Sociology

Paper I
CH-1. *Sociology: The Discipline*

a. *Modernity and Social changes in Europe & emergence of sociology*

* Sociology emerged first in Europe can be studied as a response to social & intellectual climate prevailing there in 18-19th century.

* Dominant ideas of the time rooted in social context

* Enlightenment period - 18th century
  - French Revolution
  - Industrial Revolution

- Radical change in thinking of feudal Europe
- Spirit of questioning
- Development of science and commerce
  - Rational thinking

- Commercial Revolution
  - Scientific Revolution
  \[ \rightarrow \text{new outlook} \]

\[ \text{Birth of Sociology as a discipline.} \]
* European Society - Structure and Change

**OLD Europe**
- traditional
  - land - central to economic system
  - feudal lords, peasants
  - Religion sacrosanct & supreme
  - Classes distinct & clearly defined
  - Monarchy
  - Family & kinship - central to
  - culture

French + Industrial Revolutions

**NEW Europe**
- (Threatening for Aristocratic, "intoxicating" peasant)
  - Classes: old overthrown, new rise
  - Religion questioned
  - Family loyalties → ideological commitments
  - position of women changed
  - monarchy → democracy

* 14-18th Century - Commercial & Scientific Revolutions:
  - Renaissance period
  - Sociology: science of new Industrial society

* COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION
  - 1450-1800: subsistence of medieval Europe → dynamic & worldwide system
  - expansion of trade and commerce

[Handwritten notes on page]
- large scale expansion: called Revolution
- initiative by Portugal, Spain, Holland, England
  \[ \rightarrow \] to Economic and political power

- earlier: trade with India & China: land route:
  Italian monopoly: Venice & Genoa: major centres
  prices high: Portugal & Spain: wanted new
  routes \[ \rightarrow \] shift from land to sea routes
  e.g. Vasco da Gama: India: 1498 (Portuguese)

- patronage of Spanish king: Christopher Columbus:
  started for India: accidental discovery of
  America: beneficial to Spain: Spanish empire
  in America.

- new markets \[ \uparrow \] commerce \[ \uparrow \]
- slave trade \[ \uparrow \] (Africa)
- gradually Spain & Portugal \[ \downarrow \] Britain, France, Holland \[ \uparrow \]

* Expansion of Banking*
- Credit facilities \[ \uparrow \]
- Cheque - 18th Century
- Paper money
- Growth of companies
- Regulated Companies - 16th Century
- Joint Stock \[ \downarrow \] 17th
- Chartered \[ \downarrow \] e.g. British EIC
  & Dutch EIC.
* Rise of Middle class
  - economically powerful by end of 17th century
    ➔ Western Europe
  - politically powerful - 19th Century.

* Europeanisation of the World

* Strengthening of Monarchy ↔ debatable ➔ probably fostered with industrial & French revolts.

** SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION & RENAISSANCE PERIOD **

- science ↔ influence → society, attitudes, beliefs.

- Medieval Period - feudal, Church: all powerful, dogmas, religious beliefs.

- Renaissance - Scientific Revolution.
  - visual art: nature, human body
  - medicine: anatomy, physiology, pathology
  - Chemistry
  - Navigation & astronomy

- Nicholas Copernicus (Dutch)
  - geocentric ➔ heliocentric view.

- Post Renaissance ➔ Galileo, Kepler, Newton
  - experiment, scientific method

- Biology and Evolution ➔ William Harvey: blood circ.
  - Charles Darwin - Origin of Species - 1859
  - Uproar - conservatives
  - widely accepted. e.g. Herbert Spencer
The French Revolution.

French society: Feudal Estates

System of stratification in feudal European societies: status, privileges, restrictions.

First Estate - CLERGY

Higher clergy - cardinal, archbishop, bishop, abbot
- luxury, wasteful, drinking, gambling
- lower parish priests: poverty

2nd Estate - NOBILITY

Noble of the Sword
- big landlords
- protectors of ppl in principle, parasites in real
- high born WASTRELS comparable to zamindars of India.

Noble of the robe
- not by birth but by title
- magistrates and judges
- some: liberal: from rose from third estate.
3rd Estate: rest of the society
- peasants, merchants, artisans and others
- hand to mouth
- exploited
- overloaded - work & taxes.
- powerless.

Middle Class/Bourgeoisie → also in 3rd Estate
- but - rich and secure
- price rise of 1720-1789 helped them (65% rise)
- merchants, bankers, lawyers, manuf. etc.
- but no social prestige as compared to 2nd & 1st Estates.
- no power to influence court of admin.

1 & 2 Estate & king looked down upon them; little attention to them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st &amp; 2nd Estate</th>
<th>Peasants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2% of population</td>
<td>80% of population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owned 35% land</td>
<td>owned 30% land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>almost no taxes</td>
<td>burdened with taxes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Political aspects of French Society:
- absolute monarchy: Divine Right of King
- 2oo yrs: kings of Bourbon Dynasty
- ordinary ppl - no personal rights
- king's word - final: law
- laws: arbitrariness & confusion
- income of state = income of king.

Economic aspects
- Louis XIV onwards: costly wars
- Louis XIV died 1715: France bankrupt
- Louis XV -> kept borrowing: "After me, the deluge"
- Louis XVI -> weak
  wife - Mary Antoinette - expensive habits
  "If you don't have bread, eat cake!"

Intellectual developments in France
- age of reason & rationalism
- Rationalists: Montesquieu, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau
- Montesquieu -> "The Spirit of the Law" -> separation
  of power and authority, individual liberty
- Locke (Englishman)
  - individual rights → right to live
  - right to property
  - right to personal freedom
  - must be protected by rules
  - or rules must be changed

- Voltaire: religious tolerance, freedom of speech and expression, individual rights.

- Rousseau: "The Social Contract"
  - right to choose sovereign
  - govt. of choice: best development of personality

These intellectuals → imagination of French Rev:
- Some from French Army who assisted America in W.O. Independence: ideas of equality
- French bourgeoisie: deeply affected: equality & liberty ideas

EVENTS DURING REVOLUTION

- Estates General: Parliamentary body: had last met in 1614
- 1778 - Louis XVI - imposed tax on everyone
- 1789: demanded meeting of Ests. General.
- May 5, 1789 - Ests. General met
  - 3 E wanted all to meet as single body & vote
  - 1/2 E refused → formation of National Assembly

- 20th June 1789 - Oath to draw new const. (Hall of Versailles was locked & guarded)
  → Oath of the Tennis Court: led by some middle class leaders and liberal minded nobles
  → Bailey: leader
- 14 July, 1789 — Storming of Bastille
  — Ancient royal prison, symbol of oppression
  — Causes: shortage of food, Necker's dismissal, celebrated as Independence Day
- Declaration of Rights of Man by Constit. Assembly
- 1791 — King tried to escape → caught → virtual prisoner.
- 1791-92 — Legislative Assembly formed, radical groups
- 1793 — King & queen beheaded.
- Reign of Terror for 3 years: many beheaded.
- Directorate: estd. 1795
  — Overthrown: by Napoleon Bonaparte: 1799
  — Marked the end of French Revolution
  — Young artillery officer from Corsica

- F.R. → oath of T.C. to overthrow of
  Directorate by Napoleon.
- Feudalism → democracy's arrival heralded.

