objective of most researchers using unstructured interviews is to build a bond with the respondents due to which there are high chances that the respondents will be 100% truthful with their answers. There are no guidelines for the researchers to follow and so, they can approach the participants in any ethical manner to gain as much information as they possibly can for their research topic.

▪ Since there are no guidelines for these interviews, a researcher is expected to keep their approach in check so that the respondents do not sway away from the main research motive.

c) Focussed Interview: Focussed interview is conducted basically to get focussed, in depth information on any given issue from the respondent. It is one of the types of unstructured interviews. The main task of the researcher in such an interview is to involve the respondent in discussion on a specific topic so that the

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researcher gets desired information. Here the interviewer has the freedom to decide the questions and their sequence.

● Kothari (2004) is of the opinion that such interviews are helpful in the development of hypotheses. Here the information is gathered from the respondent's area of experiences, effects, participation, etc. Here the interviewer is not only properly informed about the area of research but he/she also is knowledgeable and skilled to get required information from the experiences, background of the respondent which has a direct bearing on the topic under study. The selection of respondents is done on the basis of knowledge experiences of the respondents in the area of study.

d) **Non-directive Interview:** Interviewer in this type of interview acts like a catalyst. He/She prompts the respondents to give information on the topic under investigation. Like in focused interviews here questioning is very less. But the area to be covered remains under the control of the interviewer. He/She is supposed to give a free environment to the respondents so that they can express their views freely and to the point; the interviewer simply supports the views expressed by the respondent instead of approving or disapproving them.

e) **Face-to-face interview:** An interview requires at least two persons: one to ask the questions (the interviewer) and the other, to respond (the interviewee). However, in some cases, group interviews are also possible. Face-to-face interviews are generally the best data gathering technique for survey research. This approach enables the researcher to obtain information from a much larger percentage of those sampled than do self-administered questionnaires, particularly those mailed. One reason is that it is more difficult for respondents to refuse cooperation when they are directly confronted and requested to respond to questions than when they receive a questionnaire and are asked to fill it out themselves.

● The interviewing situation also increases the response rate because many respondents who are unable to fill out a questionnaire by themselves can and will respond to the same questions when asked by an interviewer. The face-to-face interview enhances not only the response rate, but also the quality of response.

● A considerable disadvantage of face-to-face interviews is that it is expensive. In fact, the cost can be prohibitive for many

survey research situations, particularly; training, supervision, and personnel costs for interviews can be too high. Another disadvantage in a face-to-face interview is the possibility of interviewer bias.

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Advantages	Limitations
● Through questioning in depth information can be obtained from the respondent. ● In personal interaction clarifications and explanations can be made. ● This is a very flexible method. Questions can be restructured to eliminate ambiguity. ● Through personal interaction complete responses can be obtained from the respondents. ● Personal information, as well as complex and sensitive information can be generated. ● Non- response percentage is very less. As compared to the questionnaire method here the participant rate is high. ● The interviewer may come across information, which is most spontaneous. ● Interviewer can remould the questions; change the language according to the knowledge, educational background of the respondent. ● Many people do not want to answer questionnaires due to time constraints but at the same time they may very willingly face the interview session. It takes less effort and time of the respondent. ● Quarterly data can be retrieved from the interview session. ● Through personal interaction the interviewer can observe the respondent's reactions, body language, facial expressions vis-à-vis a particular question. These expressions help the researcher/interviewer to reword or remould the questions spontaneously. Some of these reactions, if observed carefully, may prove useful at the time of analysis. ● Face –to –face or group interaction gives respondents the feeling of direct participation in the research process. ● Conducting interviews is an art. A properly trained interviewer can make the respondent answer even	● It is a very time consuming as well as very expensive method especially when the target population is big in number and widely spread over a geographical area. ● There is a possibility of biased analysis, interpretations from the side of researcher or interviewee. Biased reactions can also be received from the interviewee. Age, class, race, gender, social status, etc. can play crucial roles in generating biased opinions from both the sides. Biased reactions, analysis and interpretation can hamper proper research results. ● If the interviewer/ researcher is not skilled, trained in the art, he/she may not be able to conduct a successful interview session with proper control. ● There is a possibility if the majority of the target population consists of high and top-level management groups, executives, therefore this method may not prove approachable to such clientele. Getting information from such people is not under the control of the interviewer. ● Proper training, selection and supervision of the interviewer are very essential to this method. ● Getting free, frank responses from the target population is not an easy task. Establishing proper rapport with the target group is a very difficult requirement. ● Information received from this method is difficult to analyse. Same set of questions may receive diverse responses. ● Interview method may call for some errors, which are difficult to eliminate. ● The use of computers in data collection has its own set of limitations. Infrastructures, connectivity, knowledge to operate such systems are some of the essential requirements. Without them the system may not run

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sensitive, emotional and sometimes complex questions with ease. Information gathered from this method can be supplemented to the original findings of the research.

Secondary sources consist of 0f data that have already been produced, often by people other than sociologists. Secondary data often produced by the government are used by the sociologists. Organisations 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.

● The secondary sources may be contemporary or historical, and the data available from them may be primarily qualitative or quantitative.

● Sociologists often use secondary sources for practical reasonsa) They can save time and money.

b) They may provide access to historical data that cannot be produced using primary research.

CONTENT ANALYSIS: Content analysis is a research method used to identify patterns in recorded communication. To conduct content analysis, you systematically collect data from a set of texts, which can be written, oral, or visual: Books, newspapers and magazines; Speeches and interviews; Web content and social media posts and Photographs and films etc. Earl R Babbie defines it as the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws.

● Content analysis can be both quantitative (focused on counting and measuring) and qualitative (focused on interpreting and understanding). In both types, you categorize or "code" words, themes, and concepts within the texts and then analyse the results.

● Researchers use content analysis to find out about the purposes, messages, and effects of communication content. They can also make inferences about the producers and audience of the texts they analyse.

● Content analysis can be used to quantify the occurrence of certain words, phrases, subjects or concepts in a set of historical or contemporary texts. In addition, content analysis can be used to make qualitative inferences by analysing the meaning and semantic relationship of words and concepts. It has various possible goals:

▪ Finding correlations and patterns in how concepts are communicated.

▪ Understanding the intentions of an individual, group or institution.

▪Identifying propaganda and bias in communication.

▪ Revealing differences in communication in different

Advantages	Limitations
● **Researchers can analyse communication and social interaction without the direct involvement of participants, so researcher's presence doesn't influence the results.** ● **Content analysis follows a systematic procedure that can easily be replicated by other researchers, yielding results with high reliability.** ● **It is highly flexible, the researcher can conduct content analysis at any time, in any location, and at low cost**	● Focusing on words or phrases in isolation can sometimes be overly reductive, disregarding context, nuance, and ambiguous meanings. ● Content analysis almost always involves some level of subjective interpretation, which can affect the reliability and validity of the results and conclusions. ● Manually coding large volumes of text is extremely time-consuming, and it can be difficult to automate effectively.

contexts.

▪ Analysing the consequences of communication content, such as the flow of information or audience responses.

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PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

Projective techniques, also known as enabling techniques, are methods that can be used by skilled researchers to tap into participants' deep motivations and attitudes. Projective techniques are derived from clinical psychology, and many remain rooted in this discipline. Projective techniques are questioning techniques that depersonalise the question to the respondent thereby desensitising the respondent to the answer they give and deactivating their conscious defences about the answer they give.

● Several different techniques were developed such as the well-known Rorschach technique, or 'ink-blot test', where subjects are assumed to project aspects of their personality onto the ambiguous features of a defined set of blots of ink.

● Projective techniques are based on quite unstructured materials — a vague and ambiguous picture, an ink-blot, a word, a phrase, some modelling clay or a paper and the finger prints.

● A number of projective techniques are being used to understand personality aspects. They may be classified by various schemes, stressing the nature of materials, the manner of interpretation or the type of behaviour or response that is required of the subject.

● Projective techniques are usually employed in combination with other quantitative and qualitative research techniques.

● They can be involved and fun for respondents, tap feelings, perceptions and attitudes that can be difficult to access by more direct questioning techniques and can be a rich source of new leads and ideas for researchers.

● Projective techniques generate respondent curiosity because they are different, unusual and intriguing. They are more likely to stretch the respondent's imagination and involvement than survey questions and scales.

● The assumption that projective techniques tap into the deep layers of the psyche that are inaccessible to direct questioning is open to challenge. Mostyn and Yoell argued that responses reflected cultural and social awareness rather than the projection of unconscious thoughts and feelings.
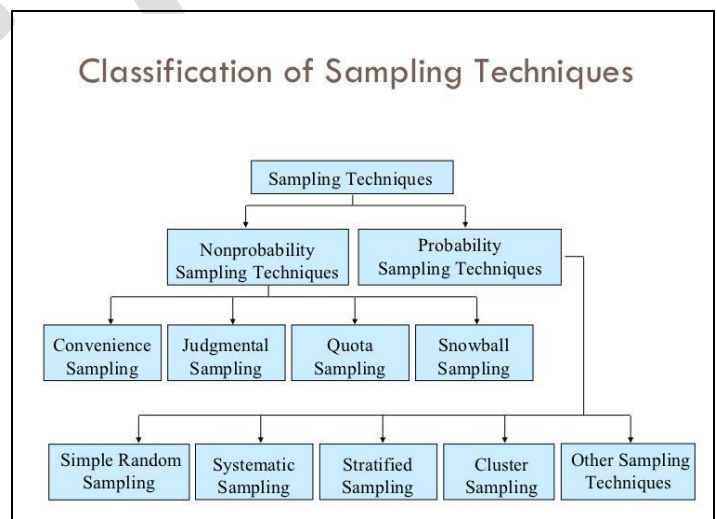
SAMPLING

After choosing a topic and method of research, a researcher decides upon

a sample- i.e. the actual individuals to be studied. All research involves some sort of sampling, some 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-sectional larger group.

● The use of samples saves the researcher's time and money since it reduces the number of individuals to be studied.

● If the sample is chosen carefully, it is possible to generalise from it i.e. to make statements about the whole relevant population on the basis of the sample.

● The first stage in sampling involves identifying the relevant population. A population in this sense includes all the relevant sampling units.

● PV Young said that in sampling- adequate samples should be selected and reliability should be the criteria of selecting the samples.

Types of Sampling

There are two basic categorizations of sampling- Probability sampling and Non-Probability sampling. In Probability sampling, there is a fair chance for every section of the population and it is a more preferred method. But in some cases contrast method- the nonprobability method is implied. For example in IIT top scorers are needed, not every student is given priority to study there.

Classification of Sampling Techniques

```
                    Sampling Techniques
                    /              \
      Nonprobability            Probability
   Sampling Techniques      Sampling Techniques
```

Convenience Sampling | Judgmental Sampling | Quota Sampling | Snowball Sampling

Simple Random Sampling | Systematic Sampling | Stratified Sampling | Cluster Sampling | Other Sampling Techniques

Probability Sampling

Probability sampling is a technique in which every unit in the population has a chance (non-zero probability) of

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being selected in the sample, and this chance can be accurately determined. Sample statistics thus produced, such as sample mean or standard deviation, are unbiased estimates of population parameters, as long as the sampled units are weighted according to their probability of selection. All probability sampling have two attributes in common:
(1) every unit in the population has a known non-zero probability of being sampled, and
 (2) the sampling procedure involves random selection at some point. The different types of probability sampling techniques include:
a) **Simple Random Sampling**: In this technique, all possible subsets of a population are given an equal probability of being selected. In this case each individual is chosen entirely by chance and each member of the population has an equal chance, or probability, of being selected. One way of obtaining a random sample is to give each individual in a population a number, and then use a table of random numbers to decide which individuals to include.
● As with all probability sampling methods, simple random sampling allows the sampling error to be calculated and reduces selection bias.
● A specific advantage is that it is the most straightforward method of probability sampling.
● A disadvantage of simple random sampling is that you may not select enough individuals with your characteristic of interest, especially if that characteristic is uncommon. It may also be difficult to define a complete sampling frame and inconvenient to contact them, especially if different forms of contact are required (email, phone, post) and your sample units are scattered over a wide geographical area.
● PV Young said that the principle of equiprobability is applied and hence this is the most accurate method of sampling.
b) **Systematic Sampling:** In this technique, the sampling frame is ordered according to some criteria and elements are selected at regular intervals through that ordered list. For example, if you wanted a sample size of 100 from a population of 1000, select every 1000/100 = 10th member of the sampling frame.

Disadvantages of Probability Sampling:-
● As probability sampling consumes every element of the population, it is more time consuming and expensive than nonprobability sampling.
● It is not mandatory that every person will be interested in the research process. Thus the less response will act as a disadvantage.

● Systematic sampling is often more convenient than simple random sampling, and it is easy to administer. However, it may also lead to bias, for example if there are underlying patterns in the order of the individuals in the sampling frame, such that the sampling technique coincides with the periodicity of the underlying pattern.
c) **Stratified Sampling:** In this method, the population is first divided into subgroups (or strata) who all share a similar characteristic. It is used when the researcher might reasonably expect the measurement of interest to vary between the different subgroups, and he wants to ensure representation from all the subgroups.
d) **Clustered Sampling:** In a clustered sample, subgroups of the population are used as the sampling unit, rather than individuals. The population is divided into subgroups, known as clusters, which are randomly selected to be included in the study. Clusters are usually already defined.
● Cluster sampling can be more efficient than simple random sampling, especially where a study takes place over a wide geographical region.

Non- Probability Sampling
Nonprobability sampling is a sampling technique in which some units of the population have zero chance of selection or where the probability of selection cannot be accurately determined. Typically, units are selected based on certain non-random criteria, such as quota or convenience. Because selection is non-random, nonprobability sampling does not allow the estimation of sampling errors, and may be subjected to a sampling bias. Therefore, information from a sample cannot be generalized back to the population. Types of non-probability sampling techniques include:
a) **Convenience sampling:** Also called accidental or opportunity sampling, this is a technique in which a sample is drawn from that part of the population that is close to hand, readily available, or convenient.
● Convenience sampling is perhaps the easiest method of sampling, because participants are selected based on

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availability and willingness to take part. Useful results can be obtained, but the results are prone to significant bias, because those who volunteer to take part may be different from those who choose not to (volunteer bias), and the sample may not be representative of other characteristics, such as age or sex.

b) **Judgement (or Purposive) Sampling:** Also known as selective, or subjective, sampling, this technique relies on the judgement of the researcher when choosing who to ask to participate. Researchers may implicitly thus choose a "representative" sample to suit their needs, or specifically approach individuals with certain characteristics. This approach is often used by the media when canvassing the public for opinions and in qualitative research.

● Judgement sampling has the advantage of being time- and costeffective to perform whilst resulting in a range of responses (particularly useful in qualitative research). However, in addition to volunteer bias, it is also prone to errors of judgement by the researcher and the findings, whilst being potentially broad, will not necessarily be representative.

● Quota and Snowball Sampling are the subtypes of Judgement Sampling:

i. **Quota Sampling:** In this technique, the population is segmented into mutually-exclusive subgroups (just as in stratified sampling), and then a non-random set of observations is chosen from each subgroup to meet a predefined quota. In proportional quota sampling, the proportion of respondents in each subgroup should match that of the population.

ii. **Snowball sampling:** In snowball sampling, you start by identifying a few respondents that match the criteria for inclusion in your study, and then ask them to recommend others they know who also meet your selection criteria. For instance, if you wish to survey computer network administrators and you know of only one or two such people, you can start with them and ask them to recommend others who also do network administration. Although this method hardly leads to representative samples, it may sometimes be the only way to reach hardto- reach populations or when no sampling frame is available.

VARIABLES

A variable, as the name implies, is something that varies. This is the simplest way of defining a variable. Webster says that a variable is "a thing that is changeable" or "a quantity that may have a number of different values."

● According to Postman and Egan, a variable is a characteristic or attribute that can take on a number of values, for example, number of items that an individual solves on a particular test, the speed with which we respond to a signal, IQ, sex, level of anxiety, and different degree of illumination are the examples of variables that are commonly employed in psychological research.

● Because the variables exist in the world but the theory is an idea, researchers make certain assumptions to relate the two. These assumptions are guide ropes that tie a theory to the real world. The variables are tangible: duration, frequency, rate, or intensity of bar presses; items checked on a questionnaire; murders committed; books written. The theoretical concept is intangible: hunger, motivation, anxiety. The variables are related to the theoretical concepts by means of the operational definitions used to measure the concepts.

● Mainly Durkheim was the first to use variables in sociological research. He used this in his study of suicide; where he used the use of various variables like gender, religion and sex etc. on the suicide. Dependent and independent variables are the major two classifications of variables:

Dependent variable is one about which the prediction is made on the basis of the research. In other words the dependent variable is the characteristics or condition that changes as the researcher changes the independent variables.	Independent variable is that condition or characteristics which is manipulated or selected by the researcher in order to find out its relationship to some observed phenomena.

● The relationship between independent and dependent variables. The relationship is that of dependence. One variable depends upon the other. For example education- it is dependent as well as independent variable. In India Education policies are decided by the politicians, so it depends on political class. Due to the political class efforts the Right to Education was made a fundamental right. As an independent variable education is the utmost need to

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improve one's ability to improve him cognitively and bring change in attitude.

HYPOTHESES

As soon as a research question is formulated, it makes the hypothesis formulation imperative since it is a tentative solution or an intelligent guess about a research question under study. It is an assumption or proposition whose testability is to be tested on the basis of its implications with empirical evidence and with the previous knowledge. Modern investigators agree that, whenever possible, the research should proceed from a hypothesis. In the words of Van Dalen, 'A hypothesis serves as a powerful beacon that lights the way for the research worker.'

● Etymologically, hypothesis is made up of two words 'hypo' (less than) and 'thesis', which means less than a thesis. It is the presumptive statement of a proposition or a reasonable guess, based upon the available evidence, which the researcher seeks to prove through his/her study.

● Hypothesis is an assumption or proposition whose testability is to be tested on the basis of the compatibility of its implications with empirical evidence with previous knowledge.

● It is also a declarative statement in which the investigator makes a prediction or a conjecture about the outcome of the relationship. The conjecture or the prediction is not simply an "educated guess"; rather it is typically based on past researches, which investigators gathered as evidence to advance the hypothesized relationship between variables.

● In the formulation of hypothesis, the investigator looks for the statements where she/he relates one or more variables to make predictions about the relationships. The hypothesis tells the researcher what to do and why to do in the context of the problem.

● The hypothesis relates theory to observation and vice-versa. Hypotheses when tested are either rejected or accepted, and help to infer the conclusion, which helps in theory building.

Sources of Hypotheses	Characteristics of Good Hypotheses
a) Experience and Creativity of the Researcher b) Background Knowledge c) Versatility of Intellect d) Analogies are a strong source for the formulation of hypothesis and finding out solutions to the problem. Reasoning by analogy is based on similarities and differences between two situations in which a similar or the same phenomenon or event takes place. e) Scientific Theories f) Authentic Knowledge	a) Hypothesis should be conceptually clear. b) Hypothesis must be testable. c) The hypothesis should be limited in scope d) Hypothesis should be related to the existing body or theory and impact. e) Hypothesis should have logical unity and comprehensiveness. f) Hypothesis should be capable of verification. g) Hypothesis should be operationable. h) A hypothesis must explain what it intends to explain. i) It must state the expected relationship between the variables. j) The variables should be defined operationally so that the predicted relations among them can be tested empirically. k) The hypothesis should be amenable to testing within a reasonable time.

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There are three major possible difficulties a researcher could face during formulation of hypotheses

a) First, the absence of knowledge of a theoretical framework is a major difficulty in formulating good research hypotheses.

b) Second, if detailed theoretical evidence is not available or if the investigator is not aware of the availability of those theoretical evidences, research hypotheses cannot be formulated.

c) Third, when the investigator is not aware of the scientific research techniques, she/he will not be able to frame good research hypotheses.

Types of Hypotheses

Hypotheses can be classified into several types, like; universal hypotheses, existential hypotheses, conceptual hypotheses etc. Broadly, there are two categories of the hypothesis:

1. **Null hypothesis-** Null hypothesis is symbolised as Ho. Null hypothesis is a useful tool in testing the significance of difference. In its simplest form, this hypothesis asserts that there is no true difference between two population means, and the difference found between sample means is, accidental and unimportant, that is arising out of fluctuation of sampling and by chance.

2. **Alternative hypothesis-** Alternative hypothesis is symbolised as H1 or Ha, is the hypothesis that specifies those values that the researcher believes to hold true, and the researcher hopes that sample data will lead to acceptance of this hypothesis as true. Alternative hypothesis represents all other possibilities and it indicates the nature of relationship.

Errors in Testing Hypotheses

a) It is possible to arrive at an incorrect conclusion about a hypothesis for the various reasons if Sampling procedure adopted faulty

b) Data collection method inaccurate

c) Study design selected is faulty

d) Inappropriate statistical methods used

e) Conclusions drawn are incorrect Two common errors exist when testing a hypothesis. Type I error – Rejection of a null hypothesis when it is true. Type II error - Acceptance of a null hypothesis when it is false.

Significance of Hypotheses

1. A hypothesis directs , monitors and controls the research efforts. It

provides tentative explanations of facts and phenomena and can be tested and validated. Such explanations, if held valid, lead to generalizations, which help significantly in understanding a problem, and thereby extend the existing knowledge in the area to which they pertain and thus help in theory building and facilitate extension of knowledge in an area.

2. The hypothesis not only indicates what to look for in an investigation but how to select a sample, choose a design of research, how to collect data and how to interpret the results to draw valid conclusions.

3. The hypothesis orients the researcher to be more sensitive to certain relevant aspects of the problem so as to focus on specific issues and pertinent facts. It helps the researcher to delimit his study in scope so that it does not become broad and unwieldy.

Hypothesis is the basic function of scientific research. If a simple, brief and clear scientific hypothesis has been formulated, there shall be no problem for the investigator to proceed in the research field. Its utility or importance for and research may be studied as under. According to Goode and Hatt 'without' hypothesis formulation the

research is unfocussed, a random empirical wandering. The results cannot be studied as facts with clear meaning. Formulation of hypothesis links between theory and investigation which lead to

discovery of addition to knowledge.

4. The hypothesis provides the researcher with rational statements, consisting of elements expressed in a logical order of relationships, which seek to describe or to explain conditions or events that have not yet been confirmed by facts. Some relationships between elements or variables in hypotheses are known facts and others transcend the known facts to give reasonable explanations for known conditions. The hypothesis helps the researcher relate logically known facts to intelligent guesses about unknown conditions.

5. Hypothesis formulation and its testing add a scientific rigour to all types of research. A well thought set of hypotheses places a clear and specific goal before the researcher and equips him with understanding. It provides the basis for reporting the conclusions of the study on the basis of these conclusions. The researcher can make the research report interesting and meaningful to the reader.

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RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reliability means consistency with which the instrument yields similar results. Reliability concerns the ability of different researchers to make the same observations of a given phenomenon if and when the observation is conducted using the same method(s) and procedure(s). The reliability of measuring instruments can be improved by two ways.

a) By standardizing the conditions under which the measurement takes place i.e. we must ensure that external sources of variation such as boredom, fatigue etc., are minimized to the extent possible to improve the stability aspect.

b) By carefully designing directions for measurement with no variation from group to group, by using trained and motivated persons to conduct the research and also by broadening the sample of items used to improve equivalence aspect.

Methods of determining the reliability

The three basic methods for establishing the reliability of empirical measurements are:

a) Test - Retest Method: One of the easiest ways to estimate the reliability of empirical measurements is by the test - retest method in which the same test is given to the same people after a period of time. Two weeks to one month is commonly considered to be a suitable interval for many psychological tests. The reliability is equal to the correlation between the scores on the same test obtained at two points in time.

b) Alternative Form Method: The alternative form method which is also known as equivalent / parallel form is used extensively in education, extension and development research to estimate the reliability of all types of measuring instruments. It also requires two testing situations with the same people like test- retest method. But it differs from the test – retest method on one very important regard i.e., the same test is not administered on the second testing, but an alternate form of the same test is administered.

c) Split-Half Method: Split - half method is also a widely used method of testing reliability of measuring instruments for its internal consistency. In split-half method, a test is given and divided into halves and are scored separately, then the score of one half of the test is compared to the score of the remaining half to test the reliability.

Validity

According to Goode and Hatt, a measuring instrument possesses validity when it actually measures what it claims to measure. The subject of validity is complex and very important in extension and development research because it is in this more than anywhere else that the nature of reality is questioned. It is possible to study reliability without inquiring into the nature and meaning of one's variables. While measuring certain physical characteristics and relatively simpler attributes of people, validity is no great problem. There are four approaches to validation of measuring instruments:

a) Logical validity / Face validity: It refers to either theoretical or common-sense analysis, which concludes simply that, the items, being what they are, the nature of the continuum cannot be other than what is stated to be.

b) Jury opinion: This is an extension of the method of logical validation, except that in this case the confirmation of the logic is secured from a group of persons who would be considered experts in the field in which the measuring instrument is being used.

c) Known-group: This technique is a variant of the jury procedure. In this case, the validity is implied from the known attitudes and other characteristics of analytical groups, rather than from their specific expertise.

d) Independent criteria: This is an ideal technique but its application is usually difficult. There are four qualities desired in a criterion measure. In order of their importance they are:

● Relevance: We judge a criterion to be relevant if standing on the criterion measure corresponds to the scores on scale.

● Freedom from bias: By this we mean that the measure should be one on which each person has the same opportunity to make a good score. Examples of biasing factors are such things as variation in the quality of equipment or conditions of work for a factory worker, a variation in the quality of teaching received by studying in different classes.

● Reliability: If the criterion score is one that jumps around from day to day, so that the person who shows high job performance one week may show low job performance the next or who receives a high rating from one supervisor gets a low rating from another, then there is no possibility of finding a test that will predict that score. A measure that is completely unstable by itself cannot be predicted by anything else.

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● Availability: Finally, in the choice of a criterion measure we always encounter practical problems of convenience and availability. How long will we have to wait to get a criterion score for each individual? How much is it going to cost? Any choice of a criterion measure must make a practical limit to account. However, when the independent criteria are good validation, it becomes a powerful tool and is perhaps the most effective of all techniques of validation.

There are different types of validity:

a) Content validity: According to Mc Burney and White, content validity is the notion that a test should sample a range of behaviour that is represented by the theoretical concept being measured.

b) Criterion-related validity: Criterion related validity is the idea that a valid test should relate closely to other measures of the same theoretical concept.

c) Concurrent validity: It reflects the degree to which the test scores estimate the individual's present status with regards to criterion.

d) Predictive validity: Predictive validity occurs when criterion measures are obtained at a time after the test. For example, aptitude tests are useful in identifying who will be more likely to succeed or fail in a particular subject.

e) Construct validity: Construct validity approaches are more complex than other forms of validity. Mc Burney and White defined construct validity as the property of a test that the measurement actually measures the constructs they are designed to measure. Construct validation involves three distinct steps- specify the theoretical relationship between the concepts themselves; examine the empirical relationship between the measures of the concepts and interpret the empirical evidence in terms of how it clarifies the construct validity of the particular measure.

f) Convergent validity: It means the extent to which a measure is correlated with another measure which is theoretically predicted to correlate with.

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RELIABLITY OR VALIDITY??

The real difference between reliability and validity is mostly a matter of definition. Reliability estimates the consistency of your measurement, or more simply the degree to which an instrument measures the same way each time it is used under the same

Reliable Not Valid | Low Validity Low Reliablity | Not Reliable Not Valid | Both Reliable and Valid

conditions with the same subjects. Validity, on the other hand, involves the degree to which you are measuring what you are supposed to, more simply, the accuracy of your measurement. Reliability refers to the consistency or stability of the test scores; validity refers to the accuracy of the inferences or interpretations you make from the test scores. Reliability is a necessary but not sufficient condition for validity (i.e., you can have reliability without validity, but in order to obtain validity you must have reliability). In this context, validity is more important than reliability because if an instrument does not accurately measure what it is supposed to, there is no reason to use it even if it measures consistently (reliably).

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(MAJOR SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES/THEORIES)

	Working period	Major contribution	Perspective and methods used	Context	Famous for
KARL MARX	1840-83	Historical Materialism, Class Conflict, Alienation	Macro, Conflict and Evolutionary Perspective Method of Dialectical Materialism	Chaos in industrial society, exploitation poor workers condition, absence of welfare state	Radical concern for the poor and the deprived and gave primacy society over individual
DURKHEIM	1890-1912	Social Facts, Suicide, of Labor and Religion	Macro, Functionalist, Evolutionary and Positivist perspective Society is sui-generis and individual is subordinate to it. Comparative, statistical, concomitant variations, indirect experimentation, inductive and causal	Social disorder in Europe in general and France in particular Uncertainty anxiety due to change	First true sociologist, 'Father of Sociology'. Known for sociological explanations, developed distinct methods for sociology, established first dept in France
MAX WEBER	1900-20	Theory of Social Action, Ideal Types, Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism	Micro, Interpretativist and Voluntarist Perspective, methods of Verstehen, Ideal Types, Comparative, Causal Pluralism, Rationality	Rise of capitalism, industrializatio and growth of bureaucratic institutions	He led change in perspective of sociology from macro to micro and argued 'Social Action' as subject matter of sociology. Bridged gap
MEAD	1910-30	Theory of Self.	Micro, positivist,	Understanding	Famous for

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		Symbolic	empiricist,	human	foundations of
		Interactionism	Symbolic interactionism, Evolutionary. Used qualitative, Inductive methods	personality its in a pre-society	Symbolic Interactionism and pioneering Social Psychology.
PARSONS	1937-79	Social Action, Social System	Macro and micro, structure functionalist, synthesis perspective. Used abstract, deductive methods	Post colonialism chaos, modern world complexities and of welfare state	Famous for giving grand functional paradigm, combining macro and micro, employing a
MERTON	1949-2003	Theory of Reference Groups, Deviance, Middle Range Theories	Macro and micro, functionalist and inductive perspective	Failure of pure functional perspective and grand theories	Known for his 'Functional Paradigm'

Science, Scientific Method and Critique

Major Theoretical Strands in Research Methodology

Positivism and its Critique

Fact, Value and Objectivity

Non-Positivist Methodologies

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Positivism

Early sociologists like **Saint Simon, Comte, Spencer and Durkheim** laid foundation of positivistic theory. They contended that society is also governed by certain fixed laws and hence predictable. They believed that application of methods and assumptions of natural sciences will lead to **'positive science of society'** and evolution of society followed invariable laws. **Saint Simon** called the subject as **social physics** and tried to develop this discipline on the line of physics.

Positivism also argues that sociology should concern itself only with what can be observed with the senses and that theories of social life should be built in a rigid, linear, and methodical way on a base of verifiable fact. Nineteenth-century French philosopher **August Comte** developed and defined the term in his books **"The Course in Positive Philosophy"** and "**A General View of Positivism**." He theorized that the knowledge gathered from positivism can be used to affect the course of social change and improve the human condition. He hoped that sociology would become the **"Queen Science**," one that was more important than the natural sciences that preceded it. According to Comte, Sociology is the last and the most sophisticated of all the sciences as it deals with all aspects of humanity. He even suggested four methods for the study of new discipline, viz. Observation, Experimentation, Historical Analysis and Comparison.

Another positivist **Herbert Spencer** applied the theory of Charles Darwin on evolution of society. He believed that society also follows the principle of 'survival of the fittest' in the struggle of survival, the best institutions, customs, traditions survive whereas others extinct.

Durkheim in his book "**The Rules of Sociological Method**" believed that sociology is the study of Social Facts. By Social Facts, he meant those aspects of human thinking and behavior which is external, constraint and general in nature. He also believed that for a sociologist Social Facts should be independent from the individual.

Positivism describes an approach to the study of society that specifically utilizes scientific evidence such as experiments, statistics, and qualitative results to reveal a truth about the way society functions. It is based on the assumption that it's possible to observe social life

and establish reliable knowledge about its inner workings. Positivism has had relatively little influence on contemporary sociology because it is said to encourage a misleading emphasis on superficial facts without any attention to underlying mechanisms that cannot be observed. Instead, sociologists understand that the study of culture is complex and requires many complex methods necessary for research. For example, by using fieldwork, researchers immerse themselves in another culture to learn about it. Modern sociologists don't embrace the version of one "true" vision of society as a goal for sociology like Comte did.

Marxists and functionalists also fall under the category of positivists as they make deterministic and predictive statements about the social actors.

Positivism is responsible for developing sociology on the scientific line and later though sociology made itself free form the subject matter of natural science but the scientific methods are still followed and for the positivism should be given the credit for it.

Positivism came under following major **criticism** –

I. Phenomenologist like **Peter Berger** contends that facts never fall from sky, but develop in a particular context.

II. Gradually, it was also realized that an inductive approach is less fruitful in sociology and instead a deductive approach would be more helpful as it is very difficult to collect facts about abstract phenomena.

III. Positivism was also considered a fundamental misunderstanding of reality. Later non-positivists approaches favored the study of phenomenon in terms of meanings attached by the actors. **Weber** talked about emphasizing on **social action** and not social facts. **Alfred Schulz** contends that humans construct their world through common sense, ethical values, assumptions and presumptions. So, a sociologist must respect these while undertaking research.

IV. Positivists were also criticized for over-emphasizing on universalism which is not always possible in sociology.

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V. Scientific methods also have their limited applicability in sociology as there is subjectivity over their use. Investigative methods are often accused of bias of participants. Similarly complete objectivity is also not possible.

VI. **Adorno** indicates that social life exists in layers. Positivists focus on only one or two layers. Sociologist must use critical mind to analyze multiple layers.

VII. Positivism in the process of developing sociology on the line of natural sciences tried to ignore human subjectivity and unnecessarily forced the logic and methods of science on human behavior which is not logical.

FUNCTIONALISM

The central idea of functional analysis is that society is a whole unit, made up of interrelated parts that work together. Functional analysis (also known as functionalism and structural functionalism) is rooted in the origins of sociology. Functionalism as a perspective evolved with the beginning of sociology as a discipline and **August Comte, Durkheim and Spencer** put forth ideas which formed its basis.

Emile Durkheim suggested that social consensus takes one of two forms-

- **Mechanical solidarity** is a form of social cohesion that arises when people in a society maintain similar values and beliefs and engages in similar types of work. Mechanical solidarity most commonly occurs in traditional, simple societies such as those in which everyone herds cattle or farms.

- In contrast, **organic solidarity** is a form of social cohesion that arises when the people in a society are interdependent, but hold to varying values and beliefs and engage in varying types of work.

Among these American functionalist sociologists is **Robert Merton** (b. 1910), who divides human functions into two types: **Manifest Functions** are intentional and obvious, while **Latent Functions** are unintentional and not obvious. The manifest function of

attending a church, for instance, is to worship as part of a religious community, but its latent function may be to help members learn to discern personal from institutional values.

Malinowski used it to study religion, **Murdock** used it to evaluate universality of family, **Davis and Moore** used it to study stratification in society, **Herbert J Gans** used it to analyze functions of poverty, used it to study deviance, and so on.

From the perspective of functional analysis, society is a functioning unit, with each part related to the whole. Whenever we examine a smaller part, we need to look for its functions and dysfunctions to see how it is related to the larger unit. This basic approach can be applied to any social group, whether an entire society, a college, or even a group as small as a family.

Functionalism has received criticism for neglecting the negative functions of **Merton** an event such as divorce. Critics also claim that the perspective justifies the status quo and complacency on the part of society's members. Functionalism does not encourage people to take an active role in changing their social environment, even when such change may benefit them. Instead, functionalism sees active social change as undesirable because the various parts of society will compensate naturally for any problems that may arise.

Criticisms of Functionalism

• The conflict theorists regard the functionalist approach as Utopian in nature and emphasize the need to study conflict in systems of stratification as a universal, all pervasive and omnipresent phenomena.

• The conflict theorists say that all societies are characterized by some degree of constraint, disagreement, uncertainty, control dysfunctional and coercions that can't be ignored.

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Symbolic interactionism is a micro-level theory that focuses on the relationships among individuals within a society. Communication—the exchange of meaning through language and symbols—is believed to be the way in which people make sense of their social worlds.

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Herbert Blumer, who was a student of Mead, coined the term symbolic interactionism in 1937 which originally flows from works of **G H Mead** who wrote several essays that were instrumental in its development. **John Dewey, Cooley and William Thomas** were other influences.

The **symbolic interactionist perspective**, also known as **symbolic interactionism**, directs sociologists to consider the symbols and details of everyday life, what these symbols mean, and how people interact with each other. Although symbolic interactionism traces its origins to Max Weber's assertion that individuals act according to their interpretation of the meaning of their world, the American philosopher **George H. Mead** (1863–1931) introduced this perspective to American sociology in the 1920s.

According to the symbolic interactionist perspective, people attach meanings to symbols, and then they act according to their subjective interpretation of these symbols. Verbal conversations, in which spoken words serve as the predominant symbols, make this subjective interpretation especially evident.

Some symbolic interactionists (Blumer, 1969a; Manis and Meltzer, 1978; A. Rose, 1962; Snow, 2001) have tried to enumerate the basic principles of the theory.

These **principles** include the following:

- Human beings, unlike lower animals, are endowed with the capacity for thought.
- The capacity for thought is shaped by social interaction.
- In social interaction people learn the meanings and the symbols that allow them to exercise their distinctively human capacity for thought.
- Meanings and symbols allow people to carry on distinctively human action and interaction.
- People are able to modify or alter the meanings and symbols that they use in action and interaction on the basis of their interpretation of the situation.
- People are able to make these modifications and alterations because, in part, of their ability to interact with themselves, which allows them to examine possible courses of action, assess

their relative advantages and disadvantages, and then choose one.
- The intertwined patterns of action and interaction make up groups and societies.

Interaction is the process in which the ability to think is both developed and expressed. All types of interaction, not just interaction during socialization, refine our ability to think. In most interaction, actors must take account of others and decide if and how to fit their activities to others. However, not all interaction involves thinking. According to Blumer, 'non-symbolic interactions don't require thinking, but symbolic interactions require thinking'.

Constructionism is an extension of symbolic interaction theory which proposes that reality is what humans cognitively construct it to be. We develop social constructs based on interactions with others, and those constructs that have meanings which are widely agreed-upon or generally accepted by most within the society. This approach is often used to understand what's defined as deviant within a society. There is no absolute definition of deviance, and different societies have constructed different meanings for deviance, as well as associating different behaviors with deviance.

Symbolic interactionism has also been **criticized** on various counts –

I. Firstly, it ignores certain common social facts like power, structure and their constraining influence on human actions and interactions.

II. Interactionists are accused of examining human interaction in a vacuum. They focus only on small face-to-face interaction and ignore the larger historical or social settings.

III. Some researchers have also argued that modern service industry requires manipulation of emotional labor as well and very personal symbols like 'smile' are no longer voluntarily owned by individuals.

IV. According to Skidmore, interactionists largely fail to explain 'why people consistently choose to act in certain ways instead of all other possible ways'. In this way, they conveniently ignore the social constraints that are there.

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V. **Leon Shaskolsky** also argue that Symbolic Interactionism embodies American values of liberty, freedom and individuality and is biased by it and deliberately ignore the harsher reality of life.

VI. Marxists argue that meanings that are generated are not a result of interaction, but external force due to presence of class relationships.

CONFLICT PERSPECTIVE/ MARXISM

Like functionalists, conflict theorists also stress on structure and, hence, are predominantly positivist in their approach. They too suggest a grand framework to explain working of society, but instead of emphasizing on consensus, they focus on the divisions in society. They seek to explain why unequal relations exist in society and how they are perpetuated.

The conflict perspective, which originated primarily out of **Karl Marx's** writings on class struggles, presents society in a different light than do the functionalist and symbolic interactionist perspectives. While these latter perspectives focus on the positive aspects of society that contribute to its stability, the **conflict perspective** focuses on the negative, conflicted, and ever-changing nature of society. Unlike functionalists who defend the status quo, avoid social change, and believe people cooperate to effect social order, conflict theorists challenge the status quo, encourage social change (even when this means social revolution), and believe rich and powerful people force social order on the poor and the weak.

According to Marx, these conflicts are determined by economics and are based on social class, and the struggle between the different values and interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is inevitable. When these battles occur, the dominant group attempts to force its values and ideology on less powerful groups. The result is the domination and exploitation of the masses (the proletariat) by the rich and powerful members of society (the bourgeoisie). The conflict perspective is not solely Marxist sociology, however; today conflict theorists often take a neoconflict approach.

Today, conflict theorists find social conflict between any groups in which the potential for inequality exists: racial, gender, religious, political, economic, and so on.

Conflict theorists note that unequal groups usually have conflicting values and agendas, causing them to compete against one another. This constant competition between groups forms the basis for the ever-changing nature of society.

German scholar **Ralf Dahrendorf** combined Marxist ideas with Weberian perspective and he related conflict in society to difference in interests of individuals and groups. Unlike Marx, who related conflict with class only, Dahrendorf, taking cues from Weber, also added dimension of power and authority as well.

Critics of the conflict perspective point to its overly negative view of society. The theory ultimately attributes humanitarian efforts, altruism, democracy, civil rights, and other positive aspects of society to capitalistic designs to control the masses, not to inherent interests in preserving society and social order.

THE NEOCONFLICT APPROACH

Frankfurt School of Germany was another major carrier of Marxist ideas. But it also aimed at getting rid of deficiencies in Marxist perspective by introducing an element of culture into structural analysis. Theodor Adorno**, Max Horkheimer**, **Herbert Marcuse** and most recently **Jurgen Habermas** belonged to this school which is also known as '**Critical School' or neo-Marxist school.**

Social conflict can be viewed as a necessary and even functional social process. From this perspective, conflict necessitates negotiation and compromise; hence it can produce order and a reaffirmation of the social structure. In a diverse nation like the United States, conflict between racial, ethnic, religious, age, gender, and political groups is inevitable but not necessarily destructive. For example, attempts to balance the national budget have typically been thwarted by bickering over what areas of the budget should be increased and which should be cut.

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Dictionary

Positivism - प्रत्यक्षवाद

Contemporary - समकालीन

Objectivity - निष्पक्षता

Subjectivity - आत्मीयता

Mechanical Solidarity - यांत्रिक एकजुटता

Organic Solidarity - जैविक एकजुटता

Manifest Function - प्रकट/व्यक्त कार्य

Latent Function - अप्रकट/अव्यक्त कार्य

Utopian -काल्पनिक

Coercion - ज़बरदस्ती

Functionalism -प्रकार्यवाद

Structural Functionalism - संरचनात्मक प्रकार्यवाद

Assertion - अभिकथन

Constructionism - निर्माणवाद

Cognitive - संज्ञानात्मक

Conflictism - संघर्षवाद/द्वंदवाद / Neo-conflict Theory - नव-संघर्षवाद का सिद्धांत

Perpetuate - चिरायु बनाना

Altruism - पर्यायवाद

Proletariat -सर्वहारा

Bourgeoisie - बुर्जुआ

Power & Authority - शक्ति और प्राधिकरण

Sociological Perspective (Part 2)

FEMINISM

Feminist **sociology** is a conflict **theory** and **theoretical** perspective which

observes gender in its relation to power, both at the level of face-to-face interaction and reflexivity within a social structure at large. Focus includes sexual orientation, race, economic status, and nationality.

There are several different versions of feminism but most share a number of features in common. Like Marxists, feminists tend to see society as divided into different social groups. Unlike Marxists, they see the major division as being between men and women rather than between different classes. Like Marxists, they tend to see society as characterized by exploitation. Unlike Marxists, they see the exploitation of women by men as the most important source of exploitation, rather than that of the working class by the ruling class. Many feminists characterize contemporary societies as patriarchal, that is they are dominated by men. For example, feminists have argued that men have most of the power in families, that they tend to be employed in better-paid and higher-status jobs than women, and that they tend to monopolize positions of political power.
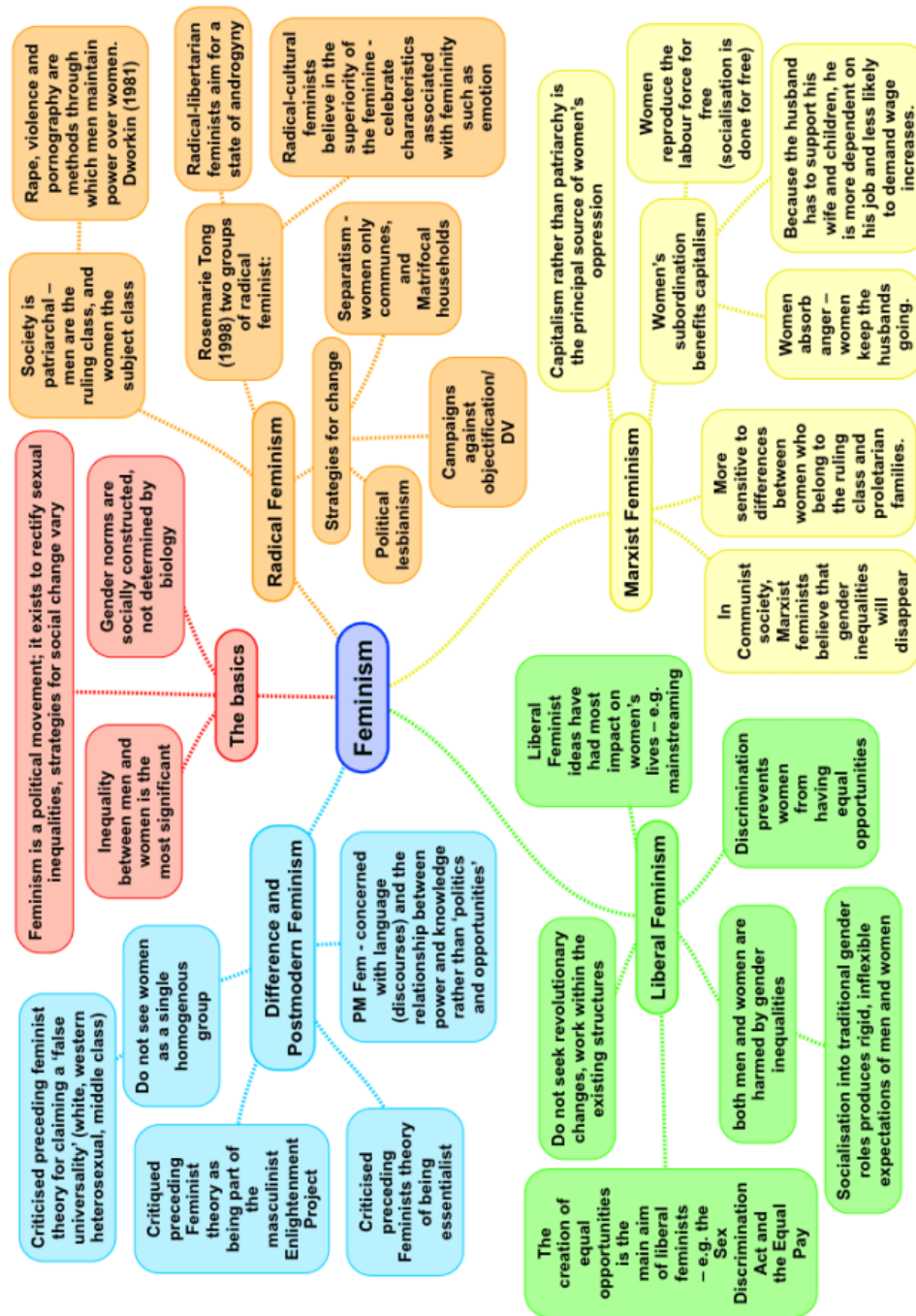
The ultimate aim of these types of feminism is to end men's domination and to rid society of the exploitation of women. Such feminists advance a range of explanations for, and solutions to, the exploitation of women. However, they all believe that the development of society can be explained and that progress towards an improved future is possible.

Some feminist writers (sometimes called difference feminists) disagree that all women are equally oppressed and disadvantaged in contemporary societies. They believe that it is important to recognize the different experiences and problems faced by various groups of women. For example, they do not believe that all husbands oppress their wives, that women are equally disadvantaged in all types of work, or that looking after children is necessarily oppressive to women. They emphasize the differences between women of different ages, class backgrounds and ethnic groups. Like other feminists, they believe that the oppression of women exists, but they do not see it's affecting all women to the same extent and in the same way.

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Feminism (Mind Map)

The basics
- Feminism is a political movement; it exists to rectify sexual inequalities, strategies for social change vary
- Gender norms are socially constructed, not determined by biology
- Inequality between men and women is the most significant

Radical Feminism
- Society is patriarchal – men are the ruling class, and women the subject class
- Rape, violence and pornography are methods through which men maintain power over women. Dworkin (1981)
- Rosemarie Tong (1998) two groups of radical feminist:
  - Radical-libertarian feminists aim for a state of androgyny
  - Radical-cultural feminists believe in the superiority of the feminine - celebrate characteristics associated with femininity such as emotion
- Strategies for change
  - Separatism - women only communes, and Matrifocal households
  - Political lesbianism
  - Campaigns against objectification/DV

Marxist Feminism
- Capitalism rather than patriarchy is the principal source of women's oppression
- Women's subordination benefits capitalism
  - Women reproduce the labour force for free (socialisation is done for free)
  - Because the husband has to support his wife and children, he is more dependent on his job and less likely to demand wage increases.
  - Women absorb anger – women keep the husbands going.
- More sensitive to differences between women who belong to the ruling class and proletarian families.
- In Communist society, Marxist feminists believe that gender inequalities will disappear

Liberal Feminism
- Liberal Feminist ideas have had most impact on women's lives – e.g. mainstreaming
- Discrimination prevents women from having equal opportunities
- Do not seek revolutionary changes, work within the existing structures
- both men and women are harmed by gender inequalities
- Socialisation into traditional gender roles produces rigid, inflexible expectations of men and women
- The creation of equal opportunities is the main aim of liberal feminists – e.g. the Sex Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay

Difference and Postmodern Feminism
- Criticised preceding feminist theory for claiming a 'false universality' (white, western heterosexual, middle class)
- Do not see women as a single homogenous group
- PM Fem - concerned with language (discourses) and the relationship between power and knowledge rather than 'politics and opportunities'
- Critiqued preceding Feminist theory as being part of the masculinist Enlightenment Project
- Criticised preceding Feminists theory of being essentialist

Despite their disagreements, feminists tend to agree that, at least until recently, sociology has neglected women. Certainly until the 1970s sociology was largely written by men about men. There were relatively few studies of women, and issues of particular concern to women (such as housework and women's health) were rarely studied.

POSTMODERNISM

Postmodern social theory attempts to look at society through an entirely new lens by rejecting previous macro-level attempts to explain social phenomena. Generally considered as gaining acceptance in the late 1970s and early 1980s, postmodern social theory is a micro-level approach that looks at small, local groups

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and individual reality. Its growth in popularity coincides with the constructivist aspects of symbolic interactionism.

Postmodernism is a broad movement that developed in the mid- to late 20th century across philosophy, the arts, architecture, and criticism, marking a departure from modernism. The term has been more generally applied to the historical era following modernity and the tendencies of this era.

While encompassing a wide variety of approaches and disciplines, postmodernism is generally defined by an attitude of skepticism, irony, or rejection of the grand narratives and ideologies of modernism, often calling into question various assumptions of Enlightenment rationality. Consequently, common targets of postmodern critique include universalist notions of objective reality, morality, truth, human nature, reason, science, language, and social progress. Postmodern thinkers frequently call attention to the contingent or socially-conditioned nature of knowledge claims and value systems, situating them as products of particular political, historical, or cultural discourses and hierarchies.

Criticisms of postmodernism are intellectually diverse, and include assertions that postmodernism promotes obscurantism, and is meaningless, adding nothing to analytical or empirical knowledge.

PHENOMENOLOGY

Phenomenological perspectives in sociology argue that the subject matter of the social and natural sciences is fundamentally different. As a result the methods and assumptions of the natural sciences are inappropriate to the study of man. It simply means study of phenomenon in society.

Phenomenological perspectives in sociology offer a radical alternative to positivist methodology.

From a phenomenological perspective, there is a fundamental difference between the subject matter of the natural and social sciences. The natural sciences deal with matter. Since matter has no consciousness, its behaviour can be explained simply as a reaction to external stimuli. It is compelled to react in this way because its behaviour is essentially meaningless. Unlike matter, man has consciousness. He sees, interprets and

experiences the world in terms of meanings; he actively constructs his own social reality. Meanings do not have an independent existence, a reality of their own which is somehow separate from social actors. They are not imposed by an external society which constrains members to act in certain ways. Instead they are constructed and reconstructed by actors in the course of social interaction.

To treat social reality as anything other than a construction of meaning is to distort it. This has serious implications for much of the work done in sociology. For example, to see official statistics on crime and suicide as referring to activities which have an objective reality of their own is to misunderstand their nature. Such statistics are simply the meanings given by social actors to events which they have perceived and interpreted as crime and suicide. Those events have no existence outside of the meanings and interpretive procedures which created them. The implications of this view for the study of suicide will now be considered.

In a series of writings **Atkinson** rejects the logic and procedures of positivist methodology. He maintains that the social world is a construction of actors' perceptions and subjective interpretations. As such it has no reality beyond the meanings given to it by social actors. Thus an act of suicide is simply that which is defined as suicide by social actors. Certain events come to be defined as suicide by medical practitioners, newspaper reporters, the family and friends of the deceased and so on. Definitions of suicide depend on their interpretations of the event.

Basic premise of **Alfred Schutz** was later more systematized by **Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann** in their famous book 'The Social Construction of Reality, 1967'. Phenomenologists reject a causal explanation, generalization of theory and use of any specific methods. The social meanings of the phenomena keep on changing with time with changing individual's subjectivity. According to Phenomenologists, there is no reality beyond the subjectivity of individual. They say that 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.

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ETHNO METHODOLOGY

The term has Greek roots and Ethno methodology literally means the 'lay methods' that people use on a daily basis to accomplish their everyday lives. People are viewed as rational, but they use 'practical reasoning,' not formal logic, in accomplishing their everyday lives. Ethno methodology was proposed by American sociologist **Harold Garfinkel** beginning in the late 1940s, but it was first systematized with the publication of his 'Studies in Ethno methodology' in 1967.

Ethnomethodologists argue that social world is nothing more than the constructs, interpretations and accounts of its members. 'Accounts' are the ways in which actors explain (describe, criticize, and idealize) specific situations. Ethnomethodologists devote a lot of attention to analyzing people's accounts, as well as to the ways in which accounts are offered and accepted (or rejected) by others. This is one of the reasons that ethnomethodologists are preoccupied with analyzing conversations and 'conversation analysis' is one of the important parts of the ethnomethodology.

Ethnomethodologists are interested in neither micro structures nor macro structures; they are concerned with the artful practices that produce both types of structures. Thus, what **Garfinkel** and the ethnomethodologists have sought is a new way of getting at the traditional concern of sociology with objective structures, both micro and macro.

Alwin Small believed that every social structure, its institutions and the pattern of interaction is developed around certain symbol of the society.

Sociologists working in this tradition have researched a wide range of topics using variety of research methods. However, the majority of interactionist research uses qualitative research method like participate observation method and non-participation observation.

There are two central ideas to Ethno methodology –

I. **Indexicality** – It means that sense of an object or phenomenon is context specific. For example, a same question may elicit different responses in different situations like informal conversations, interview etc. Members make a sense of a phenomenon in the context of phenomenon.

II. **Reflexivity** – It refers to the fact that our sense of order is a result of conversational process. It is created in talk. It is a reflective action and it is subjective interpretation of order. It implies that order doesn't exist on its own, but is created by the individuals. Individuals compare a particular instance to the underlying pattern and vice-versa to reinforce each other.

Ethnomethodologists are **criticized** for taking a detached view of members of society. According to **Giddens**, they seem to have no goals. **Alvin Gouldner** says that they ignore the fact that interactions and the reality are shaped by the differential power relations that exist in society.

However, the non-positivist methodologies cannot resolve the dilemma of objectivity and subjectivity. Even **Weber and Mead** favored objectivity. Non-positivists could also not develop a single methodological principle leading to wide variations in non-positivist research and some even stressed on using quantitative methods. Non-positivist methods also depend heavily on ability of interrogator and as a result, different explanations were given for same phenomenon. Non-positivists ignore independent existence of social phenomenon and overlook the fact that man is born in a pre-existing society.

Dictionary:

Feminism - नारीवाद

Post Moddernism - उत्तर आधुनिकतावाद

Phenomenology - घटना शास्त्र

Ethno Methodology - नृवंशविज्ञान

Indexicality - अनुक्रमिकता

Reflaxivity - संवेदनशील

Non – Positivist - अप्रत्यक्षवाद

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UNIT-IV (SOCIOLOGICAL THINKERS)

KARL MARX

Historical Materialism, Mode of Production, Alienation, Class Conflict

A Biographical Sketch

Karl Marx was born in Trier, Prussia, on May 5, 1818. His father, a lawyer, provided the family with a fairly typical middle-class existence. Both parents were from rabbinical families, but for business reasons the father had converted to Lutheranism when Karl was very young. In 1841 Marx received his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Berlin, a school heavily influenced by Hegel and the Young Hegelians, supportive, yet critical, of their master. Marx's doctorate was a dry philosophical treatise, but it did anticipate many of his later ideas. After graduation he became a writer for a liberal-radical newspaper and within ten months had become its editor in chief. However, because of its political positions, the paper was closed shortly thereafter by the government. The early essays published in this period began to reflect a number of the positions that would guide Marx throughout his life. They were liberally sprinkled with democratic principles, humanism, and youthful idealism. He rejected the abstractness of Hegelian philosophy, the naïve dreaming of utopian communists, and those activists who were urging what he considered to be premature political action.

MODE OF PRODUCTION

(Forces & Relations of Production)

According to Marx –**"The first historical act is the production of material life".**

The mode of production is a central concept in Marxism and is defined as the way a society is organized to produce goods and services. **It consists of two major aspects: the forces of production and the relations of production.**

Production is a cooperative enterprise. Also production can't be carried out in isolation. This is how production becomes logical basis for humans to cooperatively exist.

People need food, clothing, shelter and other necessities of life in order to survive. They cannot get all these things ready-made from nature. To survive, they produce material goods from objects found in nature.

Man produces to satisfy his needs which are ever growing and according to Marx – '**Man is a perpetually dissatisfied animal**'. Once a set of needs is satisfied, new ones are created. Thus, production continues and history proceeds. In order to produce, man must enter into 'relations' with others. Apart from relations, some 'forces of production' are also required which includes tools, techniques etc.

A. FORCES OF PRODUCTION

Forces of Production, according to Marx, have two aspects – men and things. Men are further categorized into – '**the haves' and 'the have nots'**. Things include – tools, techniques, equipments and skills etc. Major changes in society occur when new forces of production are evolved (which also create new relations of production) which replace the older ones and create a new mode of production.

Forces of production help in transforming the things which are available in nature into things which can be exchanged in market. The forces of production are the ways in which material goods are produced. They include the technological know-how, the types of equipment in use and goods being produced for example, tools, machinery, labour and the levels of technology are all considered to be the forces of production.

In other words the forces of production include **Means of Production** and **labour power**. The development of forces of production reflects the constant struggle of human beings to master nature through their labour. In every social order there is a continuous change in the material forces of production. The forces of production determine the superstructure.

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B. RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

According to Marx, in order to produce, people enter into definite relations with one another. Only within these social relations does production take place. Relations of production are the social relations found among the people involved in the process of production. These social relations are determined by the level and character of the development of productive forces. Relations of production are the social relations of production.

Relations of production are not merely the ownership of means of production. According to Marx, they are of two **types in any mode of production.**

i) **Relations between man and man**
The employer's relation to the worker is of domination and the worker's relation with co-workers is of cooperation. The **Relations of Production** are relations between people and people. Relations of production are reflected in the economic ownership of productive forces. Broadly, there are two classes – **'The Haves'** – who own the production and earn profit or benefits, and **'The Have Nots'** – who sell their labor and earn wages in an industrial society.

ii) **Relations between man and things**
The **Means of Production** are relations between people and things.   The relations of production can influence the momentum and direction of the development of the productive forces.

'Forces' and 'relations' of production are strongly interrelated. Each mode of production has its specific relations of production. Neither the forces of production nor the relations of production are fixed and static. Even within a given mode of production, the forces of production may change.

According to Marx, '**It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousnesses'** i.e. men themselves don't decide what type of social relations (in production process) they will have, rather social relations determine who they will be – the ruled or the ruler.

Both the forces and relations of production change continuously and together the two constitute **'economic base' or 'infrastructure' of society.** Economic infrastructure shapes social superstructure which in turns helps in functioning of economic infrastructure. This constant interplay results into a particular type of social formation which is 'mode of production' according to Marx.

A major **contradiction** in any production activity is that there is a conflict between forces and relations of production. There is a conflict of interest between the various social groups in the relations of production as forces of production are unequally controlled by such groups.

For example, in capitalist production, forces of production include collective production by a large number of workers, yet they are privately controlled by the capitalists. Contradiction is that – while production is collective or social in nature, control over forces is private.

Mode of production theory of Marx makes some attempts to determine the direction of the history of mankind. It advocated that all human societies necessarily pass through successive stages of development.

In Marx's writings, the stages of social history are differentiated not by what human beings produce but by how, or by what means, they produce the material goods for subsistence.

In this way, we can say that historical periods are founded and differentiated on the basis of the modes of material production. Marx has given **Different modes of production**, namely-

1) **Primitive Mode of Production**

Primitive society; No classes; Structured around kinship; Very low division of labour; No private property; All worked together for common good

2) **Ancient (Slave) Mode of Production**

Aristocracy (Masters) **and slaves;** Ancient Greece and Rome ; Salves did most of the work; Concept of private property started to develop

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3) Feudal Mode of Production

Dark ages of European society; **Feudal lords and serfs** came to forefront; Exploitation of peasant class; changing technology; Renaissance came into being

4) Capitalist Mode of Production

The prime focus of Marx was on Capitalism. Capitalism is a mode of production based on private ownership of the means of production. Capitalists produce commodities for the exchange market and to stay competitive must extract as much labor from the workers as possible at the lowest possible cost. The economic interest of the **bourgeoisie (capitalist)** is to pay the worker **(Proletariat)** as little as possible, in fact just enough to keep him alive and productive. The workers, in turn, come to understand that their economic interest lies in preventing the capitalist from exploiting them in this way. As this example shows, the social relations of production are inherently antagonistic; giving rise to a class struggle that Marx believes will lead to the overthrow of capitalism by the proletariat. The proletariat will replace the capitalist mode of production with a mode of production based on the collective ownership of the means of production, which is called **Communism**.

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

5) Socialism – It is a transitory mode of production in which proletariat will topple bourgeoisie in a revolution and will control forces of production. Marx calls it as 'dictatorship of proletariat' as, for a short while; worker controls the forces of production.

6) Advanced Communism – It is the final mode in which forces of production will be communally owned as workers to renounce their rule and everyone will carry on his own creative pursuit and there will be no class in society. There will be no state and a person's true self or being will be re-integrated with oneself. According to Marx, this will be the last mode of production as the contradiction will be resolved in it and hence there will not be any new relations of production. In this mode of production, collective production will remain, but the qualitative nature of relations will be transformed and

ownership will also be now collective. Dialectical principle will cease to operate in this mode of production and this stage will be a closing chapter of dialectical materialism.

General criticism of Marx against his Mode of Production theory-

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

2. His futuristic communist utopia never arrived even in the communist countries. Proletariats have never taken a leading role in toppling capitalism and instead, intellectuals have filled the void by coming forward for the cause of the proletariat.

3. He also suggested that some societies may have different mode of production as in Asia – Asiatic mode of production – which runs counter to his generalized 'mode of production' thesis.

4. His mode of production theory is criticized of narrow empiricism and reductionist in approach. He has also limited his analysis to production and has ignored the aspects related to consumption.

5. He has also ignored the feminist dimension of production as patriarchy is also seen as an important factor in the growth of capitalism.

ASIATIC MODE OF PRODUCTION

The Asiatic mode of production is characteristic of primitive communities in which ownership of land is communal. These communities are still partly organized on the basis of kinship relations. State power, which expresses the real or imaginary unity of these communities, controls the use of essential economic

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resources, and directly appropriates part of the labour and production of the community.

This mode of production constitutes one of the possible forms of transition from classless to class societies; it is also perhaps the most ancient form of this transition. It contains the contradiction of this transition, i.e. the combination of communal relations of production with emerging forms of the exploiting classes and of the State.

Marx did not give any systematic presentation of history of India. He set down his observations on certain current questions related to India which attracted public attention, or drew materials from India's past and present conditions to illustrate parts of his more general arguments. The concept of Asiatic Mode of Production is therefore inadequate for an understanding of Indian history and society.

Dictionary:

Mode of Production - उत्पादन की प्रणाली

Force of Production - उत्पादन के साधन

Relation of Production - उत्पादन के संबंध

Superstructure - अधिसंरचना

Base Structure - अधोसंरचना

Primitive Mode - आदिम साम्यवादी प्रणाली

Ancient Mode - प्राचीन प्रणाली

Feudal Mode - सामंतवादी प्रणाली

Capitalistic Mode - औद्योगिक पूंजीवादी प्रणाली

Socialist Mode - समाजवाद प्रणाली

Communist Mode - साम्यवादी प्रणाली

CLASS AND CLASS CONFLICT

One of the most powerful sociological explanations of social conflict is that of Karl Marx, who posited a class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie intrinsic to capitalist, industrial society. It is important to recognize that Marx viewed the structure of society in relation to its major classes, and the struggle between them as the engine of change in this structure.

Conflict theory states that tensions and conflicts arise when resources, status, and power are unevenly distributed between groups in society and that these conflicts become the engine for social change. In this context, power can be understood as control of material resources and accumulated wealth, control of politics and the institutions that make up society, and one's social status relative to others (determined not just by class but by race, gender, sexuality, culture, and religion, among other things).

Class is defined by the ownership of property. Such ownership vests a person with the power to exclude others from the property and to use it for personal purposes. In relation to property there are two great classes of society:

Class consists of people who are similarly related to forces of production and going by this criterion, there are only two main classes:-

(a) Ownership class - The **Bourgeoisie** (The Haves) - Who own the means of production such as machinery and factory buildings, and whose source of income is profit

(b) Non-ownership class- The **Proletariat** (The Have Nots) - Who own their labor and sell it for a wage.

The conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is another example of a real material contradiction. Class thus is determined by property, not by income or status. These are determined by distribution and consumption, which itself ultimately reflects the production and power relations of classes. The social conditions of bourgeoisie production are defined by bourgeois property. Class is therefore a theoretical and formal relationship among individuals.

Marx reasoned that as the socio-economic conditions worsened for the proletariat, they would develop a

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class consciousness that revealed their exploitation at the hands of the wealthy capitalist class of bourgeoisie, and then they would revolt, demanding changes to smooth the conflict. According to Marx, if the changes made to appease conflict maintained a capitalist system, then the cycle of conflict would repeat. However, if the changes made created a new system, like socialism, then peace and stability would be achieved.

Class is the fundamental unit of organization according to Marx and society is always divided into opposing classes. 'Man is born in a society in which property relations have already been determined. Just as a man cannot choose who his father will be, he has no choice over his class as well' said Marx famously.

According to Marx – '**History of hitherto existing societies is history of class struggle'**. He also states that – '**Class struggle acts as motor of the history'** – i.e. conflict between the two classes in every mode of production is the force behind historical developments. New things and new modes of production emerge as a result of class struggle. Class struggle is not smooth and is mediated by a number of factors and situations. Forces of production keep on changing which require entirely new set of relations of production. Old relations come into conflict with new relations thereby contributing to class struggle.

For Marx, a class truly exists only when people become aware of their conflicting relation to other classes. Without this awareness (class consciousness',), they only constitute what Marx called a class in itself. When they become aware of the conflict, they become a true class, a class for itself.

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

Objective Criteria (**class in itself**): people sharing the same relationship to the means of production comprise a class. Let us understand it through an example –all laborers have a similar relationship with the landowners. On the other hand all the landowners, as a class have a similar relationship with the land and laborers. In this way laborers on one hand and land owners on the other hand could be seen as classes. However, for Marx, this relationship above is not

sufficient to determine the class, as according to him it is not sufficient for class to be 'class in itself' but should also be 'class for itself'.

Subjective Criteria (**Class for itself**): Any collectivity or human grouping with a similar relationship would make a category not a class, if subjective criteria are not included. This similar consciousness of a class serves as the basis for uniting its members for organizing social action. Here this similar class consciousness towards acting together for their common interests is what Marx class – "Class for itself".

Marx says feudal societies didn't develop a conflict between Lord and serf because of ideology of rural life. The relations between lord and serf were paternalistic. They were hereditary bonds. In times of famine, serfs had free food to eat from Lords. Because of this serf couldn't develop a true class conscious. But in capitalist societies a new class arose, when new forces of production came up. Ship building technology, mercantile capitalism etc contributed to development of class.

Transformation from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself' is governed by ever increasing exploitation, communal working in a factory and rising gap between the haves and the have nots. Polarization of two classes will further hasten process. Polarization will occur as a result of increasing mechanization and homogenization of workforce. As two strata become clear in their formation, the fault lines will also become apparent. According to Marx, the capitalist society by its very nature is unstable as it is based on contradictions and antagonisms which can be resolved only by its transformation.

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

As capitalisms irrational system as far as goals are concerned because they are constantly seeking profit, it

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tends to end up in over production. Over production also generate a slump/recession. So, it has boom and slump. In surplus it may lead to boom or slump. In times of slump, it may lead to extreme chaos. He identifies three processes here.

(1) PAUPERISATION

Workers are progressively turned to paupers in relation to bourgeoisie or capitalists. Degree of inequality and disparity is inevitable, working class would get poorer.

(2) POLARISATION

Marx said that there would be polarization for Marx the middle classes of capitalistic society is reminiscence of feudal order of 19th century France and Germany. Due to the exploitative tendencies of the capitalists in capitalistic society sooner or later they would be forced to join ranks of proletariat. According to this concept the small farmer, small businessmen and independent professional would gradually be squeezed out. Most of them forced into the proletariat as employees of large organization owned by a few wealthy capitalists.

Thus, on one hand there would be the vast impoverished proletariat and minority consisting of a monopoly capitalistic. This is how society gets polarized into hostile groups.

(3) HOMOGENISATION

Further there would be a trend towards homogenization internally. In feudal society, even amongst proletariat there existed various classes. (For Example: - goldsmith, blacksmith etc). Marx says their differences would vanish in capitalist society and come under one roof in the factory sheds. Thus, in terms of physical proximity and class conformity there would be homogeneity.

This homogenization would facilitate growth of solidarity. There conditions would facilitate ground for raise of class consciousness, awareness, consciousness of community and common misery. He goes on to say that, at this stage some members of intelligential would hasten this process by promoting awareness in workers. Thus, as capitalist's mature even the proletariat mature as a class for itself. Then they will resort to political action and fight against system.

Sometimes this political action may be violent. For example: - people who have to resent against the government to express grievance may throw the government and capture power. With power they can destroy capitalism.

Marx diagnosis was quite correct but treatment was wrong. As the sole cause for this entire problem is inequality, and as inequality is rooted in private property, he said to abolish private property. And whom it gets destroyed, everyone would work and production would be need driven and not greed driven and this will lead to creation of a communist society.

As democracy is a character of bureaucratic society and as hierarchy is inevitable in a bureaucratic society, he doesn't subscribe to democracy. Instead, he talks of a classless society which would be only possible in a communist society. When class is abolished, proletariat would not fight amongst them. Dictatorship and proletariat would destroy reminiscence of capitalistic and capitalist society. Once capitalism gets destroyed, state wouldn't be needed. For Marx, state is an agent of promoting ownership class. So, state would gradually die out. State would wither away. What we shall have is a classless and stateless society which would be truly humane society. Man would have a playful existence. He would do everything becoming anything. The Garden of Eden which was lost would be regained in communism. This is how class consciousness would unfold in society.

Criticism of Marx

I. Marx' futuristic conception failed to take shape. Industrial capitalism has in fact grown stronger and socialist experiments have failed worldwide and communism is still a utopian concept. The qualitative transformation he talked so vociferously never happened.

II. **Frank Parkin** in his 'Class Inequality and Political Order, 1972' points out that class exist even in socialist countries.