—

Read again from IGNOU Notes.
THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

- began around 1760 A.D. in England.
- new territories, trade $\uparrow$ $\rightarrow$ demand $\uparrow$ $\rightarrow$ large scale production
- new tools & techniques $\rightarrow$ factory system of production
  (1760 - 1830 A.D.)
  - feudal $\rightarrow$ capitalist system of production.
  - Arkwright's water frame (bulky - not for home)
    $\rightarrow$ factory system began (1769)
  - James Hargreave $\rightarrow$ Spinning Jenny (1767)

Impact on Society

- banks, insurance companies, finance corporations
  $\rightarrow$ new class of industrial workers, managers, capitalists.
- industrial society, unhygienic conditions
- pop $\uparrow$ $\rightarrow$ urbanisation $\uparrow$
- Industrial workers - repetitive & boring work
- Marxist view $\rightarrow$ worker became alienated from product of his labour
- Conservatives: such conditions would lead to chaos & disorder
- Radicals (like Engels): factory workers would initiate social change.

1811 - 1850: increased agitation for rights.
Significant Themes of Industrial Revolution.

Condition of labour: early years: working class:
poverty and equals
- socially deprived
- indescribable at the same time: powerful social force.
- Sociologists: their poverty is not natural but social.

Working class → 19th century → subject of moral and analytical concern.

Transformation of Property:
- Emphasis: from land to money/capital
  - feudal landlords → capitalists (new powerful)
- Property → great impact on social structure
  - economic privileges, social status & political power.
- Change in property system involves a change in fundamental character of the society.
- Urbanism → and necessary corollary of I.R.
  - new cities
- old cities: repositories of civilized graces & virtues
- new cities: """" misery and inhumanity
  - concerned early sociologists.
Technology and the factory system:
- large scale migration
- women & children in workforce
- clockwork
- product of labour belonged to factory owner.
- machines dominated work
- Marx: enslavement = machine; manifestation of alienation of labour.
- Mechanical in heart & hands

Intellectual influences → on Sociology
Sociology emerged as response to forces of change.

18th Century Enlightenment thinkers:

- scientific approach to study of society
- upheld reason as a measure to judge social institutions & their suitability to human nature.
- human beings are capable of attaining perfection & actualize potentially creative powers.

3 other intellectual influences: post enlightenment:
1. the philosophy of History
2. The biological theories of evolution
3. The surveys of social conditions
1. The philosophy of History

- Society → Simple → complex → basic assumption

- Philosophical centrality → notions of development and progress

- Scientific → Historical periods and social types.

Abbe Saint Pierre
Ciambalista → whole of society rather than aspects

Later → less of this intellectual trend

Impact reflected by Comte, Spencer, Marx and others.

2. The Biological Theories of Evolution:

- Evolutionary approach: principal stages

- Biological perspective: society as an organism.

E.g. → Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim.

3. Survey of Social Conditions:

- Important element of modern sociology

- Need to extend scientific method to human affairs:
  Concern: poverty

  Recognition: poverty = social
  not natural

- Knowledge → Solutions to social problems (basic assumption)
Globalization & the Changing World (Modernity)

- Globalization↑ → population↑: growth steepest in last 60 yrs

- Pre modern societies
  - Hunter gatherers: 50,000 BC → today
  - Agrarian → 12,000 BC → today
  - Pastoral → 12,000 BC → today
  - Traditional/non-industrialized
    → 6000 BC → 19th Century

- Hunter Gatherers: now only 0.001% of world norm.
  - no wealth inequalities
  - no war
  - collaboration + cooperation rather than competition
  - our world is not necessarily = progress!

- Non-Industrialized & traditional civilizations
  - larger societies than ever before
  - cities
  - pronounced inequalities: power, wealth
  - kings, emperors
  - writing, science, art → civilizations

- Middle East, Indus valley, Aztecs of Mexico, Incas of Peru, China, Mayas of Yucatan Peninsula
What is Sociology?

Scientific study of social life: very incomplete definition, leaves the basic qns. unanswered & has room for too many conflicting opinions.

1. What is social life?
   - made up of: social behavior
     - presence of others needed
       - physically or in mind
     - awareness of this presence needed
     - gives meaning to their presence
     - motives are formed on basis of meaning
     - behavior enacted to realize motives
     - conveying one's own meanings = Communication
       - possible only through commonly shared symbols

2. Social action = a meaningful act, oriented towards others.
   - It is a purposeful act and is enacted through commonly shared symbols. It is THE BASIC UNIT OF SOCIAL LIFE.

Interconnected chain of reciprocal social acts: SOCIAL INTERACTION.

Social interaction: not random, but shaped by societal/cultural norms
   - e.g., Japanese: Harakiri
     - Status & corresponding roles
     - normatively defined expectations shaped associated with these statuses
     - Regulates our behaviour
Instances of deviation from expected roles: DEVIANCE

Definite behavioural patterns resulting from role expectations: RELATIONS

Collectivity of people: definite common goal: GROUP

part of larger & more inclusive group: SOCIETY

often: Society = nation in sociological literature

legitimacy of group objectives: VALUES

Set of norms: INSTITUTION

Socially transmitted knowledge: CULTURE

Process of learning: SOCIALISATION

Mutual help: common goals → COOPERATION

Clash of interests/opinions → CONFLICT

Obtaining conformity to social norms → SOCIAL CONTROL

- suppression
- resolution (if deep rooted)

Redefining relations: SOCIAL CHANGE

Violent & convulsive
Gradual & controlled
ACCULTURATION: culture contact leading to change and even conflict.

ACCOMODATION: get along despite of differences

Differences initially gradually becoming more understanding → happy → INTEGRATION

Total agreement on all aspects → ASSIMILATION (ideal case)

Subject Matter of Sociology

1. Primary units of social life (social action, social interaction, etc.)
   a. Different types of groups (family, caste, organization, etc.)

2. Basic Social Institutions (marriage, economic, political, etc.)

3. Fundamental Social Processes (cooperation, accommodation, etc.)

Scientific? Different from Common Sense? How?

"Give the dog a bad name and it will get blamed for a lot many things": folklore
Howard Becker's "labelling theory of deviance"

Even though sometimes: folk wisdom: remarkably close to science

But socio-different from common sense: different way of looking at phenomena.
Elements that are special to sociologists way of looking at things.

   - Society creates man
   - Man creates society

   e.g. meaning & motive different from the group: deviant behaviour: changes entire group
   - Christ, Lenin, Gandhi

   lesser individuals change it to lesser extent

2. Special & Irreverent attitudes towards social life.
   - Peter Berger: "Debunking" attitude towards "World taken for granted"
   - Refuse self-evident common sense based view
   - Sociologist: sceptic
   - Go beyond visible, apparent: hidden patterns, implicit meanings, underlying causes, unintended consequences.

   e.g. study of religion, the most venerated institution in the society.

   Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx: almost blasphemous view

   Durkheim: differentiate between what believers think & what actually happens
   - Religious beliefs: symbolic representations of society
   - "Society created God in its own image. 11"
Karl Marx (on religion)

Instrument of exploitation of the poor by the rich.

Painkiller: false sense of satisfaction to the poor.

Insensitive to the real cause of misery.

Sociology born in times of turmoil → new world getting out of control → rise of organised scepticism → hallmark of Sociology.

3. Approach Social life with definite methods:

Late comer: gained from experience of other branches:

New methods of inquiry.

Challenge: most complex of all phenomena: human behaviour was to be studied.

Sociological vs Non-Sociological Explanations.

Berger: First wisdom of Sociology: things are not what they seem.

"Common sense" & "natural": not universal.

E.g.: courtship & marriage:

Common sense view: specific roles: physiological, behaviours, biological differences

However: Mead, study of New Guinea

3 primitive tribes

- Apache
- Manduracco
- Tekambuli

Role reversal, going by CS explanation view

Biology not the sole decider.

Also, falling in love: guided by powerful social factors

⇒ One person's common sense is somebody else's nonsense.
individualistic explanation: reference only to
behaviour of individuals involved

naturalistic explanation: identifying "natural"
reasons for behaviour

rejected as inadequate by the sociologist

Refer Table 1.1 - Page 7 - UIAS (Vol 1)
1.2 - Page 8

- birth of modern capitalist society was accompanied
  by individualism

- Sociology = cross-cultural vision

  There is no such thing as "human nature".

ORIGIN, NATURE AND SCOPE:

- French Philosopher: Auguste Comte: 1880
  - coined the word Sociology
  for science of human behaviour

  Sociology = (Latin) socius + logos

  companion or science of association

- general agreement: science of human society,
social relations, social groups and social change

- like other social sciences: contributed to growth
  of applied social sciences like business admin. 

management.
ORIGINS

- Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution, French Revolution.
- 19th Century Europe
- Industrialization → Urbanization → housing problems, slum dwellings
- Industries → worker-owner conflict
- French Revolution → form of Govt, democracy
- Societies were being transformed! Sociology was born in this climate
- Sister discipline → Anthropology (study of man)
- Initially → Sociologists studied own society
  Anthropologists studied other societies, esp. tribal.
- Background of thinkers
  August Comte → Philosopher
  Herbert Spencer → natural history + influenced by
  Durkheim → Rabbi (Jewish)
  Weber → legal & economic history
  Marx → didn’t pursue an academic career.

India → Sociology taught first in Calcutta University 1908
  - Brajendra Nath Seal
  - Benny Kummar Sarker
  - K. P. Chatterjee
  - Nirmal Kumar Bose.

Bombay Univ → dep → 1919
  - Patrick Geddes (NZ)
  - G.S. Ghurye

Lucknow Univ → Sociology & Social Anthropology
→ dep 1922
Auguste Comte (1798 - 1857)

1789 - French Rev. → turmoil followed → influenced Comte
- attacked non-scientific base of Enlightenment which dominated French thought before Revolution
- Rational approach (scientific method) to the study of society based on observations & experiments

⇒ Positivism - empirical research rather than armchair theorising
⇒ Empiricism - implies understanding by experience
- reject speculative/conjectural analysis of social reality.

- Positivistic sociology → central concept: social statics
  → social dynamics

1. Social Statics: relationships among social institutions
   - parts of society - harmoniously connected
   - like biological organism

2. Social Dynamics: change in social structures, breakdowns/rearrangements

- Comte: idea of society like laws of physics: possible
  - all societies: evolutionary stages of ideas/beliefs
  - Law of Three Stages
    - Theological Stage: explanations are supernatural
    - Metaphysical Stage: explanations are based on traditions, intuition & guesswork, not evidence
    - Positive Stage: explanations based on observed facts and logical reasoning.

- Comte: 1. Positivism
  2. Experimentation/Empiricism

Knowledge gained through scientific approach could be used to plan society's welfare.
Herbert Spencer (1820 - 1903)

- British National. Man of a social philosopher.
- Parallel to Darwin's theory of evolution: Theory of Evolution
- Found Darwin's Natural Selection + Survival of the fittest useful in elaborating a unified theory of social life
- All societies change from simple to complex through natural processes.
  - led him to oppose all forms of govt. control of social life.
  - similarity with Darwin's theory → Herbert's views → Social Darwinism

Karl Marx (1818 - 1883)

- Philosopher & activist
- Praxis → practice to find solutions to human problems
- Forces of production & relations of production → basic to understanding of all structures including religion, state, etc.
  - Dialectical materialism: to explain change as a historical phenomenon.
  - Course of change: thesis, antithesis & synthesis in the material world
  - All history is history of class struggles.
  - Transformation: capitalist → socialist
  - Struggle b/w bourgeoisie & proletariat
    - and only if → members of working class unite & revolt against classless society.
Emile Durkheim (1858 - 1917) → Sociology is a study of collective representations
- French
- Social theorist & researcher
- Study of social organization
- Importance of broadly shared moral values & collective institutions
- Radical view
- Emphasis on research methods & use of statistics
- Social fact, suicide, religion & social order

Max Weber (1864 - 1920)
- German
- Economist, Historian
- Book: "Methodology of Social Sciences"
  
  method of understanding → VERTEKEN
  
  social actions should be understood in terms of meaning given by actor.

Any discipline → scientific if it is empirical, theoretical, cumulative and value-neutral.

Scope of Sociology

- Social organization → interdependence of parts
  - Human physiology
- Social structure → pattern of interrelations
  - Human anatomy
- Social Institutions → ensemble of a variety of customs and habits accumulated over time
- Culture → totality of learned and socially transmitted behaviour from one generation to the next.
Sociology and History

A. Relation

- Sociologist → past → to understand the present
- Common element → society
- Historical Sociology → socio-analysis based on historical data
- E.H. Carr → 1960s → more the sociological History becomes historical sociology, the better
- View contested → both subjects are very varied

- Sociologists should borrow from historical sources, and vice versa: modern historiography influences modern sociology

B. Comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCILOGY</th>
<th>HISTORY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Differences in similar events</td>
<td>Differences in similar events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similarities in different events</td>
<td>focus on pattern of events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus on pattern of events</td>
<td>focus on events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relationship between events occurring at the same time</td>
<td>arrangement of events in time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contemporary scene or recent past</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>analytical</td>
<td>descriptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abstracts from concrete reality</td>
<td>abstracts concrete details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generalizing</td>
<td>particularizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emphasizes on regular &amp; recurrent</td>
<td>emphasizes on unique</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25.
Sociology and Economics

- Economist: study of economic behaviour of people.
- Sociologist: study of sociology of economic life, i.e., income, occupation, consumption patterns, styles of life, etc.

- 2 way relationship
  - distinguished by emphasis on particular aspect
    - e.g., Adam Smith → division of labour → mass production (e.g., pin manufacture)
    - Emile Durkheim → increased population, differentiated needs & rules & regulations necessary, division of labour.

Sociology and Political Science

- Power: ability of a person or a group to control or influence the behaviour of others despite their resistance.
- Authority: power vested in given persons through institutions such as office, rank, elections, etc.

Sociology: stratification of society in terms of power wielded by different groups.