III. Contrary to Marxian prediction that class struggle will intensify, it has moderated in most of the Europe which is epitome of capitalism. Workers themselves have become affluent and now have a stake in capitalist

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economy. Class is, in fact, given more importance as it is now used as a source of identity.

IV. **Weber** and others have highlighted that apart from economic basis, there are other basis of stratification in society. Weber says, in times of Marx, in capitalistic societies, there are four classes and not two classes as said by Marx. They are as follows:

(1.) Propertied upper class

(2.) Property less white collar

(3.) Petty Bourgeoisie

(4.) Manual workers.

Weber also sees no possibility of pauperization, polarization and homogenization. No possibility of polarization because, property less white collars will expand as capitalism matures. Bureaucracy expands with capitalism.

V. **Lenski** asserts that even breakdown of capitalism may not lead to socialism, as other modes of production may emerge.

VI. Modern Marxists like **Ralf Dahrendorf** contend that modern capitalism has modified itself.

Later Conflict Theorists

Marx is still relevant in explaining conflict in various aspect of life. His concepts are still relevant in understanding social order, social problems and individual. Conflict theorists of the later 20th and 21st centuries have continued to extend conflict theory beyond the strict economic classes posited by Marx, though economic relations remain a core feature of the inequalities across groups in the various branches of conflict theory. Conflict theory is highly influential in modern and post-modern theories of sexual and racial inequality, anticolonialism, peace and conflict studies, and the many varieties of identity studies that have arisen across Western academia in the past several decades.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Conflict theory focuses on the competition between groups within society over limited resources.

Conflict theory views social and economic institutions as tools of the struggle between groups or classes, used to maintain inequality and the dominance of the ruling class.

Marxist conflict theory sees society as divided along lines of economic class between the proletarian working class and the bourgeois ruling class.

Later versions of conflict theory look at other dimensions of conflict among capitalist factions and between various social, religious, and other types of groups.

Dictionary:

Class Conflict - वर्ग संघर्ष

Pauperization - दरिद्रीकरण

Polarization - ध्रुवीकरण

Homogenization – समांगीकरण

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ALIENATION

The word alienation is derived from the Latin word 'alien' which means "estranged man". The literal meaning of alienation is estrangement from the self. Alienation is the process whereby people become foreign to the world they are living in. Marx had a specific understanding of the very sharp experience of alienation which is found in modern bourgeoisie society. .

Marx has conceived of alienation as a phenomenon related to the structure of those societies in which the producer is divorced from the means of production and in which "dead labour" (capital) dominates "living labour" (the worker). Alienation literally means **separation from**. Marx sees this separation in multiple dimensions. It is a feeling of estrangement and disenchantment from a group, a situation, society and even with oneself.

It also refers to a situation of powerlessness, isolation and meaninglessness experienced by the people when they confront social institutions which they cannot control and consider oppressive. it is the breakdown of the natural interconnection among people and what they produce.

Marx developed this understanding through his critique of Hegel. Hegel found alienation due to estrangement from the truth. He believed that materialistic orientation is the reason of alienation

Marx showed not only that human action in the past created the modern world, but also that human action could shape a future world free from the contradictions of capitalism. Marx developed a materialist theory of how human beings were shaped by the society they lived in, but also how they could act to change that society, how people are both 'world determined' and 'world producing'.

For Marx, alienation was not rooted in the mind or in religion, as it was for his predecessors Hegel and Feuerbach. Instead Marx understood alienation as something rooted in the material world. **Alienation meant loss of control, specifically the loss of control over labour.** To understand why labour played such a central role in Marx's theory of alienation, we have to look first at Marx's ideas about human nature.

Although Marx believed that there is an inherent relation between labor and human nature, he thought that this relation is perverted (degraded morally) by capitalism. He calls this perverted relation 'Alienation'.

Marx analyzed the peculiar form that our relation to our own labor has taken under capitalism. We no longer see our labor as an expression of our purpose. There is no objectivity. Instead, we labor in accordance with the purpose of the capitalist who hires and pays us. Rather than being an end in itself—an expression of human capabilities—labor in capitalism is reduced to being a means to an end. Because our labor is not our own, it no longer transforms us. Instead we are alienated from our labor and therefore alienated from our true human nature.

Marx believed that though alienation is found in all societies but it is at its maximum in industrial society. It has **two reasons** –

1. De objectification of labor

2. Exploitation

(i) **De-objectification of Labour** – In pre-industrial society, man used to be a creative being. Through their creativity they used to realize their identity. Their labour converted into objects. But in industrial society, the creativity has been taken away by the machines and the man is detached from their creativity. They are working but not creating anything, thus they never feel attached to the objects on which they work i.e. alienation from process of production.

(ii) **Exploitation** – In pre-industrial society since production was meant for consumption, hence it belongs to the producer but in capitalist society, the product is made for the market for the profit reason. Hence, it is independent from the control of the producer. This is exploitation, hence it leads to alienation from the product.

Marx believed that capitalist society is a competitive system. For some promotion and extra incentives, workers use to complete and conspire against each other.

This way Marx identified **four stages** of alienation in capitalist society –

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1. From the **process of production** (due to de-objectification of labour) - Capitalists own the firms that employ workers, it is they, not the workers, who decide what commodities, are made, how they are made, and in what working conditions they are made. As a result, work is often repetitive and even dangerous. Such work may be suitable for machines, or beings without the ability to consciously and freely decide how they want to work, but it is not suitable for human beings. Enduring this for an extended period of time means that one can only look for fulfillment outside of one's work; while "the activity of working, which is potentially the source of human self-definition and human freedom, is degraded to a necessity for staying alive.

2. From the **product** (due to exploitation) - Capitalists need not do any labor themselves – simply by owning the means of production, they control the profit of the firm they own, and are enriched by it. But they can only make profit by selling commodities, which are entirely produced by workers. Thus, the products of the worker's labor strengthen the capitalists, whose interests are opposed to that of the proletariat. Workers do this as laborers, but also as consumers: Whenever laborers buy commodities from capitalists that also strengthen the position of the capitalists. This again stands in opposition to the workers' species-being. Humans produce in response to our needs; but for the proletariat at least, strengthening the capitalist class is surely not one of those needs.

3. From the **co-workers** (due to competition)- In a capitalist economy, workers must compete with each other for jobs and raises. But just as competition between businesses brings down the price of commodities, competition between workers brings down wages. And so it is not the proletariat who benefits from this competition, but capitalists. This is not only

materially damaging to workers, it estranges them from each other. Humans are free beings and are able to not only transform the world themselves, but to cooperate in order to transform the world in more sophisticated and helpful ways. As such, they should see each other as allies, especially in the face of a capitalist class who seeks to undermine worker solidarity for its own benefit. But under capitalism workers see each other as opposing competition.

4. From the **'self'** (due to cumulative reasons)- Work is external to the worker, it is not a part of his nature. He loses control over his own thoughts also, as none of his thoughts can be transformed into reality. He gets alienated from his thoughts also. This is peak of alienation. Marx argued that human beings have the capability to develop dynamic thinking through the pursuit of multiple endeavors. Thus humanity retains the ability to contemplate the surrounding environment and develop robust challenges to problems. Marx therefore argues that human society is characterized by a constant state of flux and change. The social classes emerge to overthrow existing orders and manipulate the masses .The results are that a new class relationship that exists in capitalism eventually suppress the creativity and innovation of human beings. This can create resentment which leads to serious consequences.

Karl Marx's theory of alienation was postulated in the nineteenth century which was characterized by the rise of capitalism. Industrialization had swept the developed world along with other phenomenon like urbanization, immigration, and capitalism. Marx argued that the capitalist system was based upon reinforcing the divisions of class.

His theory of alienation appears to be appropriate even today. His first premise was that workers were alienated with their job duties. Capitalism had controlled the aspects of workers by forcing them to perform monotonous and repetitive tasks.

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Workers live in abject poverty because of the meager wages that are given to them. Workers do not have control over their work activities which stifles their creativity and innovation. It also creates the conditions for oppression and exploitation at the hands of capitalist enterprises.

Another premise of this theory is that workers do not have social relationships. The urge to compete has thus led to the destruction of the notion of cooperation and collaboration. Finally Marx argued that the workers were unable to attain self actualization in the capitalist environment. This is because capitalism seeks to create rules and regulations that will ultimately create bad conditions for workers.

Marx' idea of alienation is **criticized** on following grounds –

I.   **Karl** Popper says that alienation can be breeding ground for creative
     ideas also.

II. **Durkheim** had highlighted that anomie and alienation can be corrected by existing structures also.

III. **Goldthorpe** and Lockwood in their Affluent Worker study highlight that work is just a means to an end which is better standards of living. Workers are more concerned about the latter. Workers are more concerned about what happens outside the factory and it shapes their behaviors and attitude more than the work itself. Workers can satisfy their expressive and affective needs through family relationships.

IV. **Max Weber** say over bureaucratization of society leads to alienation as man is guided by fixed rules and his creativity is suffocated.

V.   **C.W. Mills** states that the growth of the tertiary (service) sector in modern industrial societies has contributed to self alienation more among the white-collar (non-manual) workers.

VI. **Robert Blaumer** has further developed four of these conditions and has related them with different type of technology. To him less technical job has less alienation. He saw less alienation in handicrafts & cottage industries & more in mechanized industries.

VIII**. Herbert Marcuse** - He believed that non-creativity leads to alienation but he criticized Marx for merely favoring the proletariats. He believed that alienation will occur among the capitalist also because of the non-creativity of their work.

Karl Marx concept of Alienation is one-dimensional explanation of multidimensional phenomena. Different studies provided that in a similar working condition not essentially all people get alienated. In modern capitalism where human resource is precious, different measures are taken by the industries and authorities to improve the moral & efficiency of the worker. Also in today's world democracy recognize trade union, labour laws, arbitration council are there to protect the interest of worker. So there is less chance of alienation. With globalizations & the rise of service sector, chances of alienation are less because of high value for work culture and professionalism. Now the workers are not only producer but also share holders of the company. Rather than getting alienated they are now involved in the management which motivates them to work hand for the company. Workers are also provided with medical and education facilities to their children.

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(EMILE DURKHEIM)

DIVISION OF LABOUR, SOCIAL FACTS, SUICIDE, RELIGION AND SOCIETY

David Émile Durkheim was born in **Épinal, France**, on **April 15, 1858**, to a devout French Jewish family. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had all been rabbis, and it was assumed that he would follow their lead when they enrolled him in a rabbinical school. However, at an early age, he decided not to follow in his family's footsteps and switched schools after realizing that he preferred to study religion from an agnostic standpoint as opposed to being indoctrinated. In 1879, his good grades got him into the École Normale Supérieure (ENS), a well-regarded graduate school in Paris.

Career and Later Life

Durkheim became interested in a scientific approach to society very early in his career, which meant the first of many conflicts with the French academic system— which had no social science curriculum at the time. Durkheim found humanistic studies uninteresting, turning his attention from psychology and philosophy to ethics and eventually, sociology. He graduated with a degree in philosophy in 1882. Durkheim's views could not get him a major academic appointment in Paris, so from 1882 to 1887 he taught philosophy at several provincial schools. In 1885 he left for Germany, where he studied sociology for two years. Durkheim's period in Germany resulted in the publication of numerous articles on German social science and philosophy, which gained recognition in France and earned him a teaching appointment at the University of Bordeaux in 1887. This was an important sign of the change of times and the growing importance and recognition of the social sciences. From this position, Durkheim helped reform the French school system and introduced the study of social science in its curriculum.

In 1893, Durkheim published his first major work, "The Division of Labor in Society," in which he introduced the concept of "anomie," or the breakdown of the influence of social norms on individuals within a society. In 1895, he published "The Rules of Sociological Method," his second major work, which was a manifesto stating what sociology is and how it ought to be done. In 1897, he published his third major work, "Suicide: A Study in Sociology," a case study exploring the differing suicide rates among Protestants and Catholics and arguing that stronger social control among Catholics results in lower suicide rates.

By 1902, Durkheim had finally achieved his goal of attaining a prominent position in Paris when he became the chair of education at the Sorbonne. Durkheim also served as an advisor to the Ministry of Education. In 1912, he published his last major work, "The Elementary Forms of The Religious Life," a book that analyzes religion as a social phenomenon.

Émile Durkheim died of a stroke in Paris on November 15, 1917, and is buried in the city's Montparnasse Cemetery.

He remained a dominant force in French intellectual life until his death in 1917, presenting numerous lectures and published works on a variety of topics, including the sociology of knowledge, morality, social stratification, religion, law, education, and deviance. Durkheimian terms such as "collective consciousness" have since entered the popular lexicon.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Division of Labor was discovered as sign of progress and sign of prosperity with increasing levels of consumption. Division of Labor was explained by classical economists purely on economic basis. This mode of thinking persists in economists even today. Durkheim accepts to what economist say but says that this definition is sociologically inadequacy. He argues that, unlike what economists argue, 'division of labour' is not peculiar to economic life, but political, administrative, judicial, arts, science etc all functions are becoming more and more specialized.

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"The Division of Labor's" Major Themes

In the book, Durkheim discusses how the division of labor—the establishment of specified jobs for specific people—benefits society because it increases the reproductive capacity of a process and the skill set of the workmen. It also creates a feeling of solidarity among people who share those jobs. But, Durkheim says, the division of labor goes beyond economic interests: In the process, it also establishes social and moral order within a society.

"The division of labor can be effectuated only among members of an already constituted society," he argues. Solidarity means the solidity of the organization. It is the characteristic trait of a society.

The concept of solidarity explains social differentiation or the division of labour in society. It makes individuals interdependent and effects social integration among them. This sociological analysis of Durkheim is based on his interest in **social fact**; on his acceptance of the functional character of society and of the supremacy of the whole on the part.

In Division of Labour Durkheim reacted against the view that modern industrial society could be based simply upon agreement between individuals motivated by self-interest and without any prior consensus. He agreed that the kind of consensus in modern society was different from that in simpler social systems.

Social Solidarity

But he saw both of these as two types of social solidarity. **The measurement of social solidarity is the intensity of collective conscience. It is the sum total of**

belief and sentiment common to the member of society. Collective conscience persists through successive generations and keeps them united.

In the "Division of labour" in society, Durkheim employs his evolutionary functionalism to examine the changing bases of social solidarity. According to him, the primitive society is characterized by **mechanical solidarity** based upon the collective conscience and the advanced society is characterized by **organic solidarity**

based upon division of labour.

Mechanical Solidarity

A society characterized by mechanical solidarity is unified because all people are generalists. The bond among people is that they are all engaged in similar activities and have similar responsibilities. Mechanical solidarity is solidarity of resemblance. As a member of the same group or same collectivity they resemble each other, feel the same emotion, and cherish the same values.

He suggested solidarity which comes from likeness is at its maximum when the collective conscience completely envelops our whole conscience and coincides in all points with it.

This solidarity can grow only in inverse ratio to personality. Here individual differences are minimized. In mechanical solidarity we find the strong states of the collective conscience. Collective conscience refers to **"the sum total of beliefs and sentiments common to the average of the member of the society."**

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This prevails mostly in primitive societies. In mechanical solidarity Repressive law prevails. It prevails at its core underlie the harsh justice and severe punishments which perpetuate the similarities underlying mechanical solidarity.

Organic Solidarity

In contrast to mechanical solidarity in a heterogeneous society where the likeness and the resemblance is missing, the coherent unity of the collectivity is expressed by differentiation; the solidarity that exists is organic solidarity. Such a society is characterized by an advanced form of division of labour. According to Durkheim, increasing density of population is the major key of development of division of labour.

Organic solidarity emerges with the growth of division of labour. This is especially witnessed in the modern Industrial societies. The individuals are no longer similar. They may be differentiated in terms of thinking, emotions and values. They have no collective conscience. The organic solidarity is characterized by **specialization and individualism**.

It is also characterized by the weakening of collective conscience and repressive law. The collective conscience becomes weaker and more abstract, permitting the development of greater individuality and freedom. Repressive law is largely replaced by **restitutive law** which calls not for revenge but rather for the return of things to the conditions which would have prevailed had the legal offences not occurred.

To Durkheim, the division of labor is in direct proportion to the moral density of a society. Density can happen in three ways: through an increase of the spatial concentration of people, through the growth of towns, or through an increase in the number and efficacy of the means of communication. When one or more of these things happen, says Durkheim, labor begins to become divided, and jobs become more specialized. At the same time, because tasks grow more complex, the struggle for meaningful existence becomes more strenuous.

Causes of DOL

According to Durkheim, reason for division of labour can be explained in terms of three social factors **the**
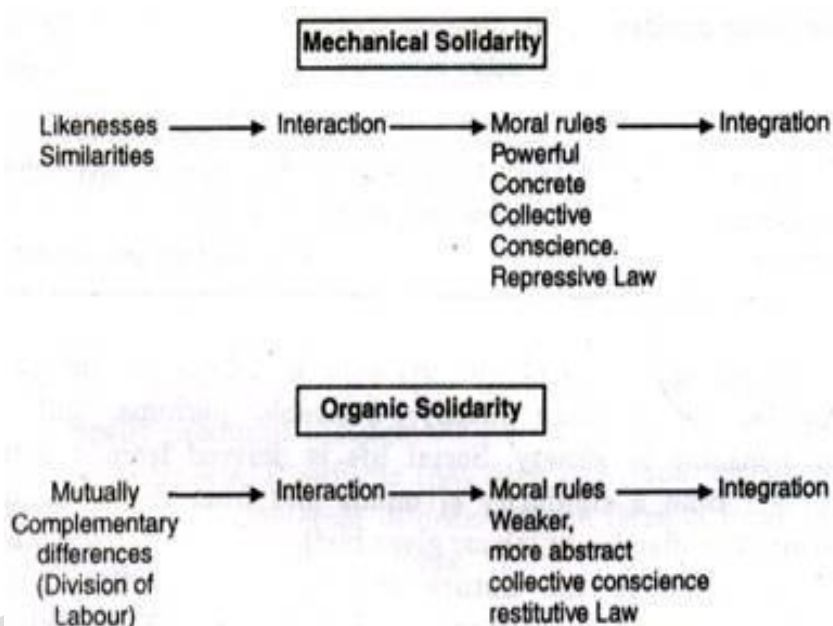
volume, the material density and the moral density of the society:

1. Volume of society: refers to the size of population.

2. The material density: refers to the number of individuals on a given ground surface.

3. Moral density: refers to the intensity of communication between individuals.

The Role of Law

Durkheim also discusses law extensively in this book. For him, the laws of a society are the most visible symbol of social solidarity and the organization of social life in its most precise and stable form. Law plays a part in a society that is analogous to the nervous system in organisms, according to Durkheim. The nervous system regulates various bodily functions so they work together in harmony. Likewise, the legal system regulates all the parts of society so that they work together in agreement.

Two types of law are present in human societies and each corresponds to the type of social solidarity those societies use.

Repressive law corresponds to the "center of common consciousness" and everyone participates in judging and punishing the perpetrator. The severity of a crime is not measured necessarily as the damage incurred to an individual victim, but rather gauged as the damage it

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caused the society or the social order as a whole. Punishments for crimes against the collective are typically harsh. Repressive law, says Durkheim, is practiced in mechanical forms of society.

The second type of law is **Restitutive law**, which instead focuses on the victim since there are no commonly shared beliefs about what damages society. Restitutive law corresponds to the organic state of society and works through the more specialized bodies of society, such as the courts and lawyers.

This also means that repressive law and restitutory law vary directly with the degree of a society's development. Durkheim believed that repressive law is common in primitive, or mechanical, societies where sanctions for crimes are typically made and agreed upon by the whole community. In these 'lower' societies, crimes against the individual do occur, but in terms of seriousness, those are placed on the lower end of the penal ladder.

Crimes against the community take priority in such societies, according to Durkheim, because the evolution of the collective conscious is widespread and strong while the division of labor has not yet happened. The more a society becomes civilized and the division of labor is introduced, the more restitutory law takes place.

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

As social facts can have abnormal forms also, division of labor also has certain abnormal forms as it is also a social fact. Study of abnormal states is necessary to get a better understanding of normal state also. There are primarily three '**abnormal forms of division of labor'** –

I. **Anomic division of labor** – Anomie is a state of **normlessness** in a situation in which people in general don't follow norms attached to their activities. Unchecked division of labor and rapid expansion of industrial activity leads to anomie as social controls are weak. In such a situation, division of labor generates unhealthy competition and becomes dysfunctional. It generally happens during transition phases, for example from shift to mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity

as Durkheim noted towards end of 19th century. When economic pace is too fast and moral regulation is unable to keep pace with increasing differentiation, it leads to anomic **pathological state** of division of labor. Durkheim argued that the customary limits to what people want and expect from life are disrupted in times of rapid change.

According to Durkheim, desires can be satisfied only when they are limited. In industrial society, desires become unlimited and traditional ceiling on them disintegrates leading to anomie. A new moral consensus on what men can reasonably expect from life is required. Not only rapid change, but the specialized division of labor itself also produces anomie as it promotes self-interest and individualism which is a threat to social unity.

Symptoms of anomie are reflected in high rates of suicide, marital breakup and industrial conflict as desires become limitless and traditional ceiling on desires in disintegrated. Since a new economic consensus doesn't develop immediately, anomie is resulted. While Marx provided a radical solution to the problem of alienation, Durkheim said that its solution can be found in the existing framework of the society. Self-interest should be replaced by a code of ethics which emphasizes the need of the society as a whole.

Occupational associations can play an important role in this by acting as agents of moral regulation. He saw in professional associations many features which were lacking in business and commerce.

II. **Inadequate organization or poorly coordinated division of labor** – If work is not organized properly; it creates imbalances and generates conflicts. In this abnormal form the very purpose of division of labor is destroyed. Work is not well organized and coordinated. Workers are often engaged in doing meaningless tasks. There is no unity of action. Thus solidarity breaks down and disorder results.

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

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

Criticism

Durkheim's primary objective was to evaluate the social changes related to industrialization and to better understand its ills. But British legal philosopher Michael Clarke argues that Durkheim fell short by lumping a variety of societies into two groups: industrialized and non-industrialized. Durkheim didn't see or acknowledge the wide range of non-industrialized societies, instead imagining industrialization as the historical watershed that separated goats from sheep.

American scholar **Eliot Freidson** pointed out that theories about industrialization tend to define labor in terms of the material world of technology and production. Freidson says that such divisions are created by an administrative authority without consideration of the social interaction of its participants.

American sociologist **Robert Merton** noted that as a positivist, Durkheim adopted the methods and criteria of the physical sciences to examine the social laws that arose during industrialization. But physical sciences, rooted in nature, simply can't explain the laws that have arisen from mechanization.

"The Division of Labor" also has a gender problem, according to American sociologist **Jennifer Lehman**. She argued that Durkheim's book contains sexist contradictions. Durkheim conceptualizes "individuals" as "men" but women as separate and non-social beings. By using this framework, the philosophers entirely missed out on the role of women have played in both industrial and pre-industrial societies.

Conclusion

Durkheim gives a conception of a socialist state in which division of labor will be kept in normal state by a large number of occupational associations which will implement the ethical code corresponding to their own occupation. This will also help in organizing the work properly. But unlike Marx who suggested a radical solution to overcome alienation, Durkheim believed that solution can be provided within existing framework of society. Self-interest which dominates business and commerce should be replaced by a code of ethics which emphasizes the needs of society as a whole.

SOCIAL FACTS

In order to help sociology move away from philosophy and to give it a clear and separate identity, Durkheim proposed that the distinctive subject matter of sociology should be the study of social facts. In his book, "**The Rules of Sociological Method,**" Durkheim outlined social fact, and the book became one of the foundational texts of sociology.

According to **Durkheim**, social facts emerge out of collectives of individuals, they cannot be reduced to the level of individuals – and this social reality is real, and it exists above the level of the individual, sociology is the study of this 'level above the individual'.

Durkheim argued that social facts cannot be reduced to individuals, but must be studied as their own reality. Durkheim referred to social facts with the Latin term **sui generis**, which means "unique." He used this term to claim that social facts have their own unique character that is not reducible to individual consciousness. To allow that social facts could be explained by reference to individuals would be to reduce sociology to psychology. Instead, social facts can be explained only by other social facts. Durkheim explains the division of labor and even the rate of suicide with other social facts rather than individual intentions.

Social fact is a way of acting, thinking or feeling, which is more or less general in a given society. Durkheim treated social facts as things. They are real and exist independent of this individual's will or desire. They are external to individuals and are capable of exerting constraint upon them. In other words they are coercive in nature. Further social facts exist in their own right. They are independent of individual manifestations. The true nature of social facts lies in the collective or associational characteristics inherent in society.

Examples of social facts: Statuses, roles, population distribution, urbanization, social institutions, social activities and the strata of society – the class structure, cultures, Legal codes and customs, moral rules, religious

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beliefs and practices, language , patriotism (Indo-Pak match) etc. are all social facts etc.

In Durkheim's view of sociology as an '**objective science**' must conform to the model of the other sciences. It contains **two requirements**:

i) The 'subject matter' of sociology must be '**specific**'. And it must be distinguished from the 'subject matter' of all other sciences.
ii) The 'subject matter' of sociology must be "**observed and explained**". Similar to the way in which facts are observed and explained in other sciences.

Durkheim defined Sociology as essentially the study of social facts and explanation of such facts in a sociological manner. Thus the subject matter of sociology refers to **attributes of collectivity** i.e., social facts.

For Durkheim, a **Thing** differs from a conceptual idea in the same way as that which we know from **without**, differs from that we know from **within**.

Social facts in Durkheim's view therefore are 'Things' because they refer to:

(a) An entity possessing certain definite characteristics which are independent of human observation,

(b) An entity, the existence of which is independent of human volition (will),

(c) An entity, which can be known only through external observation and not by introspection.

Four Main **characteristics** of social facts:

I. **Externality** – Social facts exist outside the individual and must be seen apart from the individual. These are 'sui-generis' (coming into existence on their own as a part of autonomous development of society). They are expressions of autonomous development of society.

II. **Constraining** – The social facts exercise constraining influence over the individual action. The constraint is in nature of coercion. The existence of constraints makes social facts as real as constraint is visible in terms of its consequences.

III. **Generality** – Social facts are general in nature and must not be confused with the individual interpretations or 'individual facts'. These are in the form of generalized perception which is understood by all individuals in same manner. Durkheim rejects the study of exceptions and focuses upon identification of 'general types'. For example – he studies religion as a general type and not a particular religion.

IV. **Independence** – Social facts are independent of the will of the individual. Individuals cannot change the social facts, but rather opposite is true.

MATERIAL AND NONMATERIAL

Social Facts Durkheim differentiated between two broad types of social facts—material and nonmaterial. **Material social facts**, such as styles of architecture, forms of technology, and legal codes, are the easier to understand of the two because they are directly observable. Clearly, such things as laws are external to individuals and coercive over them. More importantly, these material social facts often express a far larger and more powerful realm of moral forces that are at least equally external to individuals and coercive over them. These are nonmaterial social facts.

Durkheim recognized that **Non Material social facts** are, to a certain extent, found in the minds of individuals. However, it was his belief that when people begin to interact in complex ways, their interactions will "obey laws all their own". The bulk of Durkheim's studies, and the heart of his sociology, lies in the study of nonmaterial social facts.

Types of Nonmaterial Social Facts

Since nonmaterial social facts are so important to Durkheim, we will examine four different types— morality, collective conscience, collective representations, and social currents.

Morality

According to Durkheim, the one thing that every human will always want is "more." And, of course, that is the one thing we ultimately cannot have. If society does not limit us, we will become slaves to the pursuit of more. Consequently, Durkheim held the seemingly paradoxical view that the individual needs morality and external control in order to be free. This view of the insatiable

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desire at the core of every human is central to his sociology.

Collective Conscience

Collective conscience refers to the general structure of shared understandings, norms, and beliefs. It is therefore an all-embracing and amorphous concept. As we will see below, Durkheim employed this concept to argue that "primitive" societies had a stronger collective conscience—that is, more shared understandings, norms, and beliefs—than modern societies.

Collective Representations

Collective representations also cannot be reduced to individuals because they emerge out of social interactions, but they can be studied more directly than collective conscience because they are more likely to be connected to material symbols such as flags, icons, and pictures or connected to practices such as rituals. Therefore, the sociologist can begin to study how certain collective representations fit well together, or have an affinity, and others do not.

Social Currents

Most of the examples of social facts that Durkheim refers to are associated with social organizations. However, he made it clear that there are social facts "which do not present themselves in this already crystallized form". Durkheim called these social currents.

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

There are two ways which can explain social facts –

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

II. **Determining functions of social facts** – According to him, social facts perform certain 'functional pre-requisites' of society. Most important of which

maintenance of social order. According to him, 'collective conscience' is that social fact that maintains social order. It has constraining effect individuals which affect their actions. Thus, society manifests itself in individual activities.

Normal and Pathological Social Facts

Durkheim further made an important distinction in terms of Normal and Pathological social facts.

A social fact is **normal** when it is generally encountered in a society of certain type at a certain phase in its evolution. **Every deviation from this standard is a pathological fact**. For example, 'some degree of crime' is inevitable and normal in any society. Hence according to Durkheim crime to some extent is a normal fact. Occasional crimes or deviance help society in two ways:

(i) These crises give a chance for the society to strengthen its solidarity.

(ii) It helps society to identity the causes of the crises so that the corrective measures can be taken before it can make some bigger damage.

However, an extraordinary increase in the rate of crime is **pathological**. Periodical price rise is normal social fact but economic crisis leading to anarchy in society are other examples of pathological facts. These are harmful or **dysfunctional** for the society.

Criticism:

1. **Nicholas Timasheff** – He believes that while developing sociology on the lines of science, Durkheim became most unscientific by ignoring individual consciousness. Individual without consciousness is like animals. While studying social fact Durkheim completely ignores individual capability of independent thinking. A society cannot be imagined, while undermining the consciousness of individual.

2. **George Kathleen** – Believes that individual merely do not follow the collective sentiment rather through their individual efforts, vision, wisdom etc. they change the norms of society. A social reformer, revolutionaries etc. comes in this category but social facts does not consider these or accepts these facts.

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3. **Raymond Aron** – Believed that Durkheim's sociology is an orthodox sociology. He explained sociology as well integrated parts which he called social physiology. In reality cooperation-conflict, love-hate, conformity-deviance all exist together but Durkheim ignored these things in this perspective.

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

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

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

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

8. He couldn't explain why same social facts influence different individuals differently.

9. According to **Weber**, 'Social facts don't exist as things in their own right waiting to be gathered like pebbles on beach'. Social facts lie inside an individual and their influence is on the basis of individual's own interpretation of social fact. In a nutshell, instead of a purely macro perspective, a micro view is also required in understanding of society.

10. **Gabriel Tarde** says that it is very difficult to understand how a society can exists without an individual.

11. **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.

SUICIDE

"Le Suicide" by founding sociologist **Émile Durkheim** is a classic text in sociology that is widely taught to psychology students. Published in 1897, the book was the first to present a sociological study of suicide, and its conclusion that suicide can have origins in social causes rather than just being due to individual temperament, was groundbreaking at the time. Durkheim chose to study suicide because it is a relatively concrete and specific phenomenon for which there were comparatively good data available. However, Durkheim's most important reason for studying suicide was to prove the power of the new science of sociology. Suicide is generally considered to be one of the most private and personal acts. Durkheim believed that if he could show that sociology had a role to play in explaining such a seemingly individualistic act as suicide, it would be relatively easy to extend sociology's domain to phenomena that are much more readily seen as open to sociological analysis.

Durkheim studied suicide and rate of suicide, to establish the power of the sociological method of empirical study of social facts to explain social phenomenon. By studying a private and personal act such as suicide, he wanted to establish his sociological tradition. Not interested in why person committed suicide, that Durkheim said belonged to the field of psychology.

Rather he studied 'rate of suicide' in different societies and in same societies over different times. This he said is a social fact, as 'rate of suicide' appeared to have a reality and continuity in every society outside of individual acts of suicide. Consistency of suicide rate shows that suicide is a social fact because:

(1.) Suicidogenic currents are exterior- exteriority
(2.) Suicidogenic currents compel- constraint
(3.) Suicidogenic currents are diffused throughout society and – generality

Overview of Durkheim's Text

Suicide offers an examination of how suicide rates at the time differed by religion. Specifically, Durkheim analyzed differences between Protestants and Catholics. He found a lower rate of suicide among

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Catholics and theorized that this was due to stronger forms of social control and cohesion among them than among Protestants.

Demographics of Suicide: Study Findings

Additionally, Durkheim found that suicide was less common among women than men, more common among single people than among those who are romantically partnered, and less common among those who have children. Further, he found that soldiers commit suicide more often than civilians and that curiously, rates of suicide are higher during peacetime than they are during wars.

For the purpose of theory building he took data from police records from various regions of Europe at different time periods. With the help of this data, he established that **suicide is a social phenomenon and not an individual phenomenon**. He gave following arguments in his support –

I. Firstly, he proved that suicide cannot be explained through psychological, geographical, climatic, hereditary factors etc and hence rejected existing explanations. He used data to show that there were no positive correlation between rate of suicide and different non-social factors like – temperature, insanity, race, alcoholism etc.

II. He explains sociological causes of suicide.

II. He proved that certain rate of suicide is normal for society with the help of statistical data. Analyzing data from different countries, races etc, he concluded that the factors like – race, heredity, climate etc don't produce consistent explanations. For example – if temperature were a cause, then warmer countries or for that matter colder countries were expected to have a differential rate of suicide. Similarly, if mental illness were a cause, then there has to be some relations with illness, but neither such causal relation can be established and rate of suicide was found fairly consistent in different countries over the time.

Correlation vs. Causation: Suicide's Driving Forces

Based on his gleanings from data, Durkheim argued that suicide can be a result not only of psychological or emotional factors but of social factors as well. Durkheim reasoned that social integration, in particular, is a factor. The more socially integrated a person is—connected to society, possessing of a feeling of general belonging and a sense that life makes sense within the social context—the less likely he or she is to commit suicide. As social integration decreases, people are more likely to commit suicide.

Durkheim's Typology of Suicide

Durkheim developed a theoretical typology of suicide to explain the differing effects of social factors and how they might lead to suicide:

Types of Suicide

Integration	Low	Egoistic Suicide
	High	Altruistic Suicide
Regulation	Low	Anomic suicide
	High	Fatalistic suicide

I. Forces of integration – These result into two types of suicides associated with two states of integration – 'over-integration' and 'low integration'.

Altruistic suicide is often a result of excessive regulation of individuals by social forces such that a person may be moved to kill themselves for the benefit of a cause or for society at large. An example is someone who commits suicide for the sake of a religious or political cause, such as the infamous Japanese Kamikaze pilots of World War II, or the hijackers that crashed the airplanes into the World Trade Center, Army (soldier), LTTE bombers, fidayeen in Islam, Hara-kiri in Japan, and Kavalya in Jains. Sati in India etc. In such social circumstances, people are so strongly integrated into social expectations and society itself that they will kill themselves in an effort to achieve collective goals.

Egoistic suicide is a profound response executed by people who feel totally detached from society. Ordinarily, people are integrated into society by work roles, ties to family and community, and other social bonds. When these bonds are weakened through retirement or loss of family and friends, the likelihood of egoistic suicide increases. Elderly people, who suffer

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these losses most profoundly, are highly susceptible to egoistic suicide.

II. Forces of Regulation – It implies control of individual by the society. There can be further two types of suicide in society – due to over-regulation and under-regulation.

Fatalistic suicide occurs under conditions of extreme social regulation resulting in oppressive conditions and a denial of the self and of agency. In such a situation a person may elect to die rather than continue enduring the oppressive conditions, such as the case of suicide among prisoners, earlier widowhood in India, couple suiciding after intercaste marriages etc.

Anomic suicide is an extreme response by a person who experiences anomie, a sense of disconnection from society and a feeling of not belonging resulting from weakened social cohesion. Anomie occurs during periods of serious social, economic, or political upheaval, which result in quick and extreme changes to society and everyday life. In such circumstances, a person might feel so confused and disconnected that they choose to commit suicide. **Example**, when the Nazis took over Germany, lot of suicides occurred. Industrial or financial crisis, sudden implementation of Mandal commission report which gave reservation for OBC in Government sector resulted in many suicides among upper castes as they couldn't find jobs. But today OBC reservation doesn't create suicide as private sector offer jobs. Anomic suicide is further classified as – '**acute economic'**, when there is sporadic decrease in ability of traditional institutions to regulate and fulfill social needs; '**chronic economic'**, when there is abolition of social regulation, but failure to replace them with new ones; 'acute domestic' and 'chronic domestic'. However, likes of **Merton** argue that anomic conditions occur when there is a disjunction between structural goals and the means that are available to achieve those goals. Thus, suicide is established as a social fact and suicidogenic impulses as originating from society itself. Durkheim suggests moral education and higher integration through occupational growth as social solutions to the social problem of high rate of suicide.

Suicide Rates and Social Reform

Durkheim says that suicides result from social currents that are good for society. We would not want to stop all economic booms because they lead to anomic suicides, nor would we stop valuing individuality because it leads to egoistic suicide. Similarly, altruistic suicide results from our virtuous tendency to sacrifice for the community. The pursuit of progress, the belief in the individual, and the spirit of sacrifice all have their place in society, and cannot exist without generating some suicides. Durkheim admits that some suicide is normal, but he argues that modern society has seen a pathological increase in both egoistic and anomic suicides. Here his position can be traced back to The Division of Labor, where he argued that the anomie of modern culture is due to the abnormal way in which labor is divided so that it leads to isolation rather than interdependence. In particular, social regulation and integration are too low that leads to an abnormal rate of anomic and egoistic suicides.

Many of the existing institutions for connecting the individual in society have failed and Durkheim sees little hope of their success. The modern state is too distant from the individual to influence his or her life with enough force and continuity. The church cannot exert its integrating effect without at the same time repressing freedom of thought. Even the family, possibly the most integrative institution in modern society, will fail in this task because it is subject to the same destructive conditions that are increasing suicide. At last Durkheim proposes a social solution to a social problem.

Criticism

1. **J.W. Darwis**: Believed that primarily suicide is an individual fact than the social fact. In any society, human resources are highly valued and no society provokes its individual to commit suicide. It is a crime in almost all societies.
2. **J.B. Doug**: In his study says that explaining suicide only in terms of social facts is at best incomplete in itself. We can't ignore individual meanings. Infact a successful suicide is once in a lifetime thing. Such a vital decision being taken without rationality looks incomplete.
3. **Gabriel Tarde**: The imitation theory of suicide of Gabriel Tarde also rejects Durkheim's theory as a social

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fact. He believes that there are a lot of cases of suicide individual hears here and there when they come in a particular situation, they follow one of it. He found that after the case of suicide of a celebrity in US, lots of people followed the same for sometime. David Philips in his study found Tarde's theory true. He found that whenever there was a celebrity committed suicide, the suicide rates shoot up, because people identify themselves with celebrities. So, imitations have a role to play. This is suggestibility that suicide is right thing to do.

4. **Marris**: Believed that suicide is mainly a psychological phenomena because accepting the pressure in unfavourable situations is not same of every individual. He believes that the psychological or individual reason cannot be ignored.

5. **Atkinson**: He questions Durkheim claims that, rates of suicide are a factual order existing by itself as if official statistics are permanently valid. He questions the data itself. He says officials can't decide nature of suicide or even say whether it is a suicide or not. It is just done by attributing common sense meanings/assumptions. Also in poor and developing countries, official records can be manipulated. So, we can't claim data to be infallible. And once data itself is faulty, theory is an obvious fault.

6. **Douglas**: He also says that there is a built in bias for data in Durkheim's theory. Douglas also says that, in Europe suicide is stigmatized. If suppose in a community, where solidarity is high, they will not report death as suicides, but report it as an accident. So, in societies of high integration, there is low reporting. But in societies of low integration, there is high reporting.

Emile Durkheim

Extra Notes

Relevance of Durkheim's Idea on Third World /Industrial Societies

Durkheim's theory is almost 100 years old. He conducted his study on tribesof Aruntas, which were simplest and had a single belief. But the situation inthird world countries and in Asia, Africa is too complex. Asia and Africaconstitute third world societies. Asian countries are pluralistic societies orpolyglot societies except china. In fact except China, Asian countries neverexisted as a unified nation. Present day

boundaries emerged after colonialrule. Ethnically and culturally they are plural. Sense of nationalism among there societies is also not strong, also partly because they areheterogeneous societies. Nawab Bugti commented that he is a Pakistani only from 65 years but that he will remain a Baluchi forever. So, sub-nationalist tendencies are very strong. Tamil Nadu, people talked of Dravida Nadu saying that they were victims of exploitation by North Indian Brahmins, even Nagar, Kashmiris, etc had secessionist tendencies. Even a well integrated state like Punjab thought of a separate Khalistan and that sentiment is still alive sub-nationalist tendencies hamper national integration. These societies are also characterized by extreme form of inequalities and many communities sections within these nations are marginalized economically and politically. Thus they have emerged as nations very recently. Even experimentation with Democracy is very nascent. Also democratic popularity in these nations is reduced to pure populism.

In the context of religion

These societies have witnessed an attempt to create national solidarity by resorting to monoculturalism like Hindutva practiced in India. Religion is being used to foster national identity by imposing religion symbols and ideologies. Many parties are based on religious ideology like saffron party in India and Jamat-e-Islam in Pakistan. Durkheim said religion can survive as basis of solidarity and to that extent such attempts can be explained as to why monoculturalism in being imposed on plural societies. Further these countries have also witnessed rapid revitalization. Being plural societies urban migrants tend to be ethnically diverse and plural and these migrants seek a community to belong. This gives rises to religious revivalism because religion becomes an overarching identity which is otherwise ethnically diverse. This phenomenon can also be understood in terms of Durkheim's study of religion. Further, third world societies in general are undergoing a period of rapid urbanization which is overwhelming dominated by western culture. Along with modernity, consumerist culture and new liberal ideas are spreading. They are in turn leading to weakening of traditional customary norms creating what Durkheim called anomie. This moral vacuum is leading to revival of religion. This change towards western consumerism is being termed as moral decay. Thus religious revivalism

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is an attempt to restore the supremacy of traditional values over modern values and Durkheim didn't anticipate it. Durkheim thought secular ideas would replace religion. But even in societies like Malaysia, Japan etc, various kinds of religious movements are emerging. Religious revivalism is a consequence of high modernity. High modernity creates and state of confusion, uncertainty and loss of identity. Einstein calls this relativity of knowledge; Freud says that we don't know ourselves. Uncertainty creates psychological unease and we look for certainty in religion. Individual is cast adrift, so that acute sense of isolation breeds this question. Durkheim says goal of life is becoming increasingly secular, which is true, but religious revivalism is also taking place simultaneously. Real relations are becoming unsustainable and so we get into new relations to have certainty.

In West the process of modernization was gradual spread over 3 centuries. But in Asian countries this growth was very rapid. All Asia countries, after decolonization, embarked on rapid modernization for nation building. In Europe this process involved both cognitive change of norms, values and also technological modernity. So, a consensus regarding cognitive component emerged in Europe. In Asia, values have not percolated yet.

Rational humanistic outlook is not yet found prevalent. But technological aspect of modernity is accepted without reservation. It is because cognitive aspect gives identity to people they are eternal. But people look at technological modernity in utilitarian sense. Thus modernity generates conflict. As a result conflict develops. And one response of that conflict is religious revivalism being manifested as fundamental Durkheim has not anticipated this. In course of transition, new problems emerge including exploitation or marginalization of certain groups of society. Groups which experience deprivation seek an instrument to protest. Ideology becomes a rallying point for organizations to mobilize people to protest earlier in third world countries, nationalism has emerged as an ideology for protest. Freedom struggle was also a protest against varying forms of injustice and beneficiaries didn't join. Later on communism developed as protest ideology of aggrieved. But at the end of the first decade of the 21st century both these concepts are on passé/way-out we are already

transcending national boundaries. Nationalism is being diluted in Western Europe. Borders are becoming porous. Nation states are melting. Nationality is waning i.e., E.U. After the failure of communism in Russia and China, people are looking for new solutions. John Kenneth Galbraith said in capitalism Man exploits man, and in socialism, it is the other way round. In fact in communist state, Lenin and Stalin were new Russian czars. No difference in nature of rule except of Labels.

It was accepted as an ideology when it gave a dream, but as communism was the longest route from capitalism to communism, it got rejected. So, both communism and nationalism are on way-out as it shattered their dreams and because goals were not realized. In these scenarios of ideological vacuum, with the existence of problems, religion has become an ideology of protest. Example, Protest marchers in Iraq says "No to USA and yes to Islam'. (ISIS attack has religious fervor.) Religion has taken a new role which was never anticipated. Moplah revolution was actually a revolution landless tenants against landlords. It just so happened that many were Muslim. It was not communal in character. Thus it was only a means of articulating their protest. Grievance was economic, for which Durkheim didn't account. Durkheim studied religion only where there was a single religion. Third world countries are plural. Thus religion can also play a divisive role as pointed by Merton. This revival of religion is only in transitional phase and after this a new ideology may come up or religion may come up in new forms compatible to 21st century.

Durkheim on Education

Education was defined by Durkheim as the process by which the individual acquires the physical, intellectual and moral tools to function in a society. He had said that the relation of Sociology to education is that of theory to practice.

Schools as the institution provide a social foundation for modern morality. He argued through collective effervescence in the small classroom society, morality can be inculcated into individuals. He identified the functions as
(i) To provide individuals with discipline they need to restrain the passions that threaten to engulf them.

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(ii) To develop a sense of devotion to society and its moral system

(iii) To develop autonomy, in which discipline is freely desired and attachment is voluntaristic. Durkheim identified occupational associations and schools as institutions of regulation and integration. On conflict between managers and workers, he rejected Marxian thesis of inherent contradiction and argued that this due to lack of common morality. He found out occupational associations as an integrating institution which was social and professional at the same time.

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Raymond Aron said of **The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1912)** that it was Durkheim's most important, most profound, and most original work. **Randall Collins and Michael Makowsky** calls it "perhaps the greatest single book of the twentieth century." In this book, Durkheim put forward both **sociology of religion** and a **theory of knowledge**. His sociology of religion consisted of an attempt to identify the enduring essence of religion through an analysis of its most primitive forms. His theory of knowledge attempted to connect the fundamental categories of human thought to their social origins. Society (through individuals) creates religion by defining certain phenomena as sacred and others as profane. Those aspects of social reality that are defined as **sacred** —that is, that are set apart from the everyday—form the essence of religion. The rest are defined as **profane** —the commonplace, the utilitarian, the **mundane aspects** of life. This sacred is created through rituals that transform the moral power of society into religious symbols that bind individuals to the group. On the one hand, the sacred brings out an attitude of reverence, awe, and obligation. On the other hand, it is the attitude accorded to these phenomena that transforms them from profane to sacred.

Durkheim could not believe that anything supernatural was the source of these religious feelings. There really is a superior moral power that inspires believers, but it is society and not God. Durkheim argued that religion symbolically embodies society itself. Religion is the system of symbols by means of which society becomes conscious of itself. This was the only way that he could explain why every society has had religious beliefs but

each has had different beliefs. Society is a power that is greater than we are. It transcends us, demands our sacrifices, suppresses our selfish tendencies, and fills us with energy. Society, according to Durkheim, exercises these powers through representations. In God, he sees "only society transfigured and symbolically expressed". Thus society is the source of the sacred.

Durkheim's most daring argument is that this moral bond becomes a cognitive bond because the categories for understanding, such as classification, time, space, and causation, are also derived from religious rituals. The book contains a description and a detailed analysis of the 'clan system' and of "**totemism in the Arunta tribe**" of Australian aborigines, elaborates a general theory of religion derived from a study of the simplest and most "primitive" of religious institutions, and outlines a sociological interpretation of the forms of human thought which is at the heart of contemporary sociology of knowledge. Religious forms in primitive society could be "**shown in all their nudity**," and it would require "only the slightest effort to lay them open". In addition, whereas religion in modern society takes diverse forms, in primitive society there is "intellectual and moral conformity". This makes it easier to relate the common beliefs to the common social structures. This study was important as a demonstration of his functionalist methodology. Functionalism refers to contribution of parts towards the maintenance and well being of the whole. This idea came from biology and was also used by Spencer. It was hinted by Spencer but Durkheim developed this in his study and methodology.

Besides being a functionalist, he was also a positivist. His basis of study and experimentations was empirical data. However he didn't collect empirical data by himself. Rather he relied on ethnographic accounts of certain other scholars like Spencer and Grill.

According to **Durkheim**, religion is something eminently social. Religious representations are collective representations which express collective reality. Recognizing the social origin of religion, Durkheim argued that religion acted as a source of solidarity. Religion provides a meaning for life. Durkheim saw it as a critical part of the social system. Religion provides social control, cohesion and purpose for people as well

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as another means of communication and gathering for individuals to interact and reaffirm social forms.

Totemism

Because Durkheim believed that society is the source of religion, he was particularly interested in totemism among the Australian Arunta. Totemism is a religious system in which certain things, particularly animals and plants, come to be regarded as sacred and as emblems of the clan. Durkheim viewed totemism as the simplest, most primitive form of religion, and he believed it to be associated with a similarly simple form of social organization, the clan. Durkheim argued that the totem is nothing but the representation of the clan itself. Individuals who experience the heightened energy of social force in a gathering of the clan seek some explanation for this state. Durkheim believed that the gathering itself was the real cause, but even today, people are reluctant to attribute this power to social forces. Instead, the clan member mistakenly attributes the energy he or she feels to the symbols of the clan. The totems are the material representations of the nonmaterial force that is at their base, and that nonmaterial force is none other than society. Totemism and more generally religion are derived from the collective morality and become impersonal forces. They are not simply a series of mythical animals, plants, personalities, spirits, or gods.

Refutation of the Previous Explanations Regarding Religion

Durkheim began with a refutation of the reigning theories of the origin of religion. **Tyler**, the distinguished English ethnologist, supported the notion of **animism** i.e. spirit worship as the most basic form of religious expression. **Max Muller**, the noted German linguist, put forth the concepts of "**naturism**", i.e., the worship of nature's forces. Durkheim rejected both concepts because he felt that they failed to explain the universal key distinction between "the sacred and the profane" and because they tended to explain religion away by interpreting it as an illusion, that is, the reductionist fallacy. In animism religious beliefs are held to be beliefs in spirits, these spirits being the transfiguration of the experience of men having of their two fold nature of body and soul. As for naturism it amounts to stating that men worship transfigured natural forces.

The Origins of Religion

Instead of animism or naturism, Durkheim took "TOTEMISM" among the Australian tribes as the key concept of explains the origins of religion.

Ordinary objects, whether pieces of wood, polished stones, plants or animals, are transfigured into sacred objects once they bear the emblem of the totem. Durkheim writes, **Totem refers to an implicit belief in a mysterious or sacred force or principle that provides sanctions for violations of taboos, inculcates moral responsibilities in the group, and animates the totem itself.**

Moreover, Durkheim claims that just as societies in the past have created gods and religion, societies of the future are inclined to create new gods and new religions when they are in a state of exaltation. Durkheim believed he had solved the religious-moral dilemma of modern society. Religion is nothing but the indirect worship of society. Modern people need only express their religious feelings directly toward the sacred symbolization of society. The source and object of religion, Durkheim pointed out, are the collective life – the individual who feels dependent on some external moral power is not a victim of hallucination but a responsive member of society.

The Substantial Function of Religion

It is the creation, reinforcement, and maintenance of social solidarity. Religion act as an agency of social control and provides solidarity. He argued that religious phenomena emerges in any society when a separation is made between the sphere of the profane-the realm of everyday utilitarian activities-and the sphere of sacred-the area that pertains to the transcendental, the extraordinary. Durkheim's theory of religion was **criticized** on the following grounds –
I. The dichotomy of profane and sacred is not absolute and there can be things which are mundane also as per **Weh Stanner**.
II. Durkheim also didn't explain why a particular totem is chosen. Even a tribe may have more than one religion.
III. His theory is termed as an armchair theory by **Malinowski** – he didn't visit the Arunta tribes even for one time.

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IV. Narrow basis – generalization of a primitive religion to modern sophisticated religions is farfetched.

V. According to **Edmund Leach**, profanity and sacred are two extreme, all social actions fall in between.

VI. Scholars argue that it is not religion, but secularism which is binding societies together in modern industrialized societies and his ideas are applicable only to simple societies.

VII. His theory fails to explain the cause of solidarity in multicultural polytheistic societies like India.

VIII. Durkheim ignored the conflict caused by it and focused only on its functional aspect.

IX. **Alexander Goldenweiser** criticized Durkheim's theory on three grounds:

(a) How Durkheim can claim that Arunta is the most primitive tribe and their religion is the most ancient religion of world?

(b) In many of the primitive communities, Goldenweiser found that the totem is different and they are worshipping something else. Thus, it cannot be said that totem is the God.

(c) In simple societies, the difference between sacred and profane can be made easily but not in complex societies.

X. **Raymond Firth** said that the origin of religion is mysterious phenomena whose evolution cannot be identified by a particular theory. It has lots of reason and characteristic that a single theory cannot explain its form and origin. Any single claim cannot be right claim.

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Max Weber

Social action, Ideal types, Authority, Bureaucracy, Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism

Max Weber was born in Erfurt, Prussia (present-day Germany) on April 21, 1864. He is considered one of the three founding fathers of sociology, alongside Karl Marx, and Emile Durkheim. His text "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" was considered a founding text in sociology.

Early Life and Education

Weber's father was greatly involved in public life and so his home was constantly immersed in both politics and academia. Weber and his brother thrived in this intellectual atmosphere. In 1882, he enrolled at the University of Heidelberg, but after two years left to fulfill his year of military service at Strassburg. After his release from the military, Weber finished his studies at the University of Berlin, earning his doctorate in 1889 and joining the University of Berlin's faculty, lecturing and consulting for the government.

Career and Later Life

In 1894, Weber was appointed a professor of economics at the University of Freiburg and then was granted the same position at the University of Heidelberg in 1896. His research at the time focused mainly on economics and legal history.

After Weber's father died in 1897, two months after a severe quarrel that was never resolved. Weber became prone to depression, nervousness, and insomnia, making it difficult for him to fulfill his duties as a professor. He was thus forced to reduce his teaching and eventually left in the fall of 1899. For five years he was intermittently institutionalized, suffering sudden relapses after efforts to break such cycles by traveling. He finally resigned his professorship in late 1903.

Also in 1903, Weber became the associate editor of the Archives for Social Science and Social Welfare where his interests lie in more fundamental issues of social sciences. Soon Weber began to publish some of his papers in this journal, most notably his essay The

Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, which became his most famous work and was later published as a book.

In 1909, Weber co-founded the German Sociological Association and served as its first treasurer. He resigned in 1912, however, and unsuccessfully tried to organize a left-wing political party to combine social-democrats and liberals. At the outbreak of World War I, Weber, aged 50, volunteered for service and was appointed as a reserve officer and put in charge of organizing the army hospitals in Heidelberg, a role he fulfilled until the end of 1915.

Weber's most powerful impact on his contemporaries came in the last years of his life, when, from 1916 to 1918, he argued powerfully against Germany's annexationist war goals and in favor of a strengthened parliament. After assisting in the drafting of the new constitution and the founding of the German Democratic Party, Weber became frustrated with politics and resumed teaching at the University of Vienna. He then taught at the University of Munich. Weber died on June 14, 1920.

Major Publications

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904)

The City (1912)

The Sociology of Religion (1922)

General Economic History (1923)

The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (1925)

Max Weber is probably the best known and most influential figure in sociological theory. Weber's work is so varied and subject to so many interpretations that it has influenced a wide array of sociological theories. It certainly had an influence on structural functionalism, especially through the work of **Talcott Parsons**. It has also come to be seen as important to the conflict tradition and to critical theory, which was shaped almost as much by Weber's ideas as it was by Marx's orientation, as well as to **Jurgen Habermas**, the major

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inheritor of the critical-theory tradition. Symbolic interactionists have been affected by Weber's ideas on **verstehen**, as well as by others of Weber's ideas. **Alfred Schutz** was powerfully affected by Weber's work on meanings and motives, and he, in turn, played a crucial role in the development of ethnomethodology. Recently, rational choice theorists have acknowledged their debt to Weber. Weber was and is a widely influential theorist. The word action refers to a human behaviour which an acting individual gives meaning to. An action is meaningful behaviour. Thus, social action is any sort of behaviour which is meaningfully oriented to the past, present or expected behaviour of others and involves social relationships. Further we will try to understand how Weber differentiates between Action and purely reactive behaviour.

Social action is defined as the behaviour by which human beings react to external forces after cognizing (knowing), understanding and interpreting them. In this sense all actions are behaviour although all behaviour does not fall in the category called 'action'.

Example, the flight of a moth towards a candle which is simply a mechanistic response to light stimulus is an example of behaviour but not of action. Suppose for a moment a moth approaches the flame with the following reasoning; what a pretty light, I would like to be close to it. The behaviour becomes action. Also, an action is primarily defined by its meaningfulness, it must be interpreted from the actor's subjective point of view. It is not out of context to quote **Alex Inkeles**, **'winking is a social act, blinking is not'**.

Weber's Social Actions have the following characteristics

(i)   At least two individual are needed

(ii) Individual's action should be intended towards others

(iii) It is meant to affect others

(iv) For individual, social action must have some significance

For Weber the combined qualities of 'action' and 'meaning' were the central facts for sociologists' scientific analysis. Weber defined sociology as a **science which attempts the interpretive understanding of**

social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects.'

Weber utilized his **ideal-type methodology** to clarify the meaning of action by identifying four basic types of action. Of greatest importance is Weber's differentiation between the two basic types of rational action. The first is **means-ends rationality**, or action 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". The second is **value rationality**, or action 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 for success".

Affectual action (which was of little concern to Weber) is determined by the emotional state of the actor. **Traditional action** (which was of far greater concern to Weber) is determined by the actor's habitual and customary ways of behaving.

According to Weber, subject matter of sociology is to study 'social action' which he defines as –'**Any action is social by virtue of the meanings attached to it by the actors, it takes into account the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course'**.

Weber mentions two conditions for any action to become social

I. Action is social if some meaning is attached to it by the actor i.e. actor must be conscious to his action.

II. Action is social if it is oriented to some other i.e. only those actions are social which are taken in orientation to some other object.

He also excluded '**imitative actions'** and '**mass conditioned actions'** from his definition as they are not oriented to some other object and no conscious meaning is attached to them. The establishment of 'cause and effect' should be aim of sociology. Understanding the meanings attached by the actors to their actions can help us to establish **'cause and effect'** relationship.

An actor reacts to the situation with an eye to attainment of some goal. Every action is, therefore, goal

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oriented or motivational. What are the motives which generally prompt a man to act? The views of Max Weber may be considered in this regard.

MAX WEBER CLASSIFIES TYPES OF ACTION INTO FOUR CATEGORIES

1) Zweckrational Action or Rational Action in Relation to a Goal

The actor determines the goal and chooses his means purely in terms of their efficiency towards achievement of goal. **In this action both means and ends are rational**. It means that in a specific situation, by determining once goal, a person acts in a planned way that is why this action is completely rational. In the modern era, the importance of this action his substantially increased because, in Weber's words, the world is tending towards more and more bureaucratization which means our dependency on bureaucracy is thoroughly increasing day by day. Obviously rationality is also increasing.

2) Wertrational Action or Rational Action in Relation to a Value

Here means are chosen for their efficiency but the ends are determined by value. It is that action which is performed on any artistic religious or moral basis and which is accepted without any logical reasons. It means that in this action, **means are rational but not the ends.** Ends are accepted on the basis of social values. Actions related with attainment of salvation or heaven come under the purview of this action.

3) Affective or Emotional Action

Here **emotion or impulse determines the ends and means of action** as in the case of a mother who slaps her child or a player who throws a punch at a partner in a game. They are those which are instigated by emotions and invitation. Such behaviour is affected by love, hatred, and enmity or angry and they are mostly rational. For example a father gets angry suddenly on the failure of his son.

4) Traditional Actions where both Ends and Means are determined by Customs

Rituals, ceremonies and practices of tradition fall in this category. They are those which are controlled by that social action, which have been followed by several people over a long period of time. Such actions are followed for a reason, like many people have been doing likewise since long past, there is no place of logic, and value, sentiment in the action. The example of such action can be seen in the kinship and in the patriarchal or matriarchal families. The quantity of such actions has decreased in due course of time and it is being replaced by rational legal actions.
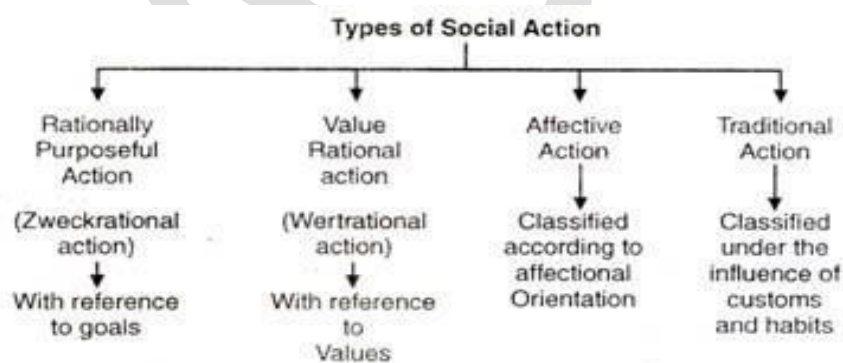
Thus, Weber acknowledges the existence of 'regularities' in societies, but unlike Durkheim, he insists that these regularities exist in the mind of the individuals. The expression of these regularities is visible in terms of actions on the basis of 'subjective interpretation' of these regularities.

His idea of social action and other methods and approaches are generally **criticized** on the following grounds

1. According to **Hans Gerth and C Wright Mills**, although Weber implied that he had a great concern with mental processes, he actually spent little time on them.
2. He laid greater stress on individual meanings and ignored the influence of social structure in the understanding of reality.
3. His idea of social action has focus on individual and collective action is ignored.

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4. Weber also ignores unintended meanings and consequences of social action. **Merton** highlights such consequences in terms of latent functions.
5. His definition of social action is also handicapped by inclusion of 'orientation towards others'. Parsons expanded meaning of social action by including situational choices, constraints and aspiration of actor as well.
6. **Parsons** believed that social actions do not require two individuals. It may be performed singularly when it is performed in a socially defined situation.
7. **Cohen** said that freak (lose one's nerve) action is also a social action which was not mentioned by Max Weber in his analysis.

8. **Vilfredo Pareto** had talked about illogical actions which are very much an integral part of social life which has not been mentioned by Weber.

Social action, Ideal types, **Authority**, Bureaucracy, Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism

Weber was no political radical; in fact, he was often called the "bourgeois Marx" to reflect the similarities in the intellectual interests of Marx and Weber as well as their very different political orientations. Although Weber was almost as critical of modern capitalism as Marx was, he did not advocate revolution. He wanted to change society gradually, not overthrow it. He had little faith in the ability of the masses to create a "better" society. But Weber also saw little hope in the middle classes, which he felt were dominated by shortsighted, petty bureaucrats.

Weber was critical of authoritarian political leaders like Bismarck. For Weber the hope—if indeed he had any hope—lay with the great political leaders rather than with the masses or the bureaucrats. He placed the nation above all. The vital interests of the nation stand, of course, above democracy and parliamentarism."Weber preferred democracy as a political form not because he believed in the masses but because it offered maximum dynamism and the best milieu to generate political leaders. Weber noted that authority structures exist in every social institution, and his political views were related to his analysis of these structures in all settings. Of course, they were most relevant to his views on the polity.

POWER

Weber was perhaps the first sociologist to present a systematic definition of power. Sociologists often distinguish between two forms of power i.e. authority and coercions. **Authority** is that form of power which is accepted as legitimate i.e. as 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. In ordinary usage, the term **'power' means strength or the capacity to control**. Sociologists describe it as the ability of an individual or group to fulfill its desires and implement its decisions and ideas. It involves the ability to influence and/or control the behaviour of others even against their will.

For Max Weber, power is an aspect of social relationships. It refers to the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of another person. Power is present in social interaction and creates situations of inequality since the one who has power imposes it on others. The impact of power varies from situation to situation. On the one hand it depends upon the extent to which it is opposed or resisted by others. Weber says that power can be exercised in all walks of life. It is not restricted to a battlefield or to politics. It is to be observed in the marketplace, on a lecture platform, at a social gathering, in sports, scientific discussion and even through charity.

Many scholars adopt the definition developed by German sociologist Max Weber, who said that **power is the ability to exercise one's will over others**. Power affects more than personal relationships; it shapes larger dynamics like social groups, professional organizations, and governments. Similarly, a government's power is not necessarily limited to control of its own citizens. A dominant nation, for instance, will often use its clout to influence or support other governments or to seize control of other nation states.

Weber discusses two **contrasting sources of power.**

1) Power which is derived from a constellation of interests that develop in a formally free market. For example, a group of producers of sugar

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controls supply of their production in the market to maximize their profit.

2) Power which is derived from an established system of authority that allocates the right to command and the duty to obey. For example, in the army, a Jawan is obliged to obey the command of this officer. The officer derives his power through an established system of authority.

If power is to be effectively used for realizing goals on sustained basis, this kind of power must be voluntarily accepted by those on whom it is exercised. When they believe that such an exercise of power is justified, such a belief is called legitimacy and such power is legitimate power. When power is legitimized it gives rise to authority. So, authority results in an established order where incumbent authority is to issue command and expect those commands to be obeyed develops.

Endeavors to gain power and influence do not necessarily lead to violence, exploitation, or abuse. Leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Mohandas Gandhi, for example, commanded powerful movements that affect positive change without military force. Both men organized nonviolent protests to combat corruption and injustice and succeeded in inspiring major reform. They relied on a variety of nonviolent protest strategies such as rallies, sit-ins, marches, petitions, and boycotts.

Modern technology has made such forms of nonviolent reform easier to implement. Today, protesters can use cell phones and the Internet to disseminate information and plans to masses of protesters in a rapid and efficient manner. In the Arab Spring uprisings, for example, Twitter feeds and other social media helped protesters coordinate their movements, share ideas, and bolster morale, as well as gain global support for their causes. Social media was also important in getting accurate accounts of the demonstrations out to the world, in contrast to many earlier situations in which government control of the media censored news reports. Notice that in these examples, the users of power were the citizens rather than the governments. They found they had power because they were able to exercise their will over their own leaders. Thus, government power does not necessarily equate to absolute power.

AUTHORITY

Weber began his analysis of authority structures in a way that was consistent with his assumptions about the nature of action. He defined **domination** as the "**probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons**". Domination can have a variety of bases, legitimate as well as illegitimate, but what mainly interested Weber were the legitimate forms of domination, or what he called authority.

What concerned Weber, and what played a central role in much of his sociology, were the three bases on which authority is made legitimate to followers—**rational, traditional, and charismatic**. In defining these three bases, Weber remained fairly close to his ideas on individual action, but he rapidly moved to the large-scale structures of authority.

Authority legitimized on rational grounds rests "on a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands". Authority legitimized on traditional grounds is based on "an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them". Finally, authority legitimized by charisma rests on the devotion of followers to the exceptional sanctity, exemplary character, heroism, or special powers (for example, the ability to work miracles) of leaders, as well as on the normative order sanctioned by them.

All these modes of legitimizing authority clearly imply individual actors, thought processes (beliefs), and actions. But from this point, Weber, in his thinking about authority, did move quite far from an individual action base, as we will see when we discuss the authority structures erected on the basis of these types of legitimacy.

A citizen's interaction with a police officer is a good example of how people react to authority in everyday life. For instance, a person who sees the flashing red and blue lights of a police car in his rearview mirror usually pulls to the side of the road without hesitation. Such a driver most likely assumes that the police officer behind him serves as a legitimate source of authority and has the right to pull him over. As part of her official duties, the police officer then has the power to issue a

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speeding ticket if the driver was driving too fast. If the same officer, however, were to command the driver to follow her home and mow her lawn, the driver would likely protest that the officer does not have the authority to make such a request.

Not all authority figures are police officers, elected officials or government authorities. Besides formal offices, authority can arise from tradition and personal qualities. Economist and sociologist Max Weber realized this when he examined individual action as it relates to authority, as well as large-scale structures of authority and how they relate to a society's economy. Based on this work, Weber developed a classification system for authority. His three types of authority are traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal rational authority.

Rational-Legal Authority (Zweckrational Social Action-Goal Rational Action)

According to Weber, power made legitimate by laws, written rules, and regulations is termed rational-legal authority. In this type of authority, power is vested in a particular rationale, system, or ideology and not necessarily in the person who implements the specifics of that doctrine. A nation that follows a constitution applies this type of authority. On a smaller scale, you might encounter rational-legal authority in the workplace via the standards set forth in the employee handbook, which provides a different type of authority than that of your boss.

The term refers to a system of authority which is both, rational and legal. Those who exercise authority are appointed to do so, on the basis of their achieved qualifications which are prescribed and codified. Those in authority consider it a profession and are paid a salary. Thus, it is a rational system.

Rational-legal authority can take a variety of structural forms, but the form that most interested Weber was **bureaucracy**, **which he considered** "**the purest type of exercise of legal authority**". He described bureaucracies as "escape proof," "practically unshatterable" and among the hardest institutions to destroy once they are established. Weber concluded that "the future belongs to bureaucratization", and time has borne out his prediction.

It is legal because it is in accordance with the laws of the land which people recognize and feel obliged to obey. The people acknowledge and respect the legality of both the ordinance and rules as well as the positions or titles of those who implement the rules. Rational-legal authority is a typical feature of modern society. It is a reflection of the process of rationalization. Remember, Weber consider "**rationalization as the key feature of western civilization**". It is, according to Weber, a specific product of human thought and deliberation.

Bureaucracy is nothing but institutionalized form of 'goal-rational action'. In Bureaucracy, work is organized in the form of offices. Activities to be performed are designated as official duties. These offices are arranged in a hierarchy, which acts as a chain of command.

Characteristics of Bureaucracy

Weber defined bureaucracy as a system of administration containing the following characteristics:

1. **Hierarchy:** Each official has a clearly defined competence and is answerable to a superior.

2. **Impersonality**: The work is conducted according to set rules without arbitrariness or favoritism and a written record is kept of every transaction.

3. **Continuity:** The office constitutes a full-time salaried occupation with security of tenure and the prospects of regular advancement.

4. **Expertise:** Officials are selected on merit, are trained for their function and control access to the knowledge stored in the files These characteristics, Weber argued, together maximize administrative efficiency and makes bureaucracy inescapable for complex industrial societies. Weber believed that bureaucratic organizations are dominant institutions of industrial

Weber believed that bureaucratic organizations are dominant institutions of industrial societies. He believes that rational action had become the dominant mode of action in modern industrial society. A legal rational organization has a clearly defined goal. It involves precise calculations of the means to attain the goal and systematically eliminates those factors which stand in the way of the achievement of its objective.

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Bureaucracy is therefore rational action in an institutional form.

Traditional Authority (Traditional action)

Whereas rational-legal authority stems from the legitimacy of a rational-legal system, traditional authority is based on a claim by the leaders, and a belief on the part of the followers, that there is virtue in the sanctity of age-old rules and powers. The leader in such a system is not a superior but a personal master. The administrative staff, if any, consists not of officials but mainly of personal retainers. In Weber's words, **"Personal loyalty, not the official's impersonal duty, determines the relations of the administrative staff to the master"**. Although the bureaucratic staff owes its allegiance and obedience to enact rules and to the leader, who acts in their name, the staff of the traditional leader obeys because the leader carries the weight of tradition—he or she has been chosen for that position in the traditional manner.

According to Weber, the power of traditional authority is accepted because that has traditionally been the case; its legitimacy exists because it has been accepted for a long time. People adhere to traditional authority because they are invested in the past and feel obligated to perpetuate it. In this type of authority, a ruler typically has no real force to carry out his will or maintain his position but depends primarily on a group's respect.

It is based on customary law and the sanctity of ancient traditions. It is based on the belief that a certain authority is to be respected because it has existed since time immemorial. Traditional authority does not function through written rules of laws. It is transmitted by inheritance down the generations. Traditional authority is carried out with the help of relatives and personal favorites.