Interface of Pol Sc. & Socio: Political Sociology

- India → caste → resource mobilization: elections, interest group → close relation by Pol Sc. & Socio

- Socio: social aspects
  - Pol Sc: power embedded in embodied in formal orgs.
Sociology and psychology

- Psychology: science of behaviour: focus on individual: cognition, learning, intelligence, memory, etc.
- Social psychology: interface: focus not only on individual but also his behaviour in a group
- Sociology: behaviour as it is organized in society, personality being shaped by different aspects of society

E.g.: Durkheim: study of suicide: left out individual intentions in favour of statistics concerning social characteristics of these individuals.

Sociology and social anthropology

- Sociology: modern complex societies
- Social anthropology: simple societies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sociology</th>
<th>Social anthropology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modern, complex</td>
<td>simple societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>societies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>particular elements of society</td>
<td>society as whole: area basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>survey method &amp; quantitative data using statistics &amp; questionnaire</td>
<td>long field work: ethnographic research method</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These disciplines are closely intertwined especially in complex societies like India.
Ferdinand Tönnies: German Sociologist

2 kinds of social groups

- Gemeinschaft: a communal, or traditional society
  - small homogeneous
  - face to face interaction, informal basis
  - tradition dictates social behavior

- Gesellschaft: associational societies
  - modern industrial societies
  - large & heterogeneous
  - impersonal, formal, functional & specialized: role among members
  - contractual relationships (not traditional)

Primary & secondary groups: Charles H. Cooley

- Primary: close, intimate relations; emotional involvement
  - chiefly responsible for nature of social ideas of individual
    family
  - Personality of an individual is involved in a primary group
  - link b/w individual and larger society

- Secondary: interaction in a specific range of activities
  - relationships: casual, impersonal & for specific purposes
  - students' body of a college

William Graham Sumner: "in-group" & "out-group"

Formal & informal groups

- Formal: normative, hierarchical structure or status system
- Informal: without formally stated rules, goals & leaders
  - e.g., cliques

Primary vs. informal: primary group may be highly structured by traditional roles (patrilineal family) or bureaucratic organization (military platoon)
Informal group has no standardized/monopolized group goals
PAPER-I, PART-2 (Sociology as Science)

- Methods of natural sciences → Sociology: Positivism
- Comte — "sociology," "positive philosophy"
  → Positivist.
  
  → Hierarchy of scientific subjects: Sociology →
  → Scientific knowledge → improve human existence
  → Rationality, not religion/superstition
  
  → Durkheim: Not a positivist; strictly speaking
  
  → Didn't follow positivist rule: Sociological study
  → Should be confined to observable or directly
  → Measurable phenomena.

  → Said: Consider social facts as things
    → Not only measurable/observable things
    → But also: Phenomena "s.a. belief systems,
    → Individual customs & institutions — over & above
    → Human consciousness — external to the individual"

  → Constrained behaviour

  → Members of society directed collectively by social facts.

  → Durkheim's definition & use of "social facts" is
  → Different from Positivism.

  → Otherwise → similar in other logic & methods.

ASPECTS OF POSITIVISM

1. Social facts. (As discussed above: different for)
   
   29
2. **Statistical Data.**
   - Classify social world in an objective way.
   - Sets of observable social facts → produce statistics.
   - E.g., Durkheim: data on suicide rate, membership of religions.

3. **Correlation.**
   - Strength of relationship between different social facts.
   - E.g., Durkheim → Suicide rate → Religion (Protestantism).

4. **Causation.**
   - But carefully!
   - E.g., class & criminality:
     - Being working class ↓ causes ↓ Crime
     - Other possibilities → spurious/indirect correlation
     - Third factor → Gender
     - Causes
     - Causes
     - Class location
     - Level of criminality

(Other Possibility?)
To cope with spurious correlation → Multivariate Analysis

6. Isolate effect of particular independent var. on dependent var. while keeping other vars const.

E.g. Durkheim: 
Protestantism → Suicide 
Irrespective of nationality → Examined in many countries.

Eliminate or limit confounding variables → Y gzam!

If causal connection established in various context

⇒ Law of Human Behaviour: Ultimate Goal of Positivism

⇒ Durkheim claimed: laws of H.B. that governed suicide rates

Comte → 3 stages: all societies →

• Theological, Metaphysical & Positive

Criticism → individual consciousness not given any importance in Positivist approach.

Positivism → Inductive analysis: Collect data

\[ \text{Collect data} \]
\[ \text{analyse} \]
\[ \text{Develop theory} \]

\[ \text{If (Hlaw of Human Behaviour) confirmed by Positivists} \]

Remember: Mathematics! Induction!
Many scientists didn't accept inductive method

Alternative DEDUCTIVE Approach

\[ \text{Hypothesis / Statement } \rightarrow \text{make predictions } \rightarrow \text{test} \]

So difference from inductive: start with theory

\[ \text{instead of data } \rightarrow \text{theory} \]

KARL POPPER — book "The Logic of Scientific Discovery"

Scientists can develop theories however they wish — ability to be tested by making precise predictions makes them scientific.

POPPER: there is always a possibility of a theory being "falsified" in the future

\[ \text{Laws not permanent as positivists say} \]

Laboratory experiment: developed to falsify theories in Natural Sciences.

\[ \text{controlled environ. } \rightarrow \text{isolate effect of a particular independent variable.} \]

\[ \text{not used by sociologists} \]

\[ \text{unnatural conditions } \rightarrow \text{affect participant behaviour} \]

\[ \text{impracticable on many subjects e.g. entire society or long span of time} \]
FIELD EXPERIMENTS

- Interpreting in the social world in such a way that hypotheses can be tested by isolating particular variables.

Examples:

- Rosenthal & Jacobson (1968) → Self-fulfilling prophecies could affect educational attainment
  
  (Pg. 969 → Haraldambos)

- Sussex University → Gender role socialization
  
  Left: boy babies → pink
  Right: girl → blue

- Sessions → Public's reaction to an actor dressed as businessman/ labourer

- Brown & Gay (1985) → Boy's job application
  
  White T → interview

But

- Not feasible to control vars as closely as in lab

- Hawthorne Effect → to be avoided by keeping subjects in dark

- They shouldn't know it is an experiment. Morality question?

- Confined to small scale studies, short periods of time.

- Large groups: consent of governments needed,
  
  *huge cost.*
The Comparative Method

- Comparative analysis b/w societies/groups at same or different points in time.

overcomes some problems →

+ Moral problems of experimentation → no direct intervention
+ Behaviour not affected artificially → natural setting

- Uses scientific logic similar to positivists or deductive approach of Popper:
  - Correlations
  - Causal connections/laws
  - Hypothesis → test rigorously

- Can be used to isolate variables to establish causal relationships → though much less convenient than laboratory or field experimentation

- Superior to experimentation → can study causes of large scale social changes over long periods of time e.g. historical development of societies.

- Major founders → Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber

  - Social change
  - Stages of society
  - Division of labour
  - Mechanical to organic solidarity
  - Suicide

- "Protestant ethic and spirit of Capitalism"

  Compared early capitalists with Indian Chins to establish certs.
  b/w early capitalism & Calvinism.
Interpretive and qualitative methodology

NON Positivist

Qualitative data \(\rightarrow\) words rather than numbers
ricer, more vital, true picture
of great depth
way of life, people's experiences, attitudes, beliefs.