In modern times, the incidence of traditional authority has declined. Monarchy, the classic example of traditional authority still exist, but in a highly diluted form. The Queen of England is a traditional figure of authority but as you may be aware, she does not actually exercise her authority. The laws of the land are enacted in her name, but their content is decided by the legislators, the representatives of the people.

Traditional authority can be intertwined with race, class, and gender. In most societies, for instance, men are more likely to be privileged than women and thus are more likely to hold roles of authority. Similarly, members of dominant racial groups or upper-class families also win respect more readily. Weber classifies traditional authority into two types.

PATRIARCHALISM

This is the simplest kind of all traditional societies. Authority exists at domestic levels (nomadic, joint family), where in eldest male member of group exercises authority. They follow gerontocracy. Authority is exercised as a joint right. Eldest male member exercises authority. There are no clear defined administrative staff. Here, such a person exercises his authority in accordance with the customary principles, but he has no ability to enforce his will. The power of incumbent depends on people's consent. They are seen as co-consent and not as subjects. There are no formal apparatus for enforcement of rules. Authority is exercised purely according to traditional obedience in personal.

PATRIMONIALISM

In relatively advanced societies there emerges another variant of traditional authority. For example: -In chiefdoms and kingdoms (monarchy). Weber says the Ottoman emperor of Turkey represented patrimonialism in its best form. Authority is based on individual who exercises on hereditary principles, examples, and lineage. There exists an administrative staff. They are selected on the basis of loyalty and are personally committed to the authority. The authority is exercised in an arbitrary fashion, limited place for customs, although it is more or so respected.

Charismatic Authority (Affective Action)

In Weber's own words "A certain quality of an individual personality which is considered extraordinary and treated by others as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or exceptional powers."

To Weber, charisma was a revolutionary force, one of the most important evolutionary forces in the social world. Whereas traditional authority clearly is

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inherently conservative, the rise of a charismatic leader may well pose a threat to that system (as well as to a rational-legal system) and lead to a dramatic change in that system. What distinguishes charisma as a revolutionary force is that it leads to changes in the minds of actors; it causes a subjective or internal reorientation. Such changes may lead to "a radical alteration of the central attitudes and direction of action with a completely new orientation of all attitudes toward different problems of the world".

It is because charisma is a product of crisis. The third world countries are full of crisis. As Gita says, "Whenever there is a moral crisis, god takes an incarnation to save" this incarnation is charisma. Charismatic authority comes into existence when the existing system either traditional or legal rational fails to deliver. Western Europe countries no longer have crisis. They have established system to deliver.

Followers accept the power of **charismatic authority** because they are drawn to the leader's personal qualities. The appeal of a charismatic leader can be extraordinary, and can inspire followers to make unusual sacrifices or to persevere in the midst of great hardship and persecution. Charismatic leaders usually emerge in times of crisis and offer innovative or radical solutions. They may even offer a vision of a new world order. Hitler's rise to power in the postwar economic depression of Germany is an example.

Charismatic authority is not dependent on customary beliefs or written rules. It is purely the result of the special qualities of the leader who governs or rules in his personal capacity. Charismatic authority is not organized; therefore is no paid staff or administrative set-up. The leader and his assistants do not have a regular occupation and often reject their family responsibilities. These characteristics sometimes make charismatic leaders revolutionaries, as they have rejected all the conventional social obligations and norms.

Charismatic leaders tend to hold power for short durations, and according to Weber, they are just as likely to be tyrannical as they are heroic. Diverse male leaders such as Hitler, Napoleon, Mao, Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and Winston Churchill are all considered charismatic leaders. Because so few women have held

dynamic positions of leadership throughout history, the list of charismatic female leaders is comparatively short. Many historians consider figures such as Joan of Arc, Margaret Thatcher, and Mother Teresa to be charismatic leaders.

Another problem of Charismatic authority is the problem of succession. Also Charismatic leaders are not readily available. People can be trained to become experts but cannot be trained to become genius. Charisma can be systematically nurtured. But once Charisma is acquired, it can be sustained.

Actual authority may be a combination of above ideal types of authority. For example, Franklin D Roosevelt as a president of the United States and Nehru, the Indian prime minister ruled on all three bases as they were elected t in accordance with a series of rational-legal principles. By the time they were elected three times, a good part of the rules had traditional elements. Finally, many disciples and followers regarded them as charismatic leaders. In the real world there is constant tension and sometimes conflict among the three bases. For example, the charismatic leader is a constant threat to the other forms of authority.

Further, a particular type of authority may change over time and transform into another type. Weber refers routinisation of charisma and traditionalization of rationality.

Criticism of his authority theory –

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

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

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

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BUREAUCRACY

Bureaucracy is an administrative system designed to accomplish large-scale administrative tasks by systematically coordinating the work of many individuals. Weber has observed three types of power in organizations i.e. traditional, charismatic and rational-legal or bureaucratic. He has emphasized that bureaucratic type of power is the ideal one.

Bureaucracy is the machinery which implements rational-legal authority. Max Weber was the first to give an elaborate account of the development of bureaucracy as well as its causes and consequences. His work is usually taken as the starting point in the sociology of organizations. Weber believed that bureaucracy is the defining characteristic of modern industrial society. His work is mainly concerned with a comparison of bureaucracy and the forms of organization found in pre-industrial societies.

Weber's view of bureaucracy must be seen in the context of his general theory of **social action**. He argued that all human action is directed meanings. Thus, in order to understand and explain action, the meanings and motives which lie behind it must be appreciated. Weber identified various types of action which are distinguished by the meanings on which they are based. These include 'affective' or 'emotional action', traditional action' and 'rational action'.

Bureaucracy is also linked to the **ideal type concept** of Weber and Weber links it to the rising rationalization of society. It is an ideal type of organization in which structure is based on legal rational authority. According to Weber, bureaucracy is the type of organization which suits most of the modern societies where work is done rationally. It is 'a hierarchical organization designed rationally to coordinate the work of many individuals in the pursuit of large scale administrative tasks and organizational goals'. Capitalism which is the basis of economy in the modern world also works on rational organization requires bureaucratic organizations for its working.

According to him, 'From a purely technical point of view, a bureaucracy is capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency, and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of exercising authority over human beings. It is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline, and in its reliability. It, thus, makes possible a particularly high degree of calculability of results for the heads of the organization and for those acting in relation to it. It is finally superior both in intensive efficiency and in the scope of its operations and is formally capable of application to all kinds of administrative tasks.'

Bureaucratic organizations evolved from traditional structures due to the following changes

● In traditional structures, the leader delegate duties and can change them at any time. However, over time, this changed and there was a clear specification of jurisdiction areas along with a distribution of activities as official duties.
● In a bureaucratic organization, the subordinates follow the order of superiors but can appeal if they feel the need. On the other hand, in traditional structures, the authority was diffused.
● Rules are exhaustive, stable, and employees can learn them easily. Further, the organization records them in permanent files.
● Personal property is separate from the office property. Also, the means of production or administration belong to the office.
● The selection of officials is based on technical qualification and appointment and not an election. Further, officials receive a salary as compensation for their work.
● The official is taken in for a trial period and then offered a permanent position with the organization. This protects him from arbitrary dismissal.

Characteristics of Bureaucracy

1. **Administrative Class**

Bureaucratic organisations generally have administrative class responsible for maintaining

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coordinative activities of the members. Main features of his class are as follows:

(i) People are paid and are whole time employees.

(ii) They receive salary and other perquisites normally based on their positions.

(iii) Their tenure in the organisation is determined by the rules and regulations of the organisation.

(iv) They do not have any proprietary interest in the organisation.

(v) They are selected for the purpose of employment based on their competence.

2. **Hierarchy**

The basic feature of bureaucratic organisation is that there is a hierarchy of positions in the organisation. Hierarchy is a system of ranking various positions in descending scale from top to bottom of the organisation. In bureaucratic organisation, system of superordination and subordination in which supervision of each lower office is subjected to control and supervision by higher office.

Thus, no office is left uncontrolled in the organisation. This is the fundamental concept of hierarchy in bureaucratic organisation. This hierarchy serves as lines of communication and delegation of authority. It implies that communication coming down or going up must pass through each position.

3. **Division of Work**

Work of the organisation is divided on the basis of specialisation to take the advantages of division of labour. Each office in the bureaucratic organisation has specific sphere of competence. This involves:

(i) A sphere of obligations to perform functions which have been marked off as part of a systematic division of labour.

(ii) The provision of the incumbent with necessary authority to carry out these functions.

(iii) The necessary means of compulsion are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions.

Thus, division of labour try to ensure that each office has a clearly-defined area of competence within the organisation and each official knows the areas in which he operates and the areas in which he must abstain from action so that he does not overstep the boundary between his role and those of others. Further, division of labour also tries to ensure that no work is left uncovered.

4. **Official Rules**

A basic and most emphasised feature of bureaucratic organisation is that administrative process is continuous and governed by official rules. Bureaucratic organisation is the antithesis of ad hoc, temporary and unstable relations. A rational approach to organisation calls for a system of maintaining rules to ensure twin requirements of uniformity and coordination of efforts by individual members in the organisation.

These rules are more or less stable and more or less exhaustive. When there is no rule on any aspect of organisational operation, the matter is referred upward for decision which subsequently becomes precedent for future decision on a similar matter. Rules provide the benefits of stability, continuity, and predictability and each official knows precisely the outcome of his behaviour in a particular matter.

5. **Impersonal Relationships**

A notable feature of bureaucracy is that relationships among individuals are governed through the system of official authority and rules. Official positions are free from personal involvement, emotions and sentiments. Thus, decisions are governed by rational factors rather than personal factors. This impersonality concept is used in dealing with organisational relations as well as relations between the organisation and outsiders.

6. **Official Record**

Bureaucratic organisation is characterised by maintenance of proper official records. The decisions and activities of the organisation are formally recorded and preserved for future reference. This is made possible by extensive use of filling system in the organisation. An official record is almost regarded as encyclopedia of various activities performed by the people in the organisation.

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7. Selection for employment and promotion based on technical competence, specialized knowledge or skill.

8. Office-holding as a '**vocation**.' Official work is no longer a secondary activity but something that demands the full working capacity of the official.

9. A clear distinction between the sphere of office and that of the private affairs of the individual. The bureaucratic official is not an owner of the enterprise and therefore not entitled to the use of official facilities for personal needs except as defined by strict rules.

10. The practice of performing specialized administrative functions according to purely objective considerations and the official discharge of business according to calculable rules and 'without regard for persons.'

Advantages of Bureaucracy

1. The rules and procedures are decided for every work it leads to, consistency in employee behaviour. Since employees are bound to follow the rules etc., the management process becomes easy.

2. The duties and responsibilities of each job are clearly defined there is no question of overlapping or conflicting job duties.

3. The selection process and promotion procedures are based on merit and expertise. It assists in putting the right person on the right jobs. There is optimum utilisation of human resources.

4. The division of labour assists workers in becoming experts in their jobs. The performance of employees improves considerably.

5. The enterprise does not suffer when some person leave it. If one person leaves then some other occupies that place and the work does not suffer.

Why is a Bureaucratic Organization criticized?

1. This system suffers from too much of the red tapism and paperwork.

2. The employees do not develop belongingness to the organisation.

3. The excessive reliance on rules and regulations and adherence to these policies inhibit initiative and growth of the employees. They are treated like machines and not like individuals. There is neglect of human factor.

4. The employees become so used to the system, they resist any change and the introduction of new techniques of operations.

5. The rules are inflexible and rigid. Further, there is too much emphasis on these rules and regulations.

6. Informal groups do not receive any importance. In current times, informal groups play a huge role in most business organizations.

7. Typically, bureaucracy involves a lot of paperwork which leads to a waste of time, money, and effort.

8. The rules and formalities lead to an unnecessary delay in the decision-making process.

9. While Government organizations can benefit from a bureaucratic structure, business organizations need quick decision-making and flexibility in procedures. Therefore, it is not suitable for the latter.

10. While the technical qualifications of the employees are an important aspect of his promotion, a bureaucratic organization does not consider the employee's commitment and dedication.

11. There is limited scope for Human Resource management.

12. Coordinating and communicating is difficult.

How to make it Responsive and Controlled Bureaucracy?

Bureaucracy for a long time has been used to be pro rich. Bureaucracy had shown cynical attitude of policies. Political heads were ineffective in controlling bureaucracy. Reason is that the bureaucrat was a specialist as far as the department was concerned. Citing various rules they can formulate new policies. Bureaucrats are able to erect a stone wall. Even in India

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I.A.S officers association is considered to be the most powerful trade union. Also there are cases where bureaucracy could be made effective.

In India, land reforms have been a near total failure in most of the states except West Bengal, Kerala and Haryana. The reason is considered to be nexus between bureaucracy and landlord (owners).

Weber himself was concerned about the control of state bureaucracy administration. He saw two main dangers, if this control was left in the hands of bureaucrats themselves.

Firstly, particularly in a time of crisis, bureaucratic leadership would be ineffective. Bureaucrats are trained to follow orders and conduct routine operations, rather than to make policy decisions and take initiatives in response to crisis.

Secondly, in capitalist society top bureaucrats may be swayed (influenced) by the pressure of capitalist interests and tailor their administrative practices to fit the demands of capitalists.

Weber believed that these dangers could only be avoided by strong parliamentary control on the state bureaucracy. In particular, professional politicians must hold the top position in the various departments of state.

This will encourage strong and effective leadership, since politicians are trained to take decisions. In addition, it will help to open the bureaucracy to public view and reveal any behind the scenes wheeling and dealing between bureaucrats and power interests.

Politicians are public figures open to public scrutiny and criticism of opposition parties. They are therefore accountable for their actions. Other to this, proactive civil society can build pressure for proper function of bureaucracy and implementation of programs. Kerala was very successful in implementing literacy programs of government.

Criticism

1. **R. K. Merton** – He called bureaucrats as 'ritualists' (those who follow the means but ignores the goals/end). Merton believes that in bureaucracy rules are so much emphasized that goals are often ignored.

2. **James Vander Zenden** – He accused bureaucracy by calling it 'specialists without spirit' because they are completely detached from human values. This is also known as 'dehumanisation'.

3. **Tom Burns** – He studied 20 electronics companies of Britain and Scotland and found that with excessive written and formal rules, bureaucracy is unable to take quick decision in a market economy. The late decisions always cost companies because they have to follow the formal process of decision.

4. **Peter Blau** – In his book 'Informal Structure of Bureaucracy' wrote that formalities are a lot attached with bureaucracy which decreases its efficiency. Some informalities can increase its efficiency.

5. **Alvin Ward Gouldner** – He partially agrees with Peter Blau and believed that the element of formality or informality depends upon the nature of the organization. He suggested formalities for army and police whereas informalities in construction, mining etc.

6. **Peter Selznick** – In his book 'Problems of Controlling the Bureaucracy' found that sometimes bureaucracy becomes so powerful that it undermines the democratic authorities also. He studied Tennensy Valley Authority, Washington DC and found that sometimes bureaucracy becomes very powerful and tough to be controlled.

7. **Seymour Lipset** – He studied the state bureaucracy in a province of Canada (Saskatchenwan) and found that bureaucracy successfully prohibited the implementation of socialist policies of the new government.

STEPS TO IMPROVE EFFICIENCY OF BUREAUCRACY IN DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

1. Effective training for hospitality and services and not for the governance. The democratic training should replace colonial training.

2. Bureaucracy is required to be accountable like the private sectors. Time bound promotions and efficiency and punishment and dismissal in case of inefficiency is required to be introduced.

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3. Target-centric approach. In this system, every individual or official should be given a rational target according to the salaries and facilities they get. It should be mandatory and it must be added in their service book.

4. Job insecurity is essential in improving the quality of administration. In government jobs, there is a tendency of feeling secure which discourages to work efficiently. Accordingly, the action of termination, suspension should be taken.

5. 'Onus of proof' against corruption, nepotism, irregularities should be on the bureaucrat.

6. In developing societies, bureaucrats should be trained on the pattern of Western bureaucracy training pattern of Western societies can help in changing the culture of bureaucracy like private sector.

IDEAL TYPES

The **'Ideal type'** is one of Weber's best known contributions to contemporary sociology. It occupies a very important place in his methodology. **Methodology** is a conceptual and logical research procedure by which knowledge is developed. Historically much of the methodological concern in the social sciences has been directed towards establishing their scientific credentials. There are four basic elements of social science methodology as suggested by Weber. Reliance upon natural science methodology alone would be a serious mistake. So, he didn't want sociology to rely upon positivist approach alone. Weber believed, it was the responsibility of sociologists to develop conceptual tools. The most important of such conceptual tool is the ideal type.

Components of his methodologies are

1. **Verstehen**

   It is the use of empathy in the sociological or historical understanding of human action and behavior. Verstehen refers to understanding the meaning of action from the actor's point of view.

Verstehen is entering into the shoes of the other. Verstehen is associated with the writing of Max Weber. Verstehen is now seen as a concept and a method central to a rejection of positivist social science or Positive School, though Max Weber appeared to think that the two could be united. Verstehen requires treating the actor as a subject, rather than an object of your observations. Verstehen also implies that unlike objects in the natural world human actors are not simply the product of the pulls and pushes of external forces. Verstehen literally means understanding or comprehension.

2. **Ideal types**
3. **Causal pluralism** (Causation and Probability)

   It was dictated partly by methodological touch of ideal types and partly because of critical response of Weber to Marx as mono causal economic determinism. Marx relied on only single cause i.e. economic forces. Weber doesn't say that this is incorrect. But Weber says that social reality is so complex, that it can never be adequately accounted for in terms of single causes. Though Marx is not wrong, when Weber identifies role of Marx, Weber is only surrounding Marx rather than rejecting him.

4. **Value neutrality**

   Social research should be unbiased. Process of collection of data and analyzing of data shouldn't be contaminated by personal prejudices or due to cultural bias of social scientist. Having said, he realized that total value neutrality is not possible. So, he made a distinction between areas of value relevance and area of value neutrality.

'Ideal' is a conception or a standard of something in its highest perfection. It refers to mental image or conception rather than a material object. It is a model. The term type means a kind, class or group as distinguished by a particular character. So generally, we may conceptualize **ideal type as a kind, category, class or group of objects, things or persons with particular character that seems to be the best example of it.**

Sociologists make use of "ideal types" as measuring rods or as a means to find out similarities and

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differences in the actual phenomena. In fact, it is one of the methods of comparative study. Weber used the concept as an abstract model, and when used as a standard of comparison, it enables us to see aspects of the real world in a clearer and more systematic way.

What is to be understood here is that, it is not the purpose of ideal types to describe or explain the world. Instead, they provide us with points of comparison from which to observe it. By comparing the ideal type of socialism with actual socialist societies, we can highlight their characteristics by seeing how they match or depart from the ideal type. For example, socialist states usually have been authoritarian and never reflect workers' interests. In the same way, capitalist markets are increasingly controlled by oligopolies rather than being freely competitive.

According to Weber, the Science of sociology could be developed on the basis of the concept, the Ideal type. Weber says sociology is concerned with social action and social behaviour. Every social action has an ideal. The 'Ideal type' of social action is in our mind. For example, we say that a particular man is 'idealist'.

Weber used Ideal type in a specific sense. To him **Ideal type is a mental construct, like a model, for the scrutiny and systematic characterization of a concrete situation.** Indeed he used Ideal type as a methodological tool to understand and analyze social reality. Just as an ideal model is constructed by the natural scientists as an instrument and means for knowing nature, so the social scientist creates Ideal type as a tool for systematizing and comprehending individual facts, against which the investigator can measure reality.

Although ideal types are to be derived from the real world, they are not to be mirror images of that world. Rather, they are to be one-sided exaggerations (based on the researcher's interests) of the essence of what goes on in the real world. In Weber's view, the more exaggerated the ideal type, the more useful it will be for historical research.

The use of the word ideal or utopia should not be construed to mean that the concept being described is in any sense the best of all possible worlds. As used by Weber, the term meant that the form described in the

concept was rarely, if ever, found in the real world. **In fact, Weber argued that the ideal type need not be positive or correct; it can just as easily be negative or even morally repugnant.**

Ideal types should make sense in themselves, the meaning of their components should be compatible, and they should aid us in making sense of the real world. Although we have come to think of ideal types as describing static entities, Weber believed that they could describe either static or dynamic entities. Thus we can have an ideal type of a structure, such as a bureaucracy, or of a social development, such as bureaucratization. Ideal types also are not developed once and for all. Because society is constantly changing, and the interests of social scientists are as well, it is necessary to develop new typologies to fit the changing reality. This is in line with Weber's view that there can be no timeless concepts in the social sciences.

Formulation of Ideal Types

Ideal types are formed by a number of elements which though found in reality, may or may not be discovered in their specific form. These elements must be found by trained investigator in the form of abstractions drawn from subjective meanings of the individual. Investigator must be capable of looking at the phenomenon from the eyes of an individual actor. These elements are thus based upon interpretation of investigator, but are definitive specific traits which constitute the reality.

Weber used ideal types extensively in his works like 'Economic and Social Organization', 'The City', 'Sociology of Religion' and so on. **Ideal types developed by Weber are grouped into many categories**

I. **Ideal Types of Historical Particulars** – These are ideal types of particular historical phenomena like some ancient city, protestant ethics, capitalism etc.
II. **Ideal Types of Abstract Phenomena in Social Reality** – It involves developing abstract phenomena like – social action, authority etc which can be used to understand a social phenomenon.
III. **Ideal Types of Particular Behavior** – He developed ideal types of particular behaviors like economic or political behavior.

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IV.   **Structural Ideal Types** – These are forms taken by the causes and consequences of social action (for example, traditional domination)

His ideal type methodology is criticized for following reasons

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

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

3. **Walter** believed that Weber could not resist himself to be under the influence of positivism. Though he called positivist attempt a blunder but he himself tried to develop sociology on the line of sciences.

4. Ideal Type may be able to understand the reality approximately but not in its accuracy. Exaggerations, deliberations etc. take reality far from the truth. Ideal type is not capable enough for scientific understanding.

5. Science studies phenomena in its totality and not in exaggeration or elimination. It studies phenomena as it is.

6. Ideal type is the brainchild of the researcher which cannot be freed from their own values and prejudices. Hence, the outcome through the ideal type largely depends upon the researcher.

Limitations of Ideal Types

(1.) As Weber calls it, ideal type is one sided accentuation of reality, at best a partial model.

(2.) While exercising selectivity there is a great deal of merit in saying that personal choices of researcher may influence. So, there is no yardstick for judging the appropriateness and adequacy of ideal type. So, they tend to be guided by personal choice.

(3.) **Talcott Parsons** said that ideal types are not derived from any general theory. There is a great deal of

subjectivity as part of researcher while building an ideal type.

(4.) **Hample** criticized ideal type as type atomism. He said ideal types are atomized types. It is nothing but small isolated part not connected with others.

(5.) Ideal type is not a method. It is just the way the human mind works. Here, Weber only formally lays down the process of selectivity in ideal types.

PROTESTANT ETHICS AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

Protestantism, as the name suggests, it is a religion of protest. It arose in the 16th century in Europe in the period known as the "**Reformation**". Its founding fathers like Martin Luther and John Calvin broke away from the Catholic Church. They felt that the church had become too immersed in doctrines and rituals. It had lost touch with the common people. Greed, Corruption and vice had gripped the church. Priests had a life-style more suitable for princes. The protestant sects that sprang up all over Europe tried to recapture the lost spirit of the church. They stressed simplicity, austerity and devotion. **Calvinism, founded by the Frenchman John Calvin** was one such sect. The followers of Calvin in England were known as the Puritans. They migrated to the continent of North America and were the founders of the American nation. Weber observed that in the west, it was by and large the Protestants who had made greatest progress in education and employment. They were the top bureaucrats, the most skilled technical workers and the leading industrialists.

However, Protestantism succeeded in turning the pursuit of profit into a moral crusade. It was the backing of the moral system that led to the unprecedented expansion of profit seeking and, ultimately, to the capitalist system. On a theoretical level, by stressing that he was dealing with the relationship between one ethos (Protestantism) and another (the spirit of capitalism), Weber was able to keep his analysis primarily at the level of systems of ideas. Thus, the spirit of capitalism can be seen as a normative system that involves a number of interrelated ideas. For example, its goal is to instill an "**attitude which seeks profit rationally and systematically**.

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Ethos, were the unique elements that were there in Western Europe. It was not found elsewhere. There ethos were world affirmation ethos. It didn't develop in china, India etc due to world rejection ethos. So, ethos played an independent causal role, contributing to the rise of modern capitalism. He goes about searching for ethos; because modern capitalism is characterized by gain spirit. Gain spirit is nothing but rational age of conduct or ethical regulation of conduct.

Protestants had rejected role of priest and did away with priestly class. The Protestantism teachers asked to approach each individual's class directly without the aid of a priest. Previously, the Church and priest were important source of security and support. This developed an acute sense of anxiety and insecurity, if people will get salvation or not Now, Calvin, the founder of Calvinism solves this problem of Protestants with this theory of Doctrine of predestination.

Doctrine of predestination says that salvation is predestined. So, this implies that priest can't give salvation to an individual. Calvin said that there are two kinds of people in the eyes of god **(a) Elected (b) Damned**. Calvin said that, only elected attains salvation and damned remains like that. He further says that, priests can't aid an individual, for getting elected and that the people who are elected are predestined. This view of Calvin created even more anxiety in people, as to what is to be done, if they were elected or damned.

Further Calvin says two things

(a) Ways of god cannot be known.

(b) God's decision cannot be altered either. So, then how does know if he is elected or damned. Calvin starts with the assumption that salvation is obligatory.

Calvin suggested a **method**

(a) Begin with an assumption that you are elected.

(b) If you want proof of that, then treat your vocation in your life as a calling i.e. as a god given duty. So, life must be devoted to God's purpose or to demonstrate the glory of god.

God has only two purposes

(a) Demonstrate good of god. (b) Human welfare.

Life shouldn't be wasted in seeking pleasure of flesh. So, life is to be totally devoted to God's purpose and to demonstrate the glory of god, it lies in the success of your endeavors. God will not bestow success upon damned, only elect can demonstrate the glory of god. Protestantism asks all Protestants to lead a life of self-demean, ascetics living, working efficiently. Imperfection and inefficiency can't be tolerated. Efficient/traditional /organization of work, frugal living, profits that are earned on manifestation is elected.

Profits that are attained should be reinvested for further success. The symbol of profit shows that he is elect. Thus, this was his sequence of motives in Protestantism and its course was as said. The effect was spirit of capitalism, a particular kind of entrepreneurial mindset. The ideology, contributed to the spirit of capitalism which in turn contributed to the rise of capitalism. This is how he constructed the causal chain. Thus this explanation is adequate at level of meanings and causality.

The brand of capitalism that, Weber was most interested in was Calvinism. If we study the main features of Calvinism, it would show us how there is the link between religion and economy. Main Features of Calvinism:

<u>Ideal type of Calvinism was proposed with following Elements</u>

I.   **Doctrine of predestination** – some people are chosen by God to enter into heaven and nobody can know whether one is chosen or not.
II.   **This worldly asceticism** – protestant ethics suggest strict self-discipline with no enjoyment and more hard work for the glory of God.
III. All work is sacred – it is not mere work, it is 'calling' or mission and should be done with devotion for the glory of God.
IV.   God created the world for his own glory and he is unknowable.
V.   No mediation of any priest can help us know God.
VI.   Riches earned through hard work should not be spent on luxuries, but in the glory of God.

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Marx and Engels had explained the emergence of capitalism in terms of economic factors. They said that advances in technology led to generation of surplus. This led to monetization of economy. This led to the breakdown of feudal society. Breakdown of feudal society led to contractual establishment to law and order. The cumulative effect of all these led to the growth of commerce and mercantile capitalism. This brought capitalistic transformation of agriculture. Finally it took the shape of industrial capitalism. Weber, while accepting that economic conditions did play a role in the rise of industrial capitalism, also says that these alone are not sufficient to account for the rise of modern capitalism.

In Weber's view, the spirit of capitalism is not defined simply by economic greed; it is in many ways the exact opposite. It is a moral and ethical system, an ethos that among other things stresses economic success. In fact, it was the turning of profit making into an ethos that was critical in the West. The capitalists desired wealth not for enjoyment or luxurious living. They wanted it so that they could use it to make more wealth. The thirst for money-making for its own sake is the very essence of modern capitalism. Capitalism is an economic system which aims at the unlimited accumulation of profit through the rational organisation of production. In other societies, the pursuit of profit was seen as an individual act motivated at least in part by greed. Thus it was viewed by many as morally suspect.

Weber located a positive relationship between the protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. Western capitalism according to Weber, assumed its shape because it was supported by a certain belief system, namely the "protestant ethic". Weber argued that the protestant ethic is closely associated with the spirit of capitalism.

In order to overcome the methodological problem of defining Capitalism and Protestant Ethic (Religion and Economy), Max Weber made use of the concept of ideal type. Protestant Ethic does not refer to any particular theological doctrine but **a set of values and belief system that make up a religious ideal**. Capitalism, in its ideal type, is to be that complex activity designed specifically to maximize profit through the careful and intentional exercise of rational organization and management of production.

As far as capitalism is concerned Weber says it is a huge historical movement in a specific geographical and cultural area. The desire for wealth or profit is as old as human history. Wealth has long been regarded as a symbol of power, status and prestige. But never before in human history did the desire for wealth assume the organized and disciplined form that it did in modern or rational capitalism. It is this rational capitalism that Weber wanted to study. He distinguishes between traditional or adventurous capitalism of former times and rational capitalism of modern times.

Capitalism arose in the western nations like England and Germany, which experienced what we call the "Industrial Revolution." The growth of the factory system, new techniques of production, new tools and machines made it possible for the capitalists or the owners to earn vast amounts of money. The production process had to be rationally organized; in other words, efficiency and discipline were essential.

The worker was a means to an end, the end being profit. The attitude towards work was that it should be done well not because they had to do it, but because it carried an intrinsic reward. Hard work and efficient work was an end in itself. Weber contrasted this work-ethic with another type which he termed traditionalism. In capitalism, the worker is regarded by the capitalist as a means to an end. But under traditionalism, the worker-employer relationship is informal, direct and personal.

Weber believes in **plurality of causes**. In this theory as well, dual variables exist in the form of – 'spirit' and 'substance'. Spirit may have been provided by the protestant ethics, but only spirit cannot lead to 'practice' of capitalism and substance should also be there. During this time, substance was already present in the form of – new factory system, new techniques of accounting, newly invented tools and machines, democratic political system for stable governance and market etc.

In India, during Mughal period, there was political centralization, effective laws and order. There were remarkable advances in technology in the Kharkanas that were established under the patronage of Nobles. There was monetization and growth of trade. Yet modern capitalism never developed in India. **In China,** the advances were greater than India. The availability of

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Mercantile class, abundant availability of monetization, technological breakthroughs (gunpowder, paper, printing, Marine compass) were there, even a centralized authority existed, but there traditionalism hampered the growth of capitalism.

Capitalism stresses individualism, innovation and the relentless pursuit of profit. Traditionalism, as described above is characterized by a much less disciplined and efficient system of production.

The spirit of capitalism is a work-ethic which calls for the accumulation of wealth for its own sake. To do so, work has to be organized in an efficient disciplined manner. Hard work is a virtue that carries intrinsic rewards. The spirit of capitalism demands individualism, innovation, hard work and the pursuit of wealth for its own sake. It is thus an economic ethic.

According to Weber, Capitalists needs a great desire of having more and more property. And this desire did not only come with the advent of industrialization rather it was in the system in one or the other forms.

The Following types of capitalism are Noted

Booty Capitalists: When capital is acquired by theft, robbery etc, it is called booty capitalists. It was popular in ancient days.

Pariah Capitalists: This kind of capitalism where money was lent to earn more interest and so more profit.

Traditional Capitalists: This kind of capitalism was proved in Medieval Europe in which capital was gained by traditional methods and so there were informal relations between masters and workers.

Modern Capitalists: Efficiency and discipline are necessary for modern capitalism. The laborer is greatly controlled and so they consider hard work as their religion. The development of modern capitalism is the result of the industrial revolution in which new model of production were developed like Mechanization, factory system, formal rules and regulations and the only reason for high inclination of people towards this system was profit making.

Weber identified a number of values embedded in Protestantism which are in harmony with the spirit of capitalism

The Concept of Calling: This idea emerged from the Calvinist doctrine of predestination according to which every soul is predestined at birth for heaven or hell and that nothing an individual does in this life can change his ultimate fate. But there are signs by which God indicates to every individual whether he is among the elect ones, success in life being the most important one. Since every man is anxious to know if he is marked for salvation or damnation, he should select a calling, vocation, work hard at it and be successful. The economic impact of this doctrine was profound indeed. No longer was it necessary for 'religious' men to take the vow of poverty, enter a monastery, undertake a pilgrimage or indulge in self- torture, some of the Catholic means of salvation popular in the Middle Ages. The new doctrine exhorts men to seek gainful enterprises, accumulate wealth and prove their destiny.

The New Attitude toward the Collection of Interest on Loans: The theological doctrine of Catholicism proscribed the collection of interest on loans. This prohibition discouraged the operation, at least open and legal operation of lending houses and accumulation of capital. Approving in a practice that had been proscribed in Catholicism promoted a spurt of economic activity; establishment of lending houses, new investments, and new floating capital.

Structures on Alcoholism: Protestant ethic prohibits the consumption of alcoholic beverages; there is no comparable theological doctrine in Catholicism. Indeed, the prohibition movement in Western societies was always spearheaded by Protestant.

Encouragement of Literacy and Learning: Based on the conviction that every man should read his own Bible rather than depend on priestly interpretations, Protestant ethic placed great emphasis on literacy and learning which led to significant breakthrough in the sphere of education, leading to the development of mass education (rather than education of the clergy) and of specialized skills.

Rejection of Holidays: The Catholic calendar is full of holy days and almost every holy day is a holiday. This is consistent with the Catholic belief that one needs

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leisure to honor God with ritualistic celebrations. However, since work contributes to the glory of God in Protestant ethic, there is no need for holy days and celebrations. This means factories and other business enterprises can function seven days a week throughout the year, thus making maximum utilization of capital and other investments leading to greater productivity.

Protestant Asceticism: Protestant ethic also incorporates the notion that earthly things and flesh belong to the order of sin and death and therefore, one should abstain from the pleasures of the world. Thus, on the one hand, Protestant ethic exhorts people to "accumulate and accumulate" and on the other hand, it forbids the use of wealth for enjoyment. This means a ceaseless pursuit of profit, not for the sake of enjoying the pleasure of life, but simply for the satisfaction of producing more and more, undoubtedly a condition par excellence for the development of capitalism.

Thus, Protestantism acted as a bridge between the mundane and the spiritual. Pursuit of wealth was no longer a greed driven actively. So, the work they were doing and pursuit of wealth was god driven and it has to be done in the most efficient way. Weber in his study was not substituting Protestantism with capitalism. He was saying that protestant ethic contributed to one element of capitalism, which is entrepreneurial capitalism, which is the spirit of capitalism.

Weber's idea of rise of capitalism is criticized on the following grounds

I. Ideal types which Weber draws may be erroneous. He seems to have concentrated on certain aspects of religion only.

II. It is also argued the doctrine of calling was already present among the Catholics.

III. He seems to be selective while drawing elements for his analysis. For example, according to Milton Singer, he took selective elements out of Hinduism; there is an equivalent of Calvinists in forms of Chettiars of Madras.

IV. **Lawrence Stone's** studies in England concluded that it were not Protestant ethics, but British aristocracy which had accounted for the rise of capitalism.

(V) **Goldner, Mauller and Wallerstein** didn't agree with Weber's conclusion. They believe that colonialism is responsible for the rise of capitalism in the West. West in form of colonies got huge market in Asia, Africa and America and simultaneously got cheap labour and raw materials. The cost of production was low and demand was high which led to accumulation of wealth and hence capitalism.

(VI) **Peter Sombart** believes that it isn't true that the capitalist were only Protestant believers. The capitalist came from all ranks and files of society like peasants, artisans, landlords etc.

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Talcott Parsons
(Social System, Pattern Variables)

Talcott Parsons is regarded by many as the twentieth century's most influential American sociologist. He laid the foundation for what was to become the modern functionalist perspective and developed a general theory for the study of society called action theory. He was born on **December 13, 1902**, and he died on May 8, 1979, after suffering a major stroke.

Early Life and Education of Talcott Parsons
Talcott Parsons was born in Colorado Springs, Colorado. At the time, his father was a professor of English at Colorado College and vice-president of the college. Parsons studied biology, sociology, and philosophy as an undergraduate at Amherst College, receiving his Bachelor's degree in 1924. He then studied at the London School of Economics and later earned his Ph.D. in economics and sociology from the University of Heidelberg in Germany.

Career and Later Life
Parsons taught at Amherst College for one year during 1927. After that, he became an instructor at Harvard University in the Department of Economics. At the time, no sociology department existed at Harvard. In 1931, Harvard's first sociology department was created and Parsons became one of the new department's two instructors. He later became a full professor. In 1946, Parsons was instrumental in forming the Department of Social Relations at Harvard, which was an interdisciplinary department of sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Parsons served as the chairman of the new department. He retired from Harvard in 1973. However, he continued writing and teaching at Universities across the United States.

Parsons is most well known as a sociologist, however, he also taught courses and made contributions to other fields, including economics, race relations, and anthropology. Most of his work focused on the concept of structural functionalism, which is the idea of analyzing society through a general theoretical system.

Talcott Parsons played a major role in developing several important sociological theories. First, his theory of the "sick role" in medical sociology was developed in association with psychoanalysis. The sick role is a

concept that concerns the social aspects of becoming ill and the privileges and obligations that come with it. Parsons also played a crucial role in the development of **"The Grand Theory**," which was an attempt to integrate the different social sciences into one theoretical framework. His main goal was to utilize multiple social science disciplines to create one single universal theory of human relationships.

Parsons was often accused of being **ethnocentric** (the belief that your society is better than the one you are studying). He was a bold and innovative sociologist for his time and is known for his contributions in functionalism and neo-evolutionism. He published more than 150 books and articles during his lifetime. Parsons married Helen Bancroft Walker in 1927 and together they had three children.

Talcott Parsons' Major Publications
The Structure of Social Action (1937)
The Social System (1951)
Essays in Sociological Theory (1964)
Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives (1966)
Politics and Social Structure (1969)
Parsons and the functionalist approach to sociology occupy an intermediate position between classical and contemporary sociology. Some new sociological approaches were developed in North America before Parsons. But Parsons and the functional approach to sociology became so dominant that by the late 1950s, sociology and functionalism became more or less identical. This meant that sociology studied the roles of institutions and social behaviour in society, the way these are related to other social features, and developed explanations of society in social terms.

Beginning around the time that functionalism became dominant; there were many new developments in sociology. Micro sociological approaches such as symbolic interactionism and the study of individual and small group interaction began, perhaps because these had not been emphasized by earlier sociologists.

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Conflict approaches also developed, partly in reaction to the consensus view of functionalists, and partly because functionalism was not able to explain the new social movements and developments in North America and the rest of the world.

He took a systemic view of society and problems of order and integration were his central concerns. He rejected the Hobbesian view that man is a rational and calculating man and order in society exists because members of society fear the consequence of punishment from state if they didn't behave properly. According to Parsons, fear is insufficient to motivate men to obey rules and a moral commitment is essential which is due to shared values.

Social Action

According to him, '**Value Consensus'** is the integrating force in society. Value consensus is a result of role performance which is institutionalized in society. By the process of socialization, role expectations, values and goals of society are inculcated in individual actors. According to him, the main task of sociology is to analyze the '**institutionalized pattern of values'.**

Second problem, apart from value consensus, is the apparent incompatibility between the needs of society or social system and individual needs. This is referred by Parsons as '**motivational problem**' and is dealt by the respective systems by meeting individual needs.

He considers that all possible empirical action of the people can be arrested into a universal theoretical framework. Hence he developed 'structure of social action' in contrast to Weber's four ideal types of social action. Social Action is defined by Parsons in his '**Structure of Social Action, 1937'** as – '**Any act consciously performed is Social Actions'**. Thus, unlike Weber who says that action should be oriented towards others for it to be 'social', **Parsons instead gave four conditions** –

I. It occurs in a social situation i.e. actor is a member of society while performing a social action.

II. It is oriented towards attainment of a particular goal; i.e. actor is motivated.

III. Action is regulated by norms and values

IV. It involves investment of energy

According to him, **an actor is a goal seeking individual with alternative means to attain those goals and is influenced by two factors**:

I. **Motivational Orientation** – It is due to personal condition of the actor. It is affected by cognitive, cathectic (emotional response) and evaluative needs of an individual.

II. **Value Orientation** – It refers to the influence of norms and values of society. It is influenced by values in 3 ways – Cognition, Appreciation and Moral.

Like Weber, he also classified **actions** as 3 types –

I. **Instrumental Action** (similar to Zweckrational Action of Weber) – In this, evaluative component is most dominant. Both means and ends are logically decided.

II. **Expressive Action** (similar to Affective Action of Weber) – In this appreciative component is dominant.

III. **Moral Action** (similar to Traditional and Wertrational Action) – Here, the actor's own motivation is subordinate to the values of society.

Further, actions don't occur in isolation, but in constellations. Such constellation in the form of institutionalized social interactions is called 'Social System'.

Parsons gave his structural functionalist theory as a master framework for working of all social institutions, including society. **Social actions don't occur in isolation, but in constellations which are various social systems.** Parsons developed his idea of Social System from the works of Tonnies, Durkheim etc. He also took the idea of 'Cultural System' from Malinowski, W H R Rivers etc and idea of 'Personality System' from G H Mead, C H Cooley etc. 'Social System' is just one of the four highest abstractions in his grand structural functional framework and it is made up of a constellation of social actions and it fulfills some functional prerequisite. Social interaction is a prerequisite for Social System to emerge. Social system is defined as –'**Consisting of plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has an environment with actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the optimization of gratification'**.

It is clear from this definition that a system has two parts – structure (actors, environment, relation etc) and functions (performance of which leads to gratification). Structure has various parts like –institutions, organizations, kinships, stratification, power relations, religion and moral values etc.

As Parsons was not simply a structuralist but also a functionalist, he delineated a number of functional prerequisites of a social system –

I. First, social systems must be structured so that they operate compatible with other systems.

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II. Second, to survive, the social system must have the requisite support from other systems.

III. Third, the system must meet a significant proportion of the needs of its actors.

IV. Fourth, the system must elicit adequate participation from its members.

V. Fifth, it must have at least a minimum of control over potentially disruptive behavior.

VI. Sixth, if conflict becomes sufficiently disruptive, it must be controlled.

VII. Finally, a social system requires a language in order to survive.

However, Parsons did not completely ignore the issue of the relationship between actors and social structures in his discussion of the social system. Parsons was interested in the ways in which the norms and values of a system are transferred to the actors within the system.

Initially, Parsons through his 'Mechanism Equilibrium Phase' viewed Social System only in terms of 'structure' only i.e. how different mechanisms like family, law education maintain an equilibrium which according to Parsons is '**Moving Equilibrium'**, but later through his 'Requisite Functional Phase' Parsons talked of Social System in terms of 'fulfillment of functions or functional prerequisites' – or **AGIL functions**. Thus introduction of AGIL was a subtle shift from analysis of structure to analysis of function. Every system fulfills certain functions; Social System itself performs function of Integration in society. Further, he generalized his **AGIL model** and said that every system has further four sub-systems, for example, Social System also has four subsystems and so on.

A.G.I.L. Functional Imperatives for Social System

Adaptation	Goal Attainment
Integration	Latency

Adaptation: Social systems must cope with their external boundary conditions, such as their resource base, physical environment, territory and so on. Economic activity serves to solve problems of adaptation.

Goal Attainment: The goals of societies and social institutions have to be defined, resolving goal conflicts, prioritizing some over others, determining resource allocations and directing social energies. Political activity organizes and directs the goal attainment of modern social systems.

Integration: All of the adaptive efforts of social institutions within a society need to be integrated into a cohesive system. The institutions need to be regulated so that a harmonious society can emerge from their interaction. Legal systems solve this problem, seeking overarching principles for aligning social activities.

Latency: The encultured patterns of behaviour required by the social system must be maintained. People' motivation must be established and renewed, and the tensions they experience as they negotiate the social order must be managed. Furthermore, the cultural patterns that accomplish this renewal must themselves be maintained and renewed. Fiduciary systems such as families, schools and churches solve these problems of pattern/tension management. These four functional imperatives (Adaptation, Goal Attainment, Integration, Latency: A.G.I.L.) provided what Parsons felt was a more complex and systemic account of social phenomena which previous theorists had tried to explain in terms of unitary causes.

At the highest abstraction/generalization he gave four 'action systems'

I. **Organismic System or Biological System or Behavioral System** – It is the physical or biological aspect of social reality. It is the 'storehouse of energy'.

II. **Personality System** – Internal, hidden aspects of society resulting from motives alone. It is the 'storehouse of motivation'.

III. **Social System** – It refers to pattern of 'actual interaction' between units in society. Institutionalized roles are viewed as a social system. It also has four subsystems-Economic System (for Adaptation), Political System (for Goal Attainment), and Social Institutions for Social Control (for Integration), Socialization System or fiduciary system e.g. family, Educational Institutions (for Latency or Pattern Maintenance). Although the idea of a social system encompasses all types of collectivities, one specific and particularly important Social System is 'society'.

IV. **Cultural System** – It consists of Norms and Values, also termed as 'storehouse of information'.

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The four action systems do not exist in the real world but are, rather, analytical tools for analyzing the real world. Though, he viewed the social system as a system of interaction, he did not take interaction as his fundamental unit in the study of the social system. Rather, he used the 'status-role' complex as the basic unit of the system which is defined by the structure and not individual who performs them. Status refers to a structural position within the social system, and role is what the actor does in such a position, seen in the context of its functional significance for the larger system. Thus, he gives primacy to structure over individual.

According to him, every action system has the following characteristics

I. System is a unified whole made up of interdependent parts called subsystems, and each such sub-system can be treated as a system itself.
II. Each system has a boundary that separates it from other systems and the environment.
III. Systems or subsystems are organized in a relatively stable manner, so that definite patterns of inter-relations come to exist between subsystems.
IV. Systems are dynamic in nature
V. There are certain functional prerequisites which need to be fulfilled for the existence of a system.
Parsons distinguished among four structures, or subsystems, in society in terms of the functions (AGIL) they perform. According to him a system exists because it performs certain functional prerequisites which are necessary to sustain the system in equilibrium. To visualize the system and its functional prerequisites, Parsons gave an **AGIL framework** where there are four problems or functional prerequisites of any system – Adaptation (to physical environment), Goal Attainment, Integration, Latency or pattern maintenance (stability). **A society must find a solution to these problems, if it is to survive.**
I. In order to survive, social system must gain some control over environment (for needs like – food, security). The **economy** is the subsystem that performs the function for 'society' of adapting to the environment through labor, production, and allocation. Through such work, the economy adapts the environment to society's needs, and it helps society adapt to these external realities. Adaptation refers to the relationship with the environment.

II. The polity (or **political system**) performs the function of goal attainment by pursuing societal objectives and mobilizing actors and resources to that end.
III. **The fiduciary system** or **institutions of socialization** (for example, the schools, the family, religion etc) handle the latency or pattern maintenance function by transmitting culture (norms and values) to actors and allowing it to be internalized by them. It helps in maintaining the basic patterns of values in society.
IV. Finally, the integration function is performed by the societal community or **institutions of social control** (for example, the law), which coordinates the various components of society.
Thus, through his AGIL concept, he understands all the parts of society in terms of the functions they perform. Parsons took a synthetic approach (Action theory or micro and Systems theory for macro explanations) which is called as structural functional view of society. His idea of system and social system was said to be a master analytical framework. He saw the existence of society in terms of a social system which in terms has various subsystems and so on and each performing a unique pre-requisite.
A social system is distinct from other systems and maintains a boundary as do other systems from each other. A social system survives by maintaining this boundary.
In his conceptualization of systems, Parsons also sees their inter-relation and inter-linkages. Social System is linked with other systems through 'Energy flow' and 'Information control', which Parsons termed as '**Cybernetic Hierarchy of Control'**. Social Change occurs when there is a change in the energy flow or the information control as equilibrium stage is disturbed. This is restored by –
I. Socialization – Shared values are transmitted from one generation to another by various institutions like family, education etc.
II. Social Control – It discourages deviance and various institutions enforcing it are law, police etc. Parsons also views social change as a change in terms of 'evolution from simple to complex societies'.

Parsons concept of social system is criticized on various grounds
I. Grand functional theory with little practical utility and low on empirical testability. His ideas are too abstract with little empirical verifiability. **Dahrendorf** called his conception as utopian.

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II. He takes an over-socialized view of man in which man is influenced by the values and norms alone like a cog in the machine.

III. **Merton** takes much realistic view and he included latent functions, dysfunctions as well in his analysis. Merton termed such a grand conception as both futile and sterile.

IV. According to **Jonathan Turner**, structure functionalism of Parsons suffers from illegitimate teleology and tautology which are the two most important logical problems confronting structural functionalism. They often take cause and effect and vice-versa.

V. The emphasis in the writings of Parsons and Merton on the scientific character of sociology has been criticized by many later sociologists as 'positivism'.

VI. Marxist sociologists criticize functionalism for its neglect of class conflict or class antagonism that exist in society. Political sociologists have criticized it for neglecting the role of power and domination in the structure and function of social institutions.

VII. He ignored conflict. According to Turner he was obsessed with integration.

(VIII) **Buckley** also says that Parsons social system is a vaguely conceptualized amalgam of mechanistic and organismic models placing excessive emphasis on integration, consensus and stability and devaluing change, conflict and strife.

(IX) **Percy Cohen** sees the problem in the social system that all the elements of a society are seen as reinforcing one another as well as the system as a whole. This makes it difficult to see how these elements can also contribute to change.

(X) **I.L. Horowitz** says that Parsons tend to see conflict as necessarily destructive which is a wrong assumption.

However, despite its limitations, the social system framework can be used as a framework to understand various social sub-systems and their problems or functional prerequisites. **Social problems like insurgency in tribal areas can be understood from systems view as**:

I. Poverty (Adaptation – Economic System)
II. Vested Interests (Goal Attainment – Political System)
III. Alienation (Integration – Cultural System)
IV. Stress and Lack of Motivation (Latency – Family)

PATTERN VARIABLES

One way that Parsons organized his analysis of social action and activities within social systems is through pattern variables. Remember that social action is voluntary, oriented, and subject to guidance or influence of social norms. These pattern variables provide a way of categorizing the types of choices and forms of orientation for individual social actors, both in contemporary society and historically. The variables include "categorization of modes of orientation in personality systems, the value patterns of culture, and the normative requirements in social systems".

Pattern variables also provide a means of describing and classifying institutions, social relationships, and different societies, and the values and norms of these. All of the norms, values, roles, institutions, subsystems and even the society as a whole can be classified and examined on the basis of these pattern variables. For Parsons, these were necessary to make the theory of action more explicit and "to develop clearer specifications of what different contingencies and expectations actors were likely to face".

Parsons speaks about pattern variable in his book '**the structure of social action**'. Man is a bundle of impulses but is bound by compulsions i.e. he wants to do something but culture and norms bind him to do something else. Parsons talks about the interconnectivity between

Actor; Social structure; Cultural structure

Pattern variables talk about the successful negotiation between the above three. Parsons had sought to identify the choices between alternatives that an actor confronts in a given situation and the relative premises assigned to such choices.

To make the social system more clear, Parsons deals with cultural variables or Pattern Variables. He considers that there is a huge amount of diversity across social system, and so there is a need to arrive at a common set of variables by which they can be analyzed. Those variables should be valid for all types of social systems. These are called pattern variables.

Parsons' idea of Pattern variables is closely linked with his idea of social actions and inspired from Weberian idea of Ideal Types. 'Pattern Variables' is the connecting

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link between the Parsonian idea of social action and social system, while pattern variables are dilemmas, social system is the solution. Actions according to Parsons never occur in isolation, but in constellation in form of Action Systems and there are some dilemmas that exist in social systems while performing social action.

Parsons and Modernity

Prior to Parsons, the study of modernity had been the centrality to sociological inquiry. In his study of modernity, Parsons is influenced by the work of **Ferdinand Tonnies**, **Durkheim and Weber.**

Parsons as defender of modernity indicated that modernity is not just the production of culture, social structure or social action, rather the negation between the personality, social and cultural system and its outcomes sufficiently explain the possibility of modernity in a given society. He develops the theory of pattern variables to explain modernity**, recognizing the fact that modernity is:**

- A product of actor understanding the demands of action situation;
- Negotiating with other actors, confirming to the normative and value system differently;
- Realizing the dilemma in an action situation;
- Making attempts to neutralize this dilemma;
- The outcomes of all these discourses manifest the possibility, degree, form and content of modernity in a given society.

Hence, pattern variable is a mega theoretical framework where Parsons defines, how in an action situation:

- An actor identifies the counter actors;
- The degree of emotional relationship appropriate in an action situation;
- Range of obligation of actor towards counter actors;
- Form of attachment between the actor and counter actor;
- Benefits/results coming out of interaction

Pattern variable is a framework through which Parsons tries to understand how the actor negotiates with the action situation and manifest a particular kind of behaviour. Further, Parsons says that culture is

patterned and institutionalized, but culture is not patterned in a monolithic way, rather it is dualistically patterned. This duality of cultural patterns offers us the range of choice either this or that. This duality confronts the actors as dilemma, which the actor has to resolve through a culture. According to Parsons this duality exists at multiple levels. He identified five levels of this duality. The five levels at which duality is manifested, Parsons called them Pattern Variables.

A '**Social System**' may be characterized by the combination of solutions offered to these dilemmas that actor faces or in other words, these pattern variables structure any 'system of interaction'. These dilemmas confronting every actor are exhaustive in coverage. According to Parsons, such dilemmas can be resolved by **'role institutionalization' and 'role internalization'.**

To explain this further, he develops **5 different pairs of Pattern Variables**. Through this he explains the mode of orientation of actor, demands of action situation, dilemma in action situation, how it is resolved and what the outcomes of it.

Therefore his pattern variable theory is designed to explain microscopic and macroscopic situation to explain the negotiation between social actors and the influence of cultural and social system on his behaviour in different social situations and its outcomes.

(i) Particularism Vs Universalism

It refers to dilemmas regarding the standard of values to be used in the evaluation process. Particularism refers to traditional values and beliefs. Universalism refers to modern and rational value system.

This is the dilemma of categorization of social objects. When the actor has to evaluate and judge, there are two possible ways in which it can be judged. For example, A man may consider his son intelligent simply because he is his son, but if he is a member of a recruitment board, he has to follow an objective criterion in judging intelligence.

On the other hand the choice of a doctor not on the basis of his competence but because he is a friend, is an example of giving precedence to particularistic criteria over universalistic one.

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(ii) Ascription Vs Achievement

These are patterns which help the actors judge others in a situation whether the judgment is to be done in terms of ascriptive (based on birth) attributes or on the basis of achieved attributes.

This is yet another dilemma. It is to be judged in terms of what it is or what it does. The above two are pattern variables of modality of objects. For example, Is an actor expected to give importance to the achieved or ascribed? Sex, age, family and caste are ascribed while merit and success are achieved.

(iii) Affectivity Vs Affective Neutrality

Here the actor has to make a choice between two situations. The choice is whether to let emotions dominate behaviour or to keep emotions apart. For example, A husband should be effectively involved with wife, but a doctor is not supposed to be with his patient. Social system of a family is different from that of medical care. The roles of the same person as a doctor and as a husband are different.

Affective or emotional relationships are found in family or peer groups, here emotions dominate over behaviour. But in occupational groups like soldier, civil servant etc. relationship is instrumental, task-oriented and not to be enjoyed in its own right. In other words, action is not for self-gratification but to achieve the goal of large organizations.

(iv) Diffuseness Vs Specificity

Here the dilemma is to participate in a relation as a total person (diffuse) or participate in a specific capacity (specificity). For example, the marriage relationship (Husband-Wife) may serve as a prototype of diffuse relationship i.e. ego orients to alter as a total personality. But as a boss he should have job-specific relationship with his secretary.

(v) Collective-orientation Vs Self-orientation

It refers to the dilemma between fulfillment of self-interest or collective interest; collective or private (personal) interest. The concern is primacy of moral standards in an evaluative procedure. For example, a man as a husband or a father is expected to think for his family, i.e. to be collective oriented but as a salesman he has to think of profits for himself i.e. to be self-oriented.

According to Parsons, all social systems can be described in terms of these five pattern variables. These pattern variables represent dilemmas of choices of orientation (socialization) which have to be resolved before an action is performed. All these levels are subsumed under natural and rational will.

Thus there is no unlimited freedom. Later he says for most part culture itself answers the questions. For example, be particularistic in private and universalistic in family, which is culturally accepted way.

Criticism

(i) Parsons did not take into account the clash of interests across sections, clashes or roles (role conflict) in a society. In modern society there is an interchange of personnel between systems so there is great potential for conflicts in standardized norms and values. Parsons has ignored this dilemma.

(ii) C.W. Mills considers that an institution is a set of roles graded in authority. For example, in doctor-patient relationship, the doctor wants to maintain distance from a normal patient, vice-versa if the patient is VIP he tries to develop closeness.

(iii) Devereux considers Parsons list of pattern variables inadequate. He mentions that Parsons at one time entertained the idea of introducing long run versus short run as a variable. He didn't include it at the end. If he would have included it as well as influence of power in relationship, his theory would have contained more merit.

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Robert K. Merton

(Manifest and Latent Functions, Conformity and Deviance, Reference Groups)

Robert K. Merton was born Meyer R. Schkolnick in **Philadelphia** into a working class Eastern European Jewish Immigrant family. Robert K. Merton was born **July 4, 1910 and died February 23, 2003**. He changed his name at the age of 14 to Robert Merton, which evolved out of a teenage career as an amateur magician as he blended the names of famous magicians. Merton attended Temple College for undergraduate work and Harvard for graduate work, studying sociology at both and earning his doctorate degree in 1936. He is known for developing theories of **deviance**, as well as the concepts of "**self-fulfilling prophecy**" and "**role model**".

Career and Later Life

Merton taught at Harvard until 1938 when he became professor and chairman of the Department of Sociology at Tulane University. In 1941 he joined the Columbia University faculty where he was named to the University's highest academic rank, University Professor, in 1974. In 1979 Merton retired from the University and became an adjunct faculty member at Rockefeller University and was also the first Foundation Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation. He retired from teaching altogether in 1984.

Merton received many awards and honors for his research. He was one of the first sociologists elected to the National Academy of Sciences and the first American sociologists to be elected a foreign member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. **In 1994, he was awarded the National Medal of Science for his contributions to the field and for having founding the sociology of science.** He was the first sociologist to receive the award. Throughout his career, more than 20 universities awarded him honorary degrees, including Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Chicago as well as several universities abroad. He is also credited as the creator of the focus group research method.

Merton was very passionate about the sociology of science and was interested in the interactions and importance between social and cultural structures and science. He carried out extensive research in the field, developing the **Merton Thesis, which explained some of the causes of the Scientific Revolution**. His other

contributions to the field deeply shaped and helped developing fields such as the study of bureaucracy, deviance, communications, social psychology, social stratification, and social structure. Merton was also one of the pioneers of modern policy research, studying things such as housing projects, the use of social research by the AT&T Corporation, and medical education.

Among the notable concepts that Merton developed are "unintended consequences," the "reference group," "role strain," "manifest function", "role model," and "self-fulfilling prophecy."

Major Publications

Social Theory and Social Structure (1949)

The Sociology of Science (1973)

Sociological Ambivalence (1976)

On The Shoulders of Giants: A Shandean Postscript (1985)

On Social Structure and Science

Robert Merton, pursued a version of Parsons' functionalism, but did so in a much more critical way. Merton saw that while many sociological studies focused on either the macro-level of society as a whole or the micro-level of social interactions, this polarization had failed to 'fill in the gaps' between macro- and micro-levels. To rectify this, Merton argued for **middle range theories** in particular areas or on specific subjects. Merton criticized some of the more extreme and indefensible aspects of structural functionalism. But equally important, his new conceptual insights helped give structural functionalism a continuing usefulness.

Although both Merton and Parsons are associated with structural functionalism, there are important differences between them. While **Parsons** advocated the creation of grand, overarching theories, Merton favored more limited, middle range theories. **Merton** was more favorable toward Marxian theories than Parsons was.

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Merton's Criticism of the Functionalist Analysis of Society

Merton criticized what he saw as the three basic postulates of functional analysis as it was developed by anthropologists such as **Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown**. He wanted to avoid confusion about how this methodology is to be applied. He gave procedural steps to apply functional analysis, which is nothing but **codification** (When various practices exist informally in society, and when they are formally shaped in form of a law, it is called codification like IPC). In fact, he did a thorough examination of the structural functional approach and offered correctives to them. In a way he attempts to refine and develop functional analysis. He questioned the three assumptions and their utility; which should have been tested and suitably modified.

(i) Postulate of Functional Unity

(ii) Postulate of Universal Functionalism

(iii) Postulate of Functional Indispensability

The first is the postulate of the functional unity of society. This postulate holds that all standardized social and cultural beliefs and practices are functional for society as a whole as well as for individuals in society. This view implies that the various parts of a social system must show a high level of integration. However, Merton maintained that although it may be true of small, primitive societies, this generalization cannot be extended to larger, more complex societies. Merton argues that functional unity is a matter of degree. Its extent must be determined by investigation rather than simply beginning with the assumption that it exists.

This assumption states that any part of the social system is functional for the entire system. All parts of society are seemed to work together for the maintenance and integration of society as a whole. **According to Radcliffe Brown, every social system should have minimum functional unity**.

Merton agrees to this statement of Radcliffe Brown, as some degree of functional unity is required, otherwise it

will break apart. But if functional unity is to be arrived at empirically, we also observe functional disunity along with it. For example, in a pluralistic society, with a variety of faiths religion may tend to divide rather than unite. Thus, when we look at a social system, assumptions of both unity and disunity are to be taken into account. By not accounting for functional disunity, functionalists have become unsuitable for studying modern industrial societies.

The second is the postulate of universal functionalism. That is, it is argued that all standardized social and cultural forms and structures have positive functions. Merton argued that this contradicts what we find in the real world. It is clear that not every structure, custom, idea, belief, and so forth, has positive functions. He suggests that functionalist analysis should proceed from the assumption that **any part of society may be functional, dysfunctional or non-functional.** For example, **poverty** may be seen as dysfunctional for the poor but functional for the non-poor and for society as a whole.

The third is the postulate of indispensability. The argument here is that all standardized aspects of society not only have positive functions but also represent indispensable parts of the working whole. This postulate leads to the idea that all structures and functions are functionally necessary for society. Functionalists have often seen religion in this light. For example, **Davis and Moore claim that religion plays a unique and indispensable part in the society**. Merton questions this assumption of indispensability and argues that the same functional prerequisites may be met by a range of alternative institutions. For example a political ideology like **communism** can provide a functional alternative to religion.

Merton's position was that all these functional postulates rely on no empirical assertions based on abstract, theoretical systems. At a minimum, it is the responsibility of the sociologist to examine each empirically. **Merton's belief that empirical tests, not theoretical assertions, are crucial to functional analysis led him to develop his "paradigm" of functional analysis as a guide to the integration of theory and research.**

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According to Merton, not all social structures have positive functions. Rather, some social forms contribute to society in a negative way. If we observe the caste system of India, it does not contribute anything positive to the society; instead it threatens the democratic values of the society. So, caste system may be classified as dysfunctional. Hence, we can say that some social institutions have dysfunctions too.

Function

Functions, according to Merton, are defined as "those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system".

ROBERT MERTON'S THEORY OF MANIFEST FUNCTION

American sociologist Robert K. Merton laid out his theory of manifest function (and latent function and dysfunction too) in his 1949 book **"Social Theory and Social Structure**". The text — ranked the third most important sociological book of the 20th century by the International Sociological Association — also contains other theories by Merton that made him famous within the discipline, including the concepts of **reference groups** and **self-fulfilling prophecy**.

As part of his functionalist perspective on society, Merton took a close look at social actions and their effects and found that manifest functions could be defined very specifically as the beneficial effects of conscious and deliberate actions. Manifest functions stem from all manner of social actions but are most commonly discussed as the outcomes of the work of social institutions like the family, religion, education, and the media, and as the product of social policies, laws, rules, and norms.

Take, for example, the social institution of education. The conscious and deliberate intention of the institution is to produce educated young people who understand their world and its history, and who have the knowledge and practical skills to be productive members of society. Similarly, the conscious and deliberate intention of the institution of media is to inform the public of important news and events so that they can play an active role in democracy.

Manifest versus Latent Function

Manifest function refers to the intended function of social policies, processes, or actions that are consciously and deliberately designed to be beneficial in its effect on society. Meanwhile, a latent function is one that is not consciously intended, but that, nonetheless, has a beneficial effect on society. Contrasting with both manifest and latent functions are dysfunctions, which are a type of unintended outcome that is harmful in nature.

Latent functions: Functional consequences that are not intended or recognized by the members of a social system in which they occur.

Manifest functions: The functions of a type of social activity that are known to and intended by the individuals involved in the activity.

While manifest functions are consciously and deliberately intended to produce beneficial outcomes, latent functions are neither conscious nor deliberate, but also produce benefits. They are, in effect, unintended positive consequences. Manifest function is something, which can be noticed easily. Latent function is deeper and not all the participants are aware of it whereas manifest function is known by all participants of the social institutions.

For example, if a criminal is punished, everyone knows that it is the society's way of saying that deviance of behaviour is not permitted in society. This is manifest function. But the latent function of this punishment upholds society's faith in its collective conscience. Social scientists need to know beyond the common sense perception of the participants and observe the latent consequences of social structures.

Sociologists recognize that social institutions produce latent functions in addition to manifest functions. Latent functions of the institution of education include the formation of friendships among students who matriculate at the same school; the provision of entertainment and socializing opportunities via school dances, sporting events, and talent shows; and feeding poor students lunch (and breakfast, in some cases) when they would otherwise go hungry.

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Examples of Manifest and latent functions
For example schools are expected to educate the children in the knowledge and skills that they need. The manifest functions are obvious, admitted and generally applauded. Latent functions are unrecognized and unintended functions. These are the unforeseen consequences of institutions. For example schools not only educate young they also provide mass entertainment.

Latent functions of an institution or partial structure may support the manifest functions for example the latent functions of religious institutions in modern society include offering recreational activities and courtship opportunities to young people. Latent functions may be irrelevant to manifest functions for example the big functions organized by schools may not impact the purpose of the education.

Latent functions may even undermine manifest functions. For example, the manifest function of civil service regulations is to secure a competent dedicated staff of civil servants to make government more efficient. But the civil service system may have the latent function of establishing more rigid bureaucracy. The distinction between manifest and latent functions is essentially relative and not absolute. A function may appear to be manifest for some in the social system and latent for others.

Dysfunction

The thing about latent functions is that they often go unnoticed, that is unless they produce negative outcomes. Merton classified harmful latent functions as dysfunctions because they cause disorder and conflict within society. However, he also recognized that dysfunctions can be manifest in nature. These occur when the negative consequences are in fact known in advance, and include, for example, the disruption of traffic and daily life by a large event like a street festival or a protest.

It's the former though, latent dysfunctions, that primarily concern sociologists. In fact, one could say that a significant portion of sociological research is focused on just that — how harmful social problems are unintentionally created by laws, policies, rules, and norms that are intended to do something else.

However, there is a clear ideological bias when one focuses only on adaptation or adjustment, for they are always positive consequences. It is important to note that one social fact can have negative consequences for another social fact. To rectify this serious omission in early structural functionalism, Merton developed the idea of a dysfunction. Just as structures or institutions could contribute to the maintenance of other parts of the social system, they also could have negative consequences for them.

Non-Functions

Merton also posited the idea of non-functions, which he defined as consequences that are simply irrelevant to the system under consideration. Included here might be social forms that are "survivals" from earlier historical times. Although they may have had positive or negative consequences in the past, they have no significant effect on contemporary society.

Merton added the idea that there must be levels of functional analysis. Functionalists had generally restricted themselves to analysis of the society as a whole, but Merton made it clear that analysis also could be done on an organization, institution, or group.

Limitations of Merton's Theory of Functionalism

Lack of rationality: Merton has not told what is functional is dysfunctional especially for a modern society. It is a difficult question not resolved by Merton. Apart from that, the relevancy of objective consequence is also questionable became, their also it is difficult to tell rationally, to what extent any activity is functional of dysfunctional.

Lack of objectivity and universality: Like Brown and Malinowski, Merton also presented an example of simple societies (Hopi Indians). In that way, his universality is questionable he has also presented the example of a group (political machine) to which, he himself was a member. It means, has studies suffer from subjective experiences. And so it lacks objectivity. Apart from it, the political machine acting illegally can't be approved in all societies and so its universality is also questionable.

Criticism

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(i) This theory is against the goals of objectivity in sociology, since latent functions are not observable and cannot be proved. It completely depends upon the researcher what latent function he/she is identifying out of that particular manifest function.

(ii) **Colin Campbell** considers that, Latent function can be used as a tool to justify many wrongdoings in the society which primarily signifies orthodoxy, evil customs etc.

(iii) Functionalism was criticized as a status quoist theory. Merton wanted to make it a dynamic one but his purpose remained unfulfilled through this theory.

Middle Range Theories

Merton proposed middle range theories in wake of apparent failure of Grand Functional Theories to help in study of society. Middle range theories are a middle path between the macro theories, which were too ambitious, and micro theories, which had little consequence. Middle range theories focus on a limited set of assumptions from which specific hypothesis can be derived and empirical testing is possible. Middle range theories are more suitable for sociological analysis for its limited set of assumptions, specific hypothesis and empirical testability. Major task of middle range theories is to fill the gap between 'raw empiricism' and 'grand theories'. The middle range theories will take specific aspects of social reality which can be theorized and tested empirically. Middle range theories must be supported by quantitative as well as qualitative method and should use both primary and secondary sources of data. Thus, middle range theories are a triple alliance of – theory, data and methods. Advantages of middle range theories include – scientific nature, testability, empiricism, practical applicability etc.

Conclusion

As further clarification of functional theory, Merton pointed out that a structure may be dysfunctional for the system as a whole yet may continue to exist. One might make a good case that discrimination against blacks, females, and other minority groups is dysfunctional for society, yet it continues to exist because it is functional for a part of the social system; for example, discrimination against females is generally functional for males. However, these forms of discrimination are not without some dysfunctions, even for the group for which they are functional. Males do suffer from their discrimination against females. One could argue that these forms of discrimination adversely affect those who discriminate by keeping vast numbers of people underproductive and by increasing the likelihood of social conflict.

Merton contended that not all structures are indispensable to the workings of the social system. Some parts of our social system can be eliminated. This helps functional theory overcome another of its conservative biases. By recognizing that some structures are expendable, functionalism opens the way for meaningful social change. Our society, for example, could continue to exist (and even be improved) by the elimination of discrimination against various minority groups. Thus, Merton's clarifications are of great utility to sociologists who wish to perform structural-functional analyses.

CONFORMITY AND DEVIANCE

 "Deviance" is a concept that describes non-conformity to social norms, values and civic expectations, while the "deviant" is someone whose behaviour (notably, not attitudes or beliefs) departs from established moral standards. **Conformity,** on the other hand, is achieved by a commitment to dominant social norms, which is often unconscious or unspoken.

Conformity can also be ensured by more overt social, political, legal or cultural pressure. Deviance is not necessarily criminal, though the two are often conflated; rather, deviance is any action which conflicts with the values of the dominant social group which defines what is acceptable and what is "normal". As such, "deviance" is a socially constructed phenomenon. That is, no act is in itself inherently "deviant"; rather, it is named so by the dominant group if the group norms are countered. Conformity and deviance are two responses to real or imagined pressure from others. Conformity means going along one's peers or individuals of a person's own status. A recruit entering

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military service will typically conform to the habits and language of other recruits.

Conformity is opposite to social deviance which implies obedience to the norms that make a person acceptable in a particular society, group, or social setting. The concept of conformity was also used by Robert Merton (1957) to refer to acceptance of cultural goals and legitimate or approved means of achieving them. **In his scheme of adaptations to the goals and means, only conformity to both indicates non-deviance.**

Deviance is a behaviour that violates the standards of conduct or expectations or social norms of a group or society. Alcoholics, gamblers, sex deviants, drug addicts or late comers in the class are all classified as deviants or deviant acts. Deviance involves the violation of group norms. It is a very comprehensive concept that includes not only criminal behaviour but also many actions not subject to prosecution. Standards of deviance vary from group to group and also vary over time. Moreover, deviance can be understood within its social context.

A society must have social order if it is to function smoothly. But no society succeeds in getting all its members to behave as expected all the time. When a person fails to conform to the social norms of society, social deviation arises. If societies are to survive, they must have ways of making people conform to social norms.

Durkheim was one of the earliest sociologists to address the issue of deviance. According to him deviance is unavoidable. There can never be complete socialization. Conscience collective cannot be fully followed by all. Deviance is also normal and healthy that some degree of deviance may exist if collective conscience becomes too repressive. It may suppress tendency of reform and innovation.

Robert Merton in his theoretical analysis of '**Social Structure and Anomie'** takes inspiration from Durkheim's work. It provided the intellectual foundation for Merton's attempt to develop a macro-level explanation of rates of norm violating behaviour in American society.

Merton starts from the functionalist premise that for the smooth functioning of a society, Value Consensus among the members is essential. However, since

members of society are placed in different positions in the social structure, for example, they differ in terms of class position; they do not have this same opportunity of realizing the shared values. This situation can generate deviance. In Merton's words, "**the social and cultural structure generates pressure for socially deviant behavior upon people variously located in the structure.**"

In contrast to **Durkheim**, Merton bases his theory on sociological assumptions about human nature. Merton replaces Durkheim's conception of limitless needs and appetites with the assumption that human needs and desires are primarily the product of a social process: i.e., cultural socialization. For instance, people raised in a society where cultural values emphasize material goals will learn to strive for economic success.

Anomie, for Durkheim, referred to the failure of society to regulate or constrain the ends or goals of human desire. Merton, on the other hand, is more concerned with social regulation of the means people use to obtain material goals.

MERTON'S THEORY OF DEVIANCE (STRAIN THEORY)

Strain Theory was first developed by Robert Merton in the 1940s to explain the rising crime rates experienced in the USA at that time. Strain theory has become popular with Contemporary sociologists.

Merton argued that the cultural system of the USA was built on the 'American Dream' – a set of meritocratic principles which assured the American public that equality of opportunity was available to all, regardless of class, gender or ethnicity. The 'American Dream' encouraged individuals to pursue a goal of success which was largely measured in terms of the acquisition of wealth and material possessions. People were expected to pursue this goal through legitimate means such as education and work. The dominant cultural message was if you are ambitious, talented and working hard, then income and wealth should be your rewards.

Merton developed the concept of 'anomie' to describe this imbalance between cultural goals and institutionalized means. He argued that such an imbalanced society produces anomie – there is a strain or tension between the goals and means which produce unsatisfied aspirations.

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Merton in his theory of deviance indicates that deviants are not a cub-cultural group rather people manifest deviant behaviour in different spheres of social life. **A mismatch between cultural prescriptive means and socially prescriptive goals give way to deviant behaviour.** He finds out that deviant behaviour persists in society because it has not outlived its function therefore sociology should not be concerned about deviance as a pathological problem rather one should study the latent and manifest orientations of deviance.

Merton considers that anomie is not a product of rapid social change. Rather it is a form of behaviour manifested by the people when they are suffering from social strain. Therefore anomie theory is also known as social strain theory. The strain is the product of a mismatch between culturally prescriptive means and socially prescriptive goals. When people experience social strain, they channelize there strains in different ways in order to manifest different forms of anomic behaviour. At different points of time these forms of deviant behaviors are functional, dysfunctional and non-functional.

This chronic discrepancy between cultural promises and structural realities not only undermines social support for institutional norms but also promotes violations of those norms. Just how do people adapt to these environmental pressures? Merton's answer to this question is perhaps his single most important contribution to the anomie tradition.

Merton presents an analytical typology, shown in the following table, of individual adaptations to the discrepancy between culture and social structure. Merton argued that when individuals are faced with a gap between their goals (usually finances/money related) and their current status, strain occurs. When faced with strain, people have five ways to adapt.

Merton's Typology of Individual Adaptations to Environmental Pressures

Type of Adaptation	Cultural Goal	Institutionalized Means
1. Conformity	+	+
2. Innovation	+	–
3. Ritualism	-	+
4. Retreatism	–	–
5. Rebellion	+/-	+/-

Note: (+) signifies **acceptance**; (–) signifies **rejection**; and (+/-) signifies **rejection of prevailing goal** or means

Robert K. Merton's Deviance Typology
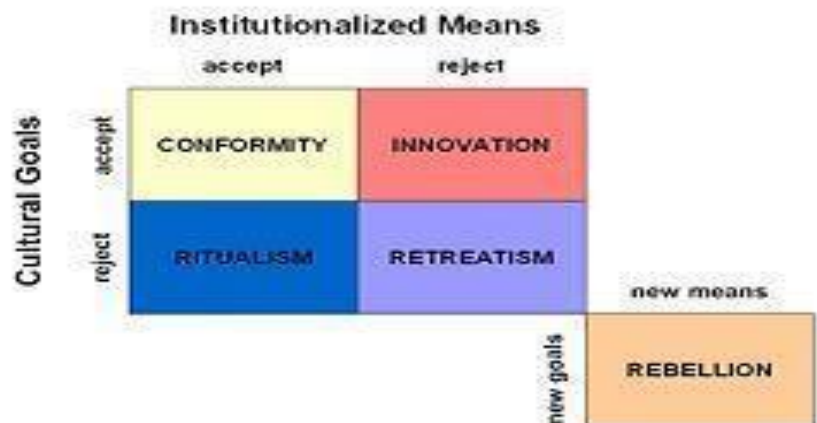
and substitution of new goal or means.

These adaptations describe the kinds of social roles people adopt in response to cultural and structural pressures.

Conformity is a non-deviant adaptation where people continue to engage in legitimate occupational or educational roles despite environmental pressures toward deviant behaviour. That is, the conformist accepts and strives for the cultural goal of material success (+) by following institutionalized means (+).

Innovation, on the other hand, involves acceptance of the cultural goal (+) but rejection of legitimate, institutionalized means (–). This type of adaptation occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis on the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms.

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Ritualism represents quite a different sort of departure from cultural standards than innovation does. The ritualistic is an over conformist. Here, the pursuit of the dominant cultural goal of economic success is rejected or abandoned (–) and compulsive conformity to institutional norms (+) becomes an end in itself.

Retreatism, is the rejection of both cultural goals (–) and institutionalized means (–). Therefore, retreatism involves complete escape from the pressures and demands of organized society. Merton applies this adaptation to the deviant role —activities of psychotics, outcasts, chronic drunkards, and drug addicts.

Rebellion is indicated by different notation than the other adaptations. The two (+/-) signs show that the rebel not only rejects the goals and means of the established society but actively attempts to substitute new goals and means in their place. This adaptation refers, then, to the role behaviour of political deviants, who attempt to modify greatly the existing structure of society. In his later work, Merton uses the term unconformity to contrast rebellion to other forms of deviant behaviour that are typical. The nonconforming rebel is not secretive as are others; the rebel publicly acknowledges his or her intention to change those norms and the social structure that they support in the interests of building a better, more just society.

Having identified the modes of individual adaptations, Merton defined anomie as: "a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accordance with them." In this conception cultural values may help to produce behaviour which is at odds with mandates of the values themselves.

Critical Points

- Firstly, not all working class individuals turn to crime, and so we need something else to explain why some of them do and some of them do not. Subcultural theorists argued that the role of working class subcultures plugs this gap in the explanation – deviant subcultures provide rewards for individuals who commit crime.

- Secondly, Merton's reliance on official statistics means he overestimates the extent of working class crime and underestimates the extent of middle class, or white collar crime.

- Thirdly, Strain theory only really explains economic crime; it doesn't really explain violent crime.

- **Marxists** point out that lack of equality of opportunity is at the heart of the Capitalist system (Elites make the system work for them, which disadvantage the lower classes).

- 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,** further criticized Merton. According to them his theory does not explain why some people should become innovators, ritualistic etc. They talked about criminal subculture, 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 a minor difference between criminals 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'.

- **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 an individual or group to societal reaction.

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- **Bernard Lander** of Chicago School in his study of Baltimore city, found that social disorganization provides key to explain deviants.

Conclusion

Merton insists that anomie is essentially a sociological concept. Anomie refers to a "**property of a social system, not to the state of mind of this or that individual within the system**." For example, the condition of anomie exists when there is a general loss of faith in the efficacy of the government, when contractual cooperation is characterized more by mistrust that trust, or when there is an uneasiness gripping the community because of the alarming increase in crime rate.

Thus, the appeal of Merton's theory and a major reason for its far-reaching impact upon the field of deviance lies in his ability to derive explanations of a diverse assortment of deviant phenomena from a relatively simple analytical framework. This is precisely what a general theory of deviance must do.

REFERENCE GROUPS

Man is an imitative animal. The desire to imitate other individuals or groups is instinctive in him. When one finds another person progressing in life, he also desires to progress likewise. He compares himself with others and begins behaving like them in order to reach their status and position.

Such behaviour after comparison with others is called '**Reference Behaviour'.** Under such behaviour one relates oneself to the other individuals or groups and tries to adopt their values or standards. The individuals or groups whose behaviour is imitated by him are known as 'Reference Groups." Such imitation of behaviour is found at both the individual and group levels.

In Sociology the concept of Reference Group behaviour was given by **Hayman**. Later, **Turner, Merton and Sheriff** further elaborated this concept. According to **Hayman**, there are some particular individuals in a society whose standards or values become the ideals for other people and are imitated by them. **Sheriff** provided a psychological explanation of Reference Behaviour.

According to him, an individual in a group situation accepts the group norm but he sometimes also begins to imitate the behaviour of the distinguished people. According to **Linton**, in every society there are some roles and statuses which every individual seeks to achieve.

There are two reasons for Reference Group Behaviour, one, **the social and economic situation**; second, **the psychological level of the individual or group**. It has been generally observed that a poor person gives more prestige to the behaviour of rich and prosperous persons. Similarly, people with low mental level are more influenced by other people.

Sheriff has defined Reference Groups as "those groups to which individual relates him as a part or to which he relates himself psychologically." According to **Merton, "Reference Group behaviour theory aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and sub-appraisal, in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups, as a comparative frame of reference."** Reference group behaviour, according to Sheriff, grows on account of psychological relations.

In the context of Reference Group Behaviour there are three kinds of members: **Aspiring Members, Potential Members and Actual Members**. There are some individuals who aspire to enter a Reference Group but lack the ability or capacity to so enter. Their position is one of non-member.

There are some individuals who do not have any desire to enter the other group. There are other individuals who do desire to enter a Reference Group but cannot enter it on account of some personal ideals. When persons possessed of capacity and ability to enter the other group fail to enter, it is called negative membership. Such persons suffer from mental tension.

Types of Reference Groups

Harold Kelley further developed this concept pointing out that, when we take a group for frame of reference, it is for two purposes.

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1. **A normative reference group** influences your norms, attitudes, and values through direct interaction. Examples of your normative reference groups include your parents, siblings, teachers, peers, associates and friends.
2. A **comparative reference group** is a group of individuals whom you compare yourself against and may strive to be like. Examples include celebrities and heroes.

Merton later on distinguished between 'Reference Group' and 'Interaction Group'. Interaction groups are a more general part of the individual's social environment – but may neither set 'normative standards' for individual nor secure as a standard of comparison. On the other hand reference group is the aspirational group and is defined in normative terms as a standard of comparison. It implies that relative deprivation is also akin to reference group behavior.

Reference groups can be of two types

I. Membership Groups

II. Non-Membership Groups

According to him **'any of the in-groups (membership)** or **out-groups (non-membership)** which becomes points of reference for shaping one's attitudes, evaluations and behaviour, is his reference group. He adds that for members of a particular group, another group is a reference group if any of the four circumstances prevail.

(i) Some or all the members of the first group aspire for membership in the second group.

(ii) The members of the first group strive to be like the members of the reference group in some respect or to make their group like the reference group in some respect. Here, we can notice one thing that the first group wants to be like the second group simply because the first group cannot secure the membership of the second group.

(iii) The members of the first group derives some satisfaction from being unlike the members of the reference group in some respect and strive to maintain the difference between the groups or between themselves and the members of the reference group.

For example, in the US, the whites strive to remain unlike the Negros and enjoy more prestige, superiority in ranking etc. In this case Negroes serves as the reference groups for the whites.

(iv) Without necessarily striving to be like or unlike the reference group or its members, the members of the first group evaluate their own group or themselves using standard for comparison.

Merton also suggested some factors which are decisive in making a group as reference group –

I. Power and prestige

II. Isolation in membership group

III. Open vs close group

IV. Reference individuals or role models in a group

Further, reference groups don't remain same always. The choice of reference groups depends on the nature and quality of norms and values one is interested in and as interests change, reference groups also change. One's reference group in political field may not be same as those in religious field. As choice of reference group is entirely upon an individual, often there is a considerable difference in type of groups chosen by different generations. This to some extent explains the phenomenon of 'Generation Gap'.

Further Sociologists have identified two types of reference groups as described below

● **Positive Reference Groups**

These are the ones we want to be accepted by. Thus, if we want to be a film actor, we might carefully observe and imitate the behaviour of film actors. These are the groups, collectivities or persons that provide the person with a guide to action by explicitly setting norms and espousing values.

● **Negative Reference Groups**

These groups we do not want to be identified with, also serve as sources of self-evaluation. A person might, for example, try to avoid resembling members of a particular religious group or a circus group. A group rejected by or in opposition to ego's own group, it is 'the enemy' or the negative group.

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Importance and Functions

The concept of reference group is important for understanding socialization, conformity, and how people perceive and evaluate themselves, especially in relation to the self.

Reference groups perform three basic functions

(1) They serve a normative function by setting and enforcing standards of conduct and belief. **T. Newcomb** (1953) writes: "**The significant thing about a reference group is, in fact, that its norms provide frames of reference which actually influence the attitude and behaviour of a person.**"

(2) They also perform a comparison function by serving as a standard against which people can measure themselves and others.

(3) They serve not only as sources of current evaluation but also as sources of aspiration and goal attainment (as a means of anticipatory socialization). A person who chooses to become a professor or a lawyer begins to identify with that group and becomes socialized to have certain goals and expectations.

Functional aspects of Reference Group

Merton has mentioned certain functions as well as dysfunctions of reference groups. First of all, reference group motivates the individual to accept its values, attitudes and behaviour-pattern. Consequently, not only many newer values, ideals, thoughts, images and behaviour patterns are added to an individual's personality, but there emerges possibilities of his going high in social status because of those new values, thoughts etc.

Thus, according to Merton, the function of reference groups towards anticipatory socialization of the individual is noteworthy.

[Anticipatory socialization refers to learning of the rights, obligations, expectations and outlook of a social role or beliefs, values and norms of a status or group to which he aspires. This kind of socialization is part of training in any administrative hierarchy.]

But when the reference group is of negative nature, its influence on individual can be dysfunctional. Also when the society is of closed or conservative nature, it does not tolerate such individuals who discards the accepted traditional norms, values and ideals and accept that of others. Such betrayal or change over is resisted and opposed by the society as a result of which the state of social tension and conflict emerges.

Characteristics of Reference Group

- Psychological attachment
- Certain norms, rules & regulations – we follow these of our own group and also that of the reference group. This gives emotional satisfaction. Sanskritisation is an example (the lower castes follow rules and regulations of higher casters).
- Ideal Person – Example of Mahatma Gandhi – when you read about the Mahatma you want to be like him. He is the ideal person in your view.
- Every person or group may have different reference group. One may like or dislike a particular group. If you like you imitate and if you don't you don't imitate.
- Reference group changes with time, situation etc. For a particular time you may have one reference group and at another time you may not like that group and do don't make it your reference group.
- When he is not satisfied with the group to which he belongs he wants to join another group and so you imitate. This gives rise to 'Marginal Man'.
- Mahatma Gandhi and reference group may vary from time to time therefore sometimes the reference group could become your Mahatma Gandhi.
- Social adjustment – when we follow the norms etc. of the reference group we are actually adjusting to that group and this leads to us adjust more easily to our society.
- Social control
- Social transformation – development a betterment of society.

Reference Group in Indian Context

This theory is applied to Indian society by **M. N. Srinivas**. His theory of Sanskritization is a form of anticipatory socialization that provides space for tribes,

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lower castes to experience mobility in their caste position in search of a superior caste status.

In the field of sociological research, the outcomes of research are not planned. Therefore sociological research is different from natural science research in the true sense. Therefore Merton is truly a sociologist who establishes connectivity between theory and facts and liberating sociology from the bondage of extreme empiricism and extreme form of determinism.

Merton's theories and concepts are considered relevant especially, developing a concept of holistic explanation in terms of both intended and unintended consequences. Social problems can be approached in a more pragmatic way undertaking its manifest and latent analysis. By using Merton's functional paradigm a number of middle range theories were formulated which have strengthened the understanding of society. For example – his theory of deviance has led to development of a number of subcultural theories of deviance. The study of limited phenomenon is followed till now. Finally, his reference group concept is so widely used in practice, that it has now become a part of common vocabulary.

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(G H Mead)

George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) was born in South Hadley, Massachusetts to a successfully middle-class and intellectual family. His father, Hiram, was a pastor and a chair of theology at Oberlin College and his mother, Elizabeth, served as president of Mount Holyoke College for several years. Mead himself enrolled in Oberlin College in 1879 and received his bachelor's degree in 1883. After graduating, Mead briefly taught grade school and worked as a surveyor for a railroad company before enrolling at Harvard in 1887 to continue his education. At Harvard, Mead studied philosophy and psychology with the renowned pragmatist philosopher, William James, who would greatly influence Mead's thought. After receiving a second bachelor's degree from Harvard, Mead went to Germany to study psychology under the famous psychologist Wilhelm Wundt, who also greatly influenced Mead's later ideas about symbolic gestures, society, and the self.

Mead never completed his Ph.D. studies, but was still hired at the University of Michigan in 1891. That same year he married Helen Castle. At Michigan, the prominent sociologist Charles Cooley and philosopher John Dewey were two great scholars who would also greatly affect Mead's thinking. In 1894, Mead left Michigan for the University of Chicago, where he stayed for over 30 years until his death.

Unlike the many other theorists profiled in Social Theory Re-Wired, Mead never wrote a book. His most widely read publication, Mind, Self, and Society, is actually a collection of his lectures that his students put together after his death. Mead did, however, have a prolific career, writing over 100 articles, book reviews, and essays.

Throughout his career, Mead was most concerned with theorizing how the mind and the self arise out of social interaction and experience. He was a strong critic of psychological behaviorism, a highly individualistic understanding of human behavior prominent at the time, and advocated a social behaviorism that took human responses to social objects like gestures, language, and other symbolic phenomena as hugely important to understanding human thought and action in the world.

Mead died in 1931 at the age of 68. One of the most prominent social philosophers of his own time, Mead remains a foundational theorist of social psychology, action, and the sociology of the self.

"We divide ourselves up in all sorts of different selves with reference to our acquaintances. We discuss politics with one and religion with another. There are all sorts of different selves answering to all sorts of different social reactions. It is the social process itself that is responsible for the appearance of the self; it is not there as a self apart from this type of experience. A multiple personality is in a certain sense normal, as I have just pointed out"

Pragmatism and symbolic interaction

Much of Mead's work focused on the development of the self and the objectivity of the world within the social realm: he insisted that "the individual mind can exist only in relation to other minds with shared meanings".

The two most important roots of Mead's work, and of symbolic interactionism in general, are the philosophy of pragmatism and social behaviorism (i.e.: Mead was concerned with the stimuli of gestures and social objects with rich meanings rather than bare physical objects which psychological behaviorists considered stimuli). Pragmatism is a wide-ranging philosophical position from which several aspects of Mead's influences can be identified.

There are four main tenets of pragmatism: First, to pragmatists true reality does not exist "out there" in the real world, it "is actively created as we act in and toward the world." Second, people remember and base their knowledge of the world on what has been useful to them and are likely to alter what no longer "works." Third, people define the social and physical "objects" they encounter in the world according to their use for them. Lastly, if we want to understand actors, we must base that understanding on what people actually do.

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Three of these ideas are critical to symbolic interactionism: the focus on the interaction between the actor and the world a view of both the actor and the world as dynamic processes and not static structures and the actor's ability to interpret the social world.

Thus, to Mead and symbolic interactionists, consciousness is not separated from action and interaction, but is an integral part of both. Symbolic interactionism as a pragmatic philosophy was an antecedent to the philosophy of transactionalism.

The Conversation of Gestures and Significant Symbols

For Mead, the gesture is perhaps the most important entryway into understanding social interaction and communication. **A gesture, according to Mead, is an act by an organism that calls out a response in another organism.** All living organisms inhabit, he argues, a conversation of gestures, calling out meaningful responses to and from one another. Mead uses the example of a dogfight to exemplify what he means by the conversation of gestures.

Mead argues that humans similarly live in a conversation of gestures, but our conversation also includes significant symbols. Significant symbols, he states, are gestures that arouse in us the same feelings that they are meant to arouse in those they are directed at. With significant symbols, Mead argues, we take the perspective of others toward the symbol as our own, like when we learn to feel patriotism when looking at the national flag or when we take the perspective of both buyer and seller into account when bargaining over the price of a commodity. Once internalized, significant symbols are also what allow thinking—a silent conversation with ourselves in which we think over and through multiple perspectives to address a problem or issue.

One of the most noteworthy features of Mead's account of the significant symbol is that it assumes that anticipatory experiences are fundamental to the development of language. We have the ability to place ourselves in the positions of others—that is, to anticipate their responses—with regard to our linguistic gestures. This ability is also crucial for the development of the self and self-consciousness. For Mead, as for Hegel, the self is fundamentally social and cognitive. It should be distinguished from the individual, who also has non-cognitive attributes. The self, then, is not identical to the individual and is linked to self-consciousness. It begins to develop when individuals interact with others and play roles. What are roles? They are constellations of behaviors that are responses to sets of behaviors of other human beings. The notions of role-taking and role playing are familiar from sociological and social-psychological literature. For example, the child plays at being a doctor by having another child play at being a patient. To play at being a doctor, however, requires being able to anticipate what a patient might say, and vice versa. Role playing involves taking the attitudes or perspectives of others.

A '**significant symbol**' is a kind of gesture, one which only humans can make. Gestures become significant symbols when they arouse in the individual who is making them the same kind of response they are supposed to elicit from those to whom the gestures are addressed. Only when we have significant symbols can we truly have communication. Communication in the full sense of the term is not possible among ants, bees, and so on. Physical gestures can be significant symbols, but they are not ideally suited to be significant symbols because people cannot easily see or hear their own physical gestures. Thus, it is vocal utterances that are most likely to become significant symbols, although not all vocalizations are such symbols. The set of vocal gestures most likely to become significant symbols is 'language'.

In a conversation of gestures, only the gestures themselves are communicated. However, with language gestures and their meanings are communicated. Another effect of language is that it stimulates the person speaking as it does others. From a pragmatic point of view, a significant symbol works better in the social world than does a non-significant gesture. For example, in communicating our displeasure to others, an angry verbal rebuke works far better than does contorted body language.

Of crucial importance in Mead's theory is another function of significant symbols — that they make the 'mind', mental processes, and so on, possible. It is only through significant symbols, especially language, that human thinking is possible. Mead defines thinking as 'simply an internalized or implicit conversation of the individual with himself by means of such gestures' or it is a conversation between 'I' and 'Me'. In other words,

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thinking involves talking to oneself and this is possible only when there is present a language or significant symbols. Significant symbols like language also make possible symbolic interaction.

Mind is defined by Mead as a process and not as a thing. It is as an inner conversation with one's self, is not found within the individual; it is not intracranial but is a social phenomenon. It arises and develops within the social process and is an integral part of that process. The social process precedes the mind; it is not, as many believe, a product of the mind. Mind can be distinguished from other like-sounding concepts like consciousness etc. in Mead's work by its ability to respond to the overall community and put forth an organized response. Mind involves thought processes oriented toward problem solving. The real world is rife with problems, and it is the function of the mind to try to solve those problems and permit people to operate more effectively in the world.

For Mead, the mind can be studied scientifically because its workings are displayed in people's conduct, not concealed behind it. The capacity of humans to respond in a more complex and flexible way to their environment than other animals is a product of human biology and its evolution into its specific form. For example, no small part of the crucial linguistic/symbolic capacity of humans is a result of the evolution of the vocal cords.

Mead emphasizes the contrast between the way animal response is tied to the immediate situation and the way humans can transcend it; they are able to reflect upon and respond to past situations well after they have occurred, and can anticipate and prepare for future situations before they happen. How we shall react in a situation can depend on our preparation and planning, not just on an automatic link between a certain occurrence and a fixed, instinctual reaction as in the case of a reflex action, e.g. the knee's reaction on being hit. We do have reflex reactions, but not only those. Thus Mead is putting the case that we ourselves can control our own behaviour; we do not simply react to a stimulus that provokes our reaction. The capacity to transcend immediate circumstance in this way requires the development of **Symbolic Capacity** i.e. our ability to be able to represent, recall or envisage past and future situations to ourselves, to conjure them up when they are not actually present, are in the past, or have not yet happened.

Concept of Self

Mead in his book **"Mind, Self and Society"** has developed the concept of 'I' and 'Me'. According to him 'I' represents the unsocialised self of the individual which develops at the early age of child. Usually in the early ages, alters or society treats in a very confident perception about themselves called 'I'. But over the period when an individual interacts with the society or alters, society starts evaluating individual on the basis of general rules which are equally applied on the other members of society. Over the period, unsocialised 'I' convert into 'Me' and over the period the difference between 'I' and 'Me' disappears and individual develops the real 'self'.

Mead says that 'Self' is essentially a social process going on with these distinguishable phases. It is important to bear in mind that the 'I' and the 'Me' are processes within the larger process of the self; they are not 'things'. And 'self' is basically the ability to take oneself as an object; the self is the peculiar ability to be both subject and object.

For Mead, what we call our sense of self stems from the human ability to be self-conscious, to take ourselves as objects of experience. A sense of self, he argues, only arises as we begin taking the perspectives of others toward ourselves, internalizing them as our own perspective and viewpoint on "who I am." The self, then, is an emergent product of social experience. Only by being able to take others' perspectives can we gain a viewpoint from outside of our own egos from which to think about and evaluate our personal identities.

For Mead, if we were simply to take the roles of others, we would never develop selves or self-consciousness. We would have a nascent form of self-consciousness that parallels the sort of reflexive awareness that is required for the use of significant symbols. A role-taking (self) consciousness of this sort makes possible what might be called a proto-self, but not a self, because it doesn't have the complexity necessary to give rise to a self. How then does a self arise? Here Mead introduces his well-known concept of **the generalized other.**

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'Generalized others' on the other hand do not play any important role in the process of development of self in initial stage (childhood) but gradually with the passage of time, it plays a prominent role in the development of 'self'. In fact, it shapes community sentiment or expectations. Mead explained that "Self and Identity" emerged in three **evolutionary stages**:

(i) **Stage of imitative Acts:** The imitative stage occurs about the second year of life, during which time the child mimics the mannerisms and behavioral patterns of his parents, siblings and other 'significant others'.

(ii) **Play Stage**: It begins about third year which is characterized by the child's growing interest in assuming various roles of his 'significant others' for example, playing mother-father, big sister, bride-groom, thief-police etc. While playing these roles they try to learn or sense the coming roles in society.

(iii) **Game Stage or Role playing**: This is the final stage, and in this stage a unified self emerge which is called by Mead, the 'game stage'. At this time, the child develops the ability to 'take the role of others'. He is able to assume the attitudes of several people comprising his social group, all at one time. In other words, at this stage child develops ability to play complex organized games. He will have in his mind all the roles of other players and make assessments about their potential responses to one another. For example, football – it is played by a number of individuals with different roles – 'the child taking one role is ready to take the roles of everyone else'.

The third stage is very complex and indicates real maturity in consciousness of the self and others. Rational adaptive behaviour is an indicator of mature self-consciousness. This maturity occurs when an individual is able to mentally perceive, understand and employ the symbolic meanings of his own gestures and those of 'generalized others', i.e. the attitude of the whole community.

Significant others

Significant others are those others who are important for the individual. Their perceptions, suggestions etc. get importance in the process of development of the 'Self'. It is based on two aspects i.e. (i) Value (ii) Expertise

Those people who have taken care of the individual physically and emotionally become significant others. Baltimore study suggests that those parents who do not take care of their children are not given importance by the children. Other people who are considered as expert of particular subject are the significant other for the ego (individual), though they have not taken care of him/her. Ego considers their suggestions and perception in development of 'self'.

Generalized Other

It was developed by George Herbert Mead as a core concept in his discussion of the social genesis of the self. According to Mead, the self lives in an individual's ability to account for himself as a social being. This also requires a person to account for the role of the other as well as how his or her actions could affect a group. **The generalized other represents the collection of roles and attitudes that people use as a reference to figure out how to behave in any particular situation**.

According to Mead:

"Selves develop in social contexts as people learn to take the roles of their consociates such that they can with a fair degree of accuracy predict how one set of actions is likely to generate fairly predictable responses. People develop these capacities in the process of interacting with one another, sharing meaningful symbols, and developing and using language to create, refine, and assign meanings to social objects (including themselves)."

For people to engage in complex and intricate social processes, they have to develop a sense of expectations--the rules, roles, norms, and understanding that make responses predictable and understandable. When you learn these rules as distinct from others, the aggregate comprises a generalized other. The attitude of the generalized other is the attitude of the whole community. Thus, for example, in the case of such a social group as a ball team, the team is the generalized other in so far as it enters—as an organized process or social activity—into the experience of any one of the individual members of it.

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For Mead, although these communities can take different forms, they should be thought of as systems; for example, a family can be thought of systemically and can therefore give rise to a generalized other and a self that corresponds to it. Generalized others can also be found in concrete social classes or subgroups, such as political parties, clubs, corporations, which are all actually functional social units, in terms of which their individual members are directly related to one another. The others are abstract social classes or subgroups, such as the class of debtors and the class of creditors, in terms of which their individual members are related to one another only more or less indirectly.

The "I" and the "Me"

Although the self is a product of socio-symbolic interaction, it is not merely a passive reflection of the generalized other. The individual's response to the social world is active; he decides what he will do in the light of the attitudes of others; but his conduct is not mechanically determined by such attitudinal structures. There are two phases (or poles) of the self: (1) that phase which reflects the attitude of the generalized other and (2) that phase which responds to the attitude of the generalized other. Here, Mead distinguishes between the "me" and the "I." The "me" is the social self, and the "I" is a response to the "me" (Mind, Self and Society). "The 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others; the 'me' is the organized set of attitudes of others which one assumes himself". **Mead defines the "me" as "a conventional, habitual individual" and the "I" as the "novel reply" of the individual to the generalized other**. There is a dialectical relationship between society and the individual. The "me" is the internalization of roles which derive from such symbolic processes as linguistic interaction, playing, and gaming; whereas the "I" is a "creative response" to the symbolized structures of the "me" (that is, to the generalized other).

Mead explains the deeper understanding of the self, and defines the meaning of "the I" and "the Me". Mead explains how the body and the self can be easily distinguished between each other. He says that "the body can be there and can operate in a very intelligent fashion without there being a self involved in the experience". An example that is used to explain this idea of the body being able to operate without the involvement of self, can be how if someone is being chased by another person, and running as fast as they can, they are too busy running away, that they have no consciousness of self. Mead is essentially explaining how the body can do some things without thinking involved. He further explains the idea of the self being more complex in that, you are not born with self but the individual's self is shaped by society and members of the same social group. It is the idea that once other people see the individual as something, the individual will see their self as that thing as well. (An example could be, if other people see someone as funny, the person will also see their self as a funny person).

Similar to Cooley, Mead's theory is built on the idea that the individual experiences him or herself through the generalized other or the individual of their social group. This means that our conceptualization of ourselves is not limited to our solitary experiences. Rather, they are defined by the symbolic interactions that we all encounter in the social experience. **This part of the self that regulates our behavior based on how we imagine others to perceive us called the "me". The "I" is the part of us that is "the response of the individual to the attitude of the community as this appears in his own experience.** An example of how we can conceive of this duality is through a work scenario. Your boss is conversing with you. She says something that you vehemently disagree with and through your "I" would like to tell her to go to hell in that moment, your "me" interprets how she would expect you to respond as the employee and so you respectfully defer to her based on your understanding of your role and expected behaviour.

The self that arises in relationship to a specific generalized other is referred to as the "Me." The "Me" is a cognitive object, which is only known retrospectively, that is, on reflection. When we act in habitual ways we are not typically self-conscious. We are engaged in actions at a non-reflective level. However, when we take the perspective of the generalized other, we are both "watching" and forming a self in relationship to the system of behaviors that constitute this generalized other. So, for example, if I am playing second base, I may reflect on my position as a second baseman, but to do so I have to be able to think of "myself" in relationship to the whole game, namely, the other actors and the rules of the game. We might refer to this cognitive object as my (second

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baseman) baseball self or "Me." Perhaps a better example might be to think of the self in relationship to one's family of origin. In this situation, one views oneself from the perspective of the various sets of behaviors that constitute the family system.

To return to the baseball example, one may have a self, a "Me," that corresponds to a particular position that one plays, which is nested within the game as an organized totality. This self, however, doesn't tell us how any particular play may be made. When a ball is grounded to a second baseman, how he or she reacts is not predetermined. He reacts, and how he reacts is always to some degree different from how he has reacted in the past. These reactions or actions of the individuals whether in response to others or self-initiated fall within the sphere of "I". Every response that the "I" makes is somewhat novel. Its responses may differ only in small ways from previous responses, making them functionally equivalent, but they will never be exactly the same. No catch in a ball game is ever identical to a previous catch. Mead declares that, "The 'I' gives the sense of freedom, of initiative.

For Mead, the "Me" arises in relationship to systems of behaviors, generalized others, and, therefore, is by definition multiple, although the behaviors of various "Me's" can overlap. Further, Freud's model assumes a determinism that is not inherent in the relationship of the "I" to the "Me." Not only does the "I" initiate novel responses, its new behaviors can become part of a "Me." In other words, "Me's" are not static. They are systems that often undergo transformation. This will become more apparent in the next section when we discuss Mead's ideas regarding emergence. In this context it is enough to suggest the following: when a ballplayer makes a catch in a manner that has never been made before—that is, makes a play that is significantly different from prior catches—the new play may become part of the repertoire of the team's behaviors. In other words, the play may alter the existing generalized other by modifying existing behavioral patterns. In so doing, it gives rise to a modified or new self because the game as a whole has been changed. Once again, this may be easier to see in terms of the transformations that take place in families when new reactions occur as children and adults interact over time. New selves are generated as family systems are transformed.

Criticism

(i) **Manford Kuhn and Bernard Meltzer**: They criticized the vagueness of essential concepts such as mind, self, I and me. Because these concepts are imprecise and so testable logic cannot be generated.

(ii) **Weinstein and Tanur:** They criticized the tendency to downplay or ignore large scale structure. The concept of social structure is necessary to deal with the incredible density and complexity of relations through which episodes of interaction are interconnected.

(iii) **Petras** criticized median theory for ignoring the importance of factors such as unconscious and emotions as well as needs, motives, intentions and aspirations.

(iv) **Peter Hamilton**: According to him, if Mead can be faulted for anything, it is for being overly optimistic about contemporary man's capacity for reflective intelligence. He may also have been unrealistic or naïve in regard to divisive categories and habits of thought hold and constrain the self-realization process of the ordinary man. We live in a world of racism, sexism, nationalism and a hundred other 'isms' which serve to retard Mead's prophecy.

How Mead Matters Today

Many of us today live in a culture that encourages us to think of ourselves as essentially and uniquely individual cut off from or even opposed to the larger societies in which we live. When we hear people say things like, "I don't care what other people think about me," we get a glimpse into common misconceptions of what it means to be a self. But Mead's theory of the self convincingly shows us that this way of thinking is wrongheaded. What others think of us, the perspectives of others we gain from being a part of the conversation of gestures are absolutely necessary for us to even have a sense of self. We think of ourselves as individuals, to be sure, but we are only able to do so by virtue of being a part of a larger social community. Arguably no other social theorist argues this point more brilliantly and systematically than George Herbert Mead.

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UNIT V (SOCIAL STRATIFICATION & MOBILITY)

Concepts – equality, inequality, hierarchy, exclusion, poverty and deprivation

Theories of social stratification – Structural functionalist theory, Marxist theory, Weberian theory

Dimensions –class, status groups, gender, ethnicity and race

Social mobility – open and closed systems, types of mobility, sources and causes of mobility

CONCEPT OF EQUALITY

Stratification exists in every society. All societies have norms specifying that some categories of people ought to receive more money, power, or prestige than others. There is, however, wide variety in how inequality is structured.

"Equality" has been one of the cherished values of the people since times immemorial. But, social inequality has been the fact of human group life. **J.J. Rousseau**, one of the intellectuals behind the French Revolution of 1789, had recognized this fact when he said that **"men are born free and equal but everywhere they are in chains"**. The quest for equality and the struggle against inequality and injustice continue even today.

Equality is about ensuring that every individual has an equal opportunity to make the most of their lives and talents. It is also the belief that no one should have poorer life chances because of the way they were born, where they come from, what they believe, or whether they have a disability.

Broadly the term equality refers to the state of being equal in some respect. Equality or social equality refers to a condition in which members of a group or society have equal access to, wealth, prestige, or power. Social equality exists when all people have equal access to, or share power, wealth or prestige.

Though the term 'equality' has political, legal and philosophical overtones, most of the sociological discussions have focused on equality as an aspect of social context. Ever since the time of the French Revolution and the growth of liberal democracies in Europe, equality has usually been interpreted mostly as political equality. For example, liberal democracy assumes that equality means equality between individuals as citizens. Here, equality includes constitutional rights, that is, the fundamental Rights, the right to hold political office, the right to exercise all civic rights, etc.

Social Equality Emphasizes the Fair Distribution of Income and Wealth: The liberal democratic concern with individual equality does not give prominence for equality of income and wealth. The critics have argued that the unequal distribution of income and wealth undermine all the other attempts at equality because the holders of material wealth or resources always have an advantage over other citizens. Sociologists have demonstrated how material resources affect people's life chances. For example, they have shown how material resources have been affecting child's progress in the educational system. Such an access to material resources also affects one's access to education and legal representation.

Equalitarian objectives of welfare still remain unfulfilled. Various empirical researches have clearly shown that despite the attempts to provide various social services to the needy people particularly in the fields of education, housing, health care, income maintenance, etc. inequalities have persisted and in some cases, actually increased. It is surprising to note that the western experience with the liberal democracies has revealed that the equalitarian objectives of welfare are not acceptable to the majority.

CONCEPT OF INEQUALITY

Equality literally means equal or similar in the terms of privileges and disadvantages, whereas inequality is unequal treatment in terms of opportunities, advantages, and disadvantages. But the issue of equality and inequality is largely complex because it is guided by the concept of ideologies of different societies.

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Liberal society believe that equality lies in equality of opportunity i.e. any social system which has absence of any form of hurdle for the individual to ensure social mobility can be called as equal society. Hence, for the liberal ideology, if any society has a system of not putting any form of obstacle and individual on the basis of their capabilities, efforts and motivation can go to any extent in the social hierarchy.

Inequality is found in all societies irrespective of time or place. Personal characteristics such as beauty, skill, physical strength and personality may all play a role in the perpetuation of inequality. However, there are also patterns of inequality associated with the social positions people occupy.

We can say that there are two types of inequality: **Natural and Man Made.**

So far as the natural inequality is concerned with reference to age, sex, height, weight etc. the man made inequality may be horizontal or vertical e.g. different occupational groups perform different activities but when these groups become social groups in the sense that they are placed hierarchically and they have interaction within the group and at the inter-strata level, then such type of inequality is called **social inequality**.

PLATO was one of the first to acknowledge that inequality is inevitable and to suggest ways in which the distribution of money, status and power could be altered for the betterment of both the individual and the society.

The society that Plato envisioned is explicitly meant to be class-structured, so that all citizens belong to one of three classes:

    (i)   (a) ruling (b) non-ruling
    (ii)   Auxiliaries or the workers.

He eliminated inheritance of class status and provided equality of opportunities regardless of birth.

Aristotle was clearly concerned with the consequences of inequality in birth, strength and wealth. He talked about three classes:

(i) Very Rich, (ii) Very Poor, and (iii) Moderate.

Machiavelli asked who is fit to rule and what form of rule will produce order, happiness, prosperity and strength. He saw tension between elite and the masses. He preferred democratic rule. About the selection for ruling positions he advocated inequality in situation is legitimate so long as there has been equality of opportunity to become unequal.

Thomas Hobbes saw all men equally interested in acquiring power and privileges, which leads to chaotic conditions, unless there is a set of rules by which they agree to abide. These rules constitute **"Social Contract"**, under which people give the right to one man to rule, who has collective desire and will. The sovereign can be removed if he fails to come up to the maintenance of equality for safety of all men.

Marxists attribute inequalities in societies to the unequal access to the forces of production. According to them, opportunities and resources are monopolized by a few at the expense of the others which lead to inequalities in societies.

Functionalists on the other hand argue that inequalities in society are inevitable as they ensure that all kinds of jobs get done in the society. Inequalities are a result of unequal capabilities of individuals and they get unequal rewards for that. Attempts have also been made to measure inequalities – especially economic inequalities – in objective terms. **Gini Coefficient** is used by the economists to measure economic inequalities at the national level.

Max Weber emphasized the existence of three types of groups based on different forms of inequality and the fact that they may be independent of one another. Weber suggested three types of market situations:

(i) labour market, (ii) money market, and (iii) commodity market. Weber termed the second from of inequality social honour or prestige and the third form of inequality for Weber was power.

Dr. Ambedkar opposed inequality based on caste, feminists in western society opposed gender inequality, **Martin Luther King** opposed inequality based on colour.

As exemplified by caste, social stratification involves a hierarchy of social groups. Members of a particular group have common identity, like interests, and similar life-style. They enjoy or suffer from the unequal

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distribution of rewards in societies as members of different social groups.

Social stratification however is only one form of social inequality. It is possible for social inequality to exist without social strata. It is stated that a hierarchy of social groups has been replaced by a hierarchy of individuals. Although many sociologists use the term inequality and social stratification interchangeably, social stratification is seen as a specific form of social inequality.

Inequality exists all around us. Much of sociological research focuses on one particular kind of inequality called Stratification. Stratification is an institutionalized pattern of inequality in which those who hold some social statuses get more access to scarce resources than do others. For example, giving a son more financial help than a daughter because the son is nicer is not stratification. But if a son receives more help simply because he is male, that is an example of stratification.

Inequality becomes stratification when two conditions exist:

➢ The inequality is institutionalized, backed up both by social structures and by long-standing social norms.
➢ The inequality is based on membership in a group (such as oldest sons or blue-collar workers) rather than on personal attributes.

The scarce resources that we focus on when we talk about inequality are generally of three types: **prestige, power, and money**. Prestige, like status, refers to the amount of social honor or value afforded by one individual or group relative to another. Power refers to the ability to influence or to force others to do what you want them to do, regardless of their own wishes. When inequality in prestige, power, or money is supported by social structures and long-standing social norms, and when it is based on group membership, then we speak of stratification.

The beliefs that social inequalities are caused by natural or biological inequalities seem to sense as rationalizations to justify the stratification system. The beliefs serve to make social inequality appear rational and reasonable. Currently, the existence of inequality, its causes and consequences as related to social class, *genders, ethnicity, and even region or locality, continues to assume sociological prominence.*

HIERARCHY

The literal meaning of term "hierarchy" is gradation or a ranking system. This term is very commonly used in the discussions of social stratification. It signifies that individuals and groups in any society are not socially treated equally but graded differently depending upon the type of the statuses that they occupy.

Any system, social or otherwise, is said to be hierarchical or gradational in nature if it consists of different strata or layers one on top of another. The more hierarchical a system is, the greater the number of layers and, generally, the greater the distance between the top and bottom are found. In a system for say Caste system hierarchy help us understand social Inequality and Social distance among Castes.

Hierarchy describes a stratified system where people have clear positions or lines of authority. In a school this might include the head teacher at the top, then the deputy, senior management, heads of department, teachers, etc with the pupils being somewhere near the bottom. Sociologists argue that this hierarchy in schools prepares pupils for similar structures in their working life.

Further, according to the **functionalists**, hierarchy is also a symbol of rising specialization and differentiation in society. Post modernists argue that western societies now have a continuum of individualized inequalities and hence almost infinite strata and numerous hierarchies.

Hierarchy can also be interpreted as opposite of equality. Modern democratic societies provide for equality of opportunity and abhor hierarchy based on status. Rule of law and equality of law have given equal status to everyone. Though, modern democracies have facilitated equality in political sphere, inequalities in social and economic sphere still exist. In fact, today one is part of **multiple hierarchies** at the same time. There is a different hierarchy at workplace and a different at home. Hierarchy also **results into unequal opportunities** and unequal rewards. Unequal rewards further reinforce hierarchy. **Marxists** perceive this hierarchy as a design of the dominant classes and deem it inimical to classless society. According to them,

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hierarchy promotes conflict as well. Functionalists on the other hand argue that hierarchy is symbol of division of labor in society and is necessary for working of social system.

Hierarchy is an important concept because, by making use of the hierarchical principle it is comparatively easier to trace out the relative status or position of an individual or group in a particular society. Thus, forexample, it is through the principle of hierarchy, we can say, that in a **caste system**, the Brahmins as a caste group occupy the top-most position enjoying the privileges associated with it, while the untouchable castes occupy the bottom most position suffering from all the disabilities related with it. A large number caste often referred to as 'intermediary castes' occupy different positions which lie in between these two extreme positions.

Similarly, **class system**, is also hierarchical in which the capitalists and the rich occupy the top position in the hierarchy while the workers and the poor occupy the bottom most position. The position in between these two is occupied by the middle class. Sociologists have also spoken of a six-fold division of class hierarchy.

In western societies, a **color hierarchy** emerged that persists in importance today. In this hierarchy, those who are viewed as being more European, or "white," are generally endowed with higher social status. The color hierarchy is utilized for more than simply classifying people based on their or physical appearance. The racial hierarchy is complicated by the presence of considerable numbers of people with partly African and Asian heritage. Nonetheless, these groups are often categorized on the color hierarchy somewhere between indigenous and European.

The principle of hierarchy is also important in the area of operation of power and authority. Normally, power and authority flow from higher level to lower level as we witness it in all types of bureaucracies. The exercise of power and authority and the control of people and resource become organized in a hierarchical way. The higher the position of an individual in the hierarchy, the greater the power and control on the resources that he has access to and vice versa. This kind of hierarchical principle can be seen in virtually every area of social life, from politics and economics to religion and education.

NOTE: Not all systems of stratification are hierarchical. Some are, but many are not.

Differences rather than hierarchy are dominant in some stratificatory systems. In other words, the constitutive elements of these differences are such that any attempt to see them hierarchically would do offence to the logical property of these very elements. The layers in this case are not arranged vertically or hierarchically, but horizontally or even separately. Such an arrangement can be easily illustrated in the case of language, religion or nationalities. It would be futile, and indeed capricious, if an attempt was made to hierarchize languages or religions or nationalities. In these cases it does not matter at all if the schematic representation of stratification places the different strata contiguously or separately, as long as they are horizontally positioned.

India again is an appropriate place to demonstrate this variety of social stratification. The various languages that are spoken in India speak eloquently of a horizontal system of social stratification where differences are paramount. Secular India again provides an example of religious stratification where religions are not hierarchized or unequally privileged in law, but have the freedom to exist separately in full knowledge of their intrinsic differences.

EXCLUSION

Social exclusion has been interpreted differently in different contexts at different times. It is a multidimensional term. This is why it is a bit difficult to define it in a precise manner. The term was initially coined in France in 1974 where it was defined as a rupture of social bonds. Later on it became the central theme of social policy in many European countries.

As a broader framework of social policy, it was suggested that social exclusion is the process that excludes individuals, groups and aggregates from full participation in the society in which they live.

This term was used to denote various categories of people, identified as mentally and physically ill or handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents, marginal asocial persons and other social misfits.

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Nowadays, the term 'social exclusion' is used for the population which is excluded in community life. Such populations are discriminated in providing basic services, amenities and equal opportunities necessary for their development.

Social exclusion refers to the ways in which individuals may become cut off from full involvement in the wider community. Thus, social exclusion refers to "A process by which individuals or households experience deprivation, either of resources such as income or of social links to the wider community or society".

In order to live full and active life individuals must not only be able to feed, clothe and house them but should also have access to essential goods and services such as education, health, transportation, insurance, social security, banking and even access to the police or judiciary.

Not only this, they are deprived of social life. Thus, social exclusion is a process of limiting social relations and the denial of providing equal and living opportunities imposed by certain groups of society upon others which leads to the inability of an individual to participate actively in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society.

It involves both the act of restricting access to resources and the consequences that follow. In brief, social exclusion refers to the process through which groups are, wholly or partially, excluded from full participation in the society in which they live. These main processes include discrimination, deprivation, isolation, shame, etc.

Mechanisms of Social Exclusion:

Christine Bradley (1994) pointed out following five main mechanisms through which social exclusion is practiced:

1. **Geographical segregation:**

It is generally observed that the so-called untouchables (dalits) and even minorities are residentially segregated from the mainstream society. They are made to live and construct their residential places and dwellings outside the villages or at the periphery of village or town. Most of the tribals live in hills and forests and are excluded from the mainstream population.

2. **Intimidation:**

To exclude, intimidation in any form is used as the main arm. Verbal abuse, sarcastic remarks, threat of harm etc are the main means of intimidation. It can be observed at every level in a society. Intimidation is a major form of control used by men over other men and women.

3. **Physical violence:**

When threat of harm does not work, actual (physical) violence is used. It can be committed by the state, community, group or individuals. Violence against women in the household and against poor people and ethnic and religious minorities is reported to be practised all over the world. Domestic violence is rooted in the norms of gender inequality and patriarchy.

4. **Barriers to entry:**

At many places and in many spheres, people excluded are debarred from entry. Barriers to entry involving the state are mostly related to documentation requirements. Other than documents, transition costs are another way to put hurdle in the entry of the excluded. Transition costs are the costs that are involved in acquiring a good service above and beyond its actual price.

5. **Corruption:**

Corruption is the main cause of many social evils in India and elsewhere. It prevails all over the world. The people who are excluded from obtaining goods and services do not have the required necessary amount to pay for securing jobs, health care and other public services. It causes insecurity among the excluded. Corruption denies access to resources, opportunities and information.

Social exclusion results in the following main consequences:

1. It leads to various kinds of deprivations—economic, educational, cultural and social.
2. It leads to the impoverishment of human life and develops a poorer sense of well-being.
3. It leads to inequality, poverty, unemployment and involuntary migration.
4. It leads to social stigmatization and marginalization.

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5. It develops fear complex among the excluded.
6. It puts various restrictions on the excluded about their free and full participation in the economic, cultural and political activities.
7. On the whole, it puts an intense negative impact on the quality of life.

Homelessness is one of the worst forms of social exclusions according to **Anthony Giddens** as it automatically excludes an individual from various other services. Social exclusion leads to other abnormal behaviors also. For example – **Elliott Currie** in her studies found that exclusion also leads to delinquent behavior. Apart from poverty, exclusion is also practiced on several other bases like race.

Apartheid is one of the most telling examples of social exclusion which is still prevalent in South Africa despite legal ban on it. In India, Dalits or the ex-untouchable castes, tribals, women and the differently-abled are worst sufferers of exclusion. Prolonged experience of discriminatory or insulting behavior often produces a reaction on the part of the excluded that then stop trying for inclusion. For example, 'upper' caste Hindu communities have often denied entry into temples for the 'lower' castes and specially the Dalits. After decades of such treatment, the Dalits may build their own temple, or convert to another religion.

At different periods of history protest movements arose against caste, gender and religious discrimination. Yet prejudices remain and often, new ones emerge. When legislations are enacted to curb exclusions, these are practiced at more subtle and latent level. Thus, legislation alone is unable to transform society or produce lasting social change. A constant social campaign to change awareness and sensitivity is required to break them.

Further, social exclusion is not a phenomenon prevalent among under-privileged only and can be voluntary as well. It is practiced among affluent as well. Exclusive clubs, gated communities are such examples. **'Religious and social outcasting**' is a phenomenon prevalent in India which applies to affluent class also when they violate norms of the groups. People may also exclude themselves in other situations like – delinquency, drug addiction, school dropout, anomie, escapist mentality and so on.

Nature of Social Exclusion:

a) **Social exclusion is systematic** –it is result of structural features of society. Exclusion is practiced regardless of the wishes of those who are excluded. For example rich people are never found sleeping on the pavements or under bridges like thousands of homeless poor people in cities and towns. This does not mean that the rich are being excluded from access to pavements and park benches because they could certainly gain access if they wanted to but they choose not to. Social exclusion is sometimes wrongly justified by the same logic – it is said that the excluded group itself does not wish to participate. The truth of such an argument is not obvious when exclusion is preventing access to something desirable. Prolonged experience of discriminatory or insulting bahaviour often produces a reaction on the part of the excluded who then stop trying for inclusion. For example upper caste Hindu communities have often denied entry into temples for the lower castes and specially the dalits. After decades of such treatment the Dalits started building their own temple or convert to another religion like Buddhism, Christianity or Islam. After they do this they may no longer desire to be included in the Hindu temple or religious events. But this does not mean that social exclusion is not being practiced.

b) **Social Exclusion Indicates Deprivation of Opportunities:** The concept focuses attention on a broad range of factors that prevent individuals or groups from having opportunities open to majority of the population. It indicates that some are denied of having access to essential goods and services such as education, health, transportation, insurance, social security, banking and even access to the police or judiciary. It is not enough if individuals are just provided with food, clothing and shelter. A fuller and an active involvement in life demands greater freedom and better access to all the essentials of civilized life on par with all the others in the society.

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c) **Social Exclusion is not Accidental**: Social exclusion in most of the cases is found to be an in built mechanism to deprive a few of their social rights. It is the result of the structural features of society. The 'untouchables' in India, were excluded from doing many things, for example, entering temples, sharing food along with higher caste people, drawing water from public wells, receiving education on par with others, etc as a matter of caste rule.

d) **Social Exclusion is Involuntary**: Social exclusion is practiced regardless of the wishes of those who are excluded. In the case of the untouchables of India, for example, it is trusted upon them. They are prevented from having access to something desirable, say for example, having access to education, or entering religious institutions, etc.

e) **Prolonged Exclusion Leading to a Reaction against Inclusion**: Prolonged experience of discrimination and insult underwent by an excluded group often compels it to develop a reaction against inclusion. As a result, it may stop making attempts for inclusion. For example, the denial of temple entry for the dalits in India for decades together by the upper castes may ultimately compel the dalits to build their own temple, or to convert to another religion like Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam. When once they start doing it, they may no longer desire to be included in the Hindu temple or religious events. However, it cannot be concluded that all the excluded would think and act on the same line. Instances of this kind point out that social exclusion occurs regardless of the wishes of the excluded.

Hence, social exclusion is a form of inequality found in almost all societies, though the criteria and the form of social exclusion are not universal but in traditional societies it is based on certain cultural prejudices which are always a concern for social reforms.

CONCEPT OF POVERTY

Poverty is a social condition that is characterized by the lack of resources necessary for basic survival or necessary to meet a certain minimum level of living standards expected for the place where one lives. The income level that determines poverty is different from place to place, so social scientists believe that it is best defined by conditions of existence, like lack of access to food, clothing, and shelter. People in poverty typically experience persistent hunger or starvation, inadequate or absent education and health care, and are usually alienated from mainstream society.

Poverty is a consequence of the uneven distribution of material resources and wealth on a global scale and within nations. Sociologists see it as a social condition of societies with an unequal and inequitable distribution of income and wealth, of the de-industrialization of Western societies, and the exploitative effects of global capitalism.

The **cause and effect** of poverty is multidimensional in which following causes are considered as important:

- Culture of poverty (**Oscar Lewis**)
- Lack of opportunity due to overpopulation
- Natural disasters prone society
- Religious dominance which discourages individuals not to go for worldly achievement (Weber)
- Concentration of wealth or resources in the hands of a particular group (Marx)

Types of Poverty Defined

Absolute poverty is what most people probably think of when they think of poverty, especially if they think about it at the global level. It is defined as the total lack of resources and means required to meet the most basic standards of living. It is characterized by a lack of access to food, clothing, and shelter. The characteristics of this type of poverty are the same from place to place. At times "absolute poverty" is also called "**subsistence poverty**", since it is based on an assessment of minimum subsistence requirement. Nutrition is measured by intake of calories and proteins, shelter by quality of dwelling and degree of overcrowding, and the rate of infant mortality and the quality of medical facility. In broader sense it suggested that one should

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go beyond the physical need and also include cultural needs—education, security, leisure and recreation.

Relative poverty is defined differently from place to place because it depends on the social and economic contexts in which one lives. Relative poverty exists when one lacks the means and resources required to meet a minimum level of living standards that are considered normal in the society or community where one lives. Definition of poverty should therefore be related to the needs and demands of changing societies. For example, in India in 1960 those who had a per capita income of Rs.20/- or less per month in rural areas were considered to be below the poverty line. In 2011-12 those who have an income of less than Rs.816/- per month in rural areas and Rs.1000 (**Tendulkar Committee**) in urban areas are considered to be below the poverty line.

Cyclical Poverty

Cyclical poverty refers to poverty that may be widespread throughout a population, but the occurrence itself is of limited duration. In nonindustrial societies (present and past), this sort of inability to provide for one's basic needs rests mainly upon temporary food shortages caused by natural phenomena or poor agricultural planning. Prices would rise because of scarcity of food, which brought widespread, albeit temporary, misery.

In industrialized societies the chief cyclical cause of poverty is fluctuations in the business cycle, with mass unemployment during periods of depression or serious recession. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, the industrialized nations of the world experienced business panics and recessions that temporarily enlarged the numbers of the poor. The United States' experience in the **Great Depression of the 1930s**, though unique in some of its features, exemplifies this kind of poverty. And until the Great Depression, poverty resulting from business fluctuations was accepted as an inevitable consequence of a natural process of market regulation. Relief was granted to the unemployed to tide them over until the business cycle again entered an upswing. The experiences of the Great Depression inspired a generation of economists such as **John Maynard Keynes**, who sought solutions to the problems caused by extreme swings in the business cycle. Since the Great Depression, governments in

nearly all advanced industrial societies have adopted economic policies that attempt to limit the ill effects of economic fluctuation. In this sense, governments play an active role in poverty alleviation by increasing spending as a means of stimulating the economy. Part of this spending comes in the form of direct assistance to the unemployed, either through unemployment compensation, welfare, and other subsidies or by employment on public-works projects. Although business depressions affect all segments of society, the impact is most severe on people of the lowest socioeconomic strata because they have fewer marginal resources than those of higher strata.

The Dynamics of Poverty

Poverty operates in a dynamic cycle, with the effects of poverty increases the likelihood that it will be transferred between generations.

The basic premise of the poverty cycle is the idea that poverty is a dynamic process—its effects may also be its causes. In economics, the cycle of poverty has been defined as a phenomenon where poor families become trapped in poverty for at least three generations. These families have either limited or nonexistent social and economic resources. There are many disadvantages that collectively work in a circular process to make it virtually impossible for individuals to break the cycle of poverty. Definitionally, poor people are less likely to have financial capital, education, and social capital (connections to people with specialized knowledge or in powerful positions). Without these resources, poverty-stricken individuals experience disadvantages that, in turn, increase their poverty.

Additionally, those living in poverty suffer disproportionately from hunger, or in extreme cases starvation, and also exhibit disproportionately high rates of disease. These illnesses can be disabling, preventing people in poverty from working in certain occupations or at certain capacities, thus reducing one's opportunities to improve their social and economic status.

Finally, poverty increases the risk of homelessness. Slum-dwellers, who make up a third of the world's urban population, live in poverty no better, if not worse, than rural people, who are the traditional

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victims of poverty in the developing world. People who are homeless or live in slums have low access to neighborhood resources, high status social contacts, or basic services such as a phone line. This limits their ability to improve their economic position, again perpetuating poverty.

Two classic sociological approaches to poverty and social stratification are structural-functionalism and conflict theory.

The structural-functionalist approach to stratification asks the question: what function or purpose does stratification serve? The theory's answer is that all parts of society, even poverty, contribute in some way or another to the larger system's stability. According to structural-functionalists, stratification and inequality are actually constructive phenomena that benefit society: they ensure that the best people are at the top of the hierarchy and those who are less worthy are at the bottom. Those at the top are given power and rewards because of high abilities, and the high rewards exist to provide incentive for qualified people to do the most important work in high status occupations. According to this logic, inequality ensures that the most functionally important jobs are filled by the best qualified people.

The conflict-theory approach offers a critique of structural-functionalism. First, the critique asserts that it is difficult to determine the functional importance of any job, as a system of interdependence makes every position necessary to the functioning of society. Second, this approach assumes that the system of stratification is fair and rational, and that the 'best' people end up on top because of their superiority. But, according to conflict theorists, in reality the system does not work so easily or perfectly and there are barriers to qualified people ascending the hierarchy.

In contrast to structural-functionalists, conflict theorists argue that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society. According to this theory, stratification benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor— those in high-status positions continually build on their wealth, only further entrenching the gap between high-status and low-status people. For example, many wealthy families pay low wages to nannies to care for their children, gardeners to tend to their yards, and maids to clean their homes. Conflict theorists believe that this competitive system, together with structural

barriers to upward mobility ends up creating and perpetuating stratification systems. Conflict theorists hold that competition and inequality are not inevitable but are created and maintained by people. Meanwhile, structural-functionalists rebut that people do not always act solely out of economic self-interest.

<u>**The Feminization of Poverty**</u>

The feminization of poverty refers to the fact that women represent a disproportionate share of the world's poor.

The feminization of poverty describes a phenomenon in which women represent a disproportionate percentage of the world's poor. This trend is not only a consequence of lack of income, but also of lack of opportunities due to gender biases and fixed gender roles in some societies. Gender biases often deprive women of opportunities to independently pursue education or careers and are often linked to the expectation that women are responsible for childbearing and childrearing. Women's increasing share of poverty is related to the rising incidence of lone mother households.

Many factors place women at higher risk of poverty than their male counterparts. Though low income is the primary cause of female poverty, there are many interrelated sources of this problem. Lack of income deprives women of basic needs, such as food and shelter, and limits their opportunities for advancement. As women disproportionately earn less income than men, they are deprived of basic education and healthcare, which lowers their lifetime earning potential. The responsibilities associated with motherhood further limit women's economic attainment. Lone mother households, or households without a second parent or guardian, are the households with the highest risk of poverty. Female headed households (where no male is present) are most susceptible to poverty because they have fewer income earners to provide financial support within the household. Lone mother households relate to gender inequality issues as women are more susceptible to poverty and lack essential life needs in comparison to men.

Women in poverty also have reduced access to healthcare services and resources. Partly due to the toll

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of childbearing, women are disproportionately afflicted with poor health outcomes. Poor health reduced women's ability to earn income, and, thus, is a key factor increasing and perpetuating household poverty. Increasing health services to women could, therefore, mitigate the feminization of poverty. The education of women and children, especially girls, can create greater opportunities for women to lift themselves out of poverty and increase their social position. Countries with strong gender discrimination and social hierarchies limit women's access to basic education. Even within the household, girls' education is often sacrificed to allow male siblings to attend school.

Employment opportunities are limited for women worldwide. Women are often barred from materially controlling their environment due to unequal access to profitable and fulfilling occupational opportunities. Employment can be divided into informal and formal occupations. Formal employment is government regulated, and workers are insured a wage and certain rights. Informal employment takes place in small, unregistered enterprises. A large proportion of women are employed in informal workplaces, reducing the regulation of their employment. This makes it more difficult for women to address workplace grievances and ensure safe and legal working conditions.

Solutions to Poverty

The causes of poverty are manifold. Crime, disease, corruption and unemployment are being the big players. What steps can then be taken towards addressing the massive social issue of poverty that has afflicted humanity for centuries?

Employment Generation

Carefully and extensively planned employment programs funded by the government can spur growth in jobs. Industries requiring substantial labour forces can also be given significantly larger aid from the government. Focus should be placed on developing companies that offer sustainable and long-term jobs to the community. Companies should also budget sufficiently for employee training and related community programs, so that employees and prospective employees can keep their skills relevant and up-to-date.

Transparency in Government spending

Where and how a government chooses to spend taxpayers' money and its own revenue should be visible to the media and the common man. This makes governments accountable for their actions and inaction becomes easier to pinpoint and address. It also discourages corruption in government systems. For example, transparency will be especially beneficial to civilians whose government might be allocating money to themselves instead of to its poverty programs.

Prioritizing programs that target fundamental human rights

Every individual should have access to housing, food, clean water, healthcare and electricity. Technically governments should only move on to other projects after they have made sure that programs that provide these basic amenities to their people are up and running. This might prove to be the hardest step yet.

Taxing the rich more and the poor less

Redistribution of wealth will be an imperative step in eradicating poverty. The rich get richer while the poor get poorer. Taxing methods need to be tailored to an individual's financial bracket to ensure that upward social mobility becomes an absolute possibility.

Building self-sufficient economies

Creating reduced dependence on oil, external financial aid and imports will help to ensure that alleviation of poverty remains on an upward but permanent curve, as opposed to a temporary revivalist injection in a dying economy. Steps in this area include investment in local infrastructure, transportation and schools that keep the ball of development rolling. Projects to launch new industries and businesses will also need monetary encouragement.

Involvement of the media

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The media has the power to draw the eye of the global conscience to issues of poverty. It becomes too easy to forget the state of the less fortunate when the world is advancing at lightning speed. With effective media coverage of poverty-related catastrophes, the demand for social change rises collectively all over the world.

Education

As much as poverty is a social condition, it is also a mental and psychological cage. With education, impoverished populations are able to visualize their way out of poverty and are able to work towards it in an organized and reliable manner. Education provides training for tomorrow's workforce and thus fortifies the economy against poverty. Education in rich populations about poverty invokes sentiments of compassion and a sense of responsibility to the misfortunes of the rest of the world. Education also has the power to bring about social changes such as fights against racism and sexism – both conditions that happen to be linked intrinsically with poverty.

Conclusion

Sociology provides a powerful tool for thinking about poverty. 'Thinking sociologically' can help us to better comprehend social issues and problems. It allows us to understand personal troubles as part of the economic and political institutions of society, and permits us to cast a critical eye over issues that may otherwise be interpreted simplistically or misinterpreted. In looking at poverty, myths and misconceptions dominate both popular and political discussions. Sociological thinking can be helpful in trying to disentangle poverty from a range of related concepts and largely pejorative discussions about a variety of social problems.

Some attention has recently been devoted to the discussion of rising inequality. In the current context, economic inequality is getting more extreme, with those at the very top growing ever richer while the majority is finding life increasingly harsh and poverty rates are increasing.

Social Exclusion

Social exclusion occurs when individuals and communities are blocked from rights and opportunities that are available to others. Social exclusion is a concept used in many parts of the world to characterize forms of social disadvantage. It refers to processes through which individuals and entire communities of people are systematically blocked from rights, opportunities, and resources that are normally available to members of society and that are key to social integration. These include housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation, and legal due process.

Poverty and exclusion are two different concepts. Poverty is a distributional outcome, whereas exclusion can be defined as a process of declining participation, solidarity, and access. It is quite difficult to measure social exclusion quantitatively, as social exclusion is relative, sensitive, and variable.

The causes of social exclusion vary from country to country, but there are general causes that social scientists have identified. In modern industrialized societies, paid work is not only the principal source of income with which to buy goods and services, but is also the fount of individuals' identity and feelings of self-worth. Therefore, unemployment is considered a cause of social exclusion. In some circumstances, lack of transportation can lead to social exclusion. For instance, if lack of access to public transport or a vehicle prevents a person from getting to a job, training course, job center, school, or entertainment venue they may be shut out from opportunities.

The problem of social exclusion is usually tied to that of equal opportunity, as some people are more subject to exclusion than others. Marginalization of certain groups is a problem even in many economically developed countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States, where the majority of the population enjoys considerable economic and social opportunities.

Sociologists see strong links between crime and social exclusion in industrialized societies including the United States. Growing crime rates may reflect the fact that an increasing number of people do not feel valued or included in the societies in which they live. Socially excluded populations may not benefit from the avenues for income and advancement that are open to others, so they resort to illegal means of obtaining resources.

There are following types of social exclusion

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1) **Based on economic deprivation (Poverty)**: Especially in Western societies or class-based societies those groups are excluded from the society who have little achievement in economic terms. Society forces them to live in slums and discourage them to have contact with the wider society. **Albert Cohen** in his study of slum dwellers in America has given the concept of 'status frustration' and he believed that the poor in American societies are so marginalized and cut off from the interaction/involvement that out of frustration they move towards deviance.

2) **Exclusion based on occupation:** In every society, there are certain occupations that are unhygienic, disrespectful like manual scavenging, sweeping, etc. Those groups or individuals who are attached with these occupations are excluded from the larger society. Untouchable caste in India is an example.

3) **Exclusion based on violation of norms/rules**: Every society expects from its individuals to conform to the social norms but if some individuals deviate from the norm which causes harm or discomfort to the general social order, they get excluded from the society. Imprisonment or social boycott is the example.

4) **Exclusion based on ascription:** In many societies, there are certain prejudices which believe that individual due to their birth, caste, race, etc. are not entitled to interact with the larger society. They are forced to live in isolation because of it Shudras in India, apartheid in Europe and Africa is the example.

5) **Exclusion on the basis of achievement:** This exclusion is not imposed by society; rather it is a self chosen form of exclusion, generally found among the celebrities. They disconnect themselves from the larger involvement with the society because they believe that they are no more common social being. They live in fenced houses and do not permit individual to come to them easily.

DEPRIVATION

"Deprivation" is one of the concepts closely associated with the discussions of social inequality. Sociological analysis defines deprivation broadly as inequality of access to social goods. It includes poverty and wider forms of disadvantage. In general, deprivation refers to a condition in which people lack what they need, the lack of economic and emotional support generally accepted as basic essentials of human experience. These include income and housing, and parental care for children.

The above mentioned definitions make it clear that some human needs [such as income, care, shelter and security are very basic and their fulfillment leads to fuller and more comfortable life experience. Satisfactory fulfillment of these needs is believed to contribute to a more complete development of the individual's potential.

Absolute Deprivation and Relative Deprivation:

Absolute deprivation refers to the lack of basic necessities i.e. food, water, shelter and fuel. It means the loss or absence of the means to satisfy the basic needs for survival - food, clothing and shelter.

Relative deprivation refers to deprivations experienced when individuals compare themselves with others. In this case, individuals who lack something compare themselves with those who have it, and in so doing feel a sense of deprivation. Consequently, relative deprivation not only involves comparison, it is also usually defined in subjective terms. The concept is intimately linked with that of "reference group" - the group with whom the individual or set of individuals compare themselves.

Absolute deprivation refers to a situation when one doesn't have even basic necessities of life –food, sanitation, drinking water, basic education, health. Extreme poverty, marginalization and hunger are examples of absolute deprivation.

Robert Merton also mentions 'relative deprivation' as another form of deprivation. Despite absolute progress in society, due to the presence of inequalities, relative deprivation always remains there. **Marxists** attribute deprivation to unequal nature of society which is marked by unequal control over the forces of production.

Deprivation or disadvantage is measured not by objective standards but by comparison with the relatively superior advantages of others, such as

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members of the reference group with whom one desires to emulate. Thus, the mere millionaire can feel relatively disadvantaged among his multi-millionaire friends. The concept of relative deprivation has been used in the study of social movements and revolutions, where it is argued that relative, not absolute deprivation is most likely to lead to pressure for change.