Interpretive approach

- Strongest advocates of qualitative data
- Interpretation of social action \(\rightarrow\) meanings and motives
- Some reject natural science methodology
  - they say its fundamentally different.
  - matter has no consciousness people have
- People actively construct their own social reality
- People do not react automatically to external stimuli as positivists claim \(\rightarrow\) they interpret meaning before responding
- Understanding of the subjective state of the individual necessary for causal explanation

Point of Divergence:

Weber
understanding
of meaning
necessary for causal explanation

Phenomenologists
understanding is
end product of
sociological research & causal explanations not possible
1. Max Weber

- Sociology: study of social action
- Explanation of social action necessitated understanding of meanings & motives that underlie human behaviour.

  e.g. chopping wood → money?
  → make fire?
  → work off anger?

- Understanding motives achieved through \textit{Verstehen} → imagining yourself to be in position of the person whose behaviour you are seeking to explain.

- Emphasis on: meanings & motives.
  e.g. "The Protestant Ethic & the Spirit of Capitalism" → interpret beliefs & motives of early Calvinists

  → Weber: interested in causality
  → using comparative method
  \( \rightarrow \) accept Protestantism contributed to rise of Capitalism.

  Beliefs & motives of early Calvinists → main factors — emergence of capitalism in the West.
2. Symbolic Interactionism

- do not reject attempts to establish causal relationships.
- statistical data → not good → no insight into human behaviour.
- Internal processes: interpret world around us & give meaning to our lives.
- "SELF CONCEPT" — Individuals possess

→ Image of themselves, built up, reinforced or modified through interaction with other members of the society.
→ Tend to act in accordance with that image.

→ Labelling as deviant/educational success or failure.
→ Directs behaviours in that direction — self fulfilling prophecies — live up or down to the expectations of others.

- HERBERT BLUMER: American Interactionist.

→ Meanings and interpretations of actors important. — actor's perspective
→ Attempt to grasp actor's view of social reality.
→ Researchers must take the role of acting unit whose behaviour he is studying.
3. Phenomenology.

- Most radical departure from 'scientific' quantitative methodology.
- Reject the possibility of producing causal explanations of human behaviour.
- Not possible to objectively measure & classify the world.
- Human beings → meanings and classifications: make up social reality. → No objective reality beyond these subjective meanings.
- Cicourel's study of juvenile justice: Typification into delinquent/non delinquent → on basis of stereotypes.
- All statistics are social products which reflect the meanings of those who created them.
- Emphasis on meanings from which social reality is constructed.
- Chair → wooden object → missile.
- Only subjective aspects of social life which are internal to individual's consciousness → different research methods.
The Sociology of Suicide

- Durkheim - 1897 - "Suicide - A Study in Sociology"

- Why he chose suicide?
  1. Sociology was an emerging academic discipline
  2. He wanted to reinforce the process
  3. To provide sociological explanation to a phenomenon hitherto considered highly individual
  4. Show that psychology didn't provide a complete picture
  5. Establish his approach
  6. Personal reasons could not account for "suicide rate"
  7. Availability of suicide statistics
  8. Debunked insanity - Suicide correlation of psychotics
     Jews → ↑ insanity ⇔ ↓ suicide

- Suicide statistics = social facts
- Correlations, comparative method → uncover patterns, reveal causal relationships.
  a. Stable in a particular society over a period of time
  b. Protestants ↑ suicide ↑ as compared to Catholics
  c. Married ↑ suicide ↓
  d. Childless ↑ ↑
  e. Political upheaval → suicide ↓ (Austria - Italy war of 1866)
  f. Importance of religion
     Bavaria: Roman Catholics: Suicide ↓
  g. Relative importance of different factors

Multivariate analysis to establish causal relationships
Types of Suicide: (Durkheim)

- **Altruistic**
  - Excess Integration
  - (Pre-industrial)

- **Egoistic**
  - Insufficient integration
  - (Industrial)

- **Fatalistic**
  - Excess regulation
  - (e.g. slaves)

- **Anomic**
  - Insufficient regulation
  - (Industrial)

- *Emphasis on integration and regulation.*

**Examples**

- **Egoistic** → Protestant → Suicide rate ↑
  - Catholic → “” ↓

- **Altruistic** → Sati, Ashanti Society

- **Anomic** → Suicide ↑ during booms & slumps.

- **Fatalistic** → slaves.

**Durkheim’s view:**

- Right amount of integration and regulation essential
- Supposedly objective statistics used to support claim that unobservable forces shaped human behaviour.
- These forces have reality of their own → deviation from positivist approach.
- Total no. of suicides determined by such (unobservable collective tendencies).
Postivist responses to Durkheim:
- Generally praised
- Maurice Halbwachs: modifications, additions, but generally unavailable at the core.
- New statistical data & methods
- Said: Durkheim overestimated the importance of religion
  Halbwachs: rural-urban differences had more impact.
- Gibb & Martin: Durkheim didn’t define “integration” in a sufficiently precise and measurable way.

STATUS INTEGRATION: extent to which the individuals occupy sets of social roles that are commonly found together.

INTERPRETIVE Sociologists: stronger attack on Durkheim

J.D. Douglas: who decides death is a suicide?

1. Systematic bias
   well integrated in group → possibility of hiding
   the fact that it is a suicide

2. Meaning attached to the act different in different cultures

   More case studies necessary to discover meanings of particular suicides.
Jean Baechler: Suicide as problem solving

1. Escapist
   - flight
   - grief
   - guilt

2. Aggressive
   - vengeance
     - Crime
     - Blackmail
     - Appeal

3. Oblative
   - Sacrifice
     - Transfiguration

4. Ludic
   - ordeal
   - game

Criticism of Interpretive Theories

Steve Taylor:

1. Baechler's theory: individual cases often fit a number of categories → interpretations → not reliable

2. Douglas's theory → he contradicts himself: Suicide statistics can't be reliable; cause of suicide can be found → conflicting statements.

3. Phenomenologists → logical conclusion → causality can't be established.

4. Also criticised by Barry Hindess

   Considers work of phenomenologists as theoretically worthless

43.
Critical Social Research: Lee Harvey

1. Knowledge is never completed
2. Nothing is what it appears.
3. Knowledge → transform society. → viewpoint of the oppressed

Main features of critical research:

- Abstract concepts and ideology
  - get beneath the surface → reveal oppressive structures
- Totality, structure & history
  - structural and historical contexts.
- Deconstruction, essence & reconstruction
- Praxis: practical reflective activity.
  - aim is to develop radical praxis among within oppressed groups
  - emphasis not on technique but purpose of research
  - unlike positivist and interpretive methods.

Critique of CSR: Martin Hammersley

1. Oppressor is oppressed? (what if)
2. Who is oppressed → subjective
3. Clash of interests of different oppressed groups (what if)
4. False consciousness of oppressed groups.
5. Even correct theory → emancipation

Defence: Phil Carepeck

- critical researchers just didn't develop a detailed methodology
- has given a detailed methodology of CSR.
Establishing truth claims: Carpepeckem.