According to **Pierre Bourdieu**, it is lack of adequate social, cultural, symbolic and economic capital. Thus, deprivation is broader phenomenon than poverty. When compared to exclusion, while deprivation is 'of' resources, exclusion is 'from' social participation.

One may face deprivation despite relatively good economic condition. People in war torn areas, like West Asia and some African countries, suffer from multiple deprivations in form of non-access to health, education, sanitation, housing etc due to absence of a peaceful political atmosphere. In other cases, cultural norms can lead to derivations.

For example – in Islamic countries and many other orthodox patriarchal societies, women are not allowed to take education and other social activities. Some traditional societies like India also had rigid social stratification like caste which also led to multiple deprivations for those in lower strata. Similarly, racism and ethnocentric practices also deprive one section of population from amenities of life as it is still a case in South Africa. Thus, deprivation can also be due to structural factors.

Thus, poverty and deprivation have various **socio-economic consequences**:

- It may lead to class conflict and proletariat revolution.
- It may lead to sequential migration.
- Poverty leads to moral corruption, law and order problem, bad habits etc.
- Concentration of population at the place of emerging opportunities which on the one hand will lead to overpopulation of one place and under population at another.
- It develops a sense of retreatism and pessimism.
- It may cause social movements, civil wars, communal tensions, separatist movements.

Theories of social stratification – Structural functionalist theory, Marxist theory, Weberian theory

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALIST THEORY

Patterns of social stratification [especially those related to differences in occupation/income/wealth/class, power and status] in different societies have been analyzed using the differing sociological perspectives of Marxism, Weberianism, Feminism, Functionalism and, indeed, Postmodernism In the functionalist theory which was developed initially in the 1940s and 1950s it was argued some form of social stratification exists in all known societies, that hierarchical patterns of social stratification were both desirable and inevitable and that occupational differences in income were explicable in terms of differences in the functional importance of different occupations combined with limited availability within societies' populations of the talents necessary for the performance of the more functionally important [and difficult] occupational roles and that inequalities of social status were similarly desirable and inevitable.

On this basis Functionalists argue that owners of capitalist firms and managers, administrators and other professionals in both the private and public sectors are well rewarded financially because their work is functionally important [that is: because it contributes to the stability of their societies in various ways] and because they have scarce skills .These functionalist theories were widely accepted in the 1950s and early 60s which may be seen as the period of Functionalist ascendancy within Sociology but they also quickly attracted criticism especially from sociologists influenced by Marxist and Weberian theories of social stratification and support within sociology for functionalist theories has certainly been limited from the 1960s onwards.

Social stratification refers to a system by which a society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy. Some groups have greater status, power, and wealth than other groups. These differences are what led to social stratification. Social stratification is based on four major principles:

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✔ Social stratification is a trait of society, not simply a reflection of individual differences.
✔ Social stratification persists over generations.
✔ Social stratification is universal (it happens everywhere) but variable (it takes different forms across different societies).
✔ Social stratification involves not just inequality but beliefs as well (inequality is rooted in a society's philosophy).

Talcott Parsons believed that order and stability depends upon the value consensus in society. Individuals who conduct themselves in accordance with these values are ranked above others. A successful business executive would be ranked above others in a society which values individual achievement while individuals who fight battles and wars would be ranked above others in a society which values bravery and gallantry.

Functionalists uphold that relationship between social groups in society is one of cooperation and inter-dependence. Parsons explains that in a highly specialized industrial society, some people specialize in organization and planning while others follow their directives. Certain positions are functionally more important in society than others. These are often ranked higher in the social hierarchy and fetch greater rewards than others. This inevitably leads to inequality in the distribution of power and prestige.

Structural functionalists argue that social inequality plays a vital role in the smooth operation of a society. The **Davis-Moore thesis 'Some Principles of Social Stratification, 1945'** states that social stratification has beneficial consequences for the operation of society. Davis and Moore argue that the most difficult jobs in any society are the most necessary and require the highest rewards and compensation to sufficiently motivate individuals to fill them. Certain jobs, like mowing grass or cleaning toilets, can be performed by almost anyone, while other jobs, such as performing brain surgery, are difficult and require the most talented people to perform them. In order to lure the most talented people away from less important work, a society must offer those people rewards and incentives. Davis and Moore further claim that any society can be equal, but only to the extent that people are willing to let anyone perform any job. This would also require that

even those who do their job poorly are rewarded equally. What would be the incentive for people to do their best if everyone was rewarded equally?

According to Davis and Moore, a firefighter's job is more important than, for instance, a grocery store cashier's. The cashier position does not require the same skill and training level as firefighting. Without the incentive of higher pay and better benefits, why would someone be willing to rush into burning buildings? If pay levels were the same, the firefighter might as well work as a grocery store cashier. Davis and Moore believed that rewarding more important work with higher levels of income, prestige, and power encourages people to work harder and longer.

Davis and Moore stated that, in most cases, the degree of skill required for a job determines that job's importance. They also stated that the more skills required for a job, the fewer qualified people there would be to do that job. Certain jobs, such as cleaning hallways or answering phones, do not require much skill. The employees don't need a college degree. Other work, like designing a highway system or delivering a baby, requires immense skill.

In 1953, **Melvin Tumin** countered the Davis-Moore thesis in "**Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis.**" Tumin questioned what determined a job's degree of importance. The Davis-Moore thesis does not explain, he argued, why a media personality with little education, skill, or talent becomes famous and rich on a reality show or a campaign trail. The thesis also does not explain inequalities in the education system or inequalities due to race or gender. Tumin believed social stratification prevented qualified people from attempting to fill roles (Tumin 1953). For example, an underprivileged youth has less chance of becoming a scientist, no matter how smart she is, because of the relative lack of opportunity available to her. The Davis-Moore thesis also does not explain why a basketball player earns millions of dollars a year when a doctor who saves lives, a soldier who fights for others' rights, and a teacher who helps form the minds of tomorrow will likely not make millions over the course of their careers.

Davis and Moore, however tried to dispel the notions of Tumin and argued that functional importance of a position can be judged by the uniqueness of such

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positions and degrees to which other positions depend on the particular position. Differential rewards are necessary as loss of trainees is not only in terms of money, but also in terms of time and energy. Stratification may be dysfunctional in some instances, but its very existence in society proves its functional nature.

The Davis-Moore thesis, though open for debate, was an early attempt to explain why stratification exists. The thesis states that social stratification is necessary to promote excellence, productivity, and efficiency, thus giving people something to strive for. Davis and Moore believed that the system serves society as a whole because it allows everyone to benefit to a certain extent.

Criticisms

The main criticisms of the Functionalist Theory of Social Stratification may be listed as follows.

- ✔ Apart from Tumin, **Dahrendorf** was also one of the major critics of Functional theory. Ralf Dahrendorf observes that stratification originates from the 'closely related trinity of norms, sanction and power'.
- ✔ Similarly, rigidity of caste system cannot be explained through functional theories of Davis and Moore and others.
- ✔ Further, 'elite recruitment' theory proves that elite gobble up all the rewards and perpetuate elite rule.
- ✔ **Beck and Baudrillard** also visualize that such functional stratification is no longer valid as inequalities are now individualized and no clear strata exist today.
- ✔ According to **Alvin Gouldner**, stratification is not inevitable as Davis and Moore predicted and criticizes them for providing a justification for social inequalities.
- ✔ According to **Jonathan Turner,** structure functionalist theories suffer from illegitimate teleology as a big logical problem. They often take cause and effect and vice-versa.
- ✔ It is impossible to measure objectively the functional importance of different occupations.
- ✔ Differences in income as between different occupations depend upon factors other than

the functional importance of different occupations even if this could be measured objectively.

- ✔ The Functionalist analysis of power and is flawed in that power should not be seen as a variable sum concept and it is not necessarily used in the interests of all members of society.
- ✔ The Functionalist analysis of social status is flawed because there is no necessary agreement within society as what factors determine social status and which occupations are deserving of high social status. Who has the higher social status; nurses or investment bankers?
- ✔ Unequal patterns of social stratification may for several reasons be dysfunctional and undesirable rather than functional and desirable.
- ✔ The Functionalist analysis of the significance of training costs as a factor necessitating income inequality is flawed.
- ✔ Functionalists have overstated the extent to which there is a limited pool of talent of individuals with functionally important skills.
- ✔ The Functionalist analysis of hierarchical patterns of social stratification as consisting in finely differentiated non -antagonistic strata accurate severely underestimates the extent of social conflict as between different social classes which is emphasised by conflict theorists.
- ✔ Although hierarchical patterns of social stratification are observable in most, if not all, known societies this does not mean that such patterns are inevitable.
- ✔ The Functionalist Theory amounts to little more than a variant of ruling class ideology dressed up as sociological theory which can be used to legitimise inequalities which are in fact unjustified and counterproductive.

The Conflict Perspective

The Marxist perspective differs from the functionalist perspective in focusing on divisive rather than integrative aspect of social stratification. Marxists regard social stratification as a means through which the group in the upper rungs exploits those in the lower

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rungs. Here the system of stratification is based on the relationship of social groups to the forces of production.

Conflict theorists take a very different approach to inequality. They argue that inequality results not from consensus over how to meet social needs but from class conflict.

Karl Marx provided the classic conflict theory of inequality. He argued that inequality grew naturally from the private ownership of the means of production. Those who own the means of production seek to maximize their own profit by minimizing the amount of return they must give to the proletarians, who have no choice but to sell their labor to the highest bidder. In this view, stratification is neither necessary nor justifiable. Inequality does not benefit society; it benefits only the rich.

Marx exclusively had never talked about social stratification rather this theory is derived out of his theory of class conflict. Hence, the major concept of his view over social stratification is following:

1) The base of all inequalities and social stratification lies in unequal distribution of economic resources.

2) Stratification may be universal phenomena but it is not inevitable for all societies.

3) Stratification is an outcome of conflict which took place in the process of control over the surplus production in the society.

4) The values and ideology of social stratification represents the values of dominant class which justifies inequality and the suffering of the have-nots.

5) Stratification is a medium to ensure unequal distribution; hence it is unethical, unjustifiable and illegitimate as an institution.

Like classic Marxist theory**, modern conflict theory** recognizes that the powerful can oppress those who work for them by claiming the profits from their labor (Wright 1985). It goes beyond Marx's focus on ownership, however, by considering how control also may affect the struggle over scarce resources and how class battles play out in governmental politics. In addition, modern conflict theory looks at noneconomic sources of power, especially gender and race. These

theorists argue, for example, that in the same way that capitalists benefit from the productive labor of workers, men gain benefit from the "reproductive" labor of women. The term reproductive labor describes traditionally female tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and nurturing—those tasks that often make it possible for others to work and play. Modern conflict theorists point out that in most families, those with the least power do the most reproductive labor; as a result, these individuals end up having fewer opportunities to earn good incomes that might otherwise increase their power within the family.

Criticisms

There is little doubt that people who have control (through ownership or management) systematically use their power to extend and enhance their own advantage. Critics, however, question the conclusion that this means that inequality is necessarily undesirable and unfair. First, people are unequal. Some people are working harder, smarter, and more talented than others. Unless forcibly held back, these people will pull ahead of the others even without force, fraud, and trickery. Second, coordination and authority are functional. Organizations work better when those trying to do the coordinating have the power or authority to do so.

The Concept Summary on Two Models of Stratification compares the structural- functional model of social stratification with the competing conflict model of stratification, which we discuss below.

Theories of Stratification – Weber's Trinitarian View

The three components theory (Trinitarian model) of social stratification more widely known as Weberian Stratification was developed by Max Weber with **class, status and party** as distinct ideal types. Weber developed a multidimensional approach to social stratification that reflects the interplay among wealth, prestige and power.

Weber believed, there were more class divisions than Marx suggested, taking different concepts from both functionalist and Marxist theories to create his own system. Weber believed in the difference between

Two Models of Stratification

Basis of Comparison	Structural-Functional Theory	Conflict Theory
1. Society can best be understood as:	Groups cooperating to meet common needs	Groups competing for scarce resources
2. Social structures:	Solve problems and help society adapt	Maintain current patterns of inequality
3. Causes of stratification are:	Importance of vital tasks, unequal ability, pleasantness of tasks	Unequal control of means of production maintained by force, fraud, and trickery
4. Conclusion about stratification:	Necessary and desirable	Unnecessary and undesirable, but difficult to eliminate
5. Strengths:	Consideration of unequal skills and talents and necessity of motivating people to work	Consideration of conflict of interests and how those with control use the system to their advantage
6. Weaknesses:	Ignores importance of power and inheritance in allocated rewards; functional importance overstated	Ignores the functions of inequality and importance of individual differences

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class, status and party, and treated these as separate but related sources of power, each with different effects on people's lives.

He claimed there should be **four main classes**: the upper class (like the bourgeoisie of Marx's theory), the property less white-collar workers, the petite bourgeoisie, and the manual working class (like Marx's proletariat).

Weber derived many of his key concepts on social stratification by examining the social structure of Germany. He noted that contrary to Marx's theories, stratification was based on more than simply ownership of capital. Weber examined how many members of the aristocracy lacked economic wealth yet had strong political power. Many wealthy families lacked prestige and power, for example, because they were Jewish. Weber introduced three independent factors that form his theory of stratification hierarchy i.e. class, status and party.

Class: It refers to a person's economic position in a society. Like Marx, Weber sees class in economic terms. He argues that classes develop in market economies in which individuals compete for economic gain. He defines a 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, in Weber's terminology, a person's 'class situation' is basically his 'market situation'. Those who share a similar class situation also share similar life chances. Their economic position will directly affect their chances of obtaining those things defined as desirable in their society, for example, access to higher education and good quality housing.

Like **Marx**, Weber argues that the major class division is between those who own the forces of production and those who do not. Thus, those who have substantial property holdings will receive the highest economic rewards and enjoy superior life chances. However, Weber sees important differences in the market situation of the property less groups in society. In particular the various skills and services offered by different occupations having differing market values. For example, in capitalist society, Managers, administrators and professionals receive relatively high salaries because of the demand for their services.

Weber admits that a common market situation may provide a basis for collective class action but he sees this only as a possibility. The market value of the skills of the property less varies and the resulting differences in economic return are sufficient to produce different social classes. Thus, he rejects the Marxian view that political power necessarily derives from economic power. Weber noted how managers of corporations or industries control firms they do not own; Marx would have placed such a person in the proletariat.

Status: It refers to a person's prestige, social honour or popularity in a society. Weber noted that political power was not rooted in capital value solely, but also in one's individual status.

While class forms one possible basis for group formation, collective action and the acquisition of political power, Weber argues that there are other bases for these activities. In particular, groups form because their members share a similar 'status situation'. Whereas class refers to the unequal distribution of economic rewards, status refers to the unequal distribution of 'social honour'. Occupations, ethnic and religious groups and most importantly styles

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of life are accorded differing degrees of prestige or esteem by members of society.

A status group is 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. In pre-Industrial Europe, there were two status groups i.e. Only certain families were part of the **patrician** class and you had to be born a **patrician**. The **patricians** were only a small percentage of the Roman population, but they held all the power. All the other citizens of Rome were **Plebeians**. **Plebeians** were the farmers, craftsmen, laborers, and soldiers of Rome. Weber argues that status groups reached their most developed form in the **caste system** of traditional Hindu society in India.

In many societies class and status situations are closely linked. However, those who share the same class situation will not necessarily belong to the same status group. For example, the nouveaux riches (the newly rich) are sometimes excluded from the status groups of privileged because of their tastes, manners and dress are defined as vulgar. Status groups may create divisions within classes. For example, a worker may have same 'market situation' with their co-workers but different 'status situation'. The presence of different status groups within a single class cut across class boundaries and weaken class solidarity, and reduce the potential for class consciousness.

Party: Weber defines 'parties' as groups which are specifically concerned with influencing policies and making decisions in the interests of their memberships. **In Weber's words parties are concerned with 'the acquisition of social powers'**. Parties include a variety of associations from the mass political parties of Western democracies to the whole range of pressure or interest groups which include professional associations, trade unions, the Automobile Associations etc. Parties often represent the interests of classes or status groups, but not necessarily. **To Weber, parties 'are always structures struggling for domination'.**

In Weber's words, Parties may represent interests determined through 'class situation' or 'status situation'. In most cases they are partly class parties and partly status parties. For example, the combination of class and status interests can be seen in the various Black Power organizations in the USA. They represent a status group but they also represent class interests. The majority of Blacks are working-class and many Black organizations are directly concerned with improving their class situation.

Weber's view of parties suggests that the relationship between political groups and class and status groups is far from clear-cut. Just as status groups can both divide classes and cut across boundaries, so parties can divide and cut across both classes and status groups. Weber's analysis of classes, status groups and parties suggests that no single theory can pinpoint and explain their relationship. The interplay of class, status and party in the formation of social groups in complex and variable and must be examined in particular societies during particular time periods. Marx attempted to reduce all forms of inequality to social class and argued that classes formed the only significant social groups in society. Weber argues that the evidence provides a more complex and diversified picture of social stratification.

Parties may pursue interests that are determined through class situation or through status situation. He identifies two types of parties – **parties of patronage and parties of principle.** Whatever they represent, parties are oriented to the attainment of power. They may even recruit members from them. They may not, however, be fully class parties or fully status parties. They may be neither of the two.

Criticism

According to **Cellia Heller**, on the one hand, Weber says that economic order and status groups are different on the other hand he says that they are very often correlated. **Ulrich Beck** says that today inequalities are rooted in risk position. Ulrich Beck in his 'Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity, 1992' contends that inequalities in modern society are a function of risk taking capability, risk consciousness and risk avoiding capability and not due to class and status per se. **Beck and Baudrillard** gave concept of individualized inequalities.

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Dimensions –class, status groups, gender, ethnicity and race

The class system is universal phenomenon denoting a category or group of persons having a definite status in society which permanently determines their relation to other groups. The social classes are de facto groups (not legally or religiously defined and sanctioned) they are relatively open not closed. Their basis is indisputably economic but they are more than economic groups. The relative importance and definition of membership in a particular class differs greatly over time and between societies, particularly in societies that have a legal differentiation of groups of people by birth or occupation.

Marx defined class in terms of the extent to which an individual or social group has control over the means of production. In Marxist terms a class is a group of people defined by their relationship to the means of production. Classes are seen to have their origin in the division of the social product into a necessary product and a surplus product. Marxists explain history in terms of a war of classes between those who control production and those who actually produce the goods or services in society (and also developments in technology and the like).

In the Marxist view of capitalism this is a conflict between **capitalists (bourgeoisie) and wage workers (proletariat)**. Class antagonism is rooted in the situation that control over social production necessarily entails control over the class which produces goods. In capitalism this is the exploitation of workers by the bourgeoisie. Marx saw class categories as defined by continuing historical processes.

Class stratification is a form of social stratification in which a society tends to divide into separate classes whose members have different access to resources and power. An economic, natural, cultural, religious rift usually exists between different classes.

In the well-known example of socioeconomic class, many scholars view societies as stratifying into a hierarchical system based on occupation, economic status, wealth, or income.

MacIver and Page defines social class as any portion of the community marked off from the rest by social status. MacIver says whenever social intercourse is limited by the consideration of social status by distinctions between higher and lower there exists a social class.

According to **Ogburn and Nimkoff** a social class is the aggregate of persons having essentially the same social status in a given society.

Max Weber suggests that social classes are aggregates of individuals who have the same opportunities of acquiring goods, the same exhibited standard of living. He formulated a three component theory of stratification with social, status and party classes (or politics) as conceptually distinct elements.

Weber differed with Marx not only about the definition of class but about the member of classes also. He indicated four main classes:

(1) Propertied Upper class,

(2) Petite bourgeoisie (small businessmen and profes-sionals),

(3) Middle (property less white-class workers) and,

(4) Manual working class

Ohlin Wright studied the American society with the synthesis of Marxian and Weberian perspectives and identified three classes in American society:

1) Upper class– who controls the capital and investment

2) Middle class – who controls technology and management

3) Lower class – who earns livelihood by earning wages

Wright believed that the upper class controls all the three classes whereas lower class cannot control even itself.

Marx, Weber and Ohlin Wright took pure objective criteria while explaining class whereas **W. Lloyd Warner** in his study of **Yankee city** applied the reputational approach(what others think about you and what an individual thinks about himself).This includes the

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income, nature of profession, family background, lifestyle, etc.

Various other scholars also make various classifications. For example, **Bottomore** differentiates four types of classes – upper class, middle class, working class and peasantry.

According to **Giddens** there are three main sources of class power – the possession of property, qualifications, and physical labor power. These tend to give rise to three-class structure: a dominant/upper class based on property, an intermediate/middle class based on credentials, and a working/lower class based on labor power.

Post modernists also argue that class stratification is no longer segmentry, but is along a continuum of individualized inequalities as a result of almost infinite division of labor, skill sets, and consumption patterns so on.

Goldthorpe in his empirical study of Europe indicates that even in European countries, mobility is limited to only among immediate classes and mobility from a class significantly distanced in hierarchy from another is lower i.e. long range mobility is difficult.

According to **Ralf Dahrendorf,** class stratification is not in so much antagonistic terms as Marx has visualized. New techniques and methods of directing the class struggle have been developed both in industrial and political sphere.

Pakulski and Waters in their 'Death of Class, 1996' argue that status dimension is becoming more important in post-industrial societies. Consumption is now based on status and not on the basis of occupation or economic well-being. Rising consumerism has promoted status and eclipsed class.

Pierre Bourdieu in his **'An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, 1992'** also proposed that lifestyle choices, rather than class, are more important today. Individual identities are now more shaped by lifestyle choices rather than by more traditional indicators like occupation.

STATUS GROUPS

The concept of status group was given by **Weber** who explained this concept in his Trinitarian model of social stratification. Contrary to Karl Marx, he believed that in pre- industrial Europe there were no classes because market was non-existential.

While class is broadly perceived as grouping on the basis of economic criteria, **status is based on prestige, goodwill, fame, personal qualities and social capital of an individual**. Status is often seen in terms of the social position. Earlier, status was seen as in terms of ascriptive values e.g.–Caste, Nobleman, Clergy, Estate owner etc. Today the term status is wider. **Status is both achieved as well as ascriptive.**

As a society becomes modern, status is also redefined. New occupations and new opportunities for mobility lead to opening of strata. Mobility in status based groups is more in modern capitalist societies, while less in less developed modern societies.

Status is one of the dimensions of stratification according to Max Weber and he differentiates it from class as '**social estimation of honor'**. Status is associated with consumption and not production. According to Weber, caste is the most developed form of status based stratification.

Weber called Hindu caste group as "**advanced status group**" and believed **Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra** are lifestyle and not economic class. Marx believed that the status comes from class whereas for Weber it is independent to it. For Weber, class may or may not determine the status.

Theoretically, class and status may look independent to each other but practically these two phenomena have capability to influence each other. In modern society, it can be observed that the economically well-off upper class over the period by acquiring the lifestyle of traditional upper class gets the status of the same. But, in sociological framework even the upper classes are divided into two classes on the basis of their reputation and lifestyle i.e. traditional upper class and Nouveau-riche.

Weber unlike Marx believed that the classes have the potential to influence their status but he also identified that even after acquiring a particular class in the process of social mobility one may not change their

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status because it always depends upon the "group acceptance". Sanskritization in India is an example.

W L Warner in his '**The Social Life of a Modern Community, 1941'** emphasizes on 'social status' instead of economic class. He considers three variables – education, occupation and income – as determinants of status. Other criteria which determine status are – friendship, membership of voluntary groups, leisure activities.

GENDER

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 direct product of an individual's biological sex. Broadly speaking, the term 'gender' refers to cultural ideas that construct images and expectations of both females and males. Nature has divided human race between men and women, but their status and role in society are determined by culture.

Sex and gender are two identical terms which are used interchangeably but both are different terms because sex is a biological phenomenon which is determined on the basis of reproductive organs of an individual whereas gender is socio-cultural expression of sex. It is largely determined by the cultural perception of the society. Hence, male and female are sexes whereas men and women are genders.

Sex and gender though used interchangeably but gender is purely a cultural perception which determines the hierarchy in the social order. Since almost all parts of the world is patriarchal except **Garo, Khasi, Nayar** etc. the stratification is determined on the basis of the gender in which man is the super-ordinate. Whereas women are subordinate and accordingly they enjoy privileges and disadvantages.

It is believed that since male is biologically superior, it reflects in hierarchy also but modern researchers proved that biologically some ways female is superior than male. For example, Man is superior because the muscles of male are more developed (50%) than the female. Secondly the size of lung, heart and liver are bigger than female. These two make males superior than females.

On the other hand, females are superior to males in following terms (i) life expectancy of females is more than male (ii) Females speak earlier than males and also learns walking earlier than males. (iii) Females have better oratory skills than the males. Hence, we can say that on biological yardsticks it cannot be proved that males are superior.

While nature created sexual difference, gender is a social construct according to feminist sociologist **Ann Oakley**. She rejected biological basis as offered by Tiger and Fox, Parsons etc. According to feminists, women are oppressed as a class by men and patriarchal structures are geographically and historically almost universal.

Margaret Mead in her book **"Sex and Temperament in three Primitive Societies"** studied three primitive communities i.e. Zuni, Arapesh and Tshambuli and found different form of personalities. In Zuni, both males and females were Appolonian (cool, calm, peace-loving, cooperative) personality. In Arapesh, both males and females were Dynosian personality (jealous, competitive, violent, aggressive, etc.). And in Tchambuli, contrary to general perception, males were Appolonian whereas females were Dynosian.

There were many studies conducted in different societies and almost it is believed that gender inequality is based on cultural prejudices than the scientific facts. Before Industrial and French revolution except few exceptions societies were largely patriarchal in which man was at the advantageous position whereas females are subject to various disadvantages politically, culturally and socially.

Two phenomena led to change in the status of women initially in Europe and later worldwide:

(i) Industrial and French revolution

(ii) Two world wars

Industrial and French revolution

Industrial revolution created an economic environment where women emerged as a major working force. First, they came out of the four walls and realized their potential which led to self-belief among them. French revolution entrusted the ideology of equality among them which inspire them to mobilize for the cause of

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equality which simultaneously gave birth to Feminist movement in Europe.

Two World Wars

These two wars changed the demographic profile of Europe where the loss of male young population due to war gave the opportunity to women to take the responsibilities which traditionally belonged to men. This further led to realization of potential among the women who started challenging male dominance over them.

Hence, after these two phenomena, the status of women started changing in Europe and other continents and subcontinents became the colony of Europe, this culture diffused to other societies also.

Marxist school of thought has led to the conceptualization of sexual division in terms of the 'place' of female labor within the class structure and of its 'functions for capital'. They see female subordination as a result of private property, emergence and consequent adoption of monogamy. However, both **Marx and Engels,** believed that one of the positive fallouts of capitalism is the increased participation of women in the workforce which will lead to her improved status within the family. Both of them also believed that gender stratification can end But, in modern society the relative status of women is changing fast. Feminism, economic activities, social legislations, legal safeguards, education and awareness has held to challenge the old age patriarchal system worldwide.

Now, it has been established that if given an equal opportunity, women can do equally good like men. **Edward Alice** in her book "**Cult of True Womanhood**" wrote that now the world has started giving space to women dignity, aspiration and better chances for realizing their individual dreams. Now, women can seek their identity beyond the identity of daughter, sister, mother, wife, etc.

Gender stratification has also moved beyond conventional male-female debate and increasing focus on transgender, bisexuals, gays, lesbians is also there. Many countries have now officially recognized and given legitimacy to such groups. Their problems are also now becoming part of mainstream stratification debate.

Gay Pride, Gay Liberation Front etc have highlighted the issue of rights of such groups globally. Even in **India**, On 6 September **2018**, the Court ruled unanimously in **Navtej Singh Johar v. Union of India** that **Section 377** was unconstitutional "in so far as it criminalises consensual sexual conduct between adults of the same sex"

Recent mobility studies show that women are doing considerably better than their male counterparts. In India, more and more women are coming into employment. Increasing automation in industry and rising share of service sector has lad o change in nature of work which has seen more participation from women as well. Educational attainment of women has improved significantly in percentage terms as compared to men in 2011 census. As birth frequency decreases and child-gap increases, more women can now take to full time jobs.

Gender issues are assessed on three specific dimensions in the 2017-18 Economic Survey, though it is pointed out that gender equality in itself is "an inherently multidimensional issue". The three dimensions are:

- **Agency**: This relates to the ability of women to make exclusive decisions on reproductive rights, financial independence and spending on themselves, and on their households, as well as their own health and mobility.
- **Attitude**: This dimension relates to attitudes about violence against women, and the ideal number of female children preferred against the ideal number of male children.
- **Outcomes**: This relates to the phenomenon of son preference, which is essentially measured by sex ratio of the last child, choice of contraception, education and employment of women, age at marriage, age at first childbirth and all types of violence experienced by women.

Mechanization of domestic work – washing machines, packaged foods etc – has also reduced some burden on women and she can devote more time on career. Love marriages and romantic relations have also altered the nature of domestic division of labor. Right to property has also given some security to women in traditional societies like India. New laws like Sexual Harassment at Workplace Act 2013 will promote a safe working

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environment to encourage women participation. Coupled with institutional measures and social movements, they are gaining more space in male dominated areas. This is certainly making stratification less skewed.

STRATIFICATION BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

RACE

Sociologists define race as a vast collectivity of people more or less bound together by shared and selected history, ancestors, and most importantly physical features. These people are socialized to think of themselves as a distinct group, and others regard them as such.

Race is one of the primary lines along which our society is stratified. What do we mean by race? First, we should note that race is not biological. That means that the difference we perceive among people in our society is a social construct. When sociologists use this term, they mean that race is an invention of our society. But, it has very real social consequences. Racial minorities have much less access to many important resources in our society.

Most biologists and social scientists have come to agree that race is not a biological fact. The reason is that parents from different racial categories can produce offspring. The offspring, by definition, are mixtures of the two categories and therefore cannot be placed in just one category. But they are socially placed in one category. For example children born of American and African (two racial stock) are put in one category i.e. African-American

Racial Groups sharing certain physical features believed to belong to certain broad categories of ancestors, such as Africans, Europeans, Asians, and Native Americans. The social significance of race is also a product of emphasizing or feeling connected to a history shared by a certain broad category of ancestors, who were commonly forced by laws and other social practices to become socially distinct from others.

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become socially distinct from other broad categories of ancestors.

Racial stratification has affected different societies differently and racism is the worst form of racial stratification. An extreme example is **Apartheid** in South Africa which once segregated whites and blacks in a highly discriminated manner. India too has witnessed racial stratification in past during Colonial Rule. **Criminal Tribes Act** was the result of such a skewed racial perception. Developed countries like USA also suffer from '**racial profiling'** incidents.

After declaring of equal civil rights in USA in 1960s, official abolition of Apartheid in South Africa in early 1990s and similar steps by other countries, racial stratification and racism now operates in more subtle ways than earlier open blatant racism. It is termed as '**new racism'**. Discriminatory attitudes still persist. Ideas of cultural differences instead of biological ones are now used to disguise racism. Those cultures which refuse to assimilate into the dominant culture face threat of marginalization and are discriminated on various grounds. Ban on turbans, hijab, Islamic headscarves etc in European countries are such attempts which have political backing too.

ETHNICITY

Sociologists study systems of racial and ethnic classification, which divide people into racial and ethnic categories that are implicitly or explicitly ranked on a scale of social worth. They study the origins of these racial and ethnic categories and their effect on life chances.

Ethnicity is derived from the ancient Greek word 'ethnos', which refers to 'a range of situations' where there is a **"sense of collectivity of humans that live and act together"** The notion is often translated today as 'people' or 'nation' (**Jenkins**). Ethnicity relates to ascriptive identities like caste, language, religion, region etc. Inequality in terms of sharing power between two ethnic groups results into conflict.

Ethnicity is a socio-cultural expression of race, for example, a single race **Caucasian** spread worldwide from Germany and settled in different parts of the world. They adopted a distinguished language, culture,

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food habits, clothing etc according to the new environment and hence became ethnic groups. Hence, Aryans, Britons, French, Russian etc. are some of the ethnic groups which emerged out of Caucasian race. Racial purity is a myth. Over the period, the different races have intermixed with each other and hence, a single race in its purest form cannot be identified.

Its use in contemporary sociology and in popular conception is relatively recent. The term was popularized in common American usage with the publication of **Yankee city series of Warner published in 1941**. **Warner** used the term ethnicity as a 'trait' that separates the individuals from some classes and identifies him with others'.

- ➢ The ethnicity is socially mobilized and territorially confined. It has numerically sufficient population and is a pool of symbols depicting distinctiveness.
- ➢ Ethnicity is manifested in society not merely due to grass root discontent but sometimes it is also a creation of vested political interest.
- ➢ Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena of society for alteration in their status, in their economic well being etc. are engaged very often in a form of interest group politics. The focus of interests of an ethnic group is to get some benefits for itself.
- ➢ The group often uses ethnic criteria like religion, language or caste to mobilize itself and to give identity to itself which separates it from other group or groups.
- ➢ The delineation of boundary of an ethnic group is an important aspect of ethnicity. The nature of identity shifts along with changing circumstances and calls for change in boundary or a change in identification.
- ➢ An ethnic community does not strictly have a racial connotation. A community can be distinct from others in many ways: Their racial stock or origin being one of them. A community may distinguish itself from others by way of a particular or distinctive culture, language, religion or a combination of these. These features lead ethnic communities to

conflict with other communities with whom they come in contact.

It has a reference group in relation to which/whom a sense of relative deprivation is aggregated among members of ethnic group.

Ethnicity causes ethnic movements after being left out of the developmental process or even being a victim of uneven development. The racial and ethnic categories to which people belong are a product of three interrelated factors: **chance, context, and choice.**

Chance is something not subject to human will, choice, or effort. We do not choose our biological parents, nor can we control the physical characteristics we inherit from them. **Context** is the social setting in which racial and ethnic categories are recognized, created, and challenged. Choice is the act of choosing from a range of possible behaviors or appearances. The **choices** one makes may emphasize or reject the behaviors and appearances that have come to be associated with a racial or ethnic group.

We sometimes confuse race and ethnicity, but these are different. Ethnicity refers to shared membership in a cultural group. Like race, it is also socially constructed. But, unlike race, ethnicity has major consequences for people's life chances. We tend to think of ethnic minorities as inferior, which results in a system of ethnic stratification. Income and wealth are also stratified along ethnic lines.

While racial identities remain same, ethnic identities are revised over time. Migration on a massive scale in the last century provided sociologists an opportunity to examine the fate of ethnic identities. For example, the Chicago School of sociologists found that over several generations, ethnic identities were lost and later revised.

One ethnic group may be subsumed by other under different situations. For example, while India itself has hundreds of ethnic groups, when Indians move to West all such groups are subsumed into one tag of '**Ethnic Indians'**.

Ethnic stratification depends upon the processes under which a society has undergone. Such process can be – **assimilation, melting pot, pluralistic coexistence or antagonistic co-existence**. During the process of assimilation, new immigrant groups adopt the attitudes

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and culture of the existing dominant group. In melting pot, different ethnic groups merge together. USA is such an example where many ethnic identities have merged to a great extent. Example of pluralism would be a society like India. Antagonistic co-existence is best exemplified which suffer ethnic conflicts. Such type of societies best demonstrate existence of sharp ethnic lines. Sri Lanka is such an example where ethnic Tamils and Singhalese exist in form of distinct strata.

Ethnicity and Plurality in India

India has a cultural, economic and social heterogeneity. The complex ethnic plurality is visible with ethnic groups varying in size, culture and consciousness and no clear demarcation is present between different groups. The system is highly segmented and heterogeneous. However emergence of ethnicity all around primarily on cultural grounds has put the boundary of nation state under severe stress. Usually the quest for larger identity is emphasized as it also serves some political purposes.

But at the same time, this emphasis on a large identity like nation ignores the reality of plural identities and their possible interplay and thus reverts back to the nation where religion, language etc become static categories of ethnic attributes.

SOCIAL MOBILITY – OPEN AND CLOSED SYSTEMS, TYPES OF MOBILITY, SOURCES AND CAUSES OF MOBILITY

Social mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups in social positions over time. Most commonly, social mobility refers to the change in wealth and social status of individuals or families. However, it may also refer to changes in health status, literacy rate, education, or other variables among groups, such as classes, ethnic groups, or countries.

Social mobility typically refers to vertical mobility, movement of individuals or groups up or down from one socio-economic level to another, often by changing jobs or marriage. Nonetheless, social mobility can also refer to horizontal mobility, movement from one position to another within the same social level, as when someone changes between two equally prestigious occupations.

On mobility **Sorokin** was the first sociologist who wrote a book **"Social and Cultural Mobility".** He was of the opinion that there is no society which is closed (Caste System in India) and no society which is completely open (Class System). He further contended that no two societies are exactly same in the amount of movement allowed or discouraged. Further the speed of movement or change may differ from one period of time to another. The rate of change depends upon the level of modernization of a given society.

As defined by **Barber**, social mobility refers to movement, either upward or downward between higher or lower social classes; or more precisely, movement between one relatively full time, functionally significant social role and another that is evaluated as either higher or lower.

Social mobility can be enabled to varying extents by economic capital, cultural capital, human capital, and social capital. Economic capital includes a person's financial and material resources, such as income and accumulated wealth. Cultural capital includes resources ranging from holding a graduate degree to having a grasp of a group's customs and rituals, both of which may confer an advantage in job markets and social exchanges. Human capital refers to such individual traits as competence and work ethic, which may enable increased educational or professional attainment. Social capital includes the advantages conferred by one's social network, such as access to professional opportunities and insider knowledge. These types of capital facilitate mobility by providing access to opportunities and the tools to acquire wealth and status.

There are many reasons for economic inequality within societies, and they are often interrelated. Below acknowledged **factors that impact social equality**

- Inequality in wages and salaries;
- The income gap between highly skilled workers and low-skilled or no-skills workers;
- Wealth concentration in the hands of a few individuals or institutions;
- Labor markets;
- Globalization;
- Technological changes;
- Policy reforms;
- Taxes;

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- Education;
- Computerization and growing technology;
- Racism;
- Gender;
- Culture;
- Innate ability

A major cause of economic inequality within modern economies is the determination of wages by the capitalist market. In the capitalist market, the wages for jobs are set by supply and demand. If there are many workers willing to do a job for a great amount of time, there is a high supply of labor for that job. If few people need that job done, there is low demand for that type of labor. When there is high supply and low demand for a job, it results in a low wage. Conversely, if there is low supply and high demand (as with particular highly skilled jobs), it will result in a high wage. The gap in wages produces inequality between different types of workers.

In an open society with a class system mobility is possible between different social classes. The positions in this stratification system depend more on achieved status. Achieved status is a sociological term denoting a social position that a person can acquire on the basis of merit. It is a position that is earned or chosen. It reflects personal skills, abilities and efforts; examples of achieved status are being an Olympic athlete, being a criminal or being a college professor.

On the other hand, in a close society an individual's position is largely ascribed, that is, fixed by birth. Ascribed status is position assigned to individuals or groups based on traits beyond their control such as sex, race or parental social status. In other words a position based on who a person is, not what they can do. Indian caste system is most appropriate example for closed system. Theoretically, societies are open or closed but practically no society is completely open or closed.

Caste, race, and gender based social stratification are the examples of closed social system. These societies do not offer any opportunity of Social Mobility to its members.

Lockwood and Gold Thorpe in their study of '**Black-coated workers'** found that the lower class do not get easy acceptance in the middle class in spite of their economic achievements. They are rejected by being called Nouveau Riche. They also found that in schools, offices are different and unfriendly environment and they believe that they are not accepted by the middle class.

Functionalists like **Parsons** believed that mobility is a result of process of differentiation in society and role filling by those who suit them most. **Davis and Moore** in '**Some Principles of Stratification, 1945'** theorized that it is the reward system of the society that facilitates individual mobility in society. Earlier studies on social mobility in modern societies were mostly narrowly focused on occupation. In 1960s and 70s new perspective evolved.

Marx, on the other hand, believed that high rate of social mobility, embourgeoisement, will weaken class solidarity. He foresees downward mobility in capitalism when Petite Bourgeoisie will sink down into proletariat class. Those like **Frank Parkin and Dahrendorf** believe that social mobility also acts as a safety value in society as build-up frustrations are vented through the route of social mobility.

Individual born and dies in same social position. But practically no system can be closed enough not to provide Social Mobility to its members because in any closed system some individual can ensure social mobility through their efforts. For example, **Sankritization (M. N. Srinivas), migration (David F. Pocock), conversion (Yogendra Singh) and Royal Proclamation were some of the means of social mobility within the caste system.**

Instances of mobility in traditional societies are low. In pure cultural context of traditional societies, since stratification was mostly ascriptive, mobility was also limited. **Andre Beteille** in his – '**Caste, Class and Power, 1971'** has shown how mobility in a closed and stratified caste system is difficult. **M N Srinivas** in his study of **Coorgs** showed that in such a system alternate methods like Sanskritization are evolved to move socially up, but this affects only cultural aspects and not structural aspects.

Hence, the open and close system is a relative concept. The closed system provides little opportunities for Social Mobility whereas open system has least hindrances but practically no society is open or closed absolutely.

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It is also argued that very acceptance of mobility as a social process strengthens existing classes in society. It reinforces the status distinction as individuals put different values on different roles. It is argued that focus of social change should be social equality and not social mobility.

TYPES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Change of social position of an individual or group of individuals takes different forms and shapes. At one period of time there would be one type of mobility and another period of time it can be another type. Each of the following types is not exclusive but they may overlap, it is only for the purpose of convenience and analysis they are given different labels.

1. Horizontal Mobility

Under this type of social mobility, a person changes his or her occupation but the overall social standing remains the same. Certain occupations like Doctor, Engineer, and Professor may enjoy the same status but when an engineer changes his occupation from engineer to teaching engineering, he has horizontally moved from one occupational category to another. But no change has taken place in the system of social stratification.

In other words, horizontal mobility is the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situated on the same level. While explaining horizontal mobility we are mainly referring to movement of individuals from one position to another of more or less equal prestige. Sorokin explains the concept of horizontal mobility still more broadly.

According to **Sorokin**, "Horizontal mobility refers to territorial, religious, political party, family, occupational and other horizontal shifting without any noticeable change in vertical position.

The individuals are no more attached to their place of birth. The individuals move from one place to another in search of jobs which may be of same prestige. The modern means of transportation have brought in more territorial movement of individuals.

The other expression of territorial mobility, according to Sorokin, is greater circulation of social things and values which refer to newspaper news, automobile

implements, birth control or money, if social thing is used by more and more people of the same class, regardless of the country or territorial boundaries, and then this is an example of horizontal expression.

In addition to this, the shifting of individuals from one job or factory or occupation' to another of the same kind refers to horizontal circulation especially, if they do not represent any noticeable change in vertical direction. These kinds of intra-occupational circulation or labour turnover, therefore, refer to not only vertical but horizontal intra-occupational mobility.

Sorokin further indicates that since territorial, family, intra-occupational mobility of present Western society is intensive it is expected to be accompanied by a considerably horizontal circulation of the individuals from State to State, from one religious group to another, from one political party to another and generally from one ideological group to another.

2. Vertical Mobility

Vertical mobility refers to any change in the occupational, economic or political status of an individual or a group which leads to change of their position. In the words of Sorokin, by vertical social mobility is meant the relations involved in transition of an individual (or a social object) from one social stratum to another.

In simple words, vertical mobility stands for change of social position either upward or downward, which can be labeled as ascending or descending type of mobility. When a big businessman meets with losses in his business and is declared bankrupt, he occupies a low status. On the other hand, if a small businessman with occupational skills of money and manipulation becomes an industrialist he occupies a higher position in the social ladder. Hence his position improves in the hierarchical order.

3. Upward Mobility:

When a person or a group of persons move from lower position to upper position it is called Upward Mobility e.g. a person belonging to a lower caste and occupying a lower position after winning elections becomes a Minister and occupies a higher position. He may not be able to change his caste but with his economic and

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political power he may move upward. For example, Yadavs in India stand as a testimony to this fact.

For the individuals involved, there are many social and psychic costs of upward mobility. Some of the costs are obvious, as men and women break under the strain of a consistent drive for success. In the course of his upward movement, the mobile man must leave behind many people and places. He must leave the ways of thinking and behaving that characterized many of his earlier associations and he must learn, if he can, new ways of thinking and behaving appropriate to his new status.

4. Downward Mobility

Downward mobility indicates that one loses his higher position and occupies a lower position. We can take the example of an individual, who is an Engineer and occupies a respectable position in the society because of his occupational position, education and may be caste.

If he is caught for accepting bribe or has committed a sin or has done something wrong, he may be sentenced to jail or members of his caste may outcaste him and as a criminal or as an outcaste he may occupy a lower position vis-a-vis position he was occupying earlier. Under the traditional Indian system if a lady of higher Brahmin caste married a man of Sudra caste, not only the man and woman were out casted but their children were declared as 'chandals.'

Downward Mobility is more stressful for persons who suffer a drastic decline in station position. Men who enjoy orderly -and consistent career tend to make a stable personal, family and community adjustment. Men who are unable to do so are more vulnerable to the most extreme form of personal disorganization – namely suicide.

The Downward Mobility is an indicator of the extent to which a society institutionalizes the value of equal opportunity through the creation of structure which supports and facilitates it. **Lipset and Zetterberg** are of the opinion that this type of mobility is due to interchange of ranks i.e. mobility arising from implementation of equality of opportunity.

5. Inter-Generational Mobility

This type of mobility means that one generation changes its social status in contrast to preceding generation. However, this mobility may be upward or downward e.g. people of lower caste or class may provide facilities to their children to get higher education, training and skills.

With the help of these skills the younger generation may get employment in higher position. If the father is a shoemaker but his son after acquiring education becomes a clerk or a doctor or an engineer, this would be called upward inter- generational mobility.

Similarly, a family of Brahmins may be engaged on traditional occupation of teaching and performing rituals but its younger generation is neither intelligent nor follows the family occupation. They become daily wagers then the younger generation has downward inter-generational mobility.

With the improvement in economic position, people start changing their style of living by discarding the old practices and adopting the practices of those who are high in social ladder. After two or three generations their new position may be recognized. This process of social mobility, according to Srinivas is a process of **Sanskritizon**.

Conditions for Inter-generational Mobility

According to Sorokin, the following conditions affect rates of mobility between generations:

(a) Differences between Parents and Offspring's

If a parent occupies an important position requiring high capacity, his children who are less capable are likely to be downward mobile. Conversely, children who are more capable than their parents are likely to be upwardly mobile, especially open-class societies.

(b) Population Change

In developed and developing countries, greater population expansion at the lower than at the higher levels contribute to upward mobility. Overall population growth creates new positions in the upper and middle levels, where growth is not great enough to fill the vacancies.

(c) Changes in Occupational Structure

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With the changing times many occupations have been upgraded and downgraded because their socially defined importance has changed. Some occupations have moved up or down because of changes in the scarcity of workers willing and able to perform their tasks.

6. Intra-Generational Mobility

This type of mobility takes place in life span of one generation. This can be further divided into two:

(a) Change in the position of one individual in his life span

(b) Change in the position of one brother but no change in the position of another brother.

A person may start his career as a clerk. He acquires more education and skills. Over a period of time, he becomes an IAS officer or a Professor. In this way he moves up and occupies a higher social position than the one with which he had started his career.

His brother may have also started his career as a clerk but did not occupy higher position in his life span and continued to remain at the same position. Hence, within the same generation we find that one brother changes his position and other brother does not.

7. Occupational Mobility

Occupational mobility means change from one occupation to another. Different occupations' are hierarchically arranged because the incumbent of these occupations gets different economic rewards and enjoys different power, prestige and privileges based on the economic returns, authority and prestige.

These occupations are stratified or hierarchically arranged. When a person or a group of persons move from occupations of lower prestige to occupations of higher prestige, this is called Upward Vertical Mobility. Similarly if an individual or a group of individuals from occupations of higher prestige take up occupations of lower prestige, then this occupational mobility is called Downward Vertical Mobility.

From a clerk to an officer is upward vertical occupational mobility; from a clerk to a peon or a smuggler is downward vertical occupational mobility.

We must keep in mind that society grants recognition, prestige and power not only based on economic returns from a occupation or profession but according to the skills of the individual which are valued most in the society. A smuggler may be earning more than a clerk but his means of livelihood are not recognized in the society.

Hence, he is placed lower in the social ladder. Now-a-days politicians with their political power occupy higher position irrespective of the means adopted. Hence, people aspire to occupy positions. Occupational mobility, in short, stands for change of occupation of lower prestige to higher and vice-versa.

8. Structural and individual mobility

Structural Mobility – Major upheavals and changes in society can enhance large numbers of people's opportunities to move up the social ladder at the same time. It may lead to group movement as a whole stratum or may even whole nation.

In his concept of Dominant Caste, M N Srinivas shows how possession of resources like land leads to shifting of a whole stratum in a local hierarchy. This form of mobility is termed structural mobility. Industrialization, increases in education, and postindustrial computerization have allowed large groups of Indians since 1990 to improve their social status and find higher- level jobs than did their parents.

Individual Mobility – It is a micro view of social mobility. Individual characteristics—such as race, ethnicity, gender, religion, level of education, skills, determination, occupation, place of residence, health, and so on –determine individual mobility. Opportunity for individual mobility can be restricted by several factors. For example – for women, certain ethnic groups or disabled person opportunities for upward mobility are limited.

9. Absolute and relative mobility

Absolute mobility measures whether – and by how much – living standards in a society have increased— often measured by what percentage of people have higher incomes or social well being than their parents. The more absolute mobility there is, the better off the population is than their parents, and their children will consequently be better off than them.

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Relative mobility refers to the fluidity of a society. In other words, if one person moves up in relative terms, another by definition must have moved down i.e. it is zero sum propositions. In contrast, absolute mobility is not zero-sum.

SOURCES AND CAUSES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

The rate of mobility in modern societies is determined by structural factors i.e. those factors which determine social mobility of group or individual due to structural changes, for example, economic boom or depression; and Second individual factors includes individual skills and traits that determined which people get the positions.

Structural Factors

(a) **Occupational Structure**

Societies differ in the relative proportion of high and low status positions to be filled. A society with a primarily agricultural and extractive economy (mining and forestry) will have many low-status and few high-status positions, and mobility will be low. The rate of mobility rises with the degree of industrialization in both the capitalist and socialist countries. Most people in the developing countries are still in an agricultural and extractive economy leaving limited opportunity for upward mobility.

(b) **Mobility Barriers**

Even in a relatively open class society, upward mobility is not open equally for everyone. Middle-class children typically have learning experiences which are more helpful in gaining upward mobility than the experiences of lower-class children. Conflict theory scholars maintain that credentials (certificates), recommendations, the 'old-boy network,' and over discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities and lower-class persons seriously limit upward mobility while protecting the children of the upper classes from downward mobility.

Individual Factors

While structural factors may determine the proportion of high-status, well-paid positions in a society, individual factors greatly affect which persons get them.

(a) **Ability Differences**

Other things being equal, the talented usually earn more than the untalented. It is all known that not all people are equally talented. While it is impossible to measure individual ability differences satisfactorily, we assume that they are important factors in life success and mobility.

(b) **Mobility-Oriented Behaviour**

(i) **Education**

It is an important mobility ladder. Even a well-paid working-class job is hard to find unless one can read directions and do simple arithmetic. About one in five Americans is 'functionally illiterate,' and most of these people spend their lives on the bottom rung of the mobility ladder. For many careers the greatest value of education lies not in the particular knowledge and skills it provides but in cultivating one's ability to locate and use information as it is needed.

(ii) **Work Habits**

These are sometimes over-looked as a mobility factor. One recent study concludes that work habits learned in early childhood are the most important for all eventual success and well-being. Hard work carries no guarantee of upward mobility, but not many achieve upward mobility without it.

(iii) **Deferred-Gratification Pattern (DGP)**

This consists of postponing immediate satisfaction in order to gain some later goal. The middle class may have the most to gain through the DGP. The upper class has little need to defer gratification, for it needs only to retain positions already held. There is evidence that lower-class persons more often have a short-term perspective and less often follow the DGP. This is not surprising, for persons whose grasp upon jobs and income are short-term are likely to have short-term plans and values.

Industrialization and Urbanization

It is one of the determinants of social mobility. There is expansion and diversification of occupation in Pre-industrial society. Diversity of occupational

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opportunities leads to economic growth. Economic growth is significant factor in increasing mobility. Sustained eco growth results in expansion of tertiary sector. It is not eco growth per se which makes significant impact; it should be accompanied with rapid expansion of education. India: Jobless growth in 1990s. Growth was in areas with specialized skills. So capital intensive growth did not make significant improvement in quality of life of population.

Politicization/Democratization

Gives access to political power opportunity to gain power. It can be used for further eco power and prestige. Social changes in these directions contribute to mobility. Mobility can be seen as an index of modernization economic development and politicization.

Environmental changes

It may provide for both upward and downward mobility. Natural disasters lead to downwards mobility. Favorable changes like good rain, good weather support economic activity and agriculture leading to prosperity.

Law and constitution also plays an important role. Concept of positive discrimination for the deprived, weaker and minority sections helps in social mobility of these sections.

Migration can also be a source of mobility. People migrate from rural to urban areas, from under-developed countries to developed countries for greener economic pastures.

Consequences of Mobility

- ➤ High mobility adds to social cohesion.
- ➤ **Frank Parkin** has seen the 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.
- ➤ It hastens economic growth.
- ➤ Illegitimate means are used to climb up the ladder by people with achievement motivation.
- ➤ It weakens kinship ties and thus, suicide rate increases.

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UNIT VI (WORK & ECONOMIC LIFE)

- **Social organization of work in different types of societies- slave society, feudal society, industrial/capitalist society**
- Formal and Informal organizations of work
- Labour and society

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Work whether paid or unpaid, can be defined as being carrying out of tasks requiring the expenditure of mental and physical effort, which has as its objective the production of goods and services that cater to human needs. An occupation or job is a work that is done in exchange for a regular wage or salary. In all cultures work is the basis of the economy. The economy system consists of institutions that provide for the production and distribution of goods and services.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of modern societies is the existence of a highly complex division of labour, work has divided into an enormous number of different occupations in which people specialize in traditional societies, non agricultural work entailed 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 the beginning to end. For example a metal worker making an iron plough would forge the iron, shape it and assemble the implement itself.

Modern society has also witnessed a shift in the location of the work. Before industrialization, most work took place at home and was completed by the members of the household. Advances in industrial technology, such as machinery operating on electricity and coal, contributed to specialization of work and home. Factories owned by entrepreneurs became the focal point of the industrial development, machinery and equipment were concentrated within them and the mass production of goods began to eclipse small scale artisanship based in the home. Various dimensions of analysis of organization of work in different societies can be –

I. Activities of production – hunting gathering, agriculture, mass production.

II. Nature of work – simple or complex, formal or informal etc.

III. Source of power – land, capital etc. Classical elite theories locate source of power in individual qualities. Marx see source of power in control over mode of production.

IV. System of stratification – master-slave in ancient mode, in feudal lord-serf, haves-haves not in capitalism, in caste system chatur-varna. Stratification is a result of pattern of inequalities that exist in society. Basis of such inequalities is explained through various theories of stratification.

V. Social mobility – avenues of social mobility are also different in different modes of production. When division of labor is low and work is ascriptive in nature, mobility is poor as in case of feudal and ancient mode of production.

VI. Degree of alienation – according to Marx it peaks in capitalism and according to Weber it is a result of increasing rationalization of work.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF SOCIETY

Slave society

Slave society is a society, where the fundamentals of class conflict are based on the division of people into masters and slaves, with slaves being the dominant producing class. Masters had complete control and ownership right over slaves. One group among human beings (slaves) were commoditized and controlled by masters.

Slavery system is highlighting the term Stratification in the society which exists due to caste, creed, sex

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and many other factors. This term gives rise to the power to some people who can make other people their slave by the amount of money and power. They become other people's property and they were subjected to violence and every kind of ill practice. The people were categorized into two kinds of people i.e. Dominance- The people who ruled over other people and Submissive- The people who were condemned to follow upper-class people because of lack of power and self-awareness.

According to **Marx & 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 regarded as the property of another. In extreme cases he is completely without any rights. According to **H.J Nieboer** the basis of slavery is always economic because with it emerged a kind of aristocracy which lived upon slave labour.

Slaves were in lower condition as compared with freemen. The slaves have no political rights. They did not choose their government, did not attend the public councils. They were compelled to work and socially deprived.

Once the institution of slavery is established, it tends to perpetuate itself in many ways, especially by inbreeding within the slave by capturing in warfare and raids and by other mode variable events as penalty for crime, compensation for indebtedness, purchase, etc. The right to use and dispose the object i.e. slave anyway was the right of the owner.

Though this system was prevalent in Europe, it was also found in other parts of world. **Slave dynasty** in India is also an example when king used to give the state to their slaves to rule on behalf of them. This system was also found in America, Asia, and Africa but not as developed as in Europe.

There were various **types of slavery** in those times

Chattel Slavery- It is the most traditional form of slavery where people were bound to become master's personal property and nowadays this kind

of practice is null and no government takes this system to be legal in any country.

Bonded Labour- This kind of labor was a bond practice which was for some time and not a lifetime imprisonment. For example, if someone took a loan which he fails to pay then the person pays his debt by becoming labor for some time.

Forced Labour-People is condemned to work under someone due to their influence or terror against weak people.

Forced Marriages– People were forcefully married for any sexual desire or to work household chores.

Dependents– It was a common word used for slaves but it has been observed that their condition was somehow better than Freeman in Persia.

This system was abolished due to following reason

1) Change in the mode of production – Agriculture came in the existence where man learnt to use land and animal as a source of energy which led to loss of relevance of slaves as mode of production.

2) Frequent revolts and violence by the slaves for the pursuance of their freedom.

3) Intellectual opposition and criticism against the slavery system.

Feudal System

Feudalism was practiced around the 9th century and it had its influence till the 15th century. Feudalism was basically a system in which people were bound to work for upper-class people in exchange of money or land. Many sociologists have researched about this term but there was not a peculiar definition of this word but people came with the characteristics of feudalism.

Characteristics of Feudalism

Unlike slavery system this practice was a legal practice, it provided everyone's rights and duties. The labors were not boycotted from public gatherings.

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There was a broad classification of labor in estate system which means there was no sort of violence or making them work for longer hours. There were three main key elements called as nobility, clergy, and commons. Nobility was to protect them, the clergy was the one to see their well-being and the commons always provided them with their basic needs like food or sanitation. This estate was approximately said to form 0.5% of the France population.

Lastly, there were well defined political groups. It came with rights not only with duties which was a relief opposite to the Slavery system. The three estates existed before the famous French revolution namely first estate, second state, third state, and estates general.

First Estate– First estate is also known as clergy comprised of two types that is upper clergy and lower clergy. There was not much difference between these categories. For example, bishops, the noble person came under upper clergy whereas priests, monks, and nuns were categorized in the lower clergy. Their basic function was to ensure people's well-being.

Second Estate-Second Estate also known as Nobility also comprised of two categories which are Nobility of the Sword and Nobility of the robe. Its basic function was to provide justice and was a part of the royal court and administration. They were said to form 1.5% of the total population of France before the French revolution.

Third Estate– They were the ones who do not belong to other group and accounted for 98% of the total population. They were the commoners and unnecessarily they were forced to pay higher taxes which were beneficial for other estates but slowly started a sense of dissatisfaction due to fewer rights. This resentment towards the higher amount of taxes imposed by the other two estates was the basis of a revolt which abolished this system after the French revolution.

Estates General – Estates General was an assembly called by King Louis XVI and it was the first setup of assembly by the king to discuss some of the financial problems because of the French

revolution. At the time of the revolution, due to maximum people participating in revolt refused to pay the tax to other estates resulting in a financial crisis for the kingdom itself. It led to the first meeting of the Estates general.

Feudalism in different contexts and characteristics was also found in Asian societies like China, Japan, and India etc. **James Tod** in 1820 wrote that the European feudalism was almost similar he found in Rajasthan. Though there is a debate in history whether Indian society had this system or not because in Indian feudalism the army was not allowed to the zamindars /feudal.

Capitalist Society

Feudal system matured with increase in production, rise in surplus, rise in trade in commodities, handicrafts etc. As the scale of production increased with usage of mechanical instruments, new markets were sought. New possibilities further demanded setting up of industries. Instead of being controlled by nature, man now tries to control nature. With the emergence of factories, family loses its primary position in production.

Karl Marx's work, **The Communist Manifesto**, is an infamous book that criticizes the upper classes in a capitalist society. Before you read Marx or any other criticism of such societies, it often helps to have an idea of what's meant by the term. 'Capitalist societies' aren't a single type of economic or political entity. They actually have a lot of variety, and don't always deal with similar situations in a similar manner.

The notion of the free market is essential to an understanding of capitalism. The free market is a system of sales and consumption where prices are set by buyers and sellers according to supply and demand. Supply and demand is a basic economic law that states that the more popular an item is, the more people are willing to pay. The idea behind capitalism is that the free market of products and ideas is owned and driven by private citizens. A capitalist society is a social order in which private property rights and the free market serve as the

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basis of trade, distribution of goods, and development.

Capitalist society (Industrial Society) was different than the pre-capitalist mode of production in the following ways:

- ✔ Capitalism was oriented on the profit-making rather than consumption.
- ✔ Capital and machines became the mode of production and human potential reduced to merely helping machines to produce.
- ✔ Family was no longer a unit of production and confined to consumption merely
- ✔ The production took place at large level and complicated work organization came in existence which gave birth to bureaucracy.
- ✔ Division of labour became complicated and for the first time in history women emerged as a strong workforce.
- ✔ Division of labour became specialized and not based on ascription
- ✔ Democracy, secularism, rule of law, etc. developed to facilitate industrialization.
- ✔ Capitalist society gave birth to new values, culture, custom, beliefs which were completely different than the pre-capitalist societies.
- ✔ Numerous secondary institutions emerged in this society.

According to **Emile Durkheim**, Division of labour or specialization is the specialization of cooperative labour in specific, circumscribed tasks and roles, intended to increase the productivity of labour in Industrial society. Historically the growth of a more and more complex division of labour is closely associated with the growth of total output and trade, the rise of capitalism, and of the complexity of industrialization processes.

Increasing the specialization may also lead to workers with poorer overall skills and a lack of enthusiasm for their work (Alienation). This viewpoint was extended and refined by **Karl Marx**. He described the process as alienation; workers become more and more specialized and work repetitive which eventually leads to complete alienation.

TAYLORISM AND FORDISM

Taylor's approach to what he called 'scientific management' involved the detailed study of industrial processes in order to break them down into simple operations that could be precisely timed and organized (Scientific management came to be called as Taylorism).

Taylorism was not merely an academic study. It was a system of production designed to maximize industrial output, and it had a widespread impact not only on the organization of industrial production and technology, but also on workplace politics as well.

In particular, Taylor's time-and-motion studies wrested control over knowledge of the production process from the worker and placed such knowledge firmly in the hands of management, eroding the basis on which cart or traditional workers maintained autonomy from their employers. (As such, Taylorism has been widely associated with the deskilling and degradation of labour.)

The principles of Taylorism were appropriated by the industrialist Henry Ford. One of Ford's most significant innovations was the introduction of the assembly line industry. Each worker on Ford's assembly line was assigned specialized tasks, such as fitting the left side door handles as the car bodies moved along the line.

Ford was among the first to realize that mass production requires mass markets. He reasoned that if standardized commodities such as automobiles were to be produced on an ever-greater scale, the presence of consumers who were able to buy those commodities must also be assured. In 1914 Ford took the unprecedented step of unilaterally raising wages at his Dearborn, Michigan, plant to $5 for an eight-hour day a very generous wage at the time and one that ensured a working class lifestyle that included owning such as automobile.

Fordism is the name given to designate the system of mass production tied to the cultivation of mass markets. In certain contexts, the term has a more

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specific meaning, referring to a historical period in the development of post-second world War capitalism, in which mass production was associated with stability in labour relations and high degree of unionization.

Under Fordism, firms made long term commitments to workers, and wages were tightly linked to productivity growth. As such, collective bargaining agreements formal agreements negotiated between firms and unions that specified working conditions such as wages, seniority rights, and benefits and so on- closed a virtuous circle that ensured worker consent to automated work regimes and sufficient demand for mass-produced commodities. This system is generally understood to have broken down in the 1970s, giving rise to greater flexibility and insecurity in working conditions.

Postindustrial Societies

In 1973, sociologist **Daniel Bell** noted that a new type of society was emerging. He described the essential changes that are accompanying the emergence of a Post-Industrial Society, one that relies on intellectual technologies of telecommunications and computers, not just "large computers but computers on a chip".

This new postindustrial society has six characteristics

(1) A service sector so large that most people work in it

(2) A vast surplus of goods

(3) Even more extensive trade among nations

(4) A wider variety and quantity of goods available to the average person

(5) An information explosion

(6) A global village where the world's nations are linked by fast communications, transportation and trade.

In addition to the associated technology, a substantial proportion of the working population employed in service, sales and administrative

support occupations distinguishes post-industrial societies. There is an extraordinary rise in the percentage of workers in management, professional, and related occupations. There is an increased emphasis on education as an avenue of social mobility.

MARKET ECONOMY

Market or Free economy is characterized by a system in which the allocation of resources is determined by supply and demand in the market. Both the production and distribution is determined by the market forces to ensure competition and efficiency.

✔ It has an effect on the traditional families. As a result of monetization and market economy the different members of the family contribute to the family income and increased the avenues for social mobility

✔ There is rapid growth of industries in which the employee-employer relations are based on contractual relations. Work has become the commodity which is exchanged for wages.

✔ Expansion of markets has increased the volume of trade and commerce facilitating the integration of the country and different societies.

✔ Growth of economy leads to occupational diversification and increasing specialization of occupations which in turn has created a demand for educational institutions to provide specialized training.

✔ Due to industrialization and expansion of market economy in urban areas leads to consumption oriented life-style.

✔ Market economy governed by supply and demand is inherently unstable. This leads to anomie which is characteristic of urban life. Inflation also poses a constant threat to instability in the urban markets.

Formal and Informal organizations of work

FORMAL AND INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONS OF WORK

Formal sector as activities which are taxed and monitored by the government and the activities

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involved are included in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In contrast to formal economy, the informal sector which is neither taxed nor included in the GDP and Gross national product (GNP) of a country.

Looking into the composition of the Indian economy, the formal or organized sector and the informal or unorganized sector constitutes the Indian economy. Formal sectors represent all jobs with specific working hours and regular wages and the worker's job is assured. The workers are employed by the government, state or private sector enterprises. It is a licensed organization and is liable to pay taxes. It includes large-scale operations such as banks and other corporations. Conversely, informal or unorganized sectors are the ones where the employees or the workers do not have regular working hours and wages and are exempted from taxes. It is mainly concerned with the primary production of goods and services with the primary aim of generating employment and income on a small scale. A street vendor selling his farm products on the street to generate and earn his daily bread is an example of informal economy. Rag pickers, moneylenders, brokers are considered as a part of an informal economy. It is also described as the grey economy.

Formal Organisation of Work

Formal organization of work is one which is deliberately planned and designed and duly sanctioned by the competent authority. It is the organization of work as shown on the organization chart or as described by manuals and rulers. Formal organization of work is a system of consciously coordinated activities or forces of two or more persons. Individuals agree to work in an organization because they are prepared to contribute their services and receive in return certain benefits.

In sociology, **Max Weber** was the first sociologist who discussed formal organization or bureaucracy at length. In formal organization everyone holds some office and their position and authority are judged by the office. Every post is inter-chained in a mutual relation of command and obedience. It is a transparent system of super and subordination. Industries, bureaucracy, political parties are the example of formal organizations.

Formal organization is a system of well defined jobs, each bearing a definite measure of authority,

responsibility and accountability, the whole consciously designed to enable the people of the enterprise to work most effectively together in accomplishing their objects.

Formal organization of work is the frame through which organized effort is directed towards achieving the goals. It has certain distinct characteristics they are:

Legal Status

A distinctive feature of formal organization work is that it is backed by legal sanctions. The establishment of any organization where work is formally organized requires the enactment by parliament or legislature. Public sector organisations like Life Insurance Corporation, Food Corporation, etc were established on the basis of enactments by the union parliament. The law which enables the organization to come into existence also confers authority. The personnel working in the various departments in the discharge of their official work are backed by the authority of law.

Division of work

Division of work, which is the very basis for Formal organization of work, is made possible through formal organisation. Formal organization which indicates the levels of management, the designation of officers and their area of operation makes it very convenient for the division of work.

Primacy of Structure

In formal organization of work, the emphasis is laid on the design and structure. The structure is clearly defined and the roles of individuals working in organizations are clearly spelled out. The structure also describes the communication flows and the relationships between workers.

Permanence

Formal organisation of work is relatively permanent than informal organisation of work. Though they adapt to environmental conditions and change the structure and even objectives, they are generally created to last a long time. Such work not only last long, but they also grow over time.

Rules and Regulations

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Another important feature of a formal organization is that it is done in accordance with well-formulated rules and regulations. Officials involved in formal organizations of work cannot act as per their likes and dislikes but should function within the framework of the stipulated rules and regulations.

In formal organisation of work it is important to determine the goals and objectives in the absence of which it would be difficult to direct skills of men and women to accomplish the stated goals. These goals and objectives spells out the nature and scope of the activities of different persons working in the organization. In formal organisation of work every higher level functionary coordinates the activities of the officers immediately below him.

Informal Organisation of Work

The sector is characterized by excessive seasonality of employment (especially in the farm sector), preponderance of casual and contractual employment, atypical production organizations and work relations, absence of social security measures and welfare legislations, negation of social standards and worker rights, denial of minimum wages and so on. Poor human capital base (in terms of education, skill and training) as well as lower mobilization status of the work force further add to the vulnerability and weaken the bargaining strength of workers in the informal sector. Thus, the sector has become a competitive and low cost device to absorb labour, which cannot be absorbed elsewhere, whereas any attempt to regulate and bring it into more effective legal and institutional framework is perceived to be impairing the labour absorbing capacity of the sector.

J. Keith Hart, an anthropologist while working for a research project of the International Labour Organization (ILO), studied African societies (labour market in Accra) and coined the term 'Informal sector' (1973), later on popularized by ILO.

Workers in Informal Organisation of Work have low levels of education and thus they have low levels of skills. This is the reason why they are engaged in jobs involving low technology. Workers in the formal sector have skills and their position in the labour is better.

Easy entry

Getting work in the informal sector is comparatively easier than in the formal sector. Any able bodied person, irrespective of the skills possessed can become a day laborer. With minimum investment the same person can become a street vendor and sell her/his wares in the market. The people do not need money to invest in a shop. In this way the informal sector is able to absorb more workers who would not get any work because they are either not qualified or they do not have capital for investing in business.

Low paid employment

Because of the requirement of low skill 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 in informal workforce 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.

Immigrant labour

Informal sector is largely composed of immigrants. Most of the workers come to the city from rural areas in search of a livelihood. Hence migrant status is a characteristic of informal sector.

Formal and informal organization of work also depends upon the task which is to be accomplished. Tasks which are to be accomplished in a project or mission mode have greater scope of informal working as the team has to improvise new strategies, make new plans and have to work in a flexible manner. Informal organization working offers more flexibility over formal organization working. Informal organizations also have their own limitations as well. By way of informal decision making and working, some individuals may usurp more power in the organizations and may undermine its goals and principles. Informal relations can also be exploited to promote vested interests. Corporate scams, insider trading, monopolistic practices, collusive bribery etc are

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some of the ill consequences of informal organization of work within formal organizations.

Case Studies of Garment Workers

These studies will enable us to get a better insight into the people engaged in this sector.

The garment industry is one of the largest employers in the informal sector. With growing consumerism there is a growth in the demand for clothes. The industry caters to all income groups, namely, manufacturing clothes that will be bought by the poor and also high priced designer wear for the upper income group. Besides, there is an ever growing export market. Till 2005 India faced restrictions on exports as important buying countries like the USA and European countries had imposed a quota on Indian exports of clothes. After India joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO), these restrictions were phased out. By January 2005, all restrictions on the import of 'multi-fiber' garments by these countries were removed. This has given India a much better opportunity to increase garment exports. Hence the export market too is an important component of the garment industry.