- Need agreement from subjects of research, social scientists, and readers.
- People's beliefs are not random but shaped by the real world → sound foundation for people trying to agree on what is true and what is not. (Real world constrains human actions → what people believe won't be random.)

Feminist Methodology

- Attack on "male-stream" research.
- Distinctive feminist research methods.
- Feminism can reveal a distinctive epistemology or theory of knowledge.

Criticisms valid → sexist terms banned, feminist perspectives proliferated, etc.

Ann Oakley → feminist way of conducting interviews:

- Masculine model: detached
  - Maintain distance
  - Only ask questions
  - Passive role

- Feminist approach → e.g., Oakley: pregnant women
  - More collaborative research
  - Non-hierarchical relationship
  - Answered questions

Criticism:
Ray Pawson: This is nothing but unstructured interview.
But even in unstructured interview, advising & helping interviewees isn't involved.
Feminist standpoint epistemology

- most influential
- seeks to find the truth through understanding of women's experiences
- feminist knowledge from unique experiences of women in societies
- view of the world through experiences of oppressed women
- different women → different experiences → plurality of feminist theories → fuller and holistic understanding
- Advocates → Liz Stanley & Sue Wise

Criticism

Ray Parson:

- researcher may go against respondents' beliefs by discarding them as patriarchal ideology, i.e.,
- those being studied continue to see the world in terms unconvincing to the researcher
- studies only oppressed, not the oppressors
- plurality of viewpoints doesn't explain contradictions → relativism

...but he tends to generalize.
Not all female standpoint epistemologies are relativistic; some do not see the viewpoint of all groups of women as equally valid. Accusation of relativism is more apt if directed towards postmodern methodology //
Post Modern Methodology

No single methodology. However, three broad positions:

1. Some postmodernists - e.g. David Harvey
   - see postmodernity largely in terms of changes in society
   - find existing methodologies adequate.

2. Some sharp distinction b/n modern and postmodern epistemology.
   Modern -> truth can be established, or some knowledge can be ruled out as untrue.
   Post Modern -> e.g. Lyotard -> dismisses all knowledge based on, i.e. as based on metanarratives
   
   - big stories about the world
   - opinions rather than objective knowledge.
   
   Lyotard -> all stories are equally valid
   - allowing different folk to tell their stories
   - postmodern ethnography -> allowing voices of diverse groups to be heard

3. Concerned more with attacking new knowledge rather than creating new knowledge
   
   Jacques Derrida

Derrida: Language: self-contained system; can't truly represent external objective reality

Deconstruction -> examine texts -> inherent contradictions revealed


47
**RESEARCH METHODS**

Post-modern methodology: evaluation

- accused of adopting position of complete relativism, that is, knowledge simply depends on your point of view & one person's view is as good as another.

- Modernist sociologists reject this view. Critical Social Scientists such as Phil C. Reckwells: these are ways of evaluating different truth claims. Carper incorporates the claim that there is no basis for producing objective knowledge.

- He rejects extreme form of relativism of post-modernism.

- Writers have turned their arguments against them - if there is no way of separating fact from fiction, then there is no way of showing that post-modernist stories are any better than others.

**RESEARCH PROCESS**  Read Chapter 14 - new Haralambos (p 991 onwards)

- for Participatory observation, interviews, questionnaires,
- Social surveys, refer to Old Haralambos
  \[ \text{notes on } \] (p 85 to 92)
The sociological perspective

- Common sense motion: man learns, animal: instinct.
  - Reality far more complex.
- Examples: worker bees: regimented society, instinctive work.
  - Ants can learn their way through mazes.
- Insects -> reptiles -> mammals: learning assumes more importance.
  - E.g.: Japanese scientists' experiment with macaque monkeys.
- Range and complexity of learned behaviors in man -> far greater than any other species.
  - E.g.: experiment: chimpanzees vs. human infants.
- Man has no instincts, i.e., genetically programmed directives to behave in a particular way.
  - E.g.: birds: instinct to build nests, all members of particular species: build nests in the same way.
  - But human dwellings: large range and variety.
  - Shows absence of directives based on instinct.
Culture and Society

Ralph Linton: Way of living of members
Collection of ideas and habits
Learned, shared, transmitted

Clyde Kluckhohn: “design for living”

Essential qualities — learned, shared

Without culture — there would be no human society

Often taken for granted — unaware of its existence

E.g. Edward T. Hall: North & South American:

Conversing: 40 foot (Hall:

Comfortable conversation:

Each trying to establish the “acustomed

Conversation Distance”

E.g. Sioux Indians of South Dakota

Incorrect to answer in presence of others

Who don’t know

Wait unless absolutely sure of correctness

Solutions to society’s problems vary across cultures

E.g. infanticide, geronticide — Australian aborigines

Eskimos

Caribou Indians

Socialization: learning the culture of society

Life-long process

Primary socialization: infancy — family

Other important agencies: educational system,

Occupational group, peer group.
Without Socialization.

e.g. Akbars—children raised by deaf mutes to see if they eventually speak Hebrew, the language of God -> but they didn't develop spoken language and communicated by gestures.

e.g. Wolf—children of Midnapore—1920

Norm and Value

Every culture: guidelines that direct conduct

\[ \text{NORMS} \]

Specific guide to action which defines acceptable and appropriate behaviour in particular situations.

e.g. norms of dress — vary from society to society.

-> e.g. missionary — bare breast

\[ \text{African females} \]

\[ \text{ordered bras} \rightarrow \text{regarded as headwear} \]

Norms enforced by sanctions: the are — ve, formal or informal

VALUES: more general guidelines

- value: belief that something is good and desirable. What is important and worth striving for.

- vary from society to society.

- e.g. Western Industrial Society: individual achievement, materialistic

- Sioux Indians: generosity

51
value placed on human life

- norms related to hygiene, safety, health, etc.

- Many norms can be seen as reflections of values → more general guidelines
  - Specific directives

- For ordered and stable society: shared norms and values needed.

**Status and role**

- Members of society occupy social positions, known as statuses. Work status, family status, gender status, etc.

- Racial statuses may become insignificant in future societies.

- **Fixed or ascribed statuses:** gender, aristocratic titles

- Usually fixed at birth

  - E.g., traditional Indian Caste System
  - Son automatically enters occupational status of father.

- **Achieved status:** entered as a result of some degree of purposive action and choice

  - E.g., marital and occupational status in western societies

  - Each status: group of norms called role

  - Playing of roles involves social relationships

  - Individuals interact in terms of roles.
- Roles provide social life with order and predictability

**Theories of Society**

Theory: a set of ideas which claims to explain how something works.

Sociological theory: how society or aspects of society work.

**Functionalism** - popular: 1940s-50s: declined thereafter

- Biological analogy
- Examine parts in relation to the whole rather than in isolation.
- Biologist: examine part in terms of its contribution to maintenance of human organism.
- Functionalist: examine part of the society in terms of its contribution to the maintenance of the social system.
- Behaviour in society: structured relationships organized in terms of rules.
- Structure of society = sum total of social relationships which are governed by norms.
- Institutions: structure made up of interconnected roles or interrelated norms.

- How structure functions?
  
  Function = effect
  
In practice, function = contribution an institution makes to the maintenance and survival of the social system.

E.g., major function of family = socialization of new members of society.

How are functions of various parts determined?

Ans = functional prerequisites of the society = for survival

Assess basic requirements = see how parts meet these requirements.

- Functional prerequisite involves a minimal degree of integration by parts (also a final prerequisite)
- Many functionalists = value consensus

E.g., value of materialism in the west integrates many parts - economic system, educational "family"

- Same value = integrated.
- Political "family"

- Value consensus = provides foundation for cooperation towards attaining common goals.

- Maintaining consensus: internalizing values and transmitting from gen to gen. = Talcott Parsons
- Major concern of functionalists

Summary: read last para, page 11, Haralambous.
Marxism
- radical alternative to functionalism.
- increasingly influential during 1970s
  - functionalism failed in solving problems that functionalism couldn't provide
  - tenor and mood of the times
- German born philosopher, sociologist, economist:

  Karl Marx (1818-1883)
- variously interpreted

Theory:
- to survive, man must produce food and material objects.
- production is a social enterprise
- production technical component: forces of production
  - technological (technology)
  - raw material (scientific knowledge)
  - social relationships of production
- FP correspond with particular set of SRPs
- FP + SRPs → economic base or infrastructure of society
- other aspects: superstructure: largely shaped
  by the infrastructure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUPER-STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>political, legal, educational institutions, belief systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFRASTRUCTURE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic factors (forces of “prod” + rel of “prod”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55
- Marx: All historic societies: basic contradictions

  - One group exploits other
  - One gains at other's expense: fundamental conflict of interest.
    
    must be resolved
    (ultimately) \rightarrow Conflict hidden system cannot survive unchanged.

- Major contradictions are b/n FPs & SRPs

  SRP: include relation of social groups to the forces of production.

- Only labour produces wealth \rightarrow mostly appropriated in form of profits by capitalists. \rightarrow Contradiction b/w labour power (force of production) and appropriation by capitalists (role of production)

- Contradiction: Social and collective nature of production and private and individual nature of ownership.

  \rightarrow Marx: These contradictions: eventually: downfall of capitalist system

- Capitalism: Exploitative by nature

  Contradictions can't be resolved within capitalist framework.

- Marx: History - divided - into epochs: each characterized by a particular mode of production.
- Major changes in history: result of changes in forces of production.

- Final epoch → Communist or Socialist Society

  Marx envisaged → is not a result of a new force of production but of resolution of contradictions of capitalist system.

  - collective ownership
  - no exploitation/oppression
  - infrastructure without conflict

  → End of history → since communist society won't have contradictions that generate change.

- Continuity of capitalism in the west for 200 yrs? → explained through superstructure

  infrastructure → superstructure

  SRPs → values, beliefs, institutions

- Ruling class ideology: dominant: distorts true picture
- Superstructure reflects interests of the dominant group in SRPs
- However, contradictions in infrastructure will eventually lead to disintegration of the system and creation of a new society.

**Summary**: Read Para 2, Page 15, Haralambos.
certain common points b/n functionalism & Marxism:
1. Society as a whole: macro theories
2. Society as a system: system theories
3. Human behaviour shaped by system.

Interactionism

-differs on these 3 points:
1. Small scale interaction
2. Rejects the notion of a social system
3. Implied from 2 → doesn’t regard human action as a response to the system.

- Seeks to understand action b/n individuals
- Interpretation of meaning given by actors to their activities → e.g. man & woman in a room & man lighting a candle
  - Power cut
  - Prelude to sex
  - Red letter day
  - Ritual: religious

- “Self concept” → emphasized by interactionists

- Definition of individuals → context of interaction, preconceptions → can be modified, constructed in interaction process through negotiation
  - Black juvenile example
    (Definition by police as delinquent)

- Roles, like meanings and definitions of the situation, are negotiated in interaction process.
  - Roles: vague to begin with: ample room for maneuverability & improvisation

  E.g. Mustard-Wife
SUMMARY OF INTERACTIONISM — Pg. 18 Para 2

(Marakambas)

Positivism and phenomenology

- Positivism:
  - Science of society based on principles of natural sciences — positivism
  - Auguste Comte — one of the founders of the discipline.
  - Application of methods and assumptions of natural sciences — science of society
  - Invariable laws governing cause and effect relationships

- Assumptions — behavior: measurable like matter
  - Causal statements possible
  - Devise theories to explain behaviour

- Emphasis on directly observable behaviour —
  - Reliance on individual beliefs can obscure real cause of behaviour

- Society requires individuals to behave in a certain way for its survival — members just respond to this requirement, meanings and purposes are inconsequential.

- Often: systems theory — positivist

  Marxist theory

  Functionalism

  Considerable oversimplification of complex theories
phenomenological perspectives:
- reject many positivist assumptions
- subject matter of social and natural sciences is fundamentally different. \[ \rightarrow \text{matter does not have} \]
- consciousness \[ \rightarrow \text{reacts to external stimuli} \rightarrow \text{"behaves"} \]
  - but man has consciousness \[ \rightarrow \text{acts rather than just react or behave, forms defines situations and gives meaning to his & others' action.} \]
- Max Weber – one of the first to outline this perspective in detail. \[ \rightarrow \text{"states of minds"} \]
  - of actors: observation and theoretical interpretation. \[ \rightarrow \text{but he differed from phenomenologists on causality} \]
- objective measurement not possible and exactitude of natural sciences can't be duplicated.
- meanings constantly negotiated in interactions \[ \rightarrow \text{impossible to establish simple cause and effect relationships.} \]
- Peter Berger: society often viewed as a Puppet Theater

\[ \rightarrow \text{phenomenologists: Man is not just acted upon, he acts.} \]

Whether a particular approach is positivist or phenomenological \[ \rightarrow \text{matter of degree.} \]

since many theories lie somewhere in b/m.
Sociology and ideology

- positivist approach: science of society is possible
- objective view free of values, moral judgement and ideology of the observer
- other sociologists: this is not possible — values of sociologist directly influence his research.

Sociology can never be free from ideology

Set of ideas which represent only a partial view of reality. Ideological viewpoint includes values

False picture of reality? Unquestionable. NGEI HARRIS: Our reality is the next means ideology and vice versa.

Set of beliefs and values which represent interests of a particular social group —> Marxist

Karl Mannheim — ruling class ideology — status quo — obscures reality

Utopian ideology — change — obscures reality prevents true insight

'Wish images' for a future social order suppressed/oppressed groups
Affiliation of Mannheim's ideas

- Marxism: utopian ideology, basis of marxian theory
  - Communist utopia

- Functionalism: ruling class ideology, advocates status quo
  - Emphasis on order, stability, consensus, and integration → conservative stance

Sociological Theory

- theory → set of ideas which provide explanation for something
- facts are inseparable from theories → do not exist without them
- all theory is selective → particular aspect, partial truth view of reality

Functionalism

- Founding fathers: Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer
- Developed by Emile Durkheim
- Refined by Talcott Parsons
- 1940s-50s: dominant in American Sociology
  - Declined afterwards.

- Society as a system, set of interconnected parts.
- Basic unit of analysis: society.
- Parts: in terms of rel, with the whole contribute to the system.