There are two types of informal workers in this industry. Firstly those who stitch clothes in small factories and secondly, who stitch clothes from home. Home based workers outnumber the factory workers.

We can take a brief look at the processes involved in garment making.

Ela Bhatt (founder of SEWA) found in her studies in Ahmedabad (2006) that the home based workers are exclusively women. They work for contractors who give them work and pay them at piece rates. In other words, the contractor will give the women the cloth for making clothes and will pay them according to the number of garments stitched.

The payment is low, sometimes they make between Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 a day. Bhatt has shown the way these women (mostly poor, belonging to Muslim communities) were exploited by the contractors and the buyers of the clothes. The women had to own the implements of production like sewing machines, thread, needles and any other equipment, thus extra cost was added to their work.

The other types of workers in this industry are those involved in small factories. These workers are different from the home-based workers. They do not work from home but they work in small factories. The owner provides them with the machines and other implements. One can find such factories in industrial estates in Mumbai, Delhi and most other large cities. The owners usually produce these garments for a large buyer. The clothes manufactured are of superior quality that are either exported or are sold in large retail outlets.

Naila Kabeer, a Bangladeshi researcher from Sussex University, has made an insightful study on women garment workers in Dhaka (Bangladesh) and London (Kabeer 2000). There are around 20 million women engaged in the garment industry. These women work in factories that have modern machines for cutting and stitching fabrics. They work for eight hours and they are paid wages that are a combination of piece and time. If they work less their wages are deducted. In case they work more than the quota they get some extra money.

Kabeer mentions that women working in the factory give them autonomy in their lives. This has several implications. Kabeer finds that after having an independent income, some of the husbands have stopped beating their wives. The women in turn use this extra money for educating their children or for improving conditions at home. An interesting finding of Kabeer's study is that many of the women invest their money on their daughter's education. This is one of the positive fallouts of working independently because, as in all South Asian countries, in Bangladesh too, the girl child is treated as inferior to the son.

Labor and Society

LABOR AND SOCIETY

According to **Marx** man is a creative being .He with his labor acts upon the nature and tries to change it. Man

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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 beings. 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 types 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 superstructure. 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 nature.

Durkheim called 'division of labour' as a social fact and unlike Marx he explained the noneconomic function of labour. He identified two types of societies or solidarities i.e. Mechanical and Organic. Mechanical solidarity is the "solidarity of similarity". In these societies, individual is supposed to work on the basis of their age and sex. But in organic solidarity, since it is solidarity of interdependence he believed that society expects everyone to be specialized and this way society ensures that another form of solidarity should emerge.

Adam Smith gave economic description of labour. In his book "The Wealth of Nation" he explained that in those societies where labour is specialized society becomes more prosperous than other societies.

Feminist perspective views labor in society in terms of female participation. According to Ann Oakley, industrialization led to confinement of women at home. Workforce participation was limited as women were forced to take the role of a housewife. Recent studies have however shown that the workforce participation of women is increasing, but there is also an occupational segregation as well.

Increasing use of technology and IT at workplace has also enhanced control at workplace as workplaces are now continuously under surveillance. Face to face interactions are cut and life is restricted to a cubicle. Work has become more mechanical as a result.

Handy in his 'Empty Raincoat, 1994' argues that organizations today require workers with multiple skills and hence labor is 'flexible labor' today. Such workers are not specialized in one task, rather than they have a 'skill portfolio' and such workers are termed as 'portfolio workers'. On the one hand this situation offers workers choice and they can enjoy different works, on the other hand it also given capitalists power to hire and fire at their will.

Globalization of labor is another aspect of labor in post-modern times. Labor, today is marked by high mobility, trans-boundary movement etc. World becomes increasingly competitive as industries also shift in search of cheaper production.

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UNIT VII (POLITICS AND SOCIETY)

- ➢ **Sociological theories of power**
- ➢ Power elite, bureaucracy, pressure groups and political parties
- ➢ Nation, state, citizenship, democracy, civil society, ideology
- ➢ Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF POWER

Power, according to sociologist **Max Weber**, is the ability to achieve goals with or without the society's support of those goals. In this lesson, we explore societal and political power by looking at three differing power models: the pluralist model, the power-elite model, and the Marxist model. These models will be differentiated by the source and the nature of the power according to each model.

Various theoretical perspectives on power

I. Weber has seen power as a constant sum game in which one exercise power at the expense of the other. He described 3 bases of power – tradition, charisma and legal rational.

II. Functionalists see power rested with society and as a 'variable sum game'. They argue that as collective welfare increases in society, the amount of power held by society also increases. Power is not possessed by individuals, but society. According to **Parsons**, since it is very difficult for society to exercise power itself, social positions are created which are functionally more important and power is exercised through them. Power is used in society to achieve collective goals and this benefits everyone and everyone wins and there are no 'winning elites' or 'losing masses'. This further forms the basis for cooperation and reciprocity in society which is essential for maintenance of well being of society.

III. Marxists see power not in form of 'authority' (with legitimacy), but in the form of 'coercion' – of the haves over the have not. It is not a societal resource as claimed by functionalists held in trust by those in authority, but is rather used by dominant groups. Their interests are in direct conflict with those of who are subjected to power. From Marxian perspective, source of power is economic infrastructure, but it extends beyond economic infrastructure and extends to all

other aspects of life as well. Though the ruled class accepts the power of the ruling class, but it is due to a false consciousness. Only way to return power to the people involves communal ownership of force of production and it is possible only through revolution.

IV. Elite theories are the foremost theories of power. They broadly fall into two categories – Classical elite theories and Pluralistic elite theories. Mosca, Pareto, C W Mills fall under classical elite theorists. Karl Mannheim, Schumpster, Anthony Downs and Robert Dahl are from pluralist tradition.

The Pluralist Model

Pluralism is a theory that centers on the idea of how power is distributed. **The pluralist model** indicates that power is distributed among many groups. These groups may include coalitions of like-minded people, unions, professional associations and business lobbyists. The percentages of average people that make up these groups are small, so in theory, the public acts as bystanders in the pluralist model of power.

The pluralists believe that:

- ➢ Power is dispersed and fragmented.
- ➢ Groups provide a more effective means of representation.
- ➢ The larger the group the more influence it will have.
  - ➢ Policies are established through bargaining and compromise and tend to be fair to all in the end.

Constant Sum Theory

Constant Sum Theory of power believes that the quantity or amount of power remains constant or unchangeable, hence in any society those who are powerful they are always at the cost of others.

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Marx believes that source of power in any society comes from the control over economic resources. Ideally, the resources of society belongs to all or community but illegitimately one group has established control over surplus production and by the virtue of their economic position they have controlled other institutions like law, religion, government etc.

Marx called this class as haves' whereas those who do not have control over economy they also lose control over other institutions and hence they are have-nots. Marx believed that in any society those who become powerful are always at the cost of other because power is a constant phenomenon.

Ralph Dahrendorf also supported the constant sum theory and believed that there are two groups in every society - One who holds the authority, second, those who do not have. Those who have the authority to try to maintain it over those who do not have. He believes the scarcity or constant nature of authority is responsible for conflicts in all societies.

Variable Sum Theory

This theory supported by Talcott Parsons contrary to Marx, he believes that power is a variable phenomena. Since the source of power is values and values are not constant and keeps on varying, hence power is a variable concept.

Unlike Marx, he believes that in any society individual gets power independently and not at the cost of others. For example, during the medieval age, security of life and property was the value and usually king used to conform this and hence he was the only source of power. But over the period, education, culture, technology, religion, etc. emerged as the values. These values led to emergence of multi-dimensional power and those who conformed these values better than others became powerful. Hence in any society one does not get power at the cost of others because power is a variable phenomenon.

Classical Elite Theory

The elite theory of power argues that all societies are divided into two main groups the ruling and the ruled. The classical elite theorists such as **Vilfredo Pareto (Italian thinker) Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels** argued that political power always lies in the hands of a small elite and the egalitarian ideas such as socialism (Marxist theory) and democracy pluralist theory are a myth.

This theory was first proposed by the political Philosopher **Machiavelli**. By 'Elite', we mean a group of individuals in minority found on the top in any respective field and capable enough to influence the whole respective sector on their will and wish.

Machiavelli believes that the power always circulate between two sets of elites – Lion and Foxes. 'Lions' are brave, courageous, leadership, initiator, risk taking and lazy. And 'Foxes' are cunning and opportunist, he believes that power circulates between lions and foxes.

The lion elites grab the power by virtue of their mass appeal and leadership but over the period they lose their enthusiasm from the power and become lazy. During this time, foxes grab the opportunity and take away the power from the lion. Hence, the power circulates between the lion and the foxes and common man never gets a chance to play any role at the power centre.

Pareto in his book "**The Circulation of Elites**" identified two sets of elites - First, Speculators (lion) and second, Rentiers (Foxes). He identified these two sets of elites in economic field. The economic dominance circulates between the speculators and rentiers. He stated that "history is the graveyard of the aristocracies."

Mosca identified two sets of elites i.e. governing elites and Non-governing elites. The power circulates between two elites.

Pareto is highly impressed by Italian social system. On this basis Pareto has presented the following outline of social system. Social system is made up of 2 kinds of people:

1. Elite class (Governing class ruling class)

2. Non-elites (Mass-ruled class)

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Governing class is made up of two groups

(i) Residues of combination

(ii) Residues of Group Persistence

People of the first group work on the principle of maximum gains and so are very selfish. They want to bring substantial change in the system, for which they can easily mix up with the people. The second group puts a lot of thrust on stability in the system. They are idealistic, therefore neither they are selfish nor believe in the immediate gain. Unlike the first group, they are more contained and so do not easily mix up with people.

They could be better understood under political, economic and idealistic aspects. The political aspect of the first group is Fox because they are equally clever and manipulative and diplomatic, whereas that of the second group is Lion, a symbol of stability and idealism. The power rotates between the two, which Pareto called 'circulation of Elites'.

Pareto places particular emphasis on psychological characteristics as the basis of elite rule. Major change in society occurs when one elite replaces another, a process which Pareto calls "circulation of elites" and he believes history is a never-ending circulation elites. For him the state is a tool in the hands of the ruling elite. He saw modern democracies as merely another form of elite domination.

Gaetano Mosca believed that rule by a minority is an inevitable feature of social life. He claims that in all societies two classes of people appear a class that ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions and monopolizes power and the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, there are numerous class is directed and controlled by the first. He viewed that there are important differences between democracies and other forms of rule.

By comparison with close systems such as caste and feudal societies the ruling elite in democratic societies is open. There is, therefore, a great possibility of elite drawn from a wide range of social backgrounds. As a result the interests of various social groups may be represented in the decisions taken by the elites. The majority may therefore have some control over the government of society.

The Conflict Theory

Mills is regarded as the father of the modern conflict theory; he regards society as a dynamic entity constantly undergoing change as a result of competition over scarce resources. Most of these ideas have been originated from Marx's theory on social sciences and sociology in the specification. The theory regards life competition and focuses on the distribution of resources, power, and resources. The conflict theory is better at explaining social change and the weaker at explaining social stability. There are some shortcomings of the theory, for instance, its shortcomings to explain the concept of stability and incremental change.

Mills strongly believed social structures are created because of the conflicts between differing interests. The people are directly influenced by the social structures which are formed and the usual differentiation is because of the power struggle between the "elite" and the "others". He helped people answer the question, "Who benefits from these elements of the society?" they become essential for studying an institution or phenomenon.

 C. Wright Mills explains elite rule (Theory of Power Elite) in institutional terms. Mills explains elites rule in institutional rather than psychological terms. He rejected the view that members of the elite have superior qualities of the population. Instead he argues that the structure of institutions is such that those at the top of the institutional hierarchy largely monopolize power. Certain institutions occupy key 'pivotal positions' in society and the elite comprise those who hold 'command posts' in those institutions.

C.W. Mills studied the power structure of the US in the 1940s and his book "The Power Elites" stated that American society is ruled by the power elites.

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He identifies three types of power elites in America.

1) Political Elites

2) Economical Elites

3) Military Elites

These control the "command post". He believed that though America is a democratic society but it is ruled by the elites because they have very strong nexus with each other because:

1) They all come from the eastern part of US

2) They all have middle class background

3) They all belong to Protestant faith.

He believed that the decision of bombing at Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II was the decision of power elites and not the common American. They took this decision to consolidate their own position because the political elites took the decision, economic elites made the bomb and military elites implemented it. This has strengthened their position in power.

Criticism

➢ In democratic American society, the theory of power elites seems to be an exaggeration of the influence of power elites. In a developed, aware America democracy, it is not an easy job for any authority to do anything against the wishes of the Americans. How **C.W. Mills** can say that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagashaki was not the decision of Americans?

➢ If this decision was against the wishes of common American then how that political party got landslide victory in the next general election.

➢ In America as Tocqueville said there is no moral right of any individual to rule As, it is free for all and even the common can reach to the top post of America.

➢ **Abraham Lincoln, Obama, Bobby Jindal, Condolezza Rice** are some of the examples

which prove that American society is not ruled by the elites.

➢ It seems that C.W. Mills got confused with the power elites and pressure groups. Elites may influence the government but they cannot rule in democracy because it is based on taking care of the wishes of the majority.

➢ According to Robert Dahl in his 'Who Governs?, 1961' power is actually dispersed in society and arguments of Mills only have circumstantial evidence.

➢ Rise of specialists has further diffused power in society.

➢ Classical elite theory is simplistic in conception and ignores the differences between various types of ruling system like – modern democracies and feudal societies.

➢ Pareto and Mosca also fail to provide a method of measuring and distinguishing between the supposedly superior qualities of elites.

➢ According to T B Bottomore, elite circulation may not always be there. In Indian society Brahmins survived for long as elite due to the closed nature of caste system.

➢ Altruistic motives also exist and power alone is not the guiding force in society.

➢ Public opinion also matters these days and even elites have to listen to it.

➢ According to Westergaard and Resler, power doesn't lie in who makes the decisions but is visible through its consequences. Whoever reaps the largest rewards in the end, holds the maximum power.

Power elite, bureaucracy, pressure groups and political parties

POWER ELITE

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C. Wright Mills was a sociologist who believed that knowledge was the crucial element to social change. He was a hugely influential, radical social theorist. He was also known for critiquing academia for its role in reproducing power structures of domination and repression, and even his own discipline, for producing sociologists focused on observation and analysis for its own sake (or, for career gain), rather than those who strived to make their work publicly engaged and politically viable.

His best-known book is **The Sociological Imagination**, published in 1959. It is a mainstay of Introduction to Sociology classes for its clear and compelling articulation of what it means to see the world and think as a sociologist. But, his most politically important work, and the one that seems to have only increasing relevance is his **1956 book, The Power Elite.**

Mills presents his theory of power and domination for mid-twentieth century U.S. society. In the wake of World War II and in the midst of the Cold War era, Mills took a critical view on the rise of bureaucratization, technological rationality, and the centralization of power. C. Wright Mills was a social-conflict theorist who argued that a simple few individuals within the **political, military and corporate realms** actually held the majority of power within the United States and that these few individuals made decisions that resounded throughout all American lives.

To look at an example of the hierarchy of power, imagine a triangle with the executive branch, military leaders and corporate leaders at the top; interest group leaders, legislators and local political leaders in the middle; and, then, the common masses (the everyday people) at the bottom.

Mills argued that the social force of the power elite wasn't limited to their decisions and actions within their roles as politicians and corporate and military leaders, but that their power extended throughout and shaped all institutions in society. He wrote, "Families and churches and schools adapt to modern life; governments and armies and corporations shape it; and, as they do so, they turn these lesser institutions into means for their ends."

What Mills meant is that by creating the conditions of our lives, the power elite dictate what happens in society, and other institutions, like family, religion and education, have no choice but to arrange themselves around these conditions, in both material and ideological ways.

Within this view of society, mass media, which was a new phenomenon when Mills wrote in the 1950s—television did not become commonplace until after WWII—plays the role of broadcasting the worldview and values of the power elite, and in doing so, shrouds them and their power in a false legitimacy. Similar to other critical theorists of his day, like Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse, Mills believed that the power elite had turned the populace into an apolitical and passive "mass society," in large part by orienting it toward a consumer lifestyle that kept it busy with the work-spend cycle.

Mills wrote The Power Elite, identifying certain individuals as the 'national upper class' that own most of the country's wealth, run its banks and corporations, are in control of the universities and mass media and staff some of the highest ranking positions within government and courts.

Many power elite theorists actually argue that there is not such a thing as a true democracy because these few individuals have so much power that the wishes of the average people cannot be heard. These theorists believe that those at the top are so distant from the average person and that they are so powerful that there isn't any true competition for them. Thus, they usually tend to get what they want.

Criticism

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In America as **Tocqueville** said there is no moral right of any individual to rule as it is free for all and even the common can reach to the top post of America. Abraham

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Lincoln, Obama, Bobby Jindal, Condolezza Rice, are some of the examples which prove that American society is not ruled by the elites.

It seems that C.W. Mills got confused with the power elites and pressure groups. Elites may influence the government but they cannot rule in democracy because it is based on taking care of the wishes of the majority.

BUREAUCRACY

A **bureaucracy** is an organization of non-elected officials of a government or organization who implement the rules, laws, and functions of their institution. A bureaucrat is a member of a bureaucracy and can comprise the administration of any organization of any size, though the term usually connotes someone within an institution of government. Bureaucrat jobs were historically often "desk jobs," though the modern bureaucrat may be found "in the field" as well as in an office. Public administration houses the implementation of government policy and an academic discipline that studies this implementation and that prepares civil servants for this work.

Red tape is excessive regulation or rigid conformity to formal rules that is considered redundant or bureaucratic and hinders or prevents action or decision-making. It is usually applied to governments, corporations and other large organizations. Red tape generally includes filling out paperwork, obtaining licenses, having multiple people or committees approve a decision and various low-level rules that make conducting one's affairs slower, more difficult, or both. Red tape can also include "filing and certification requirements, reporting, investigation, inspection and enforcement practices, and procedures". The **"cutting of red tape"** is a popular electoral and policy promise. In the United States, a number of committees have discussed and debated Red Tape Reduction Acts.

Weberian bureaucracy was a term coined by Max Weber, a notable German sociologist, political economist, and administrative scholar, who contributed to the study of bureaucracy, administrative discourses, and literature during the mid-1800s and early 1900s. In his 1922 masterpiece, **Economy and Society**, Weber described many **ideal types** of public administration and governance. His critical study of bureaucratization of society was one of the most enduring parts of this work.

It was Weber who began the studies of bureaucracy and whose works led to the popularization of this term. Many aspects of modern public administration date back to him. This is epitomized in the fact that a classic, hierarchically-organized civil service is still called a "Weberian civil service."

Weber listed the following as preconditions for the emergence of bureaucracy: the growth in size and density of the population being administered, the growth in complexity of the administrative tasks being carried out, and the existence of a monetary economy requiring a more efficient administrative system. As a result of the development of communication and transportation technologies, like telegraphs and automobiles, a more efficient administration became not only possible but demanded by the public. Accompanying this shift was an increasing democratization and rationalization of culture. This resulted in public demands for a new administrative system that treated all humans equally.

Weber's ideal bureaucracy is characterized by the following

- ❖ Hierarchical organization
- ❖ Delineated lines of authority with fixed areas of activity
- ❖ Action taken on the basis of, and recorded in, written rules
- ❖ Bureaucratic officials with expert training
- ❖ Rules implemented by neutral officials
- ❖ Career advancement depending on technical qualifications   judged by organization, not individuals

Marxian perspective

According to Max Weber, bureaucracy is a defining feature of an industrial society, irrespective of whether it is capitalistic or socialistic. The question as to who owns the means of production is not relevant.

Marx, however, looks upon bureaucracy as an essential feature of a capitalist society. In such a society, a small minority owns the forces of production. Bureaucracy is a tool in the hands of this small minority to serve the interest of the ruling group.

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A socialist society, in which the forces of production are communally owned, can, therefore, dispense with bureaucracy in the form in which it prevails in a capitalist society. Lenin believed that after the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in the USSR in 1917, there would be a steady decline in state bureaucracy.

He was conscious of the fact that some form of bureaucracy was essential. But he wanted it to be remodeled on the lines suggested by Marx and Engels. One such proposal was that **administrators would be directly appointed and subject to recall at any time**. The second proposal was that **the salaries of the administrators would be at par with that of an ordinary worker.**

The third proposal was to **simplify the work to a point "where basic literacy and numeracy were sufficient for their performance".** Lenin visualized a state of affairs in which there might be a mass participation in administration, since all would possess the necessary skills to participate in the administrative process. One solution to eliminate the technical hurdles, according to Lenin, is that administrative tasks should be simplified to the point where basic literacy and numeracy are sufficient for their performance. According to him, mass participation should be encouraged in administration which would involve control and supervision by all.

Marx, Engels, or Lenin did not give a detailed blue-print of how this system would work, how the democratization of bureaucracy would actually take place. It is to be noted that the Russian Revolution of 1917 was not followed by dismantling of the bureaucratic structure. On the contrary, there was expansion of bureaucracy.

Weber focused too much on formal structures in an organization. **Peter Blau** in his study of Federal Law Enforcing Agencies mentions that there are informal hierarchies also in bureaucracy to deal with unforeseen issues. **Merton** in his '**Social Theory and Social Structure, 1957'** says bureaucracy leads to dysfunctional aspects also as excessive focus on means leads to rigidity and goal displacement. **Alvin Gouldner** in his 'Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, 1954' mentions his study of a gypsum plant in USA and contends that bureaucracy exists in varying degree in different organizations.

PRESSURE GROUP

The concept of pressure group got its ground from the pluralistic theory of power which emphasize on dispersal of power. It is a hallmark of an open society.

It is defined as a voluntary organization meant to voice its own interest or those who are outside the political circumference. In other words, a pressure group is an organized group of people that aims to influence public opinion or policies/actions of the government. It acts as a channel of communication between the people and government.

Almond and Coleman have divided pressure group into four types

(i) Anomic pressure group: It rest on violation of law to make its demand heard like ULFA.

(ii) Identity focused pressure group: It promote the parochial interest like Caste group.

(iii) Institutional pressure group: It is present in recognized institutions with well established reputations like University teachers association.

(iv) Associational Pressure group: It is an association of members of a group having the same features in common like Bar association.

Reflecting on their role in democracy, **Anthony Gidden** termed them as carrier of democracy and face of democracy. He doesn't shy from reflecting on the dysfunctional role it can play at the hands of parochial group. Thus, though pressure group reflects the maturation of the political system of a nation but is a double edged sword.

Types of pressure groups

There are various ways to classify pressure groups on the basis of their structure and organization. Some of the ways have been given below.

Interest Group

The interest/cause classification is based on the purpose of the group in question. It therefore reflects the nature of the group's goals, the kinds of people who belong to it, and their motivation for joining. Interest groups

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(sometimes called 'sectional', 'protective' or 'functional' groups) are groups that represent a particular section of society: workers, employers, consumers, an ethnic or religious group, and so on.

Interest groups have the following features

They are concerned to protect or advance the interests of their members Membership is limited to people in a particular occupation, career or economic position; Members are motivated by material self-interest.

Trade unions, business corporations, trade associations and professional bodies are the prime examples of this type of group. They are called 'sectional' groups because they represent a particular section of the population. Some of the examples of interest groups are FICCI, CII, AITUC etc.

Cause group

(Sometimes called 'promotional', 'attitude' or 'issue' groups) are groups that are based on shared attitudes or values, rather than the common interests of its members. The causes they seek to advance are many and various. They range from charity activities, poverty reduction, education and the environment, to human rights, transparency in governance etc.

Cause groups have the following features

They seek to advance particular ideals or principles; Membership is open to all; and members are motivated by moral or altruistic concerns (the betterment of others).

Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan can be cited as a prime example of a cause group as it seeks to promote transparency in governance by creating pressure for the introduction of right to information to citizens. Other examples could be PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals), India against Corruption.

Insiders and Outsiders

The insider/outsider distinction is based on a group's relationship to government. It therefore affects both the strategies adopted by a group and its status i.e. whether or not it is considered 'legitimate' or 'established'.

Insider groups are groups that are consulted on a regular basis by the government. They operate 'inside' the decision-making process. They may also sit on government policy committees and agencies and have links to parliamentary select committees. Given all of the above insider pressure groups have a better chance of creating an impact on how the policy shapes up as they are consulted at various stages of policy formulation. Some of the examples of insider groups are National Advisory Council, CII.

Outsider groups on the other hand are the ones that are not so closely involved with the decision makers and who find it harder to get their voices heard in the higher echelons of policy making. They are kept, or choose to remain at arm's length from government. They therefore try to exert influence indirectly via the mass media or through public opinion campaigns. One of the examples of an outsider group is the association for democratic reforms or ADR (Association for Democratic Reforms) which has been pushing for reforms in the way representatives are elected by the citizens of India.

But at times many groups employ both inside and outside tactics. This certainly applies in the case of high-profile insider groups, which recognizes that, the ability to mount public-opinion and media campaigns strengthens their hands when it comes to bargaining with government.

Local, national and international pressure groups

Pressure groups may concern themselves primarily with local, national or international issues and negotiation or with a combination of all three types of activity. A small local pressure group may, for example, seek to influence local

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council decisions on a variety of specifically local issues such as decisions whether to license the building of new supermarket branches, to permit the opening of new music venues, to introduce speeding restrictions and/or "speed bumps" in roads close to schools or to extent recycling arrangements.

A large national trade union may sometimes be involved in negotiations affecting wages or working conditions in one particular firm but at other times may be obliged to negotiate with a national employer's association and national government and/or with the political institutions of the EU and with multinational corporations. Business pressure groups and large environmental pressure groups may similarly be involved at various times in negotiations at local, national and international levels.

Primary pressure groups and secondary pressure groups

Although political analysts are concerned mainly with the capacities of pressure groups to exert political influence and with the methods by which they attempt to do so. Most pressure groups engage in a mixture of "political" and "non-political" activities. **Primary Pressure Groups** are organisations which involve themselves in political activities designed to influence public policy whereas **Secondary Pressure Groups** engage mainly in non-political activity and involve themselves in actual political processes only.

Examples of primary pressure groups include organisations such as the Electoral Reform Society, India Against Corruption etc whereas churches and many [but not all] charities would be seen as mainly secondary pressure groups. Charities may face the threat of a loss of charitable status if their objectives are seen as excessively political.

Sectional or Protective Groups

Aim to protect the interests of their members. For example, Trade Unions seek to increase the

earnings and improve the living standards of their members, while the Confederation of Indian Industry (the CII) aims to influence the government to adopt policies such as the reduction in business taxation or increased government grants to industry which are likely to improve the prospects for private industry within the economy. Membership of sectional or protective pressure groups is confined to those who are personally involved in the sector of activity which the pressure groups represent: thus for example the trade union movement represents only trade unionists and specific trade unions represent only the trade union members employed in specific industries or trades and professional associations such as the Indian Medical Association and the Royal College of Nursing represent only doctors and nurses respectively.

Existence of pressure groups in society is validation of Pluralistic Elite Theory given by **Robert Dahl**, Hunter and others and pressure groups act as multiple power centers in modern liberal democracies.

Pressure groups are also classified in various manners by different sociologists depending on their objectives, organization and working.

I. **Maurice Duverger** mentions two types of pressure groups – promotional and protective Pressure groups. Trade Unions, professional associations like ASSOCHAM, CII etc are examples of protective groups. PETA, Greenpeace etc are examples of promotional groups as they promote some cause. These usually have wider membership base than protective groups who protect the interests of a narrow group.

II. **Gabriel, Powell** etc on the other hand talked about – Institutional, Associational (include trade unions, business organizations etc which pursue limited goals), Non-Associational and Atomic pressure groups (in the form of movement, demonstration, signature campaigns).

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Role/Functions of Pressure Groups

Representation

Pressure groups provide a mouthpiece for groups and interests that are not adequately represented through the electoral process or by political parties. This occurs, in part, because groups are concerned with the specific rather than the general. Whereas parties attempt to broaden their appeal, trying to catch (potentially) all voters, pressure groups can articulate the views or interests of particular groups and focus on specific causes. Some have even argued that pressure groups provide an alternative to the formal representative process through what has been called functional representation.

Political Participation

Pressure groups have become an increasingly important agent of political participation. Of UK citizens, 40–50 per cent belongs to at least one voluntary association, and a large minority (20 percent) belongs to two or more. Moreover, a range of pressure groups, mainly outsider groups, seek to exert influence precisely by mobilizing popular support through activities such as petitions, marches, demonstrations and other forms of political protest. Such forms of political participation have been particularly attractive to young people.

Education

Much of what the public knows about politics it finds out through pressure groups of one kind or another. Many pressure groups, indeed, operate largely through their ability to communicate with the public and raise political consciousness. Groups therefore often devote significant resources to carrying out research, maintaining websites, commenting on government policy and using high-profile academics, scientists and even celebrities to get their views across. An emphasis is placed on cultivating expert authority.

Policy Formulation

Although pressure groups, by definition, are not policy-makers, this does not prevent many pressure groups from participating in the policy-making process. In particular, pressure groups are a vital source of information and advice to governments. Many groups are therefore regularly consulted in the process of policy formulation, with government policy increasingly being developed through policy networks. An example of such group is Observer Research Foundation, which works on policy issues primarily related to Foreign affairs.

Policy Implementation

The role of some pressure groups extends beyond trying to shape the content of public policy to playing a role in putting policy into practice. Not only such links blur the distinction between groups and government, but they also give the groups a clear leverage when it comes to influencing the content of policy. However, questions have also been raised about the role of groups in implementing policy. Some have criticized such groups for being over-close to government, and therefore for endangering their independence. Others have argued that policy implementation gives groups unfair political leverage in influencing policy decisions.

How Pressure Groups exert Influence

Pressure groups are confronted by a wide range of points of accesses. Their choice of targets and methods, however, depends on two factors. First, how effective is a particular strategy likely to be? Second, given the group's aims and resources, which strategies are available?

Pressure groups can exert influence in a variety of ways

Ministers and Civil Servants

Ministers and civil servants work at the heart of the 'core executive', the network of bodies headed by the Prime Minister and Cabinet, which develop and make government policy. This is where power lies. Many groups therefore aspire to get in touch with senior civil servants

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and ministers to get some sort of influence over the policies while they are being implemented. Although such influence may involve formal and informal meetings with ministers, routine behind-the scenes meetings with civil servants and membership of policy committees may be the most important way of exerting influence.

Parliament

Groups that cannot gain access to the executive may look to exert influence through Parliament. In other cases groups may use parliamentary lobbying to supplement contacts with ministers and civil servants.

Political Parties

The most obvious way in which groups influence parties is through funding and donations.

Public Opinion

These strategies are adopted by outsider groups, although high-profile insider groups may also engage in public-opinion campaigning. The purpose of such strategies is to influence government indirectly by pushing issues up the political agenda and demonstrating both the strength of commitment and the level of public support for a particular cause. The hope is that the government will pay attention for fear of suffering electoral consequences. Association for Democratic Reforms has helped in shaping public opinion to some extent by putting up details of political representatives of various political parties from each constituency on websites.

Direct Action

Direct action as a political strategy overlaps with some forms of public-opinion campaigning. However, whereas most political protests take place within the constitutional and legal framework, based on established rights of freedom of speech, assembly and movement, direct action aims to cause disruption or inconvenience. Strikes, blockades, boycotts and sit-ins are all examples of direct action. Direct action may be violent or non-violent.

A non-violent example of direct action is the protests organized at Ramleela Maidan by India against Corruption. The People's Movement Against Nuclear Energy protested against the setting up of Koodankulam nuclear power plant.

Are pressure groups becoming more powerful?

Not all debates about pressure-group power focus on the power of individual groups. Others address the overall power of groups, and whether or not they have generally become more powerful. Commentators increasingly argue, for instance, that pressure groups have become more influential in recent years, perhaps even more influential than political parties.

The rise of pressure-group power

Those who argue that pressure groups have become more powerful usually draw attention to one of three developments:

1. The growth of cause groups

Looked at simply in terms of political participation, groups certainly appear to be becoming more important. This is best demonstrated by the growth of cause groups in particular.

Some of the reasons cited for increase in the number of pressure groups

i. **Increased leisure time**, both in terms of the shorter working week and more early retirement, has increased the number of people with time to devote to such activities.

ii. **Higher educational standards** have increased the numbers of people with the organisational skills to contribute to pressure groups.

iii. **Changes in gender roles** have removed many of the barriers to participation by women in pressure group activity.

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iv. **Membership of political parties** has declined. It has been argued that this reflects the failure of the political parties adequately to reflect the needs of different groups of people in society, and that cause groups offer a more promising route for bringing about political change.

2. The widening of access points through devolution

3. Globalization

Globalization has strengthened pressure groups in a number of ways. In particular, there is general agreement that business groups have become more powerful in a global age. This is because they are able more easily to relocate production and investment, so exerting greater leverage on national governments. Such trends have strengthened pressures on governments to, for instance, cut business taxes and reduce corporate regulation. Another feature of globalization has been the emergence of NGOs, such as the World Development Movement and the World Social Forum, as major actors on the global stage. Some 2,400 NGOs, for example, took part in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

The decline of pressure groups

However, not everyone believes that pressure groups have become more important. Some even talk in terms of the decline in pressure-group power in recent years. Such arguments are usually based on one of two developments:

1. The end of corporatism. For some, the high point of pressure-group influence came in the 1970s (Especially in the case of developed countries). This was a period of so- called tripartite government or corporatism. Economic policy was therefore developed through a process of routine consultation and group bargaining. However, corporatism was dismantled in the 1980s and it has never been re-established.

2. A decline in meaningful and active participation. An alternative explanation of the decline of pressure groups challenges the idea that recent years have witnessed an upsurge in group activity. This suggests that while group membership may have increased, these members have become increasingly passive.

Pressure Groups and Democracy

Pressure groups promote democracy in a number of ways.

Supplementing electoral democracy

Pluralists often highlight the advantages of group representation over representation through elections and political parties. Pressure groups may either supplement electoral democracy (making up for its defects and limitations) or they may have replaced political parties as the main way in which people express their views and interests:

Pressure groups keep government in touch with public opinion between elections

Pressure groups force the government to engage in an ongoing dialogue with the people, in which the interests or views of the various sections of society cannot be ignored. IAC's anti-corruption movement was one such example where the pressure groups made the government aware of rising sentiment in the general public against corruption in public life. Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan led the people's movement which got the government to bring about the law on 'Right to Information.'

Pressure groups give a political voice to minority groups and articulate concerns that are overlooked by political parties. Elections, at best, determine the general direction of government policy, with parties being anxious to develop policies that appeal to the mass of voters. Pressure groups are therefore more effective in articulating concerns about issues such as the environment, civil liberties, global poverty, violence against women and the plight of the elderly.

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Women's organizations such as SEWA, NCW have campaigned for women-friendly laws such as the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005.

'**Corporatism**' refers to the close relationship between the government and economic interest groups (trade unions and employers' organisations) in decision making on economic matters.

Participation

The level of political participation is an important indicator of the health of democracy. Democracy, at heart, means government by the people. If this is the case, declining electoral turnout and steadily falling party membership highlights a major 'democratic deficit' in politics. This, however, is very effectively combated by the growth in the number and size of pressure groups. Pressure groups have become increasingly effective agents of political participation.

Education

Pressure groups promote political debate, discussion and argument. In so doing, they create a better-informed and more educated electorate. This, in turn, helps to improve the quality of public policy.

Benefits of competition

Pressure groups help to promote democracy by widening the distribution of political power. They do this, in part, because groups compete against one another. This ensures that no group or interest can remain dominant permanently.

How do pressure groups threaten democracy?

Some political scientists and politicians have taken the view that pressure groups are undemocratic, or even anti-democratic, in the sense that they intervene in the political process based on electoral accountability.

Some of them have been listed below

Political Inequality

A central argument against the pluralist image of group politics is that, far from dispersing power more widely and empowering ordinary citizens, pressure groups tend to empower the already powerful. They therefore increase, rather than reduce, political inequality. Pluralists argue that political inequality is broadly democratic, in that the most successful groups tend to be ones with large membership, and which enjoy wide and possibly intense public support. This is very difficult to sustain. In practice, the most powerful pressure groups tend to be the ones that possess money, expertise, institutional leverage and privileged links to government.

Non-legitimate Power

Critics have questioned whether pressure groups exercise rightful or legitimate power in any circumstances. This is because, unlike conventional politicians, pressure-group leaders have not been elected. Pressure groups are therefore not publicly accountable, meaning that the influence they exert is not democratically legitimate. This problem is compounded by the fact that very few pressure groups operate on the basis of internal democracy. Leaders are very rarely elected by their members, and when they are (as in the case of trade unions) this is often on the basis of very low turnouts. Indeed, there has been a growing trend for pressure groups to be dominated by a small number of senior professionals. Some pressure-group leaders may, in fact, be little more than self-appointed political spokespeople.

'Behind the scenes' influence

Regardless of which groups are most powerful, pressure-group influence is exerted in a way that is not subject to scrutiny and public accountability. Pressure groups usually exert influence 'behind closed doors'. This particularly applies in the case of insider groups, whose representatives stalk the 'corridors of power' unseen by the public and away from media scrutiny.

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Tyranny of the minority

Pressure groups, by their very nature, represent minorities rather than majorities. Pressure groups help to prevent a 'tyranny of the majority' that is, perhaps, one of the inevitable features of electoral democracy. However, pressure groups may create the opposite problem. Minority views or 'special' interests may prevail at the expense of the interests of the majority or the larger public.

They also suffer from certain limitations

I. Though they represent the interests of certain groups, this sometimes make representative democracy biased in favor of some sections at the expense of interests of other deprived sections.

II. Unlike the pressure groups of West which are invariably organized to safeguard economic, social, cultural interests etc, in India, these groups are organized around religious, regional, caste and ethnic issues.

III. Further, lack of resources makes such efforts sporadic and short lived.

Thus, being inevitable phenomena in democracy pressure Groups have strengthened & weakened democracy side by side. In spite of their limitations and defects Pressure Groups have become an essential part of the modern democratic process. We may conclude that theorists influenced by democratic pluralism have been most likely to praise the democratic activities of pressure groups but that theorists influenced by Marxism, Elitism, Corporatism and the New Right have adopted a more critical approach. While recognizing the importance of these criticisms one only has to imagine a political system with no independent pressure groups to see that they do on balance make a significant contribution to the operation of liberal democracy.

In summary pressure groups may contribute to government's effectiveness by stimulating debate, providing useful information, with the implementation of policy, and by the scrutiny of government's performance.

Pressure groups aim to inform and educate both their members and the overall population about political issues.

They provide an organised channel through which individuals may participate in the political process and seek to influence policies of local government ,devolved assemblies, national government, European political institutions and wider international institutions such as the UN. Increasingly also some pressure groups seek to influence the activities of multinational corporations.

Whereas political parties represent voters' views over a wide range of political issues, pressure groups can represent individuals' views on particular issues such as animal rights or poverty.

Pressure groups serve as a pool of talent for political recruitment in that many party politicians begin their careers as pressure group activists.

Pressure groups may seek to raise controversial issues and to support minorities which political parties neglect for fear of electoral unpopularity. Thus for example pressure groups were more active than political parties in early campaigns in support of gay rights although all main political parties are nowadays committed to the protection of gay rights.

Pressure groups provide opportunities for individuals to influence government policy between elections which obviously strengthens the overall democratic process.

Pressure groups scrutinise the activities of government and publicise cases of government mismanagement and government activities which may be "ultra vires". They therefore provide an important mechanism for the limitation of excessive executive power.

Pressure groups may provide governments with useful information although ,at the same time,

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a government will wish to take account of possible bias in this information.

POLITICAL PARTIES

A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election". **Weber** defined political party as 'an organized structure which promotes candidates, contest elections for aim of capturing power'. Political party is a group of people who come together to contest election and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programs for the society with a view to promote the collective good. Since there can be different views on what is good for all, parties try to persuade people why their policies are better than others. They seek to implement these policies by winning popular support through these elections.

According to **Robert Dahl** in his 'Who Governs?, 1961', political parties act as a linkage between government and people and provide a platform for interest articulation and a conduit for pressure groups. Political parties mobilize opinions and people. The goal of a political party is to secure political power and hold it either singly or in cooperation with the other political parties. A political party is very much a clientele-oriented organization that is a party has always been on gaining as much clientele as possible and hence it tries to remain as open as possible to its potential members. The party is a mutually exploitative relationship as it is joined by those who would use it. Gabriel Almond defined political party as the socialized aggregation structure of modern societies.

Parties not only strive to participate in the formation of political opinion. They also aspire to participate in the representation of the people in parliament. This presumes that parties take part in elections. A party's political contribution as well as its political "weight" is closely tied to elections.

Political parties are also defined in terms of 'serving interests'. According to this theory, people take the membership of political parties or vote for them to achieve their individual or group interests. However, others argue that people also join due to ideology, interest, prestige and to make sacrifices as well.

Some like **Dye and Zeigler** term the political parties and election process as a means to divert the attention of masses and pacify them. 'They are for creation of excitement similar to Roman circuses to divert the attention of masses from true nature of elite rule. Elections create false illusion that power rests with majority by creating a false impression of representation'.

Essential of Political Parties/ Why Political Parties are needed?

 A group of people to constitute a political party must be organized for a political purpose.
 There should be similarity of principles helping to unite people.
 The political parties should have the main aim of attaining political power.
 The parties should use peaceful and legitimate means for attaining political power.
 It becomes necessary for a political party to pronounce its main principles in public and make equally known to the electorate its plans, programs and the course of action which it is going to follow.
 Political parties are expected to protect and promote the national interests.

Main Functions

 Political parties have the basic task of propagating their ideals, policies and programs.
 The second main task is to contest and win elections.
 The political parties normally follow four main ways for attaining success in their attempt at obtaining political power.
 Every political party strengthens its organization by holding regular meetings, rallies, training camps, orientation courses for the workers, etc.
 Every political party tries its level best to increase its membership.
 Political parties encourage the electorate and supporters through speeches, programs and other means.
 Political parties also impart political education to the voters.

Multiparty System

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Multiparty system refers to a political system in which more than two political parties are functioning.

Advantages of Multi Party System

⦿ It provides an opportunity for all shades of opinion to be reflected in the legislative house.
⦿ This system does not make the parliament to become a puppet in the hands of the cabinet.
⦿ It provides little or no opportunity for the cabinet to become dictatorial in its attitude and functioning.

Demerits of Multiple Party Systems

⦿ Since multiple party system leads to the establishment of coalition government; it remains very weak and ineffective.
⦿ It is said that the position of the Prime Minister in a coalition government is very weak.
⦿ Since the governments are subject to frequent changes, it is difficult to maintain the continuity in policies. Further indefiniteness characteristics the governmental policies.
⦿ In this system there is a lack of administrative efficiency, because the governments change very often.
⦿ This system encourages political defections and trading in votes. Hence it undermines the political morality.

Political Parties in India

Indian state has been a multi-party politics since independence. However, the social base, nature, ideology, and influence of parties have undergone significant changes since independence. These changes can be analyzed as under:

1. **Parties at independence** : Major political parties at independence were Congress, Communist Party, and Swatantra Party. They represent the centrist, leftist and rightist ideological orientations respectively. One major aspect of these parties was that they were all national parties and the issues they catered to were all national issues.

2. **Period of one-party dominance** : The Congress Party dominated the national scene from independence till the 1970s. The opposition it got from other political parties was minimal. Besides, the Nehru-Gandhi family commanded high charismatic authority from the people. What was the reason for such high popularity of a single party? It is reasoned that Congress party maintained an 'umbrella' character (Ali Ashraf, 1995). It tried to build consensus and in this process,

accommodated various shades of opinions and interests. Social base of the party was large. It was only in the late sixties, when Indira Gandhi pursued centralized leadership decision making that many interest groups in Congress fell out with it. Other political parties catering to sectional interests came up in the provinces. First non-congress national government came in late 1970s.

3. **Rise of identity based parties** : In the sixties, many parties came up catering to regional and sectional interests. They were driven not by any national ideology but by regional and factional interests. These parties were led by pragmatic and opportunistic leaders. They thrived because of the fact that though Indian polity is based on modern democracy, the society is beset by feudal mentalities. A patron-client relationship existed between these political parties and the sections (caste, religion or region) they catered to. In contrast to ideology- based parties, these were identity-based parties. Caste identity and religion- identity have been the most popular tools of mobilizing people. In certain places, such as Maharashtra and Assam, language-identity and ethnic-identity have also been used to mobilize people.

4. **Present Scenario** : In the midst of numerous regional parties with identity-based political ideologies, we can recognize three major national parties today:

Indian National Congress, with a centrist orientation; CPI and CPI
(M) with leftist orientation; BJP with a rightist orientation

Congress Party no longer dominates the whole gamut of political space; its social base in the Hindi heartland is on the decline. Its ideology is moderate and has some degree of ambiguity. This ambiguity of congress ideology has been in some ways its strength, since it helps draw support from the most diverse social groups (Kaviraj, 1999). Hence, Sudipta Kaviraj coins the name "pluralistic nationalism" for Congress ideology. The party mostly concentrates on the width of coalitions it could put together within the party. Communist Parties have mostly concentrated on working class for political support. They have been most energetic in building trade union movements. Around this core of working class support, they seek support from other rural and non-proletarian groups. Their success has been limited to only a few areas, mostly because working class in

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India is not a cohesive group. The major trade unions of India are ranked as under as per their membership:

(a) Bharatiya Majdoor Sabha (BMS) affiliated to RSS
(b) Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) affiliated to Congress
(c) Hindustan Majdoor Sangh
(d) CITU affiliated to CPM

Now let us discuss the rightist party, Bharatiya Janata Party. According to Sudipta Kaviraj, the fortunes of BJP are one of the most perplexing problems of modern Indian politics. She contends that though communal in character, it is not a fundamentalist force; the heterogeneity of Hindu literature and philosophy negates the use of fundamental ideas to mobilise masses. BJP draws support from its hostility towards Muslims as a community. When BJP got a chance to form government, it found that it did not have an absolute majority in the centre. It beautifully mutated its ideology to Vajpayerian moderation to accommodate coalition partners with varied ideologies to form government (Kaviraj, 1999). Traditionally, the Jana Sangha (forerunner of BJP) could not mobilize the whole Hindu vote support for its politics came from small traders and lower government employees. In recent years, the BJP has tried to widen its social base to other groups/particularly the urban middle class professionals and industrialists. This has resulted positive for BJP; and in 2014 election under the charismatic leadership of Narendra Modi BJP was able to form government with full majority. This is first non-Congress political party since independence, to form government with full majority, without dependence on any other political party.

Dysfunction of Political Parties in third word (developing) countries

(i) Political parties lack internal democracy, thereby deceiving the very purpose of its creation, and making individual patronage above ideals and principles.
(ii) Prominence of dynastic rule in political parties. As a result the functioning of parties becomes ascriptive and prescriptive.
(iii) Muscle and money power is criteria during election in third world countries as altogether marred the very purpose of it creation.
(iv) No clear cut ideological difference between the various parties, thereby restricting the choice of the public. Despite all the weaknesses of parties and in spite of all the challenges that parties have to face, one thing remains certain: without parties, democracy cannot function. In a democracy, the parties are still the most important connecting link between state and society. But indeed they have to adapt to the social changes to make sure they are not swallowed by them. The formation of political opinion, consensus building and government for the benefit of the whole society cannot bypass or even be against the political parties, but can only involve them. As much as citizens' initiatives and social movements are necessary for political innovation, opposition criticism, in the end, they depend very much on the parties to carry the responsibility in the long-term and the parties are the ones that therefore have to face the population at regular intervals in the context of elections. Parties carry out a political leadership role that a modern democracy cannot do without. Especially in times of change this political leadership must be responsible and visible for the citizens and connected to the interests and demands of the citizens.

➢ **Nation, state, citizenship, democracy,** civil society, ideology

NATION, NATIONALITY, STATE AND NATIONALISM

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.

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 and have similar political ambitions and uniform historical development. The feeling attached with it is called nationality. But this definition connotes a narrow meaning, which when applied in the state as a whole, divides it in different nations which eventually create many bad consequences. For Example, emergence of many conflicting and separatist activities and related demands, subsequently the state faces many serious

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problems, e.g., in India, demands of Khalistan, Kashmir, North-East states etc.

Weber's views on the nation must be understood in this historical context. For him, the unprecedented fusion of culture and politics in the modern world offers the main clue to understanding the nation: its differentia specifica as a social group lies in the striving for territorial political power on the basis of a shared culture. This symbiosis of culture and power in the nation-state resulted from a twofold dependency: if the state's legitimacy increasingly depended on nationalist appeals in the age of mass politics, the nation needed the state for the protection of its unique culture.

Factors Responsible For Emergence Of Nation

- ➢ Race and kinship
- ➢ Community of religion
- ➢ Common history or traditions
- ➢ Community of economic ties

Nations are a product of modernization. Idea of nation & ideology of nationalism are seen as integrative responses to the community dissolving effect of industrial capitalism. So, they are by-products of industrial capitalism. Nations fulfill the structural requirements of industrial capitalism & ideology fulfills the interest of bourgeoisie.

Feudal societies are based on subsistence production. But capitalism requires market for their products. So, wider markets with common currency, common laws are required. All this needs to be organized under single state. Nationalism is a product of capitalism.

State refers to a centralized political authority. It is an entire body of institutions associated with political authority, political executive, civil service, military, and judiciary etc. social order. It can otherwise be said that 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 and it has sovereign power upon its people.

The members of a state may belong to Different Nationalities.

- ➢ 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.

State is defined as a political apparatus – including governments, administration etc – ruling over a given territory, with an authority backed by some form of law and having power to use force. State comprises the various institutions of national and local government which include the legislative, executive and administrative branches of the government.

Citizens cannot fulfill all their needs themselves and depend upon state for at least two basic functions

I. Collective welfare of community as a hole

II. Maintenance of law and order

Marx while talking about nature of state said that state is a committee of bourgeoisie apparently claiming to be protecting national interest. It exercises power and authority for promoting the interests of the dominant class and, suppressing and exploiting the weaker classes who are collectively called as proletariat in the context of capitalist society.

Marx Weber suggested that the state is a human's community or a special kind of institution that claims the monopoly of legitimate use of physical force within a given territory by this he meant that the state not only had the ability to ensure the obedience of its citizens but also the acknowledged right to do so. A formal definition of state was first given by Weber. He defined sate as "**the political association which successfully claims the legitimate monopoly of use of force within a definite territory.**"

Durkheim traced the development of the state to the division of labour in the society, as societies became more complex there occurred the

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distinction between governing and governed, which in turn resulted in the formation of state.

This view has been further supplemented by **Ralph Miliband** on his study from 1899-1949, in Britain, he said that 60% of members of British Cabinet are businessmen. Even the civil servants are committed to capitalists as they are trained in capitalistic institutions. Action of political/ruling elite primarily benefits ruling class. But, they often claim to be acting in national interest.

So, there is an attempt by capitalists to legitimize their domination of the state. So, they try to persuade society. Entire society not only accepts policies formulated by state but also follow the ethos & values advocated by the state which are actually the values & ethos of bourgeoisie. So, to propagate these values & ethos, mass media & education are controlled by state.

State can be classified into different types

(1) Liberal Democratic State: These kinds of states have constitutional limitations.

(2) Totalitarian State: It is a highly interventionist state. There is no limit on state power. State can regulate every aspect of life. Mao in China prescribed of wearing a common Olive green dress in whole of china.

(3) Welfare State: Moderately interventionist state which tries to ensure equality to all.

(4) Development State: Here state is interventionist where it is primarily concerned with development.

Harold Laski defined state as – 'A way of organizing collective life of a society'. When society and other associations and institutes are integrated into a one single unit, it is termed as state. While nation is an emotional manifestation of a society, state is a result of desire for political unity.

State is differentiated from other institutions in sense that it alone possesses coercive authority. Weber defines state in terms of 'monopoly over legitimate use of violence'. So, state is fountainhead of all legitimate power over its people. Bertrand

Russell defines state as a 'Repository of collective force of its citizens'.

Modern nation-states have three major characteristics

I.   Sovereignty – Sovereignty refers to the undisputed political rule of a state over a given territorial area. Today, boundaries of states are clearly defined in most of the cases and state exercises unquestionable sovereignty over these. This was not the case earlier when boundaries were vague.

II.   Citizenship – People are given uniform rights for being a part of a single entity and they also reciprocate by affirming their loyalties to it.

III.   Nationalism – Individuals also take pride in being part of a national unit.

There can be different types of nations without state

I. When nation state may accept the cultural differences found among its minority or minorities and allow them a certain amount of active development. These areas have separate parliament and educational system, but still greater power remains with the larger nation state.

II. In some cases, nation state may allow for a higher degree of autonomy. In Quebec in Canada, regional political parties have power to take major decisions without actually being fully dependent.

III. There are some other nations without states which completely lack recognition from the larger nation state. In such cases, larger nation state uses force or propaganda in order to deny recognition to minority. Palestine, Tibet and Kurds in Iraq and Syria are such examples.

Nationalism is an ideology and movement that promotes the interests of a particular nation (as in a group of people), especially with the aim of gaining and maintaining the nation's sovereignty (self-governance) over its homeland. Nationalism holds that each nation should govern itself, free from outside interference (self-determination), that a nation is a natural and ideal

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basis for a polity, and that the nation is the only rightful source of political power (popular sovereignty).

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 person 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.

It further aims to build and maintain a single national identity—based on shared social characteristics such as culture, language, religion, politics, and belief in a shared singular history and to promote national unity or solidarity. Nationalism, therefore, seeks to preserve and foster a nation's traditional culture, and cultural revivals have been associated with nationalist movements. It also encourages pride in national achievements, and is closely linked to patriotism.

Similarly, **Liah Greenfield** distinguishes between 'Civic Nationalism' and 'Ethnic Nationalism'. Civic nationalism is associated with citizenship and is mainly defined in political and legal terms and hence can be acquired or lost. Ethnic nationalism on the other hand is 'inherited' nationalism and a biological necessity and hence cannot be changed.

CITIZENSHIP

Aristotle in his book 'Politics' said, man is a social animal and for the development of his personality he needs to participate in the affairs of the polis. Early political thinkers like Plato, Aristotle and Machiavelli argued for a limited citizenship to a few based on certain criteria – like education, wealth, lineage etc. Thus, ancient Greek city-states had only limited citizenship.

By this they hinted at the need for a citizenship of man and various discourses have been made since on the concept of citizenship. The Greeks saw citizenship as the enjoyment of the right. The Greeks saw citizenship as the enjoyment of the right of sharing in the deliberative or judicial office. The Romans citizenship guaranteed the right to vote, eligibility for public office, right to intermarriage, etc.

Citizenship was discussed by thinkers like Mill, Bentham, who focused mainly on individual liberty, political participation and property rights and Green, who focused on the criterion of having a good life and social welfare. **T H Marshall** viewed citizenship as different parts and how they were all intertwined. In his famous book '**Citizenship and Social class'** he brings out this points and views citizenship as a dynamic idea. These interpretations point to the need to conceptualize citizenship as a sociological process.

Citizenship consists not merely in enjoying certain rights and guarantees, but also in discharging one's obligations conscientiously. There should be a desire to contribute one's mite to the welfare of society manifested in an active participation in public affairs for the improvement of cultural, political and material aspects of social life. Without such participation citizenship is meaningless. It aims at the common good as distinct from exclusively sectional good. It depends not only upon enlightenment but also on a high average of character—a character essentially social in its make-up, a spontaneous regard for the happiness and welfare of others as **Laski** puts it, "**the contribution of one's instructed judgment to public good.**"

Citizenship has been defined as the legal status of membership of a state. The legal status signified 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

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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.

Similarly, **Marxists** argue that citizenship as a concept is a myth as there is no equality in a capitalist society. True equality can only be there if forces of production can be collectively owned. A capitalist society can only have classes of citizens – first class citizens and second class citizens.

Thomas Humphrey Marshall made a systematic study of citizenship. He identifies civil, political & social rights.

Civil Rights: Those rights & duties that are derived from legal institutions. For example: Right to equality before law, Right to contract, Right to property etc.

Political Rights: Right of participation in political process especially, Right to vote, Right to contest for election etc.

Social Rights: Right to a minimal level of material being. These rights are linked to welfare states. In U.S.A, there is right to welfare, unemployment allowances, old age pensions etc.

The introduction of citizenship rights thus did not end inequalities, but only gave an illusion of equality, further pushing back the working class into the exploitative system while consoling them with external improvements. Thus, Marshall set in motion a questioning of the righteousness of democracy that only carries on the capitalist expansionism with the veil of equality.

Ramchandra Guha contends that while in West, citizenship was awarded in a phased manner with a demand from below, while in East it was awarded suddenly as countries got independent and hence people often fail to appreciate citizenship rights and duties. According to **Gail Omvedt**, citizenship in India has been paradoxical as it theoretically grants equal rights, but caste dynamics make Dalits lesser citizens when it come for enjoying of democratic rights. Similar is the case with sexual discrimination. She contends that patriarchal society thwarts constitutional gains. Similarly, poverty is also a great handicap.

In recent times, the concept of green citizenship is developing. It has come to be realized that natural resources are limited & many of them are non-renewable. These resources are not only for those citizens who are alive, but they also belong equally to our future generations for whom these resources should be protected.

Some environmentalists have even gone to the extent, saying that trees, animals & water bodies also should be given rights to avoid deforestation & pollution of water bodies. Right to safe & healthy environment is another right being added for those citizens who are alive.

Global Citizenship

Basically citizenship provides an identity which further gives opportunity for some evils like regionalism, communalism etc to develop. Global citizenship can play an important role in abolishing these evils. In fact, globalization is creating a cultural uniformity worldwide and this would further nationality to diminish the identity related with soil and blood. With globalization, there is massive migration of population. So, composition of population is becoming heterogeneous. Now, human rights activists are fighting for assimilation of citizen rights into human rights. Any person, by virtue of being a human should enjoy certain rights in any part of the world. This is now a major issue under consideration.

Dual Citizenship

Great efforts are made to maintain one's cultural identity in dual citizenship which is an indication of narrow-mindedness. In most of the cases it is provided for material gains and facilities. There is hardly the feeling of love and attachment to the soil in it. But it can be used to strengthen relation between any two countries.

Citizenship: Rights And Duties

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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 having the power of obeying the orders but some additional powers and morality are also instilled in the state.

The way citizens have certain responsibilities towards the state; state also has certain responsibilities towards citizens like 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.

DEMOCRACY

The Term 'Democracy' has been in use in the tradition of Western political thought since ancient times. It is derived from the Greek root 'demos which means 'the people'; 'cracy' stands for 'rule' or 'government'. Thus, literally, democracy signifies 'the rule of the people'. **Abraham Lincoln's** definition of democracy is very close to its literal meaning. It reads; '**Democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people.'** In short, democracy as a form of government implies that the ultimate authority of government is vested in the common people so that public policy is made to conform to the will of the people and to serve the interests of the people.

Democracy is an egalitarian form of government in which all the citizens of a nation together determine public policy, the laws, and the actions of their state. It requires that all citizens (meeting certain qualifications) have an equal opportunity to express their opinion. In practice, democracy is the extent to which a given system approximates this ideal. A given political system is referred to as a democracy if it allows a certain approximation to ideal democracy. Although no country has ever granted all its citizens (i.e. including minors) the vote, most countries today hold regular elections based on egalitarian principles, at least in theory.

Elements considered essential to democracy include freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, so that citizens are adequately informed and able to vote according to their own best interests as they see them. The term "democracy" is often used as shorthand for liberal democracy, which may include elements such as political pluralism, equality before the law, the right to petition elected

officials for redress of grievances, due process, civil liberties, human rights, and elements of civil society outside the government. Democracy is often confused with the republic form of government. In some definitions of republic, a republic is a form of democracy.

A purer form is **direct democracy (like referendums, plebiscites** etc) in which the voting public makes direct decisions or participates directly in the political process. Elements of direct democracy exist on a local level and, in exceptions, on the national level in many countries, though these systems coexist with representative assemblies. Today, most of the democracies are also **'liberal democracies'** as they offer choice to the citizens regularly in terms of whom they should elect as their ruler i.e. the **parliamentary democracy** in which the voting public takes part in elections and chooses politicians to represent them in a legislative assembly. The members of the assembly then make decisions with a majority vote.

Concept of Liberal Democracy

Liberal democracy is a common form of representative democracy. According to the principles of liberal democracy, elections should be free and fair, with the presence of multiple and distinct political parties. Liberal democracies also usually have universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote.

Liberal democracy traces its origins—and its name—to the European 18th century, also known as the Age of Enlightenment. At the time, the vast majority of European states were monarchies, with political power held either by the monarch or the aristocracy. The possibility of democracy had not been seriously considered in political theory since classical antiquity, and the widely held belief was that democracies would be inherently unstable and chaotic in their policies due to the changing whims of the people. It was further believed that democracy was contrary to human nature, as human beings were seen to be inherently evil, violent, and in need of a strong leader to restrain their destructive impulses.

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

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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

Principles of liberal democracy includes

- Government by consent;
- Public accountability;
- Majority rule;
- Recognition of minority rights; and
- Constitutional Government

The Main Characteristics of Liberal Democracy

- 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

The Enlightenment

These conventional views were first challenged by a relatively small group of Enlightenment intellectuals who believed that human affairs should be guided by reason and principles of liberty and equality. They argued that all people are created equal, and therefore political authority cannot be justified on the basis of so-called noble blood, a supposed privileged connection to God, or any other characteristic alleged to make one person superior to others. They further argued that governments exist to serve the people, not vice versa, and that laws should apply to those who govern as well as to the governed, a concept known as the rule of law.

Reform and Revolution

Near the end of the 18th century, these ideas inspired the American Revolution and the French Revolution, the pair of which gave birth to the ideology of liberalism and instituted forms of government that attempted to apply the principles of Enlightenment philosophy in practice. The dominions of the British Empire became laboratories for liberal democracy from the mid-19th century onward. In Canada, responsible government began in the 1840s and in Australia and New Zealand parliamentary government elected by male suffrage and secret ballot was established from the 1850s and female suffrage achieved from the 1890s.

Reforms and revolutions helped move most European countries towards liberal democracy. Liberalism ceased to be a fringe opinion and joined the political mainstream. The political spectrum changed; traditional monarchy became more and more a fringe view and liberal democracy became more and more mainstream. By the end of the 19th century, liberal democracy was no longer only a liberal idea, but an idea supported by many different ideologies. After World War I and especially after World War II, liberal democracy achieved a dominant position among theories of government and is now endorsed by the vast majority of the political spectrum.

Francis Fukuyama in his book**, "End of history**" claims that, liberal democracy is the inevitable form of government for all industrial societies. He said this statement, in the wake of fall of communism. This kind of system is waiting to be adopted in china also. It is already adopted in South Korea which was earlier an authoritarian state.

- Today liberal democratic form of government is equated to economic development. In fact, according to **Lipset**, countries which are characterized by high per capital income, high degree of industrialization & urbanization, good levels of literacy invariably tended to be a liberal democracy. In societies, where agricultural population is large, where functioning of state is ineffective, they all tended to be non-democratic state. In India, though democracy is not functioning in the desirable way, at least it survived although with member of distortions.

Among all the variables, levels of economic development are considered to be one of the most crucial factors. According to **Diamond**, in his book, '**Re-Examining, Democracy'**, he tried to see a correlation between per capita GNP & world banks ranking in terms of HDI, with smooth functioning of liberal democracy. He found that all the top 17 countries in terms of HDI

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were liberal democracies, while bottom 11 countries in terms of HDI were non-democratic.

Eddie Van Halen conducted an empirical study of 172 countries in 1997. He argues that democracy emerges & functions when large masses of population acquire resources that can be used to force autocratic states to open themselves to universal suffrage & political rights.

Pluralists see it a plausible form of governance in modern context where some elites represent the interests of all and are partially controlled by masses through pressure groups etc. However, **T B Bottomore** rejects pluralist view of modern democracies as a conservative view. According to him, Western governments are imperfect realization of democracies as it permanently excludes many in any form of participation in government activities. According to him, democracy is much more than ritualistic regular elections. True democracy is the one in which democratic ideals become an established feature of day to day life which would involve establishing social democracy where people directly participate in local governments, workers participate in management of their workplaces and so on. In India, such an experiment is Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Marx however saw democracy and capitalism in symbiotic terms as though democracy espouses equality, still it tolerates inequality in economic and political forms. Similarly, **Roberto Michels** in his **'Political Parties, 1911'** considers current form of democracy as a puppet in a handful of oligarchs. He argues that big nations can never have direct democracy and representative system leads to concentration of power in hands of a few who exploit the situation.

However, despite its limitations, as **Churchill** said, 'it is the worst system of government except all those which have not been tried till date'. Democracy has given voice to voiceless by their sheer numbers and today voters collectively act as effective pressure groups shaping their own lives.

CIVIL SOCIETY

The term 'civil society' can be traced through the works of Cicero and other Romans to the ancient Greek philosophers. In its classical usage civil society was largely equated with the state. The modern idea of civil society found expression in the Scottish and Continental Enlightenment of the late 18th century. The term civil society is derived from the Latin word civil is societies which means associations or communities that work above and beyond the state. Civil society thus consists of a host of institutions that look after the activities, which are not taken up by the state.

According to the **World Bank** "Civil society refers to a wide array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations [NGOs], labour unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations."

When mobilized, civil society sometimes called as the "third sector" (after government and commerce) has the power to influence the actions of elected policy-makers and businesses. But the nature of civil society is evolving, in response to technological both developments and more nuanced changes within societies.

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. Civil Society protects individuals from over dependence on state. That is how it is seen as bulwark against authoritarianism.

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Importantly, Civil society has long been playing a pivotal role in influencing the state's policy on social welfare, articulating views on current issues, serving as the voice of constructive debate, providing a forum for the exchange of new ideas and information, initiating social movements by way of creating new norms, identities, institutions. Civil society is, together with the state and the market, one of the three spheres that interface in the making of democratic societies.

John Locke said that civil society refers to the social space consisting of associations & relations based on contract & institution of property regulated by law. He also said that civil society contracted away rights to state, but state so created is not absolute but answerable to people.

Civil society, in opposition to the state, lays the moral foundation of society. **Hegel,** the German philosopher in his book '**Philosophy of Rights, 1821'**, considers the civil society as one of the moments of ethical life, the other two being the family and the state. Civil society is an important stage in the transition from the unreflective consciousness of the family, to conscious ethical life.

Marx uses the concept of civil society in his critique of Hegel. It is used as a yardstick of the change from feudal to bourgeoisie society. Civil society arose, Marx insists from the destruction of medieval society. Previously individuals were part of many different societies such as guilds or estates each of which had a political role so that there was no separate civil realm. As these partial societies broke down, civil society arose in which the individual became all important. The old bonds of privilege were replaced by the selfish needs of atomistic individuals separated from each other and from the community.

In **Gramscian** sense, civil society is the terrain where the state, the people and the market interact and where people wage war against the hegemony of the market and the state. Marx insists on the separation between the state and the civil society, Gramsci emphasizes the inter-relationship between the two.

Indeed there is a need to view the civil society both as a structure (of organisation, social and political space and relationship) and also as a process (the ways in which the elements of structure come into being, and interrelate). In the wake of globalization, introduction of the structural adjustment program and paradigm shift in the social development strategy there has been an attempt to redefine the role of the state and the civil society.

In the emerging scenario the emphasis has been on the increasing roles of the civil societies "to take the burden off the state, by involving citizens and communities in the delivery of the collective goods" and on "strengthening of the abilities and opportunities of civil society and local communities" to ensure the process of empowerment of the marginalized in society. However, in the contemporary developmental discourse, there has been a process of involvement of civil society organisations along with the state in the formulation and implementation of development initiatives.

In the emerging scenario post globalization and liberalization, the emphasis has been on the increasing roles of the civil societies to take the burden off the state, by involving citizens and communities in the delivery of the collective goods and on strengthening of the abilities and opportunities of local communities to ensure the process of empowerment of the marginalized in society. There has also been a process of involvement of civil society organizations along with the state in the formulation and implementation of development initiatives. According to **Cohen and Arato**, civil society has long been playing a pivotal role in influencing the state's policy on social welfare, articulating views on current issues, serving as the voice of constructive debate, providing a forum for the exchange of new ideas and information, initiating social movements by way of creating new norms, identities, institutions.

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Relationship between Civil Society and Democracy

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.

IDEOLOGY

The word ideology does not have a single clear definition and is used in a variety of ways. Its most common use in every-day language is to describe a broad, cohesive set of political ideas and beliefs (e.g. liberalism, socialism, conservatism, etc.)

Ideology is the lens through which a person views the world. Within the field of sociology, ideology is broadly understood to refer to the sum total of a person's values, beliefs, assumptions, and expectations. Ideology exists within society, within groups, and between people. It shapes our thoughts, actions, and interactions, along with what happens in society at large.

Ideology is a fundamental concept in sociology. Sociologists study it because it plays such a powerful role in shaping how society is organized and how it functions. Ideology is directly related to the social structure, economic system of production, and political structure. It both emerges out of these things and shapes them.

According to **Marx**, ideology emerges out of a society's mode of production. Marx's approach to ideology was set forth in his theory of base and superstructure. According to him, the superstructure of society, the

realm of ideology, grows out of the base, the realm of production, to reflect the interests of the ruling class and justify the status quo that keeps them in power. Marx, then, focused his theory on the concept of a dominant ideology.

Althusser also talk of 'hegemonic ideology' as the imposed ideology by ruling class. However, **Marxists** too believe that ideology is essential for social change and hence instead of capitalist and hegemonic ideology, they advocate socialism and communism. Marx also terms ideology as central to proletarian revolution.

Karl Popper, in his book '**Open Society and its Enemies'**, indicates that every ideology is totalitarian as it is blinded by ideological bias and hence indifferent to plurality of viewpoints. Hence ideology is antithetical to objectivity. Others even talk of death of ideology in modern money centric economies and assert that it is economics which reigns supreme over ideology.

Feminist sociologists argue that patriarchal ideology has led to gender discrimination in society. Similarly, in Indian society Brahmnical ideology has led to suffering of depressed classes for ages. For this obvious limitation of a single dominant ideology, scholars like **Amartya Sen** call for a society with pluralistic and inclusive ideology which should guide the public discourse.

In actual practice, different ideologies as sets of ideas 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 dominate 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

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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. That is how, in the sphere of world politics, developing nations strive to impress upon advanced nations to adopt humanist attitudes and policies.

➢ **Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution**

PROTEST AND AGITATION

An element of dissatisfaction with the existing system can be found in every society. Dissatisfaction may be caused by poverty, social discrimination, exploitation or lack of privilege. People may develop a strong desire to change the situation by raising their voices against the existing order. They may start questioning established practices of society. This difference of opinion actually reflects a desire for change. Social movements emerge under this situation. However, a movement does not occur suddenly. It begins with dissent, moves towards protests and agitation and finally takes the form of a social movement. This sequence-dissent, protest and agitation and social movements represent different phases of social change.

Anthropologist **Margaret Mead** once famously stated, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world." There is little rigorous evidence that protest can change the world. Skeptics claim that social movements are symptoms rather than the cause of historical change.

Social protest is a form of political expression that seeks to bring about social or political change by influencing the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors of the public or the policies of an organization or institution. Protests often take the form of overt public displays, demonstrations, and civil disobedience, but may also include covert activities such as petitions, boycotts, lobbying, and various online activities. Protesters engage in protest activities motivated by both individual rewards (including a variety of personal benefits and gratifications) and collective incentives (benefits that are realized by a large class of individuals that does not necessarily include the individual protester).

Most protests represent the collective interests and issues of activist groups, coalitions, or social movements that challenge mainstream institutions. In the process,

they serve a number of important democratic functions, including providing opportunities for participation and expression for individuals and as a potential engine of social change for communities and nations. Communication, whether mass or interpersonal, is a central element in the success of a protest group by facilitating information exchange, mobilization, coordination, integration, identity formation, and many other essential functions.

The term **Dissent** refers to the 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 bases of dissent. Dissent is thus the beginning of a movement for change. For example, the struggle against the inhuman practice of untouchability in India was initiated only when the people who were suffering from this cruelty raised their voices against it.

Protest and agitation is generally specific in nature. When dissent is expressed openly it assumes the form of protest and agitation. When a dissenting opinion crystallizes further the situation of protest and agitation is created. Thus protest and agitation, in order to be meaningful, has to be supported by dissent in respect of the institutional arrangements prevailing in society at a given point of time. In fact, a consciousness of injustice and deprivation takes place at this stage. Accordingly, we may say that the social sharing of discrimination and deprivation is the starting point of protest and agitation. Thus, we may say that dissent expresses dissatisfaction with the existing situation and registers disagreement. Protest and agitation, on the other hand, is a formal declaration of dissent and represents a more crystallized state of opposition and conflict.

Bowers and Ochs define agitation as "Agitation occurs when people outside the normal decision-making establishment advocate significant social change and encounter a degree of resistance within the establishment such as to require more than the normal discursive means of persuasion.

Agitation is a social process which involves „intense activity" undertaken by an individual or group in order to fulfill a purpose. Purpose is central to agitation, unlike „opposition" which is central in protest. Further, dissatisfaction is also central to agitations, while dissent is central to protests. **In general, agitation and protest have only subtle differences. While protest is a reaction to an event which has already occurred, an**

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agitation can also be a future course which is seen as desirable or undesirable.
Agitation is manifested through activities like strikes, mass leave, raasta roko, rail roko, rioting, picketing etc. It can be either organized or unorganized and is generally non-institutional, but can be institutional as well. Example recent Jaat Agitation.
Unaddressed protests may grow and widen into agitation, social movement, collective action and political and/or social revolution.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT

According to **Anderson and Parker**, social movement is "a form of dynamic pluralistic behaviour which progressively develops structure through time and aims at partial or complete modification of the social order." Lundberg and others define social movement as, "a voluntary association of people engaged in concerted efforts to change attitudes, behaviour and social relationships in a larger society."
Thus, social movement is the effort by an association to bring about a change in the society. A social movement may also be directed to resist a change. Some movements are directed to modify certain aspects of the existing social order whereas others may aim to change it completely. The former are called reform movements and the latter are known as revolutionary movements.
The following features of the social movement may be marked out
● It is an effort by a group;
● Its aim is to bring or resist a change in society;
● It may be organized or unorganized;
● It may be peaceful or violent;
● Its life is not certain. It may continue for a long period or it may die out soon.

Theories of Social Movements
1) **Relative Deprivation Theory** – **Emmanuel Stauffer** in his book "**American Soldiers"** propounded the theory of „relative deprivation." He believes that when a group of people feel relatively deprived than other group of individuals in terms of power, privilege and prestige, thus they take mass action to end their deprivation is the cause of Social Movement.
He studied the American soldiers in which black soldiers were not paid well like white soldiers and their jobs were also derogatory than the whites. This always led to a sense of deprivation among the black soldiers who went for mass action. Hence, he believed that feeling of relative deprivation is the cause of Social Movement.
Criticism
i) Gurr and Aberley believe that merely relative deprivation is not enough for Social Movement because many groups and communities conditioned their mind that for their deprivation, their luck or god"s will is responsible hence they do not overcome in the form of Social Movement.

ii) Oscar Lewis believes that in those communities where "culture of poverty" is developed, the theory of relative deprivation cannot be applied.

iii) M.S.A. Rao believe that unless or until group does not realize that other groups are responsible for their suffering and they can come out of it through their mass action, Social Movement cannot take place.

2) **Strain Theory** - **Neil J. Smelser** believed that the stability it social system depends upon "value consensus" that is, the general agreement in all sections of society about the desired things in the society. Till the consensus remains the social stability order remains maintained.
Criticism
i) Smelser is a structural functionalist who seems to be supporting status quoism because for him new values always bring disturbances in the society, which may not be true.

ii) New values cannot essentially bring Social Movement because many a times the new values are so powerful and logical that old values simply become irrelevant and new system emerges on the basis of new values without bringing ups and downs in the society. For example, Modern education is enriching new values and generally the reactionary forces in modern societies have also given
up. Hence it cannot be said that it always bring strain in social structure.
3) **Revitalization Theory** – **Wallace** criticized relative deprivation and strain theory by calling it a negative theory. These two theories believe that only due to wrong reasons Social Movement took place in society, whereas Wallace believes that Social Movement aims at bringing a new social order which will provide more satisfaction to the masses.
He identified four stages of Social Movement

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i) Period of cultural stability
ii) Period of ups and downs
iii) Period of cultural degeneration
iv) Effort for revitalization
This theory was criticized for not being anything new, rather it is the extension of previous two theories.
Life cycle of a social movement is generally seen in form of five stages, all of which may or may not occur. For example – death of charismatic leader, achievement of goals etc may lead to an abrupt ending. A movement may also witness rejuvenation due to some new events, re-statement of ideology or change in leadership.
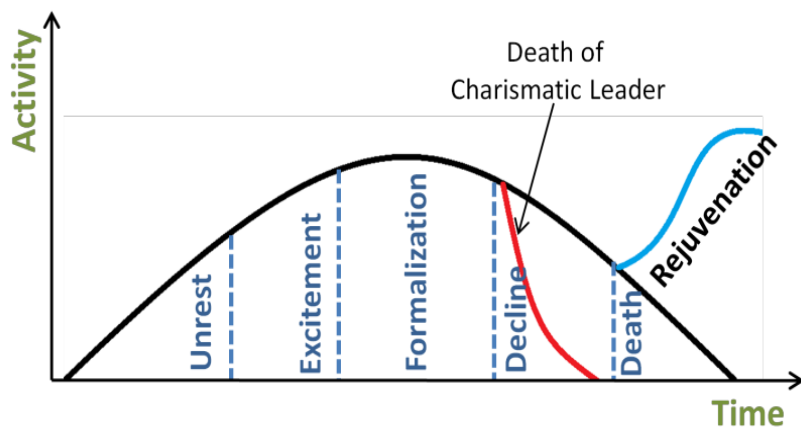
LIFECYCLE of a SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Causes of Social Movement

Social movements do not just happen. It is social unrest which gives rise to a social movement. The social unrest may be caused by the following factors:

(i) **Cultural Drifts**

The society is undergoing constant changes. The values and behaviour are changing in all civilized societies. In the course of cultural drift most people develop new ideas. To get these ideas operative in society they organize a movement. The development of a democratic society, the emancipation of women, the spread of mass education, the removal of untouchability, equality of opportunity for both sexes, growth of secularism are examples of cultural drift.

(ii) **Social Disorganization**

A changing society is to some extent disorganized because changes in different parts of society do not take place simultaneously. One part changes more rapidly than the other producing thereby numerous lags. Industrialization has brought urbanization which has in its turn caused numerous social problems.

Social disorganization brings confusion and uncertainty because the old traditions no longer form a dependable guide to behaviour. The individuals become rootless. They feel isolated from the society. A feeling develops that the community leaders are indifferent to their needs. The individuals feel insecure, confused and frustrated. Confusion and frustration produce social movements.

(iii) **Social Injustice**

When a group of people feel that injustice has been done to it they become frustrated and alienated. Such a feeling of injustice provides fertile soil for social movements. The feeling of social injustice is not limited to the miserable poor. Any group, at any status level may come to feel itself the victim of social injustice. A wealthy class may feel a sense of injustice when faced with urban property ceiling Act or high taxes intended to benefit the poor. Social injustice is a subjective value judgment. A social system is unjust when it is perceived by its members.

Thus, social movements arise wherever social conditions are favorable. It may be noted that in a stable, well integrated society there are few social movements. In such a society there are very few social tensions or alienated groups.

The people who are more susceptible to social movements are those who are

● Mobile and have little chance to become integrated into the life of the community;

● Not fully accepted and integrated into the group and are termed marginal;

● Isolated from the community;

● Threatened by economic insecurity and loss of social status;

● Free from family responsibilities or are estranged from their families;

● Maladjusted

Thus, the people who are homeless and misfits of society become the supporters of mass movements. It may also be noted that some people join social movements for reasons unrelated to the movement‟s objectives. Some may join it first to fill their leisure Ume, or they may be personally attracted to some of its members.

Types of Social Movements

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It is not easy to give a classification of social movements because sometimes a movement is of a mixed nature or is of a different type at different stages of its career.

However, **Horton and Hunt** has classified social movements as follows.

(i) Migratory Movements

Migratory movements take place when a large number of people leave one country and settle at some other place. The reason for mass migration may be discontent with present circumstances or the allurement of a bright future. Mere migration of people does not mean migratory movement.

There is a migratory social- movement only when there is a common focus of discontent, a shared purpose or hope for the future and a widely shared decision to move to a new location. The Zionist movement, the movement of Jews to Israel was a migratory social movement. Similarly, the movement of people from East Germany to West Germany can be called migratory social movement.

(ii) Expressive Movements

When people are faced with a social system from which they cannot flee and which they feel powerless to change, the result is an expressive social movement. In an expressive social movement the individual comes to terms with an unpleasant external reality by modifying his reactions to that reality. He somehow makes life bearable. He tries to ignore the miserable present and fixes his gaze upon a glorious future. The Hippie movement is an expressive social movement.

(iii) Utopian Movement

A Utopian movement is one which seeks to create an ideal social system or a perfect society which can be found only in man's imagination and not in reality. There have been a number of Utopian socialist in the nineteenth century such as Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. Such movements are based on a conception of man as basically good, cooperative and altruistic. The Sarvodaya movement can be called a Utopian movement.

(iv) Reform Movements

The reform movement is an attempt to modify some parts of the society without completely transforming it. Reform movements can operate only in a democratic society where people have freedom to criticize the existing institutions and may secure changes. The movements to abolish untouchability, dowry system, preserve wildlife, control population growth are reform movements. The total revolution movement led by J. P.

Narayan was a reform movement. The movement led by J. P. Narayan was a reform movement.

(v) Revolutionary Movements

The revolutionary movement seeks to overthrow the existing social system and replace it with a greatly different one. The reform movement wants to correct some imperfections in the existing social system but a revolutionary movement wants to root out the system itself. Revolutionary movement's flourish where reform is blocked so that revolution remains the people's only alternative to their present misery. The communist movements in Soviet Russia and China were revolutionary movements.

(vi) Resistance Movements

The resistance movement is an effort to block a proposed change or to uproot a change already achieved. The revolutionary movement arises because people are dissatisfied with the slow rate of social change whereas resistance movement arises because people consider social change too fast. The D. M. K. movement against Hindi can be termed as resistance movement.

MSA Rao, Gurr & Aberley, etc. have also discussed the types of Social Movement and on that basis following types of Social Movements are identified.

✔ Reform movement – It aims at partial changes in society in the form of abolishing or changing some traditional practices, customs or pattern. They believe that society as a whole is good but only due to these customs society has become dysfunctional. Hence, they try to abolish some of the customs. Prarthna Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, RamKrishna Mission are examples.

✔ Revolutionary Movement – With violence means come structural change. For example, Naxalbari, PWG

✔ Reactionary Movement – Anti-change movement. For example, Arya Samaj, Deoban etc

✔ Expressive Movement – Withdrawal from the society. Example, Hippie Movement in US

✔ Migratory Movement – Migration based on ideology and beliefs. For example, Partition of India

✔ Millennium Movement - Complete change of society due to heaven's interference. Example, Heaven's gate movement in US in 1970s, Falun Gong movement in late 1980s in China and Japan (They went for mass Suicide).

✔ Redemptive Movement – It is anti-worldly/materialistic movement which believes that

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happiness lines in denounced of worldly affairs. For example, ISKOCON, Art of Living etc

✔ Alternative Movement – It focuses upon alter (little change) in behaviors of Individual. For example, Anti tobacco movement, Say no to plastics

✔ Utopian Movement – Considered as non-realistic movement which tries to establish an ideal society. For example, Communist ideology

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.

● They provide guidance to a movement.

● They 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 people‟s 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 he represents the ideas 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 and forms of practical activities of social groups and of individuals.

● It supplies the justification for various social, political and moral ideals.

● Ideology distinguishes a social movement from mere instances.

● Leaders operate within ideological framework.

COLLECTIVE ACTION

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.
Collective actions are understood as actions by a group of people with a specific goal or objective. They have their own subjectivity which is different from the subjectivity of individual participants. They involve either of cooperation, conflict, competition or accommodation in general. They can either be organized or unorganized, institutionalized or non-institutionalized. Structure of a collective action is also defined by its organization, ideology, goals and leadership. Protests, agitations, revolutions, social movements, NGOs, mass production etc are some form of collective actions.
Social movements, in **Tilly's** view, tend to develop as a 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. Although collective action at some point involves open confrontation with the political authorities – „taking to the streets" – only when such activity is backed by groups who are systematically organized is confrontation likely to have much impact on established patterns of power.
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.

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REVOLUTION

As said above, revolutionary movements or revolutions seek to overthrow the existing social system itself and replace it with a greatly different one. The communist revolution in Soviet Russia overthrew the Czarist regime and replaced it with the communist system of production and distribution of goods.

According to **MacIver**, "when a political regime is overthrown by force in order to impose a new form of government or a government which proclaims a new policy on some crucial issue we may call it a revolution." He further says, „The assassination of a king or President or Premier would not constitute a revolution if it was inspired by personal motives or were the act of a small group of desperados who could not hope to establish an alternative government.

A revolution is also different from other similar sounding terms like revolt, uprising, rebellion or mutiny in the sense that the latter may not have a lasting impact on the society. A revolution leads to a fundamental change in the structure of the society, while the latter may be merely attempts at such a change. Thus, irresistibility and irrevocability are the core features of a revolution as revolutions are not sporadic events and have long lasting impact.

Revolutions are also associated with positive and desirable human values like emancipation, liberation, equality etc. They may be revivalist or reformatory in spirit as well, but never conservatory in spirit. This differentiates them from military coups and other large scale reactionary events.

Revolutions flourish where reform is blocked so that revolution remains the only alternative left with the people. It is accompanied by violence, mass-scale killings, use of underground methods and untold sufferings, yet the people resort to it because they see no hope.

Although an Oligarchy state ruled by an oligarch or a class is most prone to revolution, however, a democracy is not free from it. In an oligarchy, the people have no power, their rights are suppressed, and there is coercion and oppression which take the people to revolution. In a democracy, religious, social or economic issues may cause revolution. The earlier writers like John of Salisbury and Mace Gold held that contract with God is superior to contract with men and hence paramount over the demands of the state.

Karl Marx believed that the acute oppression by the capitalist in industrial society will lead to consciousness among the proletariats who will organize themselves to overthrow capitalism and establish communist society via socialism.

Lenin believes that merely "class consciousness" is not enough for revolution and recognized the importance of intellectual leadership for a successful revolution in society. He himself led the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

Mao-Tse Tung supported „cultural revolution". Without changing the culture, the purpose of revolution cannot get accomplished.

Religion is a big emotive issue which can flare up in a revolution. Among the social issues the most important is the feeling by a particular group or race that it is not getting its just share in the political set up of the country and that the only alternative is to achieve autonomy or to be separated from the state to which it is coercively bound.

If such a group or race occupies a determinate territory, such feeling acquires greater force. In the economic sphere, the present division between capital and labour, the owners of the means of production and workers, has fostered much bitterness and revolutionary feeling. The capitalists control the government and, therefore, the only way of abolishing capitalism is to get control over the government.

However, in contrast to oligarchies, democracies are less prone to revolutions, in the words of MacIver, "A truly democratic state is vastly more secure than an oligarchy against the threat of /evolution. Doubtless, the general will is still most imperfect and undeveloped, but at least it is sufficiently real to give it a new character to political authority. The formal basis of this authority is no more the division of master and servant but the unity of agent and principal."

Conditions for the Rise of Revolutionary Movement

● Mass discontent leading to popular uprisings

● Dissident political movements with elite participation

● Strong and unifying motivations across major parts of the society

● A significant political crisis affecting the state reducing its ability or will to deal with the opposition (see political opportunity)

● External support (or at last, lack of interference on behalf of the state)

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UNIT VIII (RELIGION AND SOCIETY)

o **Sociological theories of religion**
o **Types of religious practices: animism, monism, pluralism, sects, cults**
o **Religion in modern society: religion and science, secularization, religious revivalism , fundamentalism**

RELIGION

Sociologists study religion as both a belief system and a social institution. As a belief system, religion shapes what people think and how they see the world. As a social institution, religion is a pattern of social action organized around the beliefs and practices that people develop to answer questions about the meaning of existence. As an institution, religion persists over time and has an organizational structure into which members are socialized.

Sociologists are interested in several questions about religion

How are religious beliefs and factors related to other social factors like race, age, gender, and education?

How are religious institutions organized?

How does religion affect social change?

What influence does religion have on other social institutions, such as political or educational institutions?

Sociologists also study the religiosity of individuals, groups, and societies. Religiosity is the intensity and consistency of practice of a person's (or group's) faith. Sociologists measure religiosity by asking people about their religious beliefs, their membership in religious organizations, and attendance at religious services.

Functions of Religion

They can be seen at two levels – manifest and latent i.e. its functions can also be seen at individual level as well as societal level. Functions of religion or role of religion in maintaining social order can be viewed as –

I. Social change – Social change can be brought about by religion by new principles, new ideology etc. Buddhism and its challenge to orthodoxy of Brahiminism is such an example. According to Weber, it led to the rise of capitalism. In his study of American Evangelical Protestantism, Tocqueville established that it helped

the growth of democratic spirit in America. Tocqueville proposed that Catholicism with modifications could foster democratic spirit in France.

II. Integrative force – As stated by Durkheim, religion unites all those who believe in it. Especially in a time of crisis, religion acts as a uniting force and acts as an emotional support.

III. Social control – Every religion has the concepts of sins, virtues, heaven, good and bad. They guide the behavior of those who follow the religion. Religious institutions like temples and church also control the behavior of individual in different manner. Issuing of Fatwas is such an example. Festivals and preaching by the religious leaders also control behavior.

IV. Intellectual function – It provides answers to many questions which are not answered by other bodies of knowledge. For example - process of life and death.

V. Normative role – It is an ensemble of beliefs and practices which often act as moral guidelines as well. Most of the religions in the world have common tenets of peace, fraternity, love etc.

VI. Solace and comforting function – Comforting people through illness, death, and other crisis. Malinowski saw religion as assisting the individual to cope with situations of stress or anxiety.

VII. Stabilization – Religion can change the social order or religion can stabilize the social order. Some sects in the past have done this – for example Veershaiva Movement led by Baswesvara in Southern India led to a struggle against the unreasonableness Brahmins.

VIII. Ritual role – Religious conventions and practices also direct marriages, mutual relation of family members and so on. According to Hindu philosophy, 'Kama' is one of the f Purusharthas.

IX. Fear of and other religious norms also help in social control.

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X. Religion can also supplement practical, empirical knowledge. 'Science without religion is lame, religion without science is blind' according to Einstein.

Dysfunctions of Religion

There are also dysfunctional things religion like persecution, war, and terrorism. They can be manifest and latent.

I. **Robert Merton** introduced the concept of dysfunction. Talking about religion, instance, he pointed out the dysfunctional features of religion in a multi-religion society – become the cause of disorganization and disunity.

II. Conflict theorists like Marx also argue that religion acts as opium of masses and justify the dominant ideology and exploitation.

III. Religion hinders Social progress and impedes social changes - Religion makes people dogmatic.

IV. It promotes evil practices.

V. Further, religion also leads to communalism.

VI. It makes an individual fatalist.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF RELIGION

Each major sociological framework has its perspective on religion. For instance, from the functionalist perspective of sociological theory, religion is an integrative force in society because it has the power to shape collective beliefs. It provides cohesion in the social order by promoting a sense of belonging and collective consciousness. This view was supported by Emile Durkheim.

The second point of view supported by Max Weber, looks religion in terms of how it supports other social institutions. Weber thought that the religious belief systems provided a cultural framework that supported the development of other social institutions, such as the economy.

While Durkheim and Weber concentrated on how religion contributes to the cohesion of society, Karl Marx focused on the conflict and oppression that religion provided to societies. Marx saw religion as a tool for class oppression in which it promotes stratification because it supports a hierarchy of people on Earth and the subordination of humankind to divine authority.

Lastly, symbolic interaction theory focuses on the process by which people become religious. Different religious beliefs and practices emerge in different social and historical contexts because context frames the meaning of religious belief. Symbolic interaction theory helps explain how the same religion can be interpreted differently by different groups or at different times throughout history. From this perspective, religious texts are not truths but have been interpreted by people. Thus different people or groups may interpret the same Bible in different ways.

Theoretical Perspectives on Religion

Modern-day sociologists often apply one of three major theoretical perspectives. These views offer different lenses through which to study and understand society: functionalism, symbolic interactionism, and conflict theory. Let's explore how scholars applying these paradigms understand religion.

Functionalism

Functionalists contend that religion serves several functions in society. Religion, in fact, depends on society for its existence, value, and significance, and vice versa. From this perspective, religion serves several purposes, like providing answers to spiritual mysteries, offering emotional comfort, and creating a place for social interaction and social control.

In providing answers, religion defines the spiritual world and spiritual forces, including divine beings. For example, it helps answer questions like, "How was the world created?" "Why do we suffer?" "Is there a plan for our lives?" and "Is there an afterlife?" As another function, religion provides emotional comfort in times of crisis. Religious rituals bring order, comfort, and organization through shared familiar symbols and patterns of behavior.

One of the most important functions of religion, from a functionalist perspective, is the opportunities it creates for **social interaction** and the formation of groups. It provides social support and social networking and offers

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a place to meet others who hold similar values and a place to seek help (spiritual and material) in times of need. Moreover, it can foster group cohesion and integration. Because religion can be central to many people's concept of themselves, sometimes there is an **"in-group" versus "out-group"** feeling toward other religions in our society or within a particular practice. Finally, religion promotes **social control**: It reinforces social norms such as appropriate styles of dress, following the law, and regulating sexual behavior.

August Comte believed that the first stage of knowledge was theological stage in which man used to believe that any social or natural phenomena take place in nature is due to God. They got solace from this logic and continued their life.

Emile Durkheim, the founder of functionalism, spent much of his academic career studying religions, especially those of small societies. Totemism**,** or primitive kinship system of Australian aborigines as an "elementary" form of religion, primarily interested him. This research formed the basis of Durkheim's 1921 book, **The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life**, which is certainly the best-known study on the sociology of religion. Durkheim viewed religion within the context of the entire society and acknowledged its place in influencing the thinking and behavior of the members of society.

Durkheim found that people tend to separate religious symbols, objects, and rituals, which are sacred, from the daily symbols, objects, and routines of existence referred to as the profane. Sacred objects are often believed to have divine properties that separate them from profane objects. Even in more-advanced cultures, people still view sacred objects with a sense of reverence and awe, even if they do not believe that the objects have some special power.

According to Durkheim, people see religion as contributing to the health and continuation of society in general. Thus, religion functions to bind society's members by prompting them to affirm their common values and beliefs on a regular basis.

Durkheim predicted that religion's influence would decrease as society modernizes. He believed that scientific thinking would likely replace religious thinking, with people giving only minimal attention to rituals and

ceremonies. He also considered the concept of "God" to be on the verge of extinction. Instead, he envisioned society as promoting civil religion, in which, for example, civic celebrations, parades, and patriotism take the place of church services. If traditional religion were to continue, however, he believed it would do so only as a means to preserve social cohesion and order.

Parsons in his **AGIL model** identified religion as an institution of social integration. Naturally, the goals of society and individuals do not have a resemblance. Religion discourages individuals goal which is incoherent with the social goals and by doing it, it abolishes the difference between individual and society which leads to integration between individual and society.

Weber and social change

Durkheim claimed that his theory applied to religion in general, yet he based his conclusions on a limited set of examples. Max Weber, on the other hand, initiated a large-scale study of religions around the globe. His principal interest was in large, global religions with millions of believers. He conducted in-depth studies of Ancient Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Taoism. In The **Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism** (1904/1958), Weber examined the impact of Christianity on Western thinking and culture.

The fundamental purpose of Weber's research was to discover religion's impact on social change. For example, in Protestantism, especially the "Protestant Work Ethic," Weber saw the roots of capitalism. In the Eastern religions, Weber saw barriers to capitalism. For example, Hinduism stresses attaining higher levels of spirituality by escaping from the toils of the mundane physical world. Such a perspective does not easily lend itself to making and spending money.

To Weber, Christianity was a salvation religion that claims people can be "saved" when they convert to certain beliefs and moral codes. In Christianity, the idea of "sin" and its atonement by God's grace plays a fundamental role. Unlike the Eastern religions' passive approach, salvation religions like Christianity are active, demanding continuous struggles against sin and the negative aspects of society.

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S. Radha Krishnan the former President of India, wrote that Asian society is a continent which frequently confronts with natural calamities, scarcities of basic essential needs and other problems. If religion would not have been there, this continent had been devastated since religion has provided the ethos of satisfaction, which has held them to meet all these challenges. Without religion, there would be revolt everywhere.

Marx: Conflict Theory

Despite his influence on the topic, **Karl Marx** was not religious and never made a detailed study of religion. Marx's views on the sociology of religion came from 19th century philosophical and theological authors such as **Ludwig Feuerbach**, who wrote The **Essence of Christianity (1841)**. Feuerbach maintained that people do not understand society, so they project their own culturally based norms and values onto separate entities such as gods, spirits, angels, and demons. According to Feuerbach, after humans realize that they have projected their own values onto religion, they can achieve these values in this world rather than in an afterlife.

Marx once declared that religion is the "**opium of the masses.**" He viewed religion as teaching people to accept their current lot in life, no matter how bad, while postponing rewards and happiness to some afterlife. Religion, then, prohibits social change by teaching nonresistance to oppression, diverting people's attention away from worldly injustices, justifying inequalities of power and wealth for the privileged and emphasizing rewards yet to come.

Marx believed that "religion creates false consciousness in the individual". Religion works like a painkiller, opium is a painkiller which gives relief to the individual temporarily. Opium cannot finish the problem, rather gives temporary relief. It takes individual away from their problems temporarily but the problem gets aggravated further.

Marx said that it works like a conditioning device which forces the have-nots to think about themselves the way haves want. On the one hand, haves exploit the have-nots but on the other hand have-nots think that it is all decided by God and hence they should suffer because god wants this way. Hence, instead of the true reason of their suffering, have-nots accept their exploitation and lose their capacity and potential of opposing wrongdoers.

Marx believed that religion gives an ideology to the poor who accepts their suffering and on the other hand it makes rich cruel-hearted who go to any extent to exploit poor. In his study of Christianity, he found that religion or god speaks the language of rich. It is the creation of rich to exploit the poor. Hence in communist society, there would not be a God and religion.

Conflict theorists view religion as an institution that helps maintain patterns of social inequality. According to this perspective, religion has been used to support the "**divine right**" of oppressive monarchs and to justify unequal social structures, like India's caste system.

The **feminist perspective** is a conflict theory view that focuses specifically on gender inequality. In terms of religion, feminist theorists assert that, although women are typically the ones to socialize children into a religion, they have traditionally held very few positions of power within religions. A few religions and religious denominations are more gender equal, but male dominance remains the norm of most.

Types of Religious Practices

ANIMISM

Animism means the belief in spirits. **E.B. Taylor** in his famous book Primitive Culture developed the thesis of animism and subsequently he developed the distinction between magic, religion and science. In his thesis of animism he advocated that anima means spirit. Animism refers to a given form of religion in which man finds the presence of spirit in every object that surrounds him.

Man's ideas of spirits primarily originated from his dreams. In his dreams man, for the first time, encountered with his double. He realized that his double or duplicate is more dynamic and elastic than his own self. He further considered that his double, though resembled his body, it is far more superior in terms of quality from his body. He generalized further that the presence of soul in the human body is responsible for the elasticity of images in dreams.

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Taking this fact 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 out the body permanently. Thereafter man generalized that every embodiment, which is subjected to birth, growth and decay, is obviously associated with spirit. Hence, trees, rivers, mountains, which are greatly subjected to decay and expansion, were considered as the embodiments in which soul is present. Realizing this, man started worshipping and these embodiments and that is how animism as a specific form of religions came into being. According to **Taylor,** the most ancient form of animistic practice is manifested in terms of ancestor worship.

Man realized that his ancestors after their death convert into spirits who may be benevolent or malevolent. In order to convert these souls as protecting spirits, man made them periodic offerings. In primitive communities this is known as Ancestor cult and Ghost Worship. According to Taylor, the primitive man was not in a condition to distinguish between animate and inanimate objects. Therefore, he conceived that like life and soul are associated with human body, they should be associated with every object both animate and inanimate. Realizing this man started worshipping rocks, trees, streams, everything surrounding him extending the notion of soul and spirit to all of them. Taylor 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 a hunting gathering society, man faced enormous challenges. He came to believe that his happiness depends on the happiness of his dead relatives and ancestors. If some of their ancestors don't rest in peace, their lives will be miserable. In India also concept of 'Pitra' and 'Shraadh' among Hindus are associated with similar beliefs. Hindus make rituals and prayers to placate the souls of their ancestors and demand peace and happiness in their lives from their ancestors. Religions which have idea of transmigration of soul as one of the central tenets also have an idea of anima inherent in that.

This theory has been criticized on the following grounds

1) **Durkheim** called it a speculative theory. There is no such proof or observational fact which can prove that primitive religion is soul worship.

2) **Max Mueller** believed that the origin of religion mainly a "nature worship". He is an Indologist who believes Hindu religion is the most primitive religion which is basically nature worship. Different gods and goddesses are named after the nature like Varun (Wind), Indra (Rain), Gange (River), etc.

Contemporary animist traditions

- In the Canary Islands (Spain), aboriginal Guanches professed an animistic religion.
- Shinto, the traditional religion of Japan, is highly animistic. In Shinto, spirits of nature, are believed to exist everywhere, from the major (such as the goddess of the sun), which can be considered polytheistic, to the minor, which are more likely to be seen as a form of animism.
- There are some Hindu groups which may be considered animist. The coastal Karnataka has a tradition of praying to spirits.

TYPES OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES: MONISM AND PLURALISM

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, e.g. good and evil; light and darkness; form and matter; body and soul) and pluralism (all of reality is comprised of multiple substances).

"Monism" is a name for a group of views in metaphysics that stress the oneness or unity of reality in some sense. It has been characteristic of monism, from the earliest times, to insist on the unity of things in time (their freedom from change) or in space (their indivisibility) or in quality (their non-differentiation).

Similarly, **Advait** philosophy of Hinduism also contends that there is no distinction between the disciple and god and they are one and there is ultimately a single being. Sufi saints also stressed upon this concept of a single all powerful. It is generally considered that monistic beliefs are symbol of a nascent religion. As

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different cults and sects emerge from original religion, it transforms into a pluralistic religion.

However, during 18th century slave trade, 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. 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 & 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.

18th century Europe explains how cultural minorities were pushed into ghettos identified as slave race, forced to join warfare and heavy fines were imposed on them on a refusal to commander's dictates. That subsequently gave way to the rise of autocratic state striving for cultural unification.

After the advent of industry, free trade, the culture of democracy in 19th century Europe, it was essential that people cutting across the boundaries of nation-state should be developing harmonic relationship with each other. During the 19th century Catholic Church, its orthodox values and nexus with state was severely challenged. As a result new education system, free market, rational political structure made appearance and state which had a written guaranteeing no discrimination to the citizen of a society on the basis of their ethnic & religious identities.

Religious pluralism generally refers to the belief in two or more religious worldviews as being equally valid or acceptable. More than mere tolerance, religious pluralism accepts multiple paths to God or gods as a possibility and is usually contrasted with "exclusivism," the idea that there is only one true religion or way to know God.

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. 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 Sultanate1276-1526 AD and the Mughal Empire 1526-1857 AD). 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.

R. Robinson in her book **"Sociology of Religion in India"** advocates that Gandhi's call for Ramarajya was greatly driven by call for **implicit monism and explicit pluralism** because 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. He 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, the rise of modern employment and expansion of urbanism to rural pockets of Indian society.

SECTS AND CULTS

Sect and cult are two aspects of religious belief. Sect is a different form of beliefs and practices within the religion which develops due to different interpretation of religion. It is like a subculture which is not in contradiction with the original religion. Only their method of worship is distinguished.

1) Christianity – Catholics, Protestant, Baptist, Methodist

2) Islam – Shia, Sunni

3) Hindusim – Shiva, Shakti, Vaishnav

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Cult is independent to the religion. It is usually developed around an individual or idea and the follower starts worshipping the ideas and personality of the propagator. It is personnel worship. Usually, cult does not belong to any religion. Hence, it is free for any individual to join no matter or irrespective of the religious faith. They are mysterious in their worshipping, hence largely rejected by society. The memberships of cults are discouraged. Sufism, Osho, ISKON, Art of living etc.

There are numerous cults existing worldwide. The start of cult always takes place with the understanding and interpretation of an individual and if it is rejected by the religion it remains a cult but sometimes cult in itself becomes religion when accepted by the larger society. Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism were cults initially but later became religions.

According to **Olridge,** cults are present in modern society because

I. Religion guarantees salvation in an afterlife, cults provides relief in this life itself.

II. While religion addresses spiritual needs, cults provide solutions to mundane problems.

III. Religion usually points out impossibility or extreme difficulty of direct communication with god, while in a cult believers and devotees are face to face with each other.

Peter Berger classified cults into 3 types – Revivalists, Adventists and Orientalists. Revivalists glorify forgotten past. Adventists prescribe new means to joy. According to **Wallis** in his 'Elementary Forms of New Religious Life, 1984', new religious movements like cults and sects can be classified into three broad categories – world affirming, world accommodating and world rejecting.

Characteristics of Cult

1) Cults are not reactionary or revolutionary but instead are revisionary. Cult does not stand opposite to religion.

2) Cult is a supplementation of religion than being a challenge to religion.

3) Cult's existence is greatly linked to life span of cult leader. He or she is a charismatic person for his followers.

4) 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 charismatic cult leader.

5) Over a period cult may develop into a sect i.e. calvinism to protestantism.

6) In Indian society, according to **K.M. Pannikar** it was during Mughals rule that sectarian division among Brahmins was greatly glorified i.e. Shaivism and Vaisnavism, because Hinduism was losing its great tradition because of loss of political patronage.

7) If there is distance between people and Religion, people start endorsing cults.

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 word secta, meaning an organized religious body or organization, oriented towards 'a course of action or way of life'. In other words, a sect is a type of religious group that is distinguished by having broken away from a larger organization. Members of sects are predominantly lower class and have usually attained membership through conversion. The power structure in a sect is informal and leaders are untrained and typically chosen by the members.

In Sociology, **Church-Sect typology** is originally formed by **Weber and Troeltsch**. According to them, the Church is a large well established religious institutions, bureaucratic in its working which is the culmination of the evolution from sect. Sect, on the other hand, is smaller in size, closed and has a different agenda than the dominant religion. **Howard Becker** has further added 'denomination' and 'cult' to the church sect typology of Weber and Troeltsch.

According to **Weber**, Sects are most likely to originate within those groups which are marginalized in society and he terms this phenomenon as '**theodicy (religious justification) of disprivileged'** as they provide an alternative explanation or path of redemption. For example – Sects like Dera Sacha Sauda of North India promises a casteless society to its members who are

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generally from rural areas or from depressed castes. Similarly, Black Muslims sect in USA in 1960s promised emancipation to Negros.

Characteristics of Sect

1) A sect is a relatively small religious group. it is an organized body of people developing a kind of religious consciousness and raising as a major critic to mainstream religion.

2) Sect is ideologically and operationally closed.

3) Its members are usually, though by no means always, drawn from the lower classes and the poor.

4) Sects often reject many of the norms and values of the wider society and replace them with beliefs and practices which sometimes appear strange to the non-believer.

5) Sect emerges as a critic to original religion.

6) Sect is initially leader focused but it may continue after leader's demise. As a result, sects are, in **Peter Berger's** words, 'in tension with the larger society and closed against it'.

7) Sects are insular groups which are largely closed to those who have not gone through the initiation procedures for membership.

8) Sect institutes a strict pattern of behaviour for members to follow and make strong claims on their loyalty.

9) Belonging to a sect is often the dominant factor in a member's life.

10) 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.

11) Often worship is characterized by an intensity and open commitment which is lacking in mainstream religion.

RELIGION IN MODERN SOCIETY: RELIGION AND SCIENCE

Science (from Latin scientia, "knowledge, a knowing; expertness") is the knowledge that we have built up regarding the world around us through observation, testing, recording, and mathematical operations. Through the search for empirical evidence (information that can be observed with our senses), scientists try to determine what can be proven or shown to be physically true and how it may be used to benefit society in some way.

Religion (from Latin religionem, "respect for what is sacred, reverence for the gods; conscientiousness, sense of right, moral obligation") is the attempt to determine through belief in a higher being the things that are morally true and then apply that moral truth to practical life. Like science, religion begins with observation and/or teachings, but it includes an application of faith, wherein people commit their lives to a certain non-provable belief in a higher power.

Science and religion are usually considered as contradictory discipline based on two different ethos of knowledge but **Richard Metty** in his book **"Ethos of Science"** investigated the scientific base of religion and found that the ancient religions are basically based on scientific explanation. Prophets, saints investigated the activities of nature and extracted the best out of it for the human being. Since their observation or investigation was highly individualistic they could not prove it, hence they propagated to be followed by religion as if it is a sermon of god. People started believing it religiously which became religion because it has been attached with other worldly of subjects.

There are following similarities between religion and science

- Both are committed towards human values and seek the welfare of the mankind.
- Religion and science are based on logic which strives to interpret through cause and effect of every phenomenon that takes place in nature.
- Both seek truth and explain what is good for the human being.
- Both believe that their conclusion is right and cannot be denied.
- Both seek universality in their interpretation.

There are certain differences between religion and science

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- Science deals with the worldly things whereas religion does with other worldly or abstract phenomena.
- Science seeks proof whereas religion is based on belief.
- Science believes the welfare of humanity in worldly explorations whereas religion in other worldly affairs.
- Religion controls nature through abstract ideas whereas science controls through positive knowledge and tools.
- Religion is subjective whereas science is objective.
- Science is a pro-changer of knowledge whereas religion is anti-change.

Classical evolutionary sociologists see evolution in a series of religion, magic and science. According to **Comte**, society moves from a theological stage to positivist stage. According to him, religion dominates traditional societies and science dominates modern societies. **Tylor** further glorified science and called science as infallible and embodies the spirit of modernity. Other evolutionary theorists like **French Spencer** also saw religion and science at two opposing ends. As societies evolve, science becomes modern religion. **Durkheim** views both religion and science as providing society with its collective representations. So he doesn't see any conflict between the two.

In his book '**Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays, 1954'** on his experience of Trobriand Islanders also distinguishes Sacred and Profane and according to **Malinowski**, science, including art, craft, and economic activities of Trobriand islanders were cited as example of profane.

SECULARIZATION

Secularization is a cultural transition in which religious values are gradually replaced with nonreligious values. In the process, religious figureheads such as church leaders lose their authority and influence over society.

In the field of sociology, the term is used to describe societies that have become or are becoming modernized the features of society such as government, economy, and schools are more distinct, or less influenced by religion.

Individuals within a society may still practice a religion, but it is on an individual basis. Decisions about spiritual matters are personal, familial or cultural, but religion itself does not have a large impact on society as a whole.

Wilson (1966) provided a 'classic' definition of secularization which has been widely adopted by A-level textbook authors, teachers and students for decades. **Wilson** (1966) defined secularization as "**the process whereby religious thinking, practices and institutions lose social significance**".

Peter Berger defines secularization as the "process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols".

In general Secularization is indicative of the following changes

(i) Withdrawal of religion from social spheres like education, marriage etc.

(ii) Development of pluralism in world views

(iii) Emergence of rational and scientific view

(iv) Development of critical consciousness.

Secularization started in Europe during the 16th century. Till then Europe was a theocratic society which was governed by religion and Roman Catholic Pope. In this century a protest movement started against the exploitation of Pope. This movement led to a new culture known as "Spirit of Logic", which later developed into a scientific, pragmatic and worldly outlook of the European Society.

Since industrialization, heterogeneity, scientific education, modern inventions and economic orientation of the society slowly and gradually became a new culture which led to the decreasing importance of religious values in European society. The same values continued in US because mostly protestant followers migrated to this country, which were secular or unreligious in their attitude and actions. As society progressed, however, advances in science and technology, in addition to increased diversity among the population, meant that one single religion was no

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longer adequate as a framework and over time religion came to be replaced by other socio-cultural systems.

Science and Secular outlook spread to world through Europe and the effect was obvious in the traditional religious societies like Turkey, Japan, etc. Turkey was the head of Islamic societies but became a secular society under **Kamal Pasha**. In India, socio-religious movements were largely pragmatic and modern in outlook. As secularization became stronger, the reactionary movements also became stronger because they believed that a society deviated from religion is worth nothing which gave birth to religious fundamentalism and revivalism.

Revivalism, growth of new sects, theological states, civic religion and growth of communalism and fundamentalism indicate that modernity and secularization need not go hand in hand. A study by Kaufman indicates that while church attendance has decreased, the number of believers has not. Davie, in his 'Religion in Modern Europe, 2000', calls this phenomenon as 'belief without belonging'. Similarly, **Thomas Luckmann** in his 'The Invisible Religion, 1967', also argues that religion is still very much alive though receded from public sphere and he calls it 'invisible religion'.

Religion is not declining, but is channeled in other directions. Rise of New Religious Movements also pose a challenge to secularization thesis. Rising tensions in the Middle East and West Asia also point out to the act that religion is given no less importance. So long as religion is perceived as answer to complex questions of life, total secularization of society cannot happen.

SECULARISM

British writer George Jacob Holyoake used the term "secularism" for the first time. Secularism is the most crucial of separating of government organizations, and the individuals required to signify the Condition, from religious organizations and religious dignitaries. The idea of secularism furnished the sole reply as the coupling concrete of Indian social order. Thus, an unfaltering and judicious thinking was solicited to wean away open life from religion. Religion came to be recognized as a particular undertaking with no impact on country's strategies and choices. This appeared to be

the main viable response regarding multi- religious populace of India.

Secularism being an ideology consists of the following five ideas

- 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.
- It asserts that separation of religion from states and stresses that family relations, education, morality, knowledge and values are also free from the clutches of religion.
- It puts stress on reason and inquiry.
- Secularism welcomes pluralism and religious toleration. Pluralism of religion is supported by an attitude of tolerance towards other religions.
- It is not anti-religion.

Secularism is what binds a democratic nation. Before development takes place or we become economically strong as a nation, we must ensure internal peace in the country and draw up a resolution whereby we will do anything and everything to maintain this peace. This peace can only be obtained and preserved by the spreading and sharing of secular values and value systems. Today it is secularism which keeps religious forces at bay who at the first instance will try to stoke violence and hence communal problems. Secularism also has a large scope in the upliftment of the religious backward classes and the minority groups to make sure they do not feel alienated from mainstream Indian way of life. We need to ensure that a chunk of the overall national development must help in their development too, thus removing the sources of religious discord.

Religious Fundamentalism and Revivalism

RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

A major trend in contemporary religion is the growth in fundamentalism. On the face of it, this would seem to be an almost directly contradictory trend to secularization, but there are significant connections between the two. It is also argued to be a reaction to globalization. Fundamentalism usually has a religious

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connotation that indicates unwavering attachment to a set of irreducible beliefs.

Almond (2003) defined fundamentalism as "a pattern of religious militancy" led by "self-styled true believers" and identified their cause as being directly opposed to secularization.

Anthony Giddens, the late modernist, argues that globalization has caused significant levels of insecurity for people and that fundamentalist religion offers very simple answers. In a world of confusion and uncertainty, faiths with very clear rules and absolute truths have proved very attractive.

Religious fundamentalism refers to an ideology which is an extreme form of religious orthodoxy in which individual or society completely sticks to the fundamental principles of religion and do not accept the natural principle of change with time. Their thoughts and practices are completely governed by the religious fundamental principles for them, a particular theocratic phase is the best phase and deviation from those principles is derogatory in nature and hence unacceptable to them. They not merely carry their religious principles in their life rather forces or compels others to follow the religious principles in words and spirit.

Social Anthropologist **Lionel Caplan** (1987) 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.

Religious fundamentalism is a relatively new phenomenon; it is only in the last two to three decades that term has entered common usage. It has arisen largely in 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.

Religious fundamentalism in an organized form was started in the US when **W.C. Winderburn** realized that deviation from the religion is deteriorating the moral and ideal principles hence it is important for a healthy society to understand and follow their religion. He initiated Evangelical movement in which through radio, TV and other means of media he started practicing the principles of the Bible so that society can carry the goodness of religion in their day to day life. He realized that deviation/unawareness from the religion is the cause of divorce, abortion, pre and extra-marital relation, drug abuse, alcoholism, etc.

Fundamentalism stresses the infallibility of scripture (e.g. the Bible, the Granths, the Gita or the Quran) in all matters of faith and doctrine. The believers accept it as a literal historical record. The result is that sometimes a militant stand is taken by the followers, often preceded or followed by a desire for a separate homeland. At times, this too is taken as a prophecy in the scriptures.

In the early 1990s, an Islamic radical fundamentalist organization called Al-Qaeda emerged under the leadership of Osama Bin-Laden who vowed to establish Islamic supremacy in the world and started giving patronage to all the fundamentalist movements active worldwide.

The strength of religious fundamentalism is another indication that secularization has not triumphed in the modern world. The term fundamentalism can be applied in many different contexts to describe strict adherence to a set of principles or beliefs. Religious fundamentalism describes the approach taken by religious groups which call for the literal interpretation of basic scriptures or tests and believe that the doctrines which emerge from such readings should be applied to all aspects of social, economic and political life.

In India, organizations like VHP, Bajran Dal, Ram Sena are some of the organizations which are fundamentals and directly or indirectly want to make India Hindu state. Religious fundamentalism is outdated ideology which is trying to revive itself in scientific, rational, pragmatic world. They believe that prosperity without purity of mind will create satanic society; hence religion is more important than the progress.

POLITICS, RELIGION AND EDUCATION VS FUNDAMENTALISM

The fundamentalist's criticized the idea of separation of religion from politics and state. They say God is omnipotent and political rule comes under his domain,

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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**.** 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, and homosexuality; kidnapping, etc. Fundamentalism is anti science and denies the validity of human knowledge which is outside the religious realm.

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 lines, 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.

Communalism is a strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group rather than to society. The allegiance can be based out of religion, race, ethnicity etc. In India, basis of allegiance had been religion

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 are not fundamentalists. As, in India, the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS, the BJP, the Akali Dal, etc. are communal parties but are not fundamentalists.

(i) Fundamentalists seriously urge for the actual revival of the pristine past whereas communalists though appeal, they are more focused on the modern world.

(ii) Fundamentalists are deeply religious and put their entire ideology on religion whereas communalists use religion just to give political power.

(iii) Fundamentalists want to Christianize or Islamize or Hinduize the whole world. Communalists just want to communalize their own society.

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 sociological feature of religious traditions.

Religious revivalism is an extreme form of religious fundamentalism in which individual or group tries to restore the lost glory of religion in the society. They not merely carry their religious principles in their life rather forces or compels others to follow the religious principles in words and spirit.

Revivalism happened in 18th century in western world among Methodists. In India Arya Samaj is one of the most important revivalist movements which were based on shudhi movement. It aimed at converting Hindus back to the fold who had converted to other religions. This had profound impact on Hindu especially lower caste Hindus. They sought to other religions to improve their social status. They also gave equality to women, especially in education.

The famous "**Great awakening**" The Great Awakening refers to a number of periods of religious revival in American Christian history. Historians and theologians identify three or four waves of increased religious enthusiasm occurring between the early 18th century and the late 20th century. Each of these "Great Awakenings" was characterized by widespread revivals led by evangelical Protestant ministers, a sharp increase of interest in religion, a profound sense of conviction and redemption.

The Hindu revivalism

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In Bengal this tendency found expression through the leadership of the orthodox section of the Hindu middle class led by Radhakanto Deb who had founded the Dharma Sabha in opposition to Ram Mohan Roy's Brahmo Sabha in 1830. A deep sense of pride was roused by religious movements initially. It was fed by archaeological discoveries and the works of the Indologists and also by historical studies. "Ancient literature, philosophy, science, law, arts and monuments which had been buried in oblivion were raised to life, and they enormously enhanced the reputation of India in the world and the self-respect of the people in their own estimation". The result was a revulsion against the western culture and religion and an eagerness to repudiate western superiority of every kind.

New religious movements

A new religious consciousness was emerging, a search for a religious identity which had a deep religious quality. These new religious movements arose in response to the new social conditions of those times. These movements were based on contemporary ideas of democracy, equality, youthful zest, new relativism in thinking, and the search for self identity and self-renewal. Some of the new religious and spiritual movements in India include the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKON), Transcendental Meditation, The Art of Living Movement and the Osho Rajneesh Movement and so on.

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UNIT IX (SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP)

● **Family, Household and Marriage**
● **Types and Forms of Family**
● **Lineage and Descent**
● **Patriarchy and Sexual Division of Labor**

KINSHIP

Kinship is the most universal and basic of all human relationships and is based on ties of blood, marriage, or adoption . There are two basic kinds of kinship ties:
● Those based on blood that trace descent
● Those based on marriage, adoption, or other connections Some sociologists and anthropologists have argued that kinship goes beyond familial ties, and even involves social bonds. 'Kinship is the recognition of relationships between persons based on descent or marriage. If the relationship between one person and another is considered by them to involve descent, the two are consanguine ("blood") relatives. If the relationship has been established through marriage, it is affinal.' – **L. Stone**

1. **Consanguineal kinship** : this kinship is based on blood relationship meaning the relationship between parents and children also among immediate siblings. It is said to be the basic and universal in relationships.
2. **Affinal kinship** : this kinship is based on marriage. The relationship between husband and wife is the basic kin relations.
3.**Primary Kinship**
Primary kinship is based on direct relations. Individuals or people that are directly related are said to be primary in nature. Primary kinship is further divided into two:
4.**Primary consanguineal kinship** : this kin refers to that kin which is directly related to each other by birth.
5.**Primary Affinal kinship** : the relation that takes place with marriage is said to be Primary Affinal kinship. The direct primary affinal kinship is the husband-wife relationship.
6.**Secondary kinship**
Secondary kinship alludes to the primary kinship. As it were, the individuals who are specifically identified with primary kinship (i.e. primary kin of our primary kinship) become secondary kinship. In other words, It means relations which come through primary kinship are said to be secondary kinship. There are also 'fictive kin s' especially in societies where mechanical solidarity is

higher for example rural societies. We find the evidence of such a practice in many tribal and village studies. In his study of Shamir pet, **S C Dube** found that unrelated individuals behave like brothers. Raymond Firth in his 'Two Studies of Kinship in London, 1956' makes a further distinctionin terms of 'effective kin' and 'non-effective kin' based upon the extent of regular contact between kinship members .According to **Harry Jhonson** , kinship has five important bases –I. Sex – It indicates sex of blood and conjugal relations in nomenclature like 'brother' and 'sister', 'husband' and 'wife'.
II. Generation – For example the nomenclature – 'father' and 'son'.
III. Closeness and intimacy – As in the case of husband and wife.
IV. Blood relations – As in the case of mother and child

V. Lineage

Kinship ties are deeper and more extensive in traditional societies as community puts high premium on such ties. Further, kinship groups also perform various functions in traditional societies which make them even more significant. Various institutions which come under the ambit of kinship are family, marriage, lineage, descent, gotra, kula etc.

Importance of Kinship
Kinship is important to a person and a community's well-being. Because different societies define kinship differently, they also set the rules governing kinship, which are sometimes legally defined and sometimes implied. At its most basic levels, according to the Sociology Group, kinship refers to:
Descent : the socially existing recognized biological relationships between people in the society. Every society looks at the fact that all offspring and children descend from their parents and that biological relationships exist between parents and children. Descent is used to trace an individual' sancestry.

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Lineage : the line from which descent is traced. This also called ancestry. Based on descent and lineage, kinship determines family-line relationships—and even sets rules on who can marry and with whom, says **Puja Mondal** in "Kinship: Brief Essay on Kinship." Mondal adds that kinship sets guidelines for interactions between people and defines the proper, acceptable relationship between father and daughter, brother and sister, or husband and wife, for example .But since kinship also covers social connections, it has a wider role in society, says the Sociology Group, noting that kinship:

● Maintains unity, harmony, and cooperation among relationships
● Sets guidelines for communication and interactions among people

● Defines the rights and obligations of the family and marriage as well as the system of political power in rural areas or tribal societies, including among members who are not related by blood or marriage
● Helps people better understand their relationships with each other
● Helps people better relate to each other in society Kinship, then, involves the social fabric that ties families—and even societies—together. According to the anthropologist **George Peter Murdock** , "Kinship is a structured system of relationships in which kin are bound to one another by complex inter locking ties." The breadth of those "interlocking ties" depends on how you define kin and kinship. If kinship involves only blood and marriage ties, then kinship defines how family relationships form and how family members interact with one another. But if, as Schneider argued, kinship involves any number of social ties, kinship and its rules and norms regulate how people from specific groups, or even entire communities, relate to each other in every aspect of their lives.
● Kinship system maintains unity, harmony, and cooperation among relationships.
● Kinship sets guidelines for communication and interactions among people.
● Where marital taboo exists decides who can marry whom.
● Kinship regulates the behavior of different kin.
● Kinship acts as a watchdog of the social life.
● In rural areas or in the tribal society kinship defines the rights and obligations of the family and marriage also the system of production and political power.

● It helps people to better understand their relationship among each other.
● It builds and develops and helps better relate to one another in society.

FAMILY

Classical definitions defined family as a group based on marriage ,emotional bonds, common residence, and stipulation of domestic services. It has also been defined as a group based on marital relations, rights and duties of parenthood, common habitation and reciprocal relations between parents and children. It is regarded by the most sociologists as the cornerstone of the society. According to the functionalists like **George Peter Murdock** , in his ' **Social structure, 1949',** family is viewed as a universal social institution as it existed in all kinds of societies from hunting gathering to industrial societies. He defines family as 'The family is a social group character rizedby common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It include sadults 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'. Other definitions add some other dimensions to family and in a nutshell, a family is a primary social institution, in which there are some adults ,reproductive relationship, children, emotional bond, relations – consanguineal and affinal, household, economic cooperation and so on .Due to various changes in structure and functions of family, it is argued that classical definitions are no longer valid as family today is not limited to adults of opposite sexes – as in case of gay or lesbian marriages – and may not perform the function of reproduction. Its other functions are also overtaken by bureaucratic organizations .The family, unlike other institutions, enjoys a unique position in society and its distinctive features, according to **McIver and Page** , are
1. Universality – It is found in all hitherto existing societies.
2. Emotional basis for existence of members.
3. Limited size – the smallest social unit or kin group.
4. Nuclear position in the social structure.
5. Responsibility of the members.
6. Social regulation.
7. The permanent and temporary nature of the family. Family is seen as a universal social institution and an inevitable part of society. Despite profound changes in

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society, it continues to remain part of all known societies. Attempts to develop alternative institutions have not been successful. It performs various essential functions in society like -

I. **George Murdock** enlists four universal functions served by the family in his 'Social Structure, 1949', these functions serve to resolve four

major problems of society –
1. Regulate sexual relations
2. Controls reproduction
3. Account for economic survival
4. Socializes children

II. Parsons also observes that family performs certain basic and irreducible functions. Primary socialization of children and stabilization of adult personalities are these functions. Primary socialization is the process in which children learn the norms of the society in which they are born and it happens in early years. Marriage is the mode of stabilizing of adult personalities. He saw families as factories producing human personalities. Once produced, families must be kept stable through marriage, relationships and emotional security.

According to **Parsons** , modern families are 'isolated nuclear families' and they evolve as a requirement of industrialization in society as there is a functional relationship between the family and economic system of the society. Isolated nuclear family provides for better geographical mobility in an industrialized society as it is structurally isolated as it doesn't forms an integral part of a wider system of kinship relations. However, Parsons is criticized for taking an over-harmonious view of family and suffering from patriarchal bias. His conception of 'isolated nuclear family' as the sole type of family in modern society is also not true.

III. **Ogburn and Nimcoff** state that basic functions of family are – affectionate, economic, recreation, protective and educational.

IV. **Ronald Fletcher** in his ' **Family and Marriage in Britain, 1966'** argues that functions of family have not decreased significantly as a result of industrialization. Parents' responsibility towards their children has now increased. They have to play a decisive role in guiding, encouraging and supporting their children. With increasing scope of social life – health, physical education and media the role of parents has in fact

increased. Apart from these views, functions of family can be seen in terms of 'individual or manifest functions' and 'societal or latent functions'.

Some of its individual or manifest functions Family provides emotional support in modern society where other kinship bonds are not so strong. Parsons refers it as personality stabilization.
1. Physical security of the young ones and the older ones is also provided by the family.
2. Family also provides financial security and placement. For example – individuals take family business.
3. Sexual gratification and regulation of sexual behavior.
4. Family also provides early learning to individuals and imparts life skills in individuals.
5. Entertainment function is also provided by family at various stages.
6. Family also provides for social status and identity to individual. Societal or latent functions of family are those which are viewed at societal level. Such macro functions have been emphasized by Parsons, Durkheim any many others.

● Foremost function of family for society is that of reproduction as it keeps society alive. It performs the function of member replacement in society and of its physical maintenance
● Family also performs function of cultural transmission. Values of society are transmitted during the process of upbringing.
● Family also carries out primary socialization of children. According to Parsons, it is one of the basic and irreducible functions of the family.
● Family is also a mechanism of social control. Various sanctions, rules and punishment given to family members ensure that they adhere to accepted social norms.
● Family also provides for physical and emotional care for geriatrics and the disabled.
● Family has also functioned as a unit of economic production. Until recent times, the family was an important unit of both production and consumption. Today, family as a functional unit is replaced by many bureaucratic institutions like schools, old age homes, hospitals, play-schools at least for secondary function. Further, it can also be dysfunctional as well. Further, family is also viewed as not so functional by many social thinkers.
Some of its dysfunctions are

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● **Morgan** says in his ' **Social Theory and the Family, 1975'** states that 'Family is depicted as remarkably harmonious social institution'. In reality it may not be so.

● Marxian says it breeds notions of conformity. According to David Cooper in his 'Death of Family, 1972' – 'It is an ideological conditioning device in an exploitative society'. He also says it denies individual freedom and is a hindrance in the development of an individual's self.

● **Edmund Leach** in his ' **A Runaway World?, 1967** ' says, modern family is isolated from larger society and kin and is a storehouse of stress and tension. 'Parents and children huddled together in their loneliness take too much out of each other. Parents fight, children rebel'.

● Feminists like **Margret Benston** say that family perpetuates unpaid labor.

● It also legitimizes violence. According to **Murray Strauss** – 'Marriage license is a hitting license'. Family also legitimizes sexual abuse and violence.

● **Norman Bell** in their article titled, ' **The Emotionally Disturbed Child as the Family Scapegoat, 1968',** conclude that family is dysfunctional for children as parents use them as scapegoats to vent out their tensions. Functions of family change with changing times due to various factors like nuclearization, industrialization, rise of bureaucratic institutions and so on.

1. Ronald Fletcher also calls family as multifunctional social institution, but whose secondary functions are today performed by the bureaucratic organizations.
2. With the rise of modern welfare state, social control is now lying in the hands of law and order maintaining institutions.
3. Family, today, no longer performs the production function and it no longer plays the role of placing an individual economically in society. Modern division of labor has facilitated numerous avenues of employment.
4. Concept of old age homes is also leading to the transfer of old age care function to institutions.

Apart from its functions, family is also understood in terms of its 'structure'. It means composition and relationships in kinship terms i.e.persisting patterns of relations which form the basis of kinship organization. Structural studies are influenced by the size of family and its organization in terms of roles and authority. The structure of the family can be studied both as a social institution in itself and also in its relationship to other social institutions of society. In itself a family can be defined as nuclear or extended. It can be male headed or female-headed. The line of descent can be matrilineal or patrilineal. This internal structure of the family is usually related to other structures of society, namely political, economic, cultural etc. Thus the migration of men from the villages of the Bihar region can lead to an unusual proportion of women-headed families in the villages of Bihar .Work schedules of young parents in the software industry in India may lead to increasing number of grandparents moving in as care- givers to young grandchildren. The composition of the family and its structure there by changes. And these changes can be understood in relation to other changes in society. Traditional family structure has following features –

● Size – Nuclear family, joint family and extended family. Extended family is a sort of group of several nuclear families and it may be vertically or horizontally expanded. Joint family may be considered a particular type of extended family. It is now well acknowledged that extended family was never a universal feature of traditional society and the argument that industrialization led to the formation of nuclear family is not true.

William Goode in his 'World Revolution in Family Patterns, 1963'argues that extended family were the types of family of pre-modern society and today, worldwide nuclear family is emerging as auniversal type. However, this has little empirical support as families are today seen to be more notable for their diverse range of forms.

● Authority relationships – Dominant form is 'patriarchal' form. Eldest male exercises authority in family, known as Karta in traditionally Hindu family. Eldest Female exercises authority over all females. Male according to Parsons have 'instrumental authority', while mothers enjoys 'emotional authority'.

● Kinship bonds within family – Conjugal bonds are strong ,but subordinate to consanguineal bonds. Filial bonds are stronger, but built on respect with limited interaction in case of father and child. Mother-child bond is, however, stronger.● Descent – Matrilineal and patrilineal family structures. In the south and in the northeast there are examples of matrilineal structures.

● Seniority – it is a source of authority as well as respect.

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● Division of labor – it is generally sex based and patriarchal in nature.
● Relationships are enduring and are not severed even upon death
● Rules of relations – various rules like incest taboo, women rearing children etc guide the kinship relations.
● Ownership patterns – traditionally, ownership of property in traditional joint property are with adult males and succession line is patrilineal.

Increased female labor force participation, legislation impacting gender ,personal law and international migration, advances in science and technology including new reproductive technologies among others, have interacted with the family and have led to the following structural changes-
I. Conjugal Relations and Authority Structure – Relationship between husband and wife today is more based on cooperation rather than domination and women are also playing an increasing role in decision making. According to Parsons, nuclearization has strengthened conjugal bonds between husband and wife. According to **Young and Willmott** in their ' **The Symmetrical Family, 1975'** saw family in terms of itsevolution in four stages from pre-industrialization to current form. Today, 'symmetrical relations' is hallmark of husband and wife relations in modern family and husband-wife relations are based on 'companionship'. Similarly, in a more recent study by **Goran Therborn** mentioned in his **'Between Sex and Power, 2004'** , it is argued that patriarchal power within family has generally declined over the 20th century. According to him events like – WW1 which led to women joined the work force, Russian Revolution which promoted the principle of egalitarianism, feminist movements of 1970s etc.
II. Parents-Child Relationship – Both the parents play now in strumentaland emotional roles.
III. Brother Sister Relationship – They are now based on fellowship, based on equality.
IV. Greater incidences of divorce – Single Parent Families. According to Duncan Fletcher people today expect more out of marital relations and hence more likely to end a relation which would have survived in the past. Edmund Leach says that emotional stress and tensions are so great that family often fails to bear it and bonds become fragile. In industrial society, due to rise of functional alternatives, families perform fewer functions and hence there are fewer bonds to unite.

Nicky Hart says that there are more opportunities to escape today. According to her, this is best exemplified by the enactment of new Divorce Law in USA in 1971which led to a spurt in divorce cases.
V. Authority of the aged people is decreasing.
VI. Rise of non-institutionalized features – live-in, single parent family etc.
VII. Family is becoming more of an individualized affair.
Factors that have been responsible for changes in structure and functions of family and marriage are

● Industrialization – It leads to small family sizes which are geographically more mobile. Industrialization also promotes achievement based status and strengthens conjugal bonds.
● Families are today formed as a result of love marriages. Free selection of spouse has introduced romantic element in family.
● Legal factors have improved status of women and children. Women now have more rights. Individuals are now also freer to move separately. Polygamy is now practiced lesser due to legal restrain on it in most of the countries.
● In India, Hindu Marriage Act 1955 banned polygamy among Hindus and it also gives right to divorce to women as well.
● Neolocal trend is replacing patrilocal patterns. Employed new couples have to move to new places where their jobs are located.
● Emergence of alternatives to family and marriages – Cohabitation or live-ins, gay and lesbian partnerships and single parent families are new emerging trends. Acceptance to same sex relationship has also upset the traditional definitions of family. Denmark was the first country to legalize gay marriages. In India also, Supreme Court has taken steps to decriminalize homosexuality.
● Individualization and fluidity in relations has led to less durable bonding. **Zygmunt Bauman** in his **'Liquid Love, 2003'** argues that modern life is characterized by constant change and lack of lasting bonds.
● Enlightenment of women – Women resist the compulsions and atrocities of joint patriarchal family.
● Over population and migration
● Problems of accommodation – A single house becomes insufficient to accommodate all members of the family.
● Education
● Decline of religious control alters functions of family.
● Role of media

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● Urbanization – It also put pressure on joint family.

● State policy – Family planning drives and rhetoric like **'Hum Do Humare Do'**.

● Land reforms – According to **Lakshmi narayana** land reforms imposed ceiling restriction on the landholdings. In many cases, the heads of the family resorted to theoretical partition and sows the seeds for separate living.

● Economic difficulties in rural areas – Imbalanced urban rural growth has led to higher migration of young members to cities. According to **Bolsche** , money economy has also contributed to reduction of size of family as there is constant negotiation between limited resources and unlimited desires of members. In many Western countries industrialization, migration and modernization dictated the size and form of family, but in India cultural institutions like religion, caste etc still play an important role. Some sociologists also argue that family is no longer a cornerstone of society. Some countries like Netherland have as high as 80% of single individuals in 18-45 age-group. Examples of alternatives like Kibbitzs in Israel also raise questions over its universal existence. Other sociologists argue that family is being replaced by household as a unit of sociological analysis.

TYPES AND FORMS OF FAMILY

Many sociologists have regarded the family as the bedrock of society, but its composition varies from society to society based upon various socio-cultural factors. Various forms of family in general are –1. On the basis of residence – Matrilocal, patrilocal, duolocal and neolocal2. On the basis of authority – Matriarchal, patriarchal3. On the basis of descent or rule of inheritance – Matrilineal, patrilineal4. On the basis of marriage – Monogamy, polyandry, polygyny5. On the basis of household size – Joint household, nuclear household, single person household6. On the basis of size – Nuclear and extended. Nuclear family includes husband, wife and their offspring. When other members also become part of this family, it becomes an extended family.7. A joint family is a particular type of extended family. VII. On the basis of membership type – Yet another distinction is made between the 'conjugal family' or family by marriage on the one hand and' consanguine family' or family by blood on the other, based on the membership type of the family.8. The

family in which one is born as a child is the 'family of orientation' and the family in which one is a parent is the 'family of procreation' .**Anthony Giddens** also talks about 'Serial Monogamy' in modern societies of developed countries which a person goes through multiple divorces followed by multiple marriages. As a result, form of family also changes.

HOUSEHOLD

A household is where one individual or a group of people live together atone address and share living space. Individuals that live together when sharing accommodation would be considered a household rather than a family unit. The individuals will share the space within the household meaningfully to connect with one another. Household is more easily explained: a group of people who live together, regardless of whether there are any kinship ties. Most of these are families, but (depending on the definition of family) many are not: flat mates (such as students, working professionals), people living on their own, multiple-occupancy homes for migrant workers, etc. Most families live in a household, but not all households are families. The nature of households has changed considerably. Pre-industrial families lived in large households but these households comprised of servants or other non-family members living in the same household. Individuals relate to society through their families and households. When these units add or lose members — or when the household members grow older, divorce, or marry — there can be profound social and economic consequences. Divorce can bring financial hardship. Marriage can add additional income, as well as stepchildren or mothers-in-law. The birth of a child can bring new financial expenses, but it also can encourage stability.

 Households and families are basic units of analysis in demography. They are not the same thing. A household is composed of one or more people who occupy a housing unit. Not all households contain families. Households consist of two or more individuals who are related by birth, marriage, or adoption, although they also may include other unrelated people. Nonfamily households consist of people who live alone or who share their residence with unrelated individuals. Thus, emotional attachment is a core feature of family, while commensality is a core feature of household. These official definitions do not necessarily reflect changing

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attitudes about marriage, childbearing, and the roles of men and women. Households that consist of unmarried couples living together and gay and lesbian couples, for example, would be counted as nonfamily households even though they might share many characteristics of a family. If these couples live with children from their current or a previous relationship, the household moves into the family category. The average size and composition of households are highly sensitive to the age structure of the population. But they also reflect social and economic changes. An economic squeeze may prolong the time adult children living at home in many western countries; a rise in the divorce rate may increase the number of single-person households. Relaxed social rules about marriage may boost the number of unmarried couples setting up house. Classical scholars like **Morgan, Maine and Kroeber** have looked familyas a means to explain the evolution of human civilization and hence largely ignored its household dimension. Later the idea of nuclear family by Parsons, William Goode etc. also emphasized that nuclear family and household are inseparable to each other. However, **Anthony Giddens** argues that phenomenon like ' **serial monogamy** ' have led to break down of concept of family and household being one and the same as different marriages bring many different relations under a single roof. Further, stay of members is more transitory than permanent. Occupational compulsions in a cosmopolitan culture has separated husband and wife who often live at different places in different households and meet only on weekends giving rise to new concepts like ' **weekend families/marriages** .A household may also go several changes with time from nuclear to joint etc. In India, such transformation has been studied by **Shah** in Gujarat villages in his ' **Household Dimension of Family in India, 1973'** . A household may experience progression and/or regression or both on the basis of birth, adoption and in- and out-marriage, and death, divorce and separation of members over a period of time. A household in itself is neither joint nor nuclear, but becomes either of these by virtue of its being under progression and regression in the process of its developmental phases.
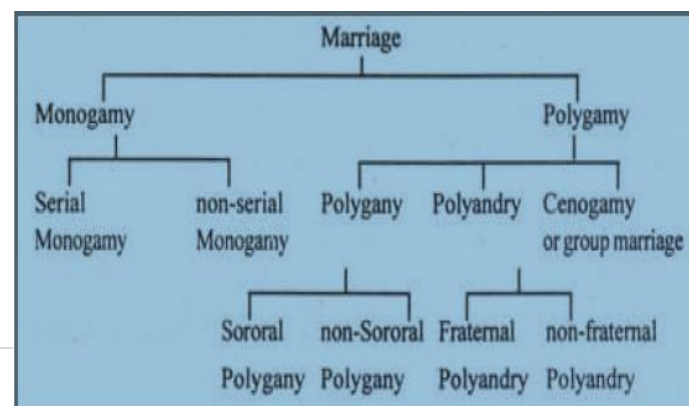
Contemporary Trend

During the past few decades profound changes have taken place in U.S. and European households and families. The role of the traditional family has become weaker and new living arrangements have gained

importance. Consensual unions are now widely accepted; one-parent families now originate more in divorce than in widowhood; and solitary householders have become more common. A further complication is that increasing numbers of couples are cohabiting rather than being formerly married to each other. Co habitation is a household-based concept requiring co-residence and also a sexual relationship. Other emerging social trends such as increasing numbers of couples ' **Living-Apart-Together' (LAT),** i.e. people with a regular partner acknowledged by friends and relatives, implicitly including asexual relationship, although not co-resident. A tentative estimate suggests that four million people under age 60 in Britain are in a LAT relationship, very similar to the estimated number cohabiting (and such relationships are known to be relatively common in the Netherlands among older people).**Governmental Effort to Promote Family** Moreover, with the introduction of programs of economic liberalization ,governments worldwide have begun to review the costs of their welfare programs, seeking to restore to families the burden of care (of the young ,of the aged, of the invalided and the handicapped) that the modern state and its agencies had assumed during several decades of welfarism or socialist construction. The declaration of a U.N. 'International Year of the Family' in 1994 was an indication of a growing and world-wide sense of crisis in the institution of the family, precipitated by the downsizing of welfare programs, as are on tinuing appeals for the re-institution of 'family values', marital fidel it yand premarital control of abstinence. Socialization of grandchildren's in case of working parents also contributed in healthy relationship among the family members .**PRANAM scheme** of Assam government is also an effort in this direction.

MARRIAGE AND ITS TYPES

It has been generally assumed that the institution of marriage is a universal feature

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in human societies. Although many sociologists and anthropologists have attempted to provide definitions of marriage, none of them has been satisfactorily and sufficiently general enough to encompass all its various manifestations. This is because marriage is a unique institution of human society that has different implications indifferent cultures. It is a biological fact that marriage is intimately linked to parenthood. This has led to many anthropologists like Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown to propose definitions of marriage centering on the Principle of Legitimacy. According to **Malinowski** , a legal marriage is one which gives a woman a socially recognized husband and her children a socially recognized father .Radcliffe-Brown states that Marriage is a social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in society determined by parenthood in the social sense .According to **Westermarck** it is a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of parties entering the union and in the case of children born out of this union .According to **Lundberg** , marriage consists of rules and regulations that define the rights, duties and privileges of husband and wife with respect to each other .According to **Horton and Hunt** marriage is the approved social pattern where by two or more persons establish a family .**Edmund Leach** argued that the institutions commonly classed as marriage are concerned with the allocation of a number of distinguishable classes of rights and hence may serve to do any or some or all of the following.

● To establish the legal father of a woman's children.
● To establish the legal mother of a man's children.
● To give a husband a monopoly of the wife's sexuality.
● To give the wife a monopoly of the husband's sexuality.
● To give the husband partial or monopolistic rights to the wife's domestic and other labor services.
● To give the wife partial or monopolistic rights to the husband's domestic and other labor services.
● To give the husband partial or total rights over property belonging or potentially accruing to the wife.
● To give the wife partial or total rights over property belonging or potentially accruing to the husband.
● To establish a joint fund of property – partnership for the benefit of the children of the marriage.
● To establish a socially significant relationship of affinity between the husband and his wife's brothers.

TYPES OF MARRIAGE

As a universal social institution marriage is found to exist in all societies and at all stages of development. Types or forms of marriage vary from society to society. Types or forms of marriage in different communities, societies and cultural groups differ according to their customs, practices and systems of thought. In some societies, marriage is a religious sacrament, whereas in others it is a social contract. However, there are several types of marriage which is classified on different basis.

(A) On the basis of number of mates

On the basis of number of mates marriage may be classified into three types such as Monogamy, Polygamy and Endogamy or group marriage. This can be known from the following diagram.
(1) Monogamy Monogamy is an ideal, widespread and rational type of marriage. It is found in all civilized societies. Monogamy refers to a marriage of one man with one woman at a time. This type of marriage is normally unbreakable in nature. It continues till death. Today the principle of monogamy i.e. one husband and one wife is practised and emphasised throughout the world. Monogamy is of two types such as serial Monogamy and non-serial Monogamy.
(i) Serial Monogamy In serial Monogamous marriage the possibility of remarriage exists in case of divorce or death. Inspite of his remarriage he remains to be monogamous.
(ii) Non-serial Monogamy In case of non-serial monogamy the question of remarriage does not arise by either of the couple. Here a spouse has the same single spouse throughout his life. However, Monogamy is an ideal or best form of marriage because of it's different advantages which are as follows:
(1) It is suitable for all society and for all levels of people.
(2) It provide better sex satisfaction to both husband and wife.
(3) It promotes better understanding between the spouse.

(4) It minimizes jealousy, hatred and quarrels in the family.
(5) It upholds gender equality and provides equal status to men and women.
(6) It provides stable sex-life and stable family life.

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(7) Children are taken proper care by parents.

(8) It facilitates easy rules of inheritance and succession. Because of the above advantages Monogamy is considered as the best form of marriage and is practiced everywhere. The only disadvantages of Monogamy are divorce which is resulted due to the monogamous boredom.

(2) Polygamy Polygamy is a type of marriage in which there is plurality of partners. It allows a man to marry more than one woman or a woman to marry more than one man at a time. Polygamy is of three types such as polygamy, polyandry and endogamy or group marriage.

(i) **Polygamy** Polygamy is a type of marriage in which a man marries more than one wife at a time. In this type of marriage each wife has her separate household and the husband visits them in turn. It was a preferred form of marriage in ancient Indian society. But now it was not in practice among the majority of the population. But it is now found among few tribal's such as Naga, Gond and Baiga. Economic and political cause was mainly responsible for polygamy. Besides man's taste for variety, enforced celibacy, Barrenness of women more women population etc. are some of the cause of polygamy. Polygamy is further divided into two types such as Sororal polygyny and non- sororal polygyny.

(a) Sorroral Polygamy

Sorroral polygamy is often called as surrogate. The term surrogate comes from the Latin word 'sorer' which means sister. Accordingly it refers to a marriage practice in which a man marries the sisters of his wife at a time or after the death of his wife.

(b) Non-sororal Polygamy:
It is just opposite of the sororal polygamy, when a man marries several women at a time who are not necessarily sister to each other it is known as non-sororal polygamy.

(ii) Polyandry
Polyandry is a very rare type of marriage in present day. In this type of marriage a woman marries several men at a time. In the words of K.M. Kapadia, "Polyandry is a form of union in which a woman has more than one husband at a time or in which brothers share a wife or wives in common. At present it is found among some of the tribes like toda, khasi and nayars. Polyandry is

divided into two types such as fraternal polyandry and non-fraternal polyandry.

(a)Fraternal Polyandry When several brothers share a common wife it is called fraternal polyandry. Draupadi's marriage to Pandavas is fine example of fraternal polyandry. The determination of father is associated with some rituals. At present time this type of marriage is practised by some tribals like toda and khasi.

(b) Non-fraternal Polyandry It is just opposite of fraternal polyandry. In this type of marriage husbands of a woman is not necessarily brother to each other. This type of marriage is found among the Nayars of Kerala, Wife goes to spend some time with each of her husband. So long as a woman lives with one of her husbands, the others have no claim on her. This mainly happens due to scarcity of women.

(iii) Endogamy or Group Marriage

Endogamy is otherwise known as group marriage. In this type of marriage a group of men marry a group of women at a time. Every woman is the wife of every man belonging to the particular groups. Sociologists, like Dr. Rivers call it as a kind of sexual communism. This type of marriage is found among some tribes of New Guinea and Africa,

(B) On the basis of choice of mate or on the basis of rules of mate selection

Marriage may be divided into two types i.e. endogamous and exogamous marriages on the basis of choice of mate or on the basis of the rules of choice of mate. Endogamy is divided into four subtypes such as caste, sub-caste, varna and tribal endogamy. Similarly exogamous marriage may be divided into four sub-types such as Gotra, Pravar, Sapinda and village exogamy. All this can be presented in the following diagram.

(1) Endogamy or endogamous marriage

Endogamy or endogamous marriage refers to the marriage within one's own group such as within one's own caste, sub-caste, varna and tribe. In other words there are several types of endogamous marriage such as caste endogamy, sub-caste endogamy, varna endogamy and tribal endogamy.

(a) **Caste endogamy** Caste endogamy is a type of endogamous marriage in which marriage takes place within one's own caste. In a caste based society

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endogamy is strictly followed. Members of each caste marry within its own caste group.

(b) Sub-caste endogamy

It is another type of endogamous marriage. In a caste based society each caste is divided into many sub-castes. Like caste each sub-caste is also an endogamous unit. In sub-caste endogamy marriage takes place within one's sub-caste only.

(c) Varna endogamy

Varna endogamy is another type of endogamous marriage. In the traditional Indian Society we found the existence of four varnas such as Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Shudra. In varna endogamy the choice of mate is restricted to one's own varna only.

(d) Tribal endogamy

Tribe is a territorial group. Tribal endogamy is a type of endogamous married in which the choice of mate is restricted to one's own tribal group. Like caste tribe is also an endogamous unit.

(2) Exogamy or Exogamous marriage

It is just opposite to the endogamy or endogamous marriage system. It refers to a system of marriage in which an individual has to marry outside one's own group such as gotra, pravara, sapinda or village. This is a sound marriage system which leads to the creation of healthy and intelligent children. However there are several forms of exogamy such as:

(a) Gotra exogamy

Gotra refers to clan. Members of a particular gotra or clan supposed to have close blood relation among themselves. Hence according to gotra exogamy one has to marry outside one's own gotra.

(b) Pravara exogamy

Pravara means siblings. People originating from a common saint are said to belong to a particular Pravara. According to Pravara exogamy one has to marry outside one's own pravara. Marriage within pravara is forbidden.

(c) Sapinda exogamy

Sapinda means-lineage. People belonging to five generations from father side and three or seven generation from mother side are known as sapindas. They believed to belong to a particular pinda. Hence according to sapinda exogamy marriage within one's own sapinda is forbidden. They are supposed to marry outside one's own sapnida.

(d) Village exogamy

According to this principle marriage within one's own village is forbidden each and every society prescribes certain rules relating to marriage. Some societies put several restrictions on marriage among kins whereas some other societies allows marriage between a limited number of kins. Hence in those societies marriage is sanctioned on the basis of preference or priority. Accordingly socially sanctioned marriage among kins is known as preferential marriage. In other words **on the basis of preference marriage may be divided into four types such as cross-cousin marriage, parallel cousin marriage, levirate and sororate.**

(i) Cross-cousin marriage

When marriage takes place between one's mother's brother's daughter/son with father's sister's son/daughter we called it as cross cousin marriage. The marriage of Abhimanyu with Sashikala is an example of this cross-cousin type of marriage. This type of marriage is supposed to be practised in some parts of Orissa, Rajasthan, and Maharashtra etc. This type of marriage occur to avoid payment of high bride price and to maintain one's family property.

(ii) Parallel Cousin marriage

When marriage takes place between the children of either two sisters or two brothers it is known as parallel cousin marriage. This type of marriage is mostly found among Muslims.

(iii) Levirate

It is otherwise known as 'Devar Vivaha'. When a woman marries her husband's brother after the death of her husband it is known as levirate. This type of marriage is found among some tribes like the Gond, the Munda or the Santal the oran and the Toda etc.

(iv) Sororate

It is otherwise known as 'Sali Vivah'. When a man marries his wife's sister after the death of his wife or even when the wife is alive it is called as sororate. This type of marriage is found among some tribes like the Kharia and the Gond.

Sociologists have classified marriage into Anuloma or Pratiloma .

(i) Anuloma marriage or Hypergamy

When a man of higher caste or varna marries a woman of lower caste or varna it is called as Anuloma or Hypergamy marriage. In traditional Indian society

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hypergamy is known as Anuloma. This was in practice among the nobles in the past. In Bengal it was found in the form of Kulinism.

(ii) Pratiloma marriage or Hypogamy

Pratiloma or hypogamy marriage is just opposite of Anuloma or hypergamy. When a man of lower caste or status marries a woman of higher caste or status it is known as pratiloma or hypogamy marriage. This is not an approved form of marriage. Ancient Hindu law giver a man a lower caste or status marries a woman of higher caste or status it is known as pratiloma or hypogamy marriage. This is not an approved form of marriage. Ancient Hindu law giver Manu denounced Pratiloma is still it practice among the people.

Social Characteristics of Marriage

In most societies, marriage is considered a permanent social and legal contract and relationship between two people that is based on mutual rights and obligations among the spouses. A marriage is often based on a romantic relationship, though this is not always the case. But regardless, it typically signals a sexual relationship between two people. A marriage, however, does not simply exist between the married partners, but rather, is codified as a social institution in legal, economic, social, and spiritual/religious ways. Because a marriage is recognized by law and by religious institutions, and involves economic ties between the spouses, dissolution of marriage (annulment or divorce) must, in turn, involve dissolution of the marriage relationship in all of these realms. Typically, the institution of marriage begins with a period of courtship that culminates in an invitation to marry. This is followed by the marriage ceremony, during which mutual rights and responsibilities may be specifically stated and agreed to. In many places, the state or a religious authority must sanction a marriage in order for it to be considered valid and legal.

In many societies, including the Western world and the United States, marriage is widely considered the basis of and foundation for family. This is why a marriage is often greeted socially with immediate expectations that the couple will produce children, and why children that are born outside of marriage are sometimes branded with the stigma of illegitimacy.

The Social Functions of Marriage

Marriage has several social functions that are important within the societies and cultures where the marriage takes place. Most commonly, marriage dictates the roles that spouses play in each other's lives, in the family, and in society at large. Typically these roles involve a division of labor between the spouses, such that each is responsible for different tasks that are necessary within the family. American sociologist **Talcott Parsons** wrote on this topic and outlined a theory of roles within a marriage and household, wherein wives/mothers play the expressive role of a caregiver who takes care of socialization and emotional needs of others in the family, while the husband/father is responsible for the task role of earning money to support the family. In keeping with this thinking, a marriage often serves the function of dictating the social status of the spouses and the couple, and of creating a hierarchy of power between the couple. Societies in which the husband/father holds the most power in the marriage are known as patriarchies. Conversely, matriarchal societies are those in which wives/mothers hold the most power.

Marriage also serves the social function of determining family names and lines of familial descent. In the U.S. and much of the Western world, a common practice is patrilineal descent, meaning the family name follows that of the husband/father. However, many cultures, including some within Europe and many in Central and Latin America, follow matrilineal descent. Today, it is common for newly married couples to create a hyphenated family name that preserves the named lineage of both sides, and for children to bear the surnames of both parents.

LINEAGE (VANSHAVALI)

A lineage is a descent group that can demonstrate their common descent from a known apical ancestors. Unilineal lineages can be matrilineal or patrilineal, depending on whether they are traced through mothers or fathers, respectively. Whether matrilineal or patrilineal descent is considered significant and differs from culture to culture.

Notionally, lineages are exclusive in their membership. In practice, however, many cultures have methods for bestowing lineage membership on individuals who are

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not genetically related to the lineage progenitor. The most common of these is adoption, although other forms of fictive kinship are also used. Lineages are normally corporate, meaning that their members exercise rights in common and are subject to obligations collectively.

Lineage structure may be regarded as a branching process, as when two or three founders of small lineages are represented as brothers or sisters. The groups thus constitute a single larger lineage in which the smaller groups are segments. This structure may lend stability to a society; the lineages are considered permanent groups and thus perpetuate concomitant political and religious relationships over time. In societies lacking central political authority, territorial groups often organize themselves around lineages; as these are usually exogamous, or out-marrying, marriage becomes a means of bringing together otherwise unrelated groups. For example – In India lineage is often considered from 3-7 generation on male side as ours is a patrilineal society. It is sometimes known as Sarika/Sapinda group in Northern India. In the case of lineage, one can trace one's ancestors whereas in descent one often fails to trace one's ancestors and the ancestors could be substituted by a mythical one symbolizing the origin of one's descent.

Descent (Vansha)

Descent is the principle whereby a child is socially affiliated with the group of his or her parents. Descent is a relationship defined by connection to an ancestor (or ancestress) through a culturally recognized sequence of parent-child links (from father to son and son's son-patrilineal descent, from mother to daughter and daughter's daughter-matrilineal descent).

In other words, descent is the tracing of relationships intergenerationally through real, putative (acknowledged), or fictive parent-child links. The rules of descent are important from sociological point of view because only through these rules –
1) The name of heritage gets transferred from one generation to other
2) It decides the rules of property transfer

Types of Descent (Based on rules)

I. When descent is reckoned **Unilineally**, that is, in one line only. The child is affiliated either with the group of

the father, that is, Patrilineal Descent, or with the group of the mother, that is, Matrilineal Descent.

Patrilineal Descent

In 'patriarchal' model of society it has patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, inheritance from father to son, and authority in the hands of seniors as against juniors, and males as against females. A number of social practices testify to the fact that a woman's only legitimate roles are those of wife and mother. Spinsterhood and widowhood are inauspicious and unenviable conditions. A girl is regarded as merely a guest in her natal home and, initially at least, as a rather threatening outsider in her marital home.

The patrilineal systems of the south are not as markedly patriarchal as those of the north. Also a woman after marriage continues to have materially and psychologically important relations with members of her natal group. And in many other patrilineal systems, the mother's brothers have significant ritual and social roles in the lives of their sister's children, and especially tender an affectionate relationship with them.

Matrilineal Descent

Matrilineal descent systems, of which there are several well-known examples in southwestern and north-eastern India, have their own distinctive characteristics. Empirically you never find matrilineal systems that are an exact inverse of the patrilineal-patriarchal model. The reason is quite simple: whatever the descent system is matrilineal, patrilineal or indeed bilateral, authority is usually exercised by males, only in extremely simple societies one comes across a fair degree of mutual interdependence between males and females. Also, though rights in property might be determined by the principles of matrilineal descent (for instance, passing from mother to daughter or from mother's brother to sister's son rather than from father to son as in patrilineal societies), major property is usually controlled (if not actually owned) by males. For obvious reasons, residence arrangements are problematic in matrilineal societies.

(ii) **Female Primogeniture** – Found among the Nayars of Kerala. In this system, their household known as Tarawad is headed by the eldest female, though the property gets transferred to all the sisters equally but the name and authority belongs to the eldest daughter.

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(3) **Double Descent** – In systems of double descent, (Yako of Nigeria, Ashanti of Ghana) society recognizes both the patrilineage and the matrilineage but assigns to each a different set of expectations. For example, the inheritance of immovable materials, such as land, may be the domain of the patrilineage, while the matrilineage controls the inheritance of movable objects such as livestock.

(4) **Double Unilineal Descent** – In this system, the lineage transfers from father to son and mother to daughter based on lineage, For example, Nuer of Sudan.

(5) **Ambilateral Descent** – In ambilateral (e.g. Hawaiian kinship) systems, patrilineal and matrilineal principles both operate at the societal level, but at the level of the individual various rules or choices define a person as belonging to either the mother's or the father's group i.e. offspring determine their lineage. In this system, the name and property gets transferred not on any fixed line. It is ambiguous and can be transferred anyway.

(6) **Bilateral or Cognatic Descent** – This descent systems consider kinship of the mother and the father more or less equally, for example, Eskimo kinship. In practice, unilineal systems differ radically from bilateral systems. In a matrilineal system, for example, a person would feel cousin obligations only to the children of his mother's siblings, while in a bilateral system the person is in some sense allied to the children of both parents' siblings.

Functions of Descent Groups

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. The descent group will have a built-in authority structure, with power normally exercised by senior males, and it may well own corporate property. An individual's economic rights and responsibilities will be defined by his or her position in the descent group. The principle of Complementary Filiation explains the significant ritual and social roles of the mother's brother(s) in the lives of their sister's children.

Inheritance Rules

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

Rules of Residence

If a husband and wife set up their own independent home after marriage, as it is usually the case in modern western society, residence is said to be Neolocal. Where the wife goes to live with the husband in his parents' home, residence is described as Virilocal, Patrilocal, Or Patrivirilocal, and where the husband moves to live with the wife, it is termed Matrilocal.

Descent Systems - Further Details

The patrilineal descent systems of India have many of the features noted in similar groups elsewhere. A boy at birth becomes a member of his descent group, and a coparcener (partner) in a joint estate. A girl, by contrast, is only a residual member of her natal group: at marriage she is incorporated into her husband's descent group and ultimately (i.e. after her death) offered worship by their male descendants. Residence, as we have already noted, is usually patrilocal.

Descent groups can be of various types. Most common is ‗family' which is also the smallest descent group. A number of families which are linked by a common ancestor whose identity is known to form a group called ‗lineage'. A number of lineages linked together with a common ancestor whose identity is not known is called ‗clan' or ‗gotra' in case of India and it is exogamous. A number of clans having a common mythical ancestor form a ‗phratory' and it is an endogamous group. Phratory is sometimes equated with caste in India.

Other Matrilineal Communities

There are many other matrilineal communities in India whose kinship organization is rather different to that of the Nayars. For instance, the Khasis of Assam are matrilineal in descent, inheritance and succession, and practice matrilocal residence. The youngest daughter is the heiress, and lives in her mother's house alone with their husbands and their children. The older daughter however may move out of the matrilineal household on marriage and make new nuclear families; their husbands have greater independent authority than does the husband of the youngest daughter still residing matrilocal.

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The Garo, also of Assam, have yet another arrangement. Marriage is matrilocal for the husband of the daughter who becomes the head of the household and its manager. A rule of preferential cross-cousin marriage ensures that a man is succeeded in this position by his sister's son in an ongoing alliance relationship between the two linked lineages.

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy is most commonly understood as a form of social organization in which cultural and institutional beliefs and patterns accept, support, and reproduce the domination over women and younger men by elder or more powerful men. Literally the **Rule of the fathers**, today sociologists view as patriarchal any system that contributes to the social, cultural, and economic superiority or hegemony of men. Consequently, sociologists study the manner in which societies have become and continue to be patriarchal by investigating both social institutions and commonly held cultural beliefs. At the same time, scholars investigate the consequences of patriarchy, i.e., differential access to scarce societal resources including power, authority, and opportunity by gender.

The origins of patriarchy are closely related to the concept of gender roles, or the set of social and behavioral norms that are considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex. Much work has been devoted to understanding why women are typically thought to inhabit a domestic role while men are expected to seek professional satisfaction outside of the home. This division of labor is frequently mapped onto a social hierarchy in which males' freedom to venture outside of the home and presumed control over women is perceived as superior and dominant. As such, rather than working to destabilize the historical notion of patriarchy, much literature assess the origins of patriarchy or a social system in which the male gender role acts as the primary authority figure is central to social organization, and where fathers hold authority over women, children, and property. It implies the institutions of male rule and privilege and entails female subordination.

Engels referred to it as the earliest system of domination establishing that Patriarchy is —the world historical defeat of the female sex.‖ In this sense, it is said that Patriarchy was a form of political organization that distributed power unequally between men and women to the detriment of women.

Patriarchy is defined by **Sylvia Walby** in her _**Theorizing Patriarchy, 1990'** as _a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate and oppress women'. According to her, patriarchy operates through multiple structures like – production relations in the household where women are subjected to unpaid labor, discriminatory allocation of occupations in the labor market, capture of political power by patriarchs, male violence which is often patterned and systematic, patriarchal relations in sexuality which are manifested in sexual double standards for males and females, patriarchal cultural institutions like education, media and so on. Walby distinguishes patriarchy as private patriarchy which is practiced in household and public patriarchy which is collective response of a patriarchal society to women.

According to Walby, patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. She sees patriarchy and capitalism as distinct systems which interact in different ways, sometimes harmoniously and sometimes in tension depending on historical conditions. Capitalism, she argues, has generally benefited from patriarchy through the sexual division of labour. But at other times, capitalism and patriarchy have been at odds with one another. For example, in wartime, when women have entered the labour market in great numbers, the interests of capitalism and patriarchy have not been aligned.

Prior to the critical work of feminist scholars, many considered patriarchy to be the natural result of biological difference or rather a truly complementary system based upon differential inclinations that served to address society's need for a division of labor (Durkheim 1933; Parsons 1956). A more critical analysis of the origins of patriarchy, however, looks to its cultural and social genesis as located within both beliefs and specific social institutions.

Issues including access to economic opportunity and more recently the gendering of occupations, the glass ceiling (Williams 1992) and sexual harassment have concerned both activists and scholars. A **Parsonsian** expression of balance between the public (economic) sphere and the private (family) sphere argues in favor of men being primarily active in the public and women in the private. Currently, feminist scholars and most

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sociologists dismiss this characterization as patriarchal and focus on the manner in which the institutions that perpetuate this unequal system are structured.

Levi Strauss (1967) observed and chronicled the cultural roots of patriarchy and highlighted a key implicit component, that of the objectification and devaluation of women by men. More recently, **Bernard** demonstrated the differential structure of marriage and family by gender that deterministically reproduces patriarchy.

The concept of patriarchy has been **criticized** from both outside and within Feminism.

➢ The concept itself has been criticized as being too abstract: it is difficult to pin it down and find specific mechanisms through which it operates.

➢ Many Feminists argue that Patriarchy exists in all cultures, and thus the concept itself is too general to be useful, as it fails to take account of how other factors such as class and ethnicity combine to oppress different women in different ways.

➢ Black Feminists have criticized the (mainly) white radical Feminist critique of the family as patriarchal as many black women see the family as a bulwark against white racism in society.

➢ Postmodern Feminism criticizes the concept as it rests on the binary distinction between men and women, the existence of which is open to question today.

SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

Division of labour denotes ‗any stable organization, coordinating individuals, or groups carrying out different, but integrated activities' (Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, 1994). Coordination is a complex concept. Division of labour could take place on a number of levels, between different sectors of the economy, between occupations, or between individual tasks. Modem societies, as a whole, are characterized by an extensive social division of labour, involving the specialization and interdependence of whole institutions and social processes.

Human beings have divided labour since earliest organization of society. All societies have at least some rudimentary form of division of labour—a range of tasks is assigned to women and another set of tasks given to men, and still others may be performed by either sex.

This is popularly known as sexual division of labour. Very little of this division is required by the biological peculiarities of the two sexes. A man cannot bear a child or nurse it though some experiments have been done contrary to this popular belief.

Men are stronger and can run faster than women who are in turn somewhat handicapped at times by pregnancy and menstruation. Women, however, have strength and speed to perform almost all tasks in every society. Equally important, what is defined as a man's task in one society may well be classed as a woman's job in another, thus indicating that most of the division is culturally defined, or based on a complex of factors in which the biological is only a part.

However, in most of the societies (about three-fourth), women used to carry out these tasks—grinding grain, carrying water, cooking, preserving food, gathering food, repairing and making clothing, weaving and making pottery.

In most societies men are assigned these tasks—herding, hunting and fishing, lumbering, mining and quarrying, metal working, manufacturing of ceremonial objects, wood working and house building. Some of these require strength, and others demand some wandering from the hearth. Notice that the tending of crops calls for endurance and some strength, but it is as likely to be female activity as a male activity.

The division of labour is based neither on biology nor on simple equality. Another factor is significant as an element in the husband's position and the position of men in society. Whatever strictly male tasks are, they are defined as more honorific.

The division is justified by various rationalizations and by moral precepts and these are part of the socialization experiences of boys and girls in the society. In early socialization the young begins experience to acquire the values and skills of their parents.

With the development of industrialization, however, the division of labour became more complex than in any type of production system. Work has become divided into an enormous number of different occupations in which people specialize.

Social Aspects of Division of Labour

While **Marx** stressed on the idea of alienated labour as an outcome of division of labour, for Durkheim, the principal interest of the division of labour is its moral consequences, that is, its effect on the underlying solidarity of the society, which should restrain individual egoism, ruthlessness and license.

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Durkheim argued that traditional societies are integrated by so-called mechanical solidarity, in which emphasis is placed on the values and cognitive symbols common to the clan or tribe. Individuals and institutions are thus relatively undifferentiated. Modern societies, he claimed, require the development of organic solidarity, in which beliefs and values emphasize individuality, encourage specialist talents in individuals, and the differentiation of activities in institutions.

But, although the economic division of labour may have initiated such a way of life by itself, the unregulated market loosens restraints on individual desires, undermines the establishment of social trust, and produces abnormal forms of division of labour. This situation creates anomie, and the forced division of labour associated with class and political conflict in society.

Tiger and Fox in their _The Imperial Animal, 1972' give concept of _**Human Biogrammar'** to explain the biological basis of sexual division of labor. According to them, biogrammar is like a genetic program which has been developed due to the fact that man has spent 99.9% of his time as hunter gatherers and as a result, man is more aggressive and dominant. Women are programmed by their biogrammar to reproduce and take care of the children.

Reproduction is considered as role of women and production as of men and implication of patriarchy on various forms of entitlements is now a part of social life.

Parsons called such different roles as _Instrumental' and _Expressive' roles of a husband and wife.

George Peter Murdock in his book _Social Structure, 1949' argues that biological differences like the greater physical strength of men and the fact that women bear children, led to gender roles sheer out of practicality. Given the biological differences between men and women, sexual division is the most effective way of division of labor in society.

Feminist sociologist **Ann Oakley** in her _Housewife, 1974' has vociferously rejected biological theories and has through empirical evidences argued that it has a strong cultural basis. According to her _sex' is natural or biological, but gender is cultural construct and it assigns different social roles for both genders. Differential rewards are attached to these roles which create gender inequalities and gender stratification. She cites numerous examples in which women take stereotypical so called _masculine' roles. According to her, pre-industrial society had equal space for both men and

women in all kinds of works. It was only during industrialization that such changes were brought that she was branded as _housewife'. Housewife role, according to Oakley, has the following characteristics – it is exclusively for women and dependent on men, it has the status of _non-work', compared to real economic productive work of men, housework is unpaid, privatized and isolated.

Recent feminist analyses have drawn attention on both power and moral types of explanation to explore invidious distinctions made between men's and women's social labour and social position, and the form of division of labour by gender has taken in industrial (modern) societies.

This gender based _division of labour' has created various socio-psychological problems in society. For example, those women who do not fall into the stereotype personality of women have suffered in society because women are supposed to be shy, humble, sacrificing and sexually passive. On the other hand, those men who are not stereotype male like aggressive, emotionally neutral, instrumental, sexually aggressive they also go from psychological and social identity crisis in the society. Hence, the gender based _division of labour' in no way serves the society in the best way.

But the Industrial Revolution and two World Wars have given opportunity to women to come out of four walls and explore their potential beyond household. Once women became economically empowered in Europe, they started challenging patriarchy known as _feminism'. Due to the feminist movement and scientific and psychological researches, society realized that if given equal opportunity, individual can have the same level of potential. Democracy, universal adult franchise, legal and constitutional safeguards, protective discrimination etc. created a better world for women in which they can explore their capabilities and can enjoy equal rights and responsibilities. Though practically gender equality is yet far from reality but in comparison to the past, it is better in the contemporary society, especially in the West.

Further, in Indian context, caste is also viewed by feminists as a patriarchal institution as across the castes, role of women is of domestic worker. Together with religion, it defines the role of women in Indian society. According to **Uma Chakravorty**, Brahminical traditions glorify obedient women as _Pativrata' and hence put a veil on gender discrimination. Patriarchy

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legitimizes motherhood as primary role of women. In Indian society, patriarchy as a social institution gives rise to other social values such as male child preference, sexual purity, monogamy, fasting by women and abstinence of women from public discourse. While her status on one hand is of Devi in scriptures, she is given treatment of Dasi. **Bina Das** calls it as ‗Devi dichotomy'. However, patriarchal system with its unlimited restrictions on women and its comparative freedom for men is gradually breaking down under the impact of new civilization and culture. Earning of husband is gradually proving to be insufficient for the upbringing of the whole family especially in case of middle class. Traditional masculine jobs are now taken by women also. As hold of religion weakens, accompanying notions like – ‗streedharma', ‗pativrata' and so on are also weakening. Romantic love is a new basis for marriage. Further, as functional roles of family change, relations of members are also affected.

Constitution of India denies sexual division of labor on discriminatory terms and other laws like Factories Act provide for equal treatment of men and women at workplace. Skeptics on the other hand argue that such laws have brought theoretical ‗liberation', but not ‗emancipation' of women.

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

There are a number of possible explanations for the overall decline in the popularity of **marriage** in this period.

Secularization- The declining significance of religion in society could have contributed to the declining popularity of marriage. For many, marriage is no longer a religious ceremony, and there is no social stigma associated with cohabitation (couples living together without being married) which was once thought of as —living in sin‖. This is further evidenced by the fact that, while there has been some fluctuation in numbers of marriages, the number of religious ceremonies has continued to steadily decline.

Divorce rates- As we shall see, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of divorces. This could have had the effect of putting people off getting married, as so many ends in divorce.

Expenses involved in marriages these days are quite heavy.

The pure relationship- **Anthony Giddens** (1995) has written about the quest today for the perfect relationship which again could put some off getting married if they're always imagining a better relationship is around the corner. The role of marriage has changed, certainly, as it is all about the perfect relationship rather than the financial security that particularly women used to use the institution for in earlier periods.

There are a number of possible explanations for the trend towards delaying marriage:

Secularization- Again, because there is less stigma attached to cohabitation, increasingly people may —try before you buy‖ and marry after a successful period of cohabitation.

Women's careers- While women in particular may have seen marriage as a necessary rite of passage from being dependent on one's father to having the security of a husband, this is no longer a relevant concept in modern Britain. Today women expect to have careers and independent financial security and can therefore afford to delay marriage and settling down.

Family structures of some kind are found in every society. Pairing off into formal or informal marital relationships originated in hunter-gatherer groups to forge networks of cooperation beyond the immediate family. Intermarriage between groups, tribes, or clans was often political or strategic and resulted in reciprocal obligations between the two groups represented by the marital partners. Even so, marital dissolution was not a serious problem as the obligations resting on marital longevity were not particularly high.

One Parent Households

One recent trend illustrating the changing nature of families is the rise in prevalence of single-parent families. While somewhat more common prior to the twentieth century due to the more frequent deaths of spouses, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the nuclear family became the societal norm in most Western nations.

Cohabitation/Live-ins

Cohabitation is an intimate relationship that includes a common living place and which exists without the benefit of legal, cultural, or religious sanction. It can be seen as an alternative form of marriage, in that, in practice, it is similar to marriage, but it does not receive the same formal recognition by religions, governments, or cultures.

Same- Sex Unions

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Gay/lesbian Marriages
Childfree Couples
Voluntary childlessness in women is defined as women of childbearing age who are fertile and do not intend to have children, women who have chosen sterilization, or women past childbearing age who were fertile but chose not to have children. Individuals can also be ―temporarily childless‖ or do not currently have children but want children in the future. The availability of reliable contraception along with support provided in old age by systems other than traditional familial ones has made childlessness an option for some people in developed countries. In most societies and for most of human history, choosing to be childfree was both difficult and undesirable. To accomplish the goal of remaining childfree, some individuals undergo medical sterilization or relinquish their children for adoption.

The significant trends in the **modern family in India** may be discussed under the following points:
(1) Decreased Control of the Marriage Contract
Marriage is the basis of family. In traditional family the marriage was settled by the parents. The marriage ceremony was based on the principle of male dominance and female obedience. In modern family people is less subject to the parental control regarding marital affairs. The marriage is now settled by the partners themselves. It is the choice of mate by mate usually preceded by courtship or falling in love.
Today more stress is being laid on romantic love but love is no more sacramental now. Marriage also has become a civil contract rather than a religious sacrament. It can be dissolved easily at any time as it is settled by mutual consent of the partner. The authority of religion over the conditions of marriage has markedly declined. Divorce, desertion and separation are a frequent occurrence in modern family where as it was a rare phenomenon in traditional family.

(2) Changes in Relationship of Man and Woman
In modern family the woman is not a devotee of man but an equal partner in life with equal rights. The husband does not dictate but only requests to the wife to do a task for him. She is now emancipated of the man's slavery. She can divorce her husband as the husband can divorce her.
Democratic ideas have provided equality and liberty to even women too. As a result women are not playing domestic role but also economic and political roles.

They have now become property owners and business managers. They have the right to vote and can actively participate in politics.
They are now liberated from the chains of traditionalism and they are now able to move from the kitchen to the cabinet. They stand on an equal footing with men. Aggressive leaders of the women's liberation movement have attacked the standard of morality. They are demanding more rights and liberties in the family, society as well as in the country.

Due to the employment opportunity the women has become an earning member of the family, free to work in offices, factories, banks and schools etc. This economic independence has increased her status but has affected her attitude in the family as well as in society.
(3) Reduced Size of Family
Due to industrialization and urbanization the family size has been reduced and parents no longer desire more children rather develop a tendency to have a smaller family with the help of modern contraceptives. So the reproductive function of modern family has suffered a setback. However the very survival of the human race is based on reproduction.
(4) Decline of Religious Control
The modern family is secular in attitude. The religious rites of the traditional family such as early prayer, yoga etc. are no longer performed in modern family. The elders do not read spiritual books such as Ramayana, Bhagavata rather they watch T.V. They are not interested to celebrate any religious festivals. Religious sentiments, beliefs and attitudes have come to be disassociated with the family.
(5) Filo Centric Family
In the modern family, the trend is towards the filo centric family, where the wishes of children determine the policy of the family. The social control activities of family over children have been lessened as physical punishment is rarely awarded to children.
(6) Parent Youth Conflict
Interpersonal conflicts in the family are increasing. An unusual amount of conflict between parents and their adolescent children are taking place. Kingsley Davis says, ―The stress and strain in our culture is symptomatic of the functionless instability of the modern small family.‖
(7) Separation of Non-Essential Functions

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The modern family has given up many functions which were performed by the traditional family. Educational, procreation and care of sick persons functions have been shifted to certain external agencies like hospitals, maternity homes, nurseries kindergarten and schools etc. Apart from that the family is no longer an economic unit. More families rely upon prepared and manufactured goods for consumption.

Movies, clubs, gambling centers provide recreation to people. People leave home for commercialized recreation center, which has affected the cohesion of family. Protective functions of family have also declined. Families are no more the place of protection for the physically handicapped, mentally retarded, aged, diseased, infirm and insane people. Other agencies have taken over this function. But for the young children it continues to provide physical and emotional protection.

Thus the family has been subjected to profound modifications of an economic, social and biological nature. The size and functions of the family have been reduced. It has suffered a change in regard to both its structure and functions. Its functions have been taken over by several specialized agencies.

The modern family is more individualized and democratic where women enjoy a high prestige and position and children enjoy more independence as well. From an institution it has moved towards companionship. Many sociologists have expressed their grave concern regarding the rapid changes that are taking place in it. Some have said that ─Family has gone to the digs.‖ While some others lamented that family is leading towards disorganization. But it would be more appropriate to say that it is merely seeking to adapt itself to changed conditions.

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UNIT X SOCIAL CHANGE IN MODERN SOCIETY

- **Sociological Theories of Social Change**
- Development and Dependency
- Education and Social Change
- Science, technology and Social change

SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change in sociology is the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure, characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behavior, social organizations, or value systems. In our society changes are bound to come. In some societies these changes are very slow while in others changes are rapid and fast. But no society can escape from changes. It is therefore required to take these changes into consideration for proper study of society .Various theoretical schools emphasize different aspects of change. Marxist theory suggests that changes in modes of production can lead to changes in class systems, which can prompt other new forms of change or incite class conflict. A different view is conflict theory, which operates on a broad base that includes all institutions. The focus is not only on the purely divisive aspects of conflict, because conflict, while inevitable, also brings about changes that promote social integration. Taking yet another approach, structural-functional theory emphasizes the integrating forces in society that ultimately minimize instability. Social change can evolve from a number of different sources, including contact with other societies (diffusion), changes in the ecosystem (which can cause the loss of natural resources or widespread disease),technological change (epitomized by the Industrial Revolution, which created a new social group, the urban proletariat), and population growth and other demographic variables. Social change is also spurred by ideological, economic, and political movements.

THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Theories of social change, both old and new, commonly assume that the course of social change is not arbitrary but is, to a certain degree, regular or patterned. The three traditional ideas of social change—decline, cyclic change, and progress—have unquestionably influenced modern theories . Yet because these theories are not scientifically determined, they fail to make an explicit distinction between decline and progress. In fact, the

qualities of decline and progress cannot be derived scientifically (that is, from empirical observations) alone but are instead identified by normative evaluations and value judgments. If the study of social change is to be conducted on scientific and non-normative terms, then, only two basic patterns of social change can be considered: the cyclic, as identified above, and the one-directional. Often the time span of the change determines which pattern is observed.

One-directional change/ Linear Theories

This type of change continues more or less in the same direction. Such change is usually cumulative and implies growth or increase, such as that of population density, the size of organizations, or the level of production. The direction of the change could, however, be one of decrease or a combination of growth and decrease. An example of this last process is what American cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz has called "involution," found in some agrarian societies when population growth is coupled with a decrease in per capita wealth. Yet another change may be a shift from one pole to the other of a continuum—from religious to secular ways of thinking, for example. Such a change may be defined as either growth (of scientific knowledge) or decline (of religion).The simplest type of one-directional change is linear, occurring when the degree of social change is constant over time. Another type of social change is that of exponential growth, in which the percentage of growth is constant over time and the change accelerates correspondingly. Population growth and production growth are known to follow this pattern over certain time frames.

Auguste Comte's Theory :

Comte said that society has passed through three stages namely **theological, metaphysical and positive** . In the theological stage society, they believed in supernatural powers and accepted the idea that these powers controlled our social behavior. During the second stage i.e. the metaphysical stage his ideas about

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supernatural powers changes and from god he came to abstraction and tried to explain social behavior through abstraction. In the third stage which is called positive stage, everything is being empirically studied and all this is going on in a cyclical order. **Herbert Spencer's Theory:** Herbert Spencer linked his theory of social change with **organism** . According to him a society was initially a militant society which necessitated struggle for existence. Each one struggled to exist. This militant society then passed to industrialism in which there is differentiation and then comes to the next stage in which we pass from differentiation to integration. According to him, evolution involves differentiation of simple things into complex or differentiated things. He also rejected Comte's 'Law of the Three Stages'. He argued that Comte was content to deal with evolution in the realm of ideas, in terms of intellectual development. Spencer, however, sought to develop an evolutionary theory in the real, material world. Process of differentiation is also accompanied by a process of integration. He also identified certain stages of evolution of societies – simple, compound, doubly compound and trebly compound. Spencer also offers a theory of evolution from 'militant', which were involved in warfare, to 'industrial' societies, which are based on friendship, altruism, elaborate specialization, recognition for achievements etc. **Tylor** also used an evolutionary perspective and according to him, the principle criteria for cultural development were growth of industrial arts, scientific knowledge, nature of social and political organization etc. According to him, evolutionary sequence is followed by three phases – animism, polytheism and monotheism. **Morgan** thought of change in terms of various moral stages of society which were – primitive, barbaric and civilized stages of development.

Karl Marx's Theory of Social Change (Conflict Theory)

This theory believes that conflicts are the main source or force behind al lthe social changes. Before Karl Marx - Montesquieu, Saint Simon, Louis Blanc etc. were the main thinkers who believed that conflict is the main force behind the Social Change .**Oppenheim** believed that in nature there is a general rule that "superior rules the inferior". Superior rules whereas inferior tries to get the required power to get out of it. This leads to conflict which changes society from one stage to another .**Georg Simmel and Lewis Coser** tried to maintain a balance between conflictism and functionalism and believed that conflict is good for society because through conflict society recognizes the problem with each other and hence leads to a resolution so that society moves to another level. **Lewis Coser** in his book " **Functions of Social Conflict** " recognized that in industrial societies there is a clash of interest between the different classes but in this conflict in the process of opposition to each other they recognize the problems of each other and tries to reach a resolution. Then ext stage after the conflict is better than the previous one. Karl Marx is the pioneer of conflict perspective who believes that Social Changes occur due to a dialect or conflict between the matters. Histheory of " **dialectical materialism** " is inspired by Hegel's theory of "idealistic dialectism" who believes that conflict in ideas (thesis +antithesis = Synthesis) lead to another set of new ideas and since the world is a reflection of ideas it brings new social order .Karl Marx's theory of social change is also called deterministic or single factor theory of social change. According to this theory there is only one factor and not many factors are responsible for bringing social change. According to Karl Marx, **economic factor is the only factor responsible for bringing social change** . Marx believed that except economic factor all other factors are useless and superfluous and sometimes even harmful. He also believed that religion was the opium of the people and it distracted masses from hard realities of life. For Marx, all ideas change with economic ideas and so also the living standard of the people. For Marx, social changes which are being witnessed in the society nothing but due to continuous class struggle. A class struggle is always going on between the rich and the poor, between the employer and the employee ,between the exploiters and the exploited and between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. **Ralph Dahrendorf** in his book " **Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society** " believed that Social Change occur because of unequal authority in the society. He believes that in every society there is one group who has the authority, whereas another does not have. There is a constant struggle between these two groups which leads to a new authority system.

V.L. Allen believes that in every society there are some groups who

believe that the existing system cannot do justice to them. Hence they oppose the system. If the numerical strength of this group becomes larger they change the system. Thus, it can be said that conflict theory of Social

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Change believe that contradiction or conflict is the main force behind the social change but except Marx other conflictists do not recognize that conflict is a disruptive or destructive force but Marx believed that conflict is not good for the society. Whereas Simmel, Coser, Oppenheim believe that conflict is good for society because it identifies the wrongs of the society and forces for a new social order which is better than the previous one.

Theory of Religion:

There are many who refute Marx's theory of economic determinism for social change. They feel that no doubt economic considerations play a considerably important role but they feel that there are many other considerations as well according to them, more than economic consideration are religious considerations. **Max Weber** contributes to the idea that religion is responsible for bringing about social change. From history, he quotes that emergence of Hinduism, Islam, Christianity or Judaism brought considerable social changes and thus they give more importance to religion rather than to economic aspects of life for change.

Theory of Systematic Efforts:
Supporters of this theory include **Ludwig Stein and Hobhouse** who believe that social change does not come of its own. They believe that neither materialistic nor non-materialistic efforts bring a social change of their own. On the other hand, pointed and concerned efforts will have to make for bringing social change. These efforts include spreads of knowledge and literacy. According to them our conscious efforts in a planned way are more effective for bringing a social change than unplanned and unsystematic efforts because in the latter processes, social process is very slow. Linear theories are criticized for their value bias and hence lacked objectivity, a precondition for scientific study. Their nomenclature ('savage', 'primitive' etc referring older societies) reflects their bias. Further, the various theorists also don't agree upon the various stages as well. Most of the evolutionary theories were armchair theories which were accused of speculation and relying on questionable secondary data.
Structure Functionalist Theory of Social Change
Parsons is a structural functionalist thinker and generally structural functionalists are accused of being a status quoist thinker who ignores social changes in their

analysis but in spite of being structural functionalist Parsons Theory is the representative from the evolutionary perspective. Parsons identified five evolutionary universals, such as Vision, Communication, Culture, Kinship and Technology. He believes that these five universal aspects of society go through evolution from one stage to another and every stage of the evolution is identified as a particular society.
1) **Vision** - It is a perception which living beings identify through their sensory organs. Vision gives the capacity to a living being to understand and adapt in a particular environment and be prepared for it.
2) **Communication** - It is the ability of living beings to pass on their feelings and experiences to others. Earlier the man and animal were almost at the same level of communication and they were communicating merely the feelings and experiences related with their basic instincts, like hunger, fear, love, sex, hate etc.
3) **Culture/Language** - Culture is a set of all learned behavior which individual learns as a member of society. Only when man developed culture and language they learned the ability to transfer their vision and experience to their next generation. Culture has helped to pace up the speed of Social Change because of past experiences. Since animals or other living beings do not have a culture, they cannot transfer their vision and experience to the next generation.
4) **Kinship** - Social expression of biological relationship is kinship. Earlier man was food gatherer and hunter and nomadic and hence no kinship but later realized the benefits of living together and hence started recognizing the relation. Socially, kinship is a role-relation in which individuals are mutually interrelated with the bond of rights and responsibilities. Animals have very limited form of kinship like mother and children which remain till they are biologically dependent on each other. Earlier the kinship developed between blood relatives which Morgan called 'consanguine family' in which the brothers and sisters used to produce children. This family evolved to a village or tribe then to state and then in democracy.
5) **Technology** - It is a set of tools and means through which individual or society tries to control over nature. During the food gathering and hunting ages, the technology was in primitive form like stones etc. but over the period it developed to the next stage called 'nanotechnology'. Parsons believed that these five universal moves from one stage to another in evolutionary manner. Since it is a gradual and

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continuous it is always in a particular form of evolution which develops a particular form of society. These societies are following in evolutionary process- Primitive, Ancient, Intermediary and Modern Industrial Society.Parsons explained that society maintains equilibrium in the process of social change. Equilibrium is a situation in which society changes itself to meet the needs of the individual without bringing structural changes in the system. The institution and subsystems remain the same and do not go through the replacement but changes itself according to the suitability of the needs of its members. Parsons called it a ' **moving equilibrium'** because society is neither a static phenomenon, nor the needs of the individual. Hence, the needs and social institutions are dynamic.

Parsons theory of Social Change i.e. evolutionary universal is the representative theory from an evolutionary point of view. The evolutionary tradition is sociology primarily belongs to positivists as well as anthropologists. Parsons followed the evolution principle which may be fit and applied for the simple societies but it cannot explain the modern complex societies which are open for Social Change from the multidimensional factors. Modern societies are very dynamic societies in which state and society both want to transform society through various sponsored factors.

Criticism

1) Parsons is a structural functionalist who does not recognize social change from external factors like diffusion, acculturation, wars, violence, social movements, etc.

2) This theory is not applied on "seedbed societies" (those societies who do not have primitive history). For Example, Israel, Chandigarh

3) Social change may occur due to planning, legislative efforts, technological revolutions, political efforts, etc. which were not recognized by Parsons.

Cyclic Theory

Many of the present day thinkers have put forward the cyclic theory of social change. These include Spengler, Vacher-de-Lapouge, Vilfredo Pareto, F. Staurt Chopin, Sorokin and Arnold J. Toynbee. Much of ordinary social life is organized in cyclic changes: those of the day, the week, and the year. These short-term cyclic changes may be regarded as conditions necessary for structural

stability. Other changes that have a more or less cyclic pattern are less predictable. One example is the business cycle, a recurrent phenomenon of capitalism, which seems somewhat patterned yet is hard to predict. A prominent theory of the business cycle is that of the Soviet economist **Nikolay D. Kondratyev** , who tried to show the recurrence of long waves of economic boom and recession on an international scale. He charted the waves from the end of the 18th century, with each complete wave comprising a period of about 50 years. Subsequent research has shown, however, that the patterns in different countries have been far from identical. **Spengler** is of the view that like day and night, society too has a predetermined course which includes its birth, growth, maturity and decline. He in his book, ' **The decline of the West** ' has discussed about this theory of social change. He has discussed about this theory of social change. He has studied world history and he concluded that as seasons change same way cultures change as there is summer, autumn, winter and it is cyclical, same way culture also passes from one state to another in a cyclical way. **J.B. Bury** has also contributed to this idea. On the basis of analysis of some of the great civilizations like Egyptian, Roman and Greek civilizations, he came to the conclusion that all these civilizations saw its decline due to cyclical theory. **Vilfredo Pareto** is of the view that social change is due to political circumstances. In his work ' **A Treatise on General Sociology, 1963'** presented in his theory of the circulation of elites. He feels that vigorous politicians try to capture power by disturbing the existing social order but with the passage of time it becomes impossible to vigorously pursue the change and they try to use their energies for maintaining status quo. This status quo is tolerated till such time when new aristocracy does not come to the forefront to disturb the existing order. Therefore, he believes that disturbing social order and maintaining the status quo is in a cyclical order and thus inevitable.

Long-term cyclic changes are addressed in theories on the birth, growth, flourishing, decline, and death of civilizations. **Arnald Toynbee** conceived world history in this way in the first volumes of **A Study of History (1934–61).** Toynbee – Propounded theory of " **Challenge and Response** ." In his book **"The History of Man?** " he identified three stages of social change –

(i) **Stage of cultural stability** – In this stage, nature keeps on giving the challenge and society responds effectively, but not all the members of the society are

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capable of responses rather there are few people, Toynbee called "creative minority". Till they are enthusiastic, aware, etc. society responds all the challenges.

(ii) **Stage of ups and downs** – Over the period, the creative minorities lose their enthusiasm and stops giving the response to the challenges. In his stage, society goes through continuous ups and downs.

(iii) **Stage of cultural degeneration** - It is the final stage in which society collapses or degenerates as the outcome of continued ups and downs.

These theories have been criticized for conceiving of civilizations as natural entities with sharp boundaries, thinking that neglects the interrelations between civilizations.

Sorokin in his book **'Social and Culture Dynamics, 1938'** has offered another explanation. He classified societies according to their 'Cultural Mentality', which can be ideational (reality is spiritual), sensate (reality is material), or idealistic (a synthesis of the two). Sorokin considered that social change follows a trendless cyclic pattern, i.e., like a swinging pendulum, culture moves in one direction and then back in another. He identified three types of cultural mentality.

1) **Ideational** – In this mentality, society's actions and thoughts are centered on the other worldly subjects like salvation, God, spiritualism, heaven, etc. This culture does not give any importance to material things, but importance is given to religion or spiritual thinking. The aim of this culture is to search the truth, philosophy and religion. This culture is in favour of sacrifice and tolerance. The ideational culture is guided by supernatural beliefs and values. For example, Ancient Vedic society of India

2) **Sensate culture** – Contradictory to ideational, sensate culture is a cultural mentality in which individual completely indulges into worldly activities based on the 'pleasure principle' of the body. In other words, this culture is related with those needs of a person by which there is a progress of material happiness. The things or components of this culture can be touched, seen etc. This sensate culture believes in eat, drink and be merry. That things which does not satisfy a man, does not come under this culture. In this culture religion has not much importance. They do not recognize anything which cannot be sensed through sensory organs. For example, Modern Western society

3) **Idealistic** - This is a transitory phase in which society comes in balance and blend between ideational and sensate culture. In this science, reason, religion etc. is given importance. In brief, the idealistic culture is a blend of supernatural beliefs and evidence-based rationality creates the ideal society.

Sorokin believed that Social Change occurs in a pendulum manner. It goes from one extreme (ideational) to another extreme (sensate) and in his process of movement for the time being it comes between ideational and sensate and it is an ideal blend of two extreme cultures called 'idealistic' society.

Criticism of Sorokin and other cyclical theories

● Sorokin's theory is considered to be too speculative and impossible to test scientifically. Sorokin's theory has not been accepted by the sociologists for it portrays his prejudices and probably his disgust with the modern society. His concepts of 'sensate' and 'ideational' are purely subjective. It does not provide an explanation as to why social change should take this form.

● Cyclic theory is considered to be an outdated theory which cannot be observed in the understanding of modern societies. This theory is based on certain assumptions which do not have any scientific evidence.

● In the phase of development, progress, planning, sponsored change; the cyclic theory does not hold any relevance to understand the Social Change of modern society.

Post Modernist Perspective on Social Change

Postmodernists see social change beyond integration-conflict debate. They reject grand theories of social change as proposed by Marx, Durkheim and Parsons.

Feminist sociology is one of the strands of post-modernist sociology. It emphasizes the centrality of gender in social change. According to them, social reality is viewed differently by the two sexes. Rising awareness of rights, feminization of workforce, women's movements are seen as new dimension of social change.

Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault laid foundation of 'post structuralism'. Foucault analyzed the emergence of modern institutions like prisons, hospitals and schools as a sign of increasing surveillance and discipline in society. Postmodern society is not destined to socialism as Marx had predicted, but is likely to be more

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multicultural and diverse that traditional branches of sociology will prove insufficient to account for social change. According to French author **Jean Baudrillard** , mass media has reversed the Marxist idea that society is dominated by economic structure, rather it will be now increasingly controlled by the signs and images which are a creation of mass media.

- **Development and Dependency**
- **Education and Social Change**
- **Science, technology and Social change**

DEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCY

Dependency theory is a sociological theory which holds that economic events in history have encouraged developing countries to depend upon the support of more advanced nations. This dependence prevents developing nations from fully creating institutions and infrastructure necessary for their full transition into industrial nations. This process can take many forms for the developing country. However, it might be better to talk about dependency theories, as there are a variety of different theories with similar themes .Dependency theory, sometimes called foreign dependency, is used to explain the failure of non-industrialized countries to develop economically despite investments made into them from industrialized nations. The central argument of this theory is that the world economic system is highly unequal in its distribution of power and resources due to factors like colonialism and neocolonialism. This places many nations in a dependent position. In a historical sense, dependency theory looks at the unequal power relations that have developed as a result of **colonialism** . In the colonial period, newly industrialized colonial nations expanded into areas that were unclaimed by other colonial powers. The result was that the natural resources of less-developed nations were used to fuel the colonial nations 'factories. The methods used by imperial powers often involved direct military and political control. Colonialism collapsed after the Second World War, but its legacy continued in the form of **neocolonialism** . International finance and capitalism became the preferred methods of control over developing nations. As a result, many underdeveloped countries now owe developed nations a significant amount of money and cannot shake that debt.

Roll Prebis , an Argentinian economist, propounded the theory of dependency. He identified two types of countries:
1) **Centre** – mainly developed economies like the US, Europe
2) **Periphery** – developing societies He believed that in the form of free trade, periphery countries mainly export primary goods like agricultural products, minerals, etc. whereas the center's export the finished goods. The finished goods generate more profit than primary goods and hence balance of trade is in favour of centre. Centre can hold their products whereas the periphery cannot. Hence, the valuable foreign currency goes to center which results in proletarianization of periphery. Hence, he believed that modern international technology can only benefit centre countries.

Gunder Frank further developed the theory of Dependency of Roll Prebis and found that neo-liberalism is a new form of colonialism. He believed that developing or underdeveloped societies are not poor because of feudalism (as said by liberalists) rather it is because their resources have been exploited during colonialism. Poverty, illiteracy, problem of healthcare in the developing societies is because of their legacy of colonialism. He believed that modern liberalism is a new form of 'economic colonialism' in which in the name of free and fair trade they are exploiting their rich primary resources and on the other hand they themselves are not exploiting their resources. He believed that unless or until the developing countries will not try on their own to develop technologies, industries and self-reliance they will remain poor because they will be dependent on colonial countries. Frank is a Marxist who is against economic liberalism because he believes that it is in favour of developed countries. In the name of liberalism, they are making developing countries dependent on them which will keep them dependent and hence lifelong exploitation.

Immanuel Wallerstein is an American Sociologist and World System analyst, who have envisaged his theory on the basis of three thinkers – Marx, Ferdinand, Braudell and the theory of African colonialism.
Wallerstein studies the comparative history of colonial societies form 16th century and believed that the European society has not prospered because of their entrepreneurship or technological advancement rather

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because of exploitation of their colonies. They accumulated wealth because of economy profit they have made out of their colonies and he believed that only during this phase they have accumulated the capital. He also believes that the global capitalism is a dynamic system which changes itself after sometime but the basic principles remain the same. He believes that the modern neo- liberalization is the new form of ' **colonial capitalism'** . For Example, in developing societies labour are paid less than the developed societies because they cannot sustain in the market. Hence the profit of their labour always goes to the capitalist because these capitalists were either the members of capitalist countries or their representatives. They have paid least and this way accumulated profits which led to capitalism in the West. Wallerstein has given the example of the liberal developing societies he called it 'peripheries and semi-peripheries'. Like China and Brazil who developed more than peripheries because they were not open as like the peripheries. The rise of Brazil and China is an example that neoliberalism is not good for the peripheries. The Dependency theory claims that the centres are responsible for the slow development of the peripheries and hence peripheries should close their economy so that they can develop their own technology to exploit their economic potential and once they come on equal platform then only the economically parallel relation with centre can be established. China is an example which opened its economy only when it has developed its own infrastructure and now it is a large exporter of finished goods than primary.

Criticisms of dependency theory

o **John Goldthorpe** and other liberals have argued that colonialism did have positive benefits because it provided LDCs with a basic infrastructure in terms of transport and communications. Never been colonized LDCs such as Ethiopia and Afghanistan experience severe problems today because they lack the infrastructure provided by the colonial powers. Goldthorpe also points out that those countries without colonies such as the USA and Japan have performed economically better than those with empires.
o The **Marxist, Frank Warren** argues that colonialism and neo-colonialism were, on balance, conducive to development rather than under-development. However, **Hancock** notes that a great deal of the aid

that remains within LDCs ends up in the bank accounts of LDC élites. Despite extensive investment and aid, some LDCs have experienced little or no economic growth. Some countries such as Bangladesh have grown poorer despite increased aid from the West over two decades.
o **Neo-liberals** believe that theory of dependency is one-sided view which forgets that the countries like India and other socialist countries tried their level best to survive on their own but collapsed because economic independence is a myth. The economy of the USSR is also an example.
o The second World countries (Socialist and Communist) remained closed for a longer period but realized that economy dependent on mutual give and take. Economic isolation is disastrous.
o The dependency theorists only see one-sided impact of neo-liberal but the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) societies are the example who just developed because of liberal policies.
o **Gunnar Myrdal** contends that developmental deficit cannot be completely attributed to dependency, but its major causes are value deficit and institutional inadequacies in third world countries. Another principal criticism of dependency theories has been that the school does not provide any substantive empirical evidence to support its arguments.
o Dependency theorists also fail to account for the rapid economic development of many East Asian economies and even Latin American countries like Brazil, Mexico, etc.
o **Amartya Sen** also rejects dependency theory and argues that third world countries have benefited from technology transfers and revolutionary changes in social sectors like – health, education and communication. They have achieved results in a matter of a decade, what developed countries achieved in centuries. Thus, development can be truly meaningful if it can bring happiness to all the participants and their collective rise. Development which is unequal will always lead to dependency. True development creates synergy and not dependence. In India too, this dependency is created by unequal development and unequal distribution of benefits.
Visionaries like Mahatma Gandhi visualized this situation and therefore he stressed upon grass-root level empowerment in villages. Dependency can be curtailed only through empowerment of those who are at the receiving end of the development process. New

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approaches like sustainable development, a rights based approach, bottom up development etc are emerging as viable alternatives to the traditional approaches to development which creates dependency and not liberation.

AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The term social change is used to indicate the changes that take place in human interactions and interrelations. Society is a web of social relationships and hence social change means change in the system of social relationships. These are understood in terms of social processes and social interactions and social organization. **Auguste Comte** the father of Sociology has posed two problems- the question of social statics and the question of social dynamics, what is and how it changes. The sociologists not only outline the structure of the society but also seek to know its causes also. According to **Morris Ginsberg** social change is a change in the social structure. Today, most of the sociologists assume that change is a natural, inevitable, ever present part of life in every society. When we are looking at social change, we are focusing not in changes in the experiences of an individual, but on variations in social structures, institutions and social relationships. To understand social change clearly, here are some definitions of social change.

M. E. Jones , "Social change is a term used to describe variations in, or modifications of, any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interactions, or social organizations." **Manjumdar,** "Social change may be defined as a new fashion or mode, either modifying or replacing the old, in the life of the people, or in the operation of society." **MacIver and Page,** "Social change refers to a process responsive to many types of changes, to changes in the manmade conditions of life, to changes in the attitudes and beliefs of men, and to the changes that go beyond the human control to the biological and the physical nature of things." Thus, any alteration, difference or modification that takes place in a situation or in an object through time to time can be called change.

The term social change is used to indicate the changes that take place in human interactions and interrelations. Society is a web of social relations and hence social change obviously means a change in the system of social relationships. Social relationships are understood in terms of social processes and social

interactions and social organizations. Thus, the term social change is used to describe variations in social interaction, social processes and social organizations. It includes alterations in the structure and functions of the society.

Characteristics Of Social Change
Some important characteristics of social change are as under Social change is universal It means that social change is not confined to a particular society or group. It occurs in every society, sociologically speaking an unchangeable society is considered as a dead society. Thus, no society is free from the impact of social change.

Speed of social change is related to time factor
The speed of social change is not uniform. It differs from period to period. In modern society the speed of social change is rapid or faster than traditional society.

Speed of social change is unequal and comparative.
We can argue that speed of social change is more or less similar in each society. It is slow in traditional society whereas it is rapid in modern society. In urban areas the speed of social change is faster than the rural areas. Social change is an essential law Essential law means a law which occurs and over which we have no control. It may be planned or not, it must occur.

Social change may be planned or unplanned.
Planned changes are those that occur by some deliberate or conscious effort. On the other hand, unplanned change refers to the change which occurs without any deliberate effort like earth-quake, war, political revolution and other natural calamities. Thus, social change occurs both in planned and unplanned manner.

Social change may be short term or long term
Some change brings immediate change which is known as short term change like fashion. But other changes take years to produce result which is known as long term change. Custom, tradition, folkways, mores etc. are long term changes.

Social change lacks definite prediction
Prediction means 'foretelling' in case of social change we are well aware of various factors but we cannot predict although it is a law. Definite prediction of social change is not possible, because what will be the result of social change we cannot say.

Social change is a community change
Social change does not refer to the change which occurs in the life of an individual or life pattern of individuals. It

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is a change which occurs in the entire community and that change can be called social change which influences a community form.

Social change is the result of the interaction of various factors/Agents

A single factor can trigger a particular change but never causes social change. It is always associated with other factors such as cultural, biological, physical, and technological and others. It is due to the material interdependence of social phenomenon.

Geography, Population and Ecology

These factors are seen to bring about sudden change or set a limit on social change. Climatic conditions, natural resources, physical location of country, natural disasters can be important sources of change. A natural disaster like floods may destroy entire population, force people to migrate to another place, or make them rebuild their community all over again. Similarly, increase and decrease in the size of the human population through birth, death or migration can pose a serious challenge to economic and political institutions. Today, many geographic alterations and natural disasters are induced by the activities of the inhabitants of a region. Soil erosion, water and air pollution may become severe enough to trigger off new norms and laws regarding how to use resources and dispose of waste products.

TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The technological factors represent the conditions created by man which have a profound influence on his life. In the attempt to satisfy his wants, fulfill his needs and to make his life more comfortable man creates civilization. Technology is a by-product of civilization. Technology is a systematic knowledge which is put into practice that is to use tools and run machines to serve human purpose. In utilizing the products of technology man brings social change. The social effects of technology are far-reaching. According to **Karl Marx** even the formation of social relations and mental conceptions and attitudes are dependent upon technology. He has regarded technology as a sole explanation of social change. **W.F Ogburn** says technology changes society by changing our environment to which we in turn adapt. These changes are usually in the material environment and the adjustment that we make with these changes often modifies customs and social institutions.

Industrial revolution is the first revolution of human history which was basically a technological revolution. Machines replaced the man as a force of production which completely changed European society in following manners:
❖ A feudal agrarian and rural Europe changed into a democratic, industrial and urban society.
❖ Extended family changed into nuclear.
❖ Age and sex based Division of labour changed into skill based Division of labour.
❖ Primary institutions were replaced by secondary institution.
❖ Gerontocratic society became youth centric society.
❖ Religious traditional society converted into secular modern society.

These changes were so drastic and structural that is why it was called a revolution. After the industrial revolution even the traditional, developing Third World societies accepted industrialization as a source of social transformation. Russian society which was a feudal agrarian society became a modern industrial society just after two five year plans centred on industry.

Green revolution in India is one of the examples of how a traditional agrarian society was transformed into rich progressive agrarian society. The Green revolution was basically based on the use of modern technology in agriculture which transformed the affected areas socio-economically at large level. After 1990, the world has gone through the **IT revolution** . This not only led towards the concept of global village but also it has reduced cultural heterogeneity and the world is becoming like a small approachable community. The impact of science and technology on social change is so multidimensional that it cannot be explained through fen examples. Though he also recognized that the changes due to science and technology are not positive for the society because the misuse of drugs, arms and knowledge is one of the key concerns but as a theorist he believes a society cannot remain separate from the influence of science and technology because it is an eminent force of Social Change.

Values and Beliefs

The role of values in social change has been clearly brought out in **Max Weber'** s book the 'Protestant Ethics and The Spirit of Capitalism'. Webber proposed

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that in some historical situations, doctrines or ideas may independently affect the direction of social change. He tried to show that the rise of modern capitalism was mainly rooted in religious values as contained in Asiatic Protestantism.

Culture

Culture not only influences our social relationships, it also influences the direction and character of technological change. It is not only our beliefs and social institutions which must correspond to the changes in technology but our beliefs and social institutions determine the use to which the technological inventions will be put in.

Ideological Factors

Political, social and religious ideologies can bring forth radical changes in social structure and social relationships.

Psychological Factors

Man, by nature, is a lover of change. The inherent tendency to look for novelty compel man to experiment new ideas which may sometimes results in the establishment of new social setup. Change in attitude of society towards family planning, dowry, caste system, women's education etc. which brought about radical changes in society are primarily psychological in nature.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The role of education as an agent or instrument of social change and social development is widely recognized today. When the existing social system or network of social institutions fails to meet the existing human needs and when new materials suggest better ways of meeting human needs.

Education is more than schooling or being literate. While school is a formal institutional mechanism for imparting formal education, education as an informal process is ever continuing. It is a social process which enables and promotes the education and skills, knowledge and the broadening of personal horizons. It is defined as 'The process of education comprises cultivation of distinct qualities and traits through explicit instructions or through implicit inhibition as part

of growing up amidst family members, kin and peer groups'. In traditional societies, educational function was performed by family, but in modern societies functional alternatives in the form of schools, colleges and other institutions have come up. Further, earlier it was mostly linked to religion, but today it is secular in its character and is more inclusive in its approach. The invention of the printing press in the year 1423 was a milestone in the history of education. Books and print material now became readily available and education itself became more broad based and open to all. It also promoted vernaculars. One consequence of this was the spread of literacy. Education brings social change by way of affecting existing value systems and beliefs, creating capacity among the individuals to absorb new ideas, opening up of avenues for social mobility and so on. Education fosters personal development and self-fulfillment. It encourages the individual to develop his or her mental, physical, emotional and spiritual talents to the full. According to **MacIver** social change takes place as a response to many types of changes that take place in the social and nonsocial environment. Education can initiate social changes by bringing about a change in outlook and attitude of man. It can bring about a change in the pattern of social relationships and thereby it may cause social changes.

Francis J Brown remarks that 'education is a process which brings about changes in the behavior of society. It is a process which enables every individual to effectively participate in the activities of society and to make a positive contribution to the progress of society'.

Durkheim says it is an agent of transmission of social norms. By respecting rules in schools, children learn to respect norms of the society.

 Parsons says schools are 'society in miniature' and education plays a key role in role allocation in an increasingly specialized industrial economy. In family child is judged on 'particularistic standards', in schools child learns universal values which are necessary for social integration. Other functions that are performed by the education are – social control, communication of knowledge, character building, and development of human resources, contributing to human and economic development.

Karl Mannheim in his book " **Ideology and Utopia** " explained the importance of education in a society because he believes that education makes an individual capable of adapting to any new environment and situation. Education transforms society in two ways:

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❖ It makes individual capable in research, invention, innovation, discovery, etc. which brings changes in society.

❖ It prepares the mind of the individual that changes are value hence they should adapt the changes rather obstructing it. After the industrial revolution it has been realized that the changes which occurred due to scientific knowledge, modern education were not detrimental for the society. Hence, the education for all was propagated which changed European society at a faster rate.

G.B. Shaw said that education was a factor in Europe which transformed it faster than other societies. Education deviated individual from the traditions, superstitions, orthodoxy and made them modern, logical and secular in their outlook.

Munis Raza in his study of Indian educational system identified that:

● Education can only bring/provide social mobility to those who can avail the better schools and colleges because of their specific economic position and on this basis, he found that in India the opportunities have been monopolized by those who enjoy economic privileges.

● He found that the students who come from public school performs better than government schools because the standard of education at both institutions is distinguished which creates inequality in society later.

Amartya Sen also identified the role of education in developing societies and believed that a modern democratic and egalitarian society cannot be realized in developing societies unless quality education for all is provided to all sections of society.

Kothari Commission in India called "education as silent revolution" which can transform the society without disrupting the existing system.

S.C. Dubey in his book "Education and Development" believes that without transforming the mind, social transformation cannot be achieved. He compared the development of South Korea and North Korea and reached the conclusion that South Korea emphasized on education whereas North Korea on armament and the result is South Korea is far ahead in terms of HDI (Human Development Index), human right establishment and other indices. But **Robin Fox** in her comparative study of Kinship found that modern education is anti-community sentiment which makes individual selfish and individualistic which are weakening the responsibility towards the community.

Its effect can be easily identified by a higher rate of divorce, increasing nuclear family etc.

Commercialization of education has further diluted 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 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.

Feminine perspective also emerged on education in the 1970s. According to feminists like **McRobbie and Sue Lee,** schooling reproduces appropriate feminine roles in girls. Schools saw their task as preparing girls for family life and responsibilities and boys for future employment, thus reproducing the gender stereotypes prevailing in society. **Paul Willis** also highlights that boys use derogatory language which is not checked effectively in schools and it promotes aggressive masculinity. There is also alternate Marxist view by likes of **Althusser** . Althusser in his 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus, 1972' treats education as the most important 'ideological state apparatus' appropriated by the ruling classes to pursue their own ideas and interests, and it reinforces dominant ideology and thus hinders real social change in society. It merely leads to reproduction of labor force. Thus, education must emphasize social reforms with a similar spirit, perspective and force as social reform movements like Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Protestantism, etc. showing more liberalism and openness to modern influences is not sufficient. Without a renovated program of adult or social education it cannot be done satisfactorily. Similarly, without making education a multipurpose tool, the desired social changes cannot come up. Our curriculum must really need to get changed and become modern in real sense.