- Early functionalists: society - organism analogy
  - parts, interrelationship, basic needs, etc.
- These basic needs = functional prerequisites
- To identify these FPs:
  Sociologists find common factors
  e.g. Davis & Moore: social stratification
  George Peter Murdock: family

  institutions common to all societies: → meet certain FPs
  e.g. family: socialization of new members
  stratification: social positions adequately filled by motivated members

**BUT**

Same institution may serve different purpose in different societies.

**ALTERNATIVE APPROACH** to identify FPs.

- Identify factors leading to breakdown or termination of society
  → Identify ways to prevent them: these are FPs.
  → Reproducing health
  → Goals and rewards
  → At war

**BUT**

This approach relies on common sense and ingenuity

different lists drawn up by functionalists.
A RELATED APPROACH of determining FPs –
- Deduce FPs from an abstract model of the social system
  - e.g. society = system → minimum amount of integration
  - Examine parts → how they contribute to integration
  - e.g. Religion: powerful mechanism for social integration
    reinforces basic values of society
    → integrating mechanism

BUT

this approach: based on inferences rather than
unequivocal identification

"Function"

L → contribution of the part to the whole
L → contribution it makes to meeting the functional
prerequisites of the social system.
L family: socialize new members & reproduce
L religion: integrate social system by reinforcing
common values.

→ Dysfunction: degrading social institutions
  → concept less used.

→ Critics: functionalism has built in conservative bias
  which supports the status quo.

rejects proposals for radical change.
Positive evaluation of parts of society

Emphasis on functions rather than dysfunctions.
Critics of functionalism.

- It pictures individual as having little control over his actions.
- They question logic of treating society as if it were separate from its members.

Emile Durkheim.

I reject this criticism: society has a reality of its own.
- Members constrained by social facts - ways of acting, thinking, feeling - external to the individual.
- Common beliefs and sentiments shape individual consciousness.

Society: system which obeys its own laws.

2 ways of explaining social facts.

1. Determining cause: find among preceding social facts, not among states of individual consciousness.

2. Function in society: explains continuing existence of the social fact, serve some 'social end'.

- Functional analysis, functional prerequisites.
- Important F.P. → need for 'social order'.

→ Consensus, collective conscience - agreement on fundamental moral issues.
  Social obligations backed by moral force.

Otherwise: conflict, disorder.

Collective conscience: social fact external to the individual.

→ "Society has to be impressed upon him.

66."
e.g. Durkheim's analysis of functions of religion:
- Symbolizes society, makes it sacred
- Reinforces values & sentiments which form collective conscience
- Social obligations are represented in sacred terms → transformed into religious duties.
- Awakens in individual an appreciation of his reliance on society.
- Common faith → integrates social group.
- As mer & it ensures society is 'present within individual.'

Talcott Parsons
- Synonymous with functionalism
- 1940s-50s: dominant theorist in American sociology.
- Like Durkheim, begins with "How social order is possible?"
- Social life — mutual advantage and cooperation rather than hostility and destruction
- Disagrees with English philosopher Thomas Hobbes.
  Hobbes → man directed by passion and reason
  - war of all against all prevented by passion of self preservation
  - sovereign power → security and order
- Parsons agrees with Durkheim: commitment to common values.
  E.g. business transactions
  - Rules governing business ultimately derived from shared values which state what is just, right and proper.
  - General agreement on business morality
- World of business, like any other part of society, by necessity, is a moral world.
- Value consensus: fundamental integrating principle
  - same values → common identity → unity and cooperation
  - Shared values → common goal → incentive for cooperation
  - Value and goals → action
  - Combination of roles → social institution
  - Content of roles ← norms: specific expressions of values (also discussed earlier)
  - Norms ensure role behaviour is organized, standardized, predictable and orderly

- Parsons: main task of sociology: analyze the "Institutionalization of patterns of value orientation in the social system"
- Values institutionalized → behaviour structured in terms of them

Social equilibrium → two ways of maintaining
  - Socialization: values transmitted from generation to generation
  - Social control: discourage deviance, maintain order

- Parsons: society as a system: 4 basic functional prerequisites
  - Problems which society must solve for survival
  - Solutions to survival problems must be institutionalized to continue existence
  - Stable social institutions which persist through time.
- Adaptation \(\Rightarrow\) degree of control on environment \(\Rightarrow\) Economy
- Goal attainment \(\Rightarrow\) Political System: Goal setting, allocation of resources, prioritizing
- Integration \(\Rightarrow\) adjustment of conflict \(\Rightarrow\) Law/Judicial System
- Pattern maintenance \(\Rightarrow\) maintenance of basic pattern of values \(\Rightarrow\) Family, education, religion
- All parts understood in terms of functions they perform towards these final PRCs.

- Social change: Persons: moving equilibrium \(\Rightarrow\) disturbance in one of above 4 systems, others affected since all are inter-related \(\Rightarrow\) work to bring system back to equilibrium \(\Rightarrow\) change in process.

- Social change = social evolution from simple to complex
  Changes in adaptation: major driving force of social evolution
  Societies evolve \(\Rightarrow\) control over environment
  Long run \(\Rightarrow\) cultural changes, changes in values
  - Broadest pattern of change
  Evolution \(\Rightarrow\) institutions and roles \(\Rightarrow\) specialized, differentiated
  \(\downarrow\) Problem of Integration
  Values become more general and diffuse to solve this problem
ROBERT K. MERTON

- Essay: 1949 - refine & develop functionalist analyses
- Questions & assumptions (of functionalism)

**Pastulate of functional unity of society**
- Doubtful for highly differentiated society
  - e.g., Religious pluralism
  - Final unity matter of degree: investigate, don't assume
  - Part may have high final autonomy
  - Change in part may not affect others

**Pastulate of universal functionalism**
- Refutes claim that all standardized social or cultural forms have positive function
- Part may be final, non-functional, or dysfunctional
  - e.g., poverty: final for non-poor & society as a whole
  - Dysfunctional for poor
- All persistent forms: net balance of final consequences for society as a whole or powerful subgroups

**Pastulate of indispensability**
- Alternative institutions may meet same final prerequisites
  - E.g., Communism can replace religion which Davis & Moore called indispensable
  - Concept of functional equivalent or functional alternatives
FUNCTIONALISM - A CRITIQUE

1. The explanation employed is teleological: parts of the system exist because of their beneficial consequences for the system as a whole. ⇒ effect is being treated as a cause; but an effect can’t explain a cause since cause must always precede effect. E.g. effects of stratification can’t take place until a system of social stratification has been established, so this theory doesn’t explain the origin of social subsystems. One may argue that members may unconsciously respond to social needs & be create the necessary institutions, but there is no evidence of such unconscious motivations.

2. Continued existence because of net balance of beneficial effects: BUT: difficult to establish if net effect of any institution is beneficial to society. E.g. stratification debate.
   Analogy b/n society & organism: Biologists are able to draw conclusions on cessation of organism in absence of certain organs ⇒ life would cease; but society doesn’t die, it changes. Also, standards exist in biology to assess health of organism & therefore contribution of parts. No such standards for society.

3. Value consensus: it is mere assumption—Research has failed to reveal widespread commitment to a set of values. Stability may even move away from absence rather than presence of value consensus, e.g. lack of commitment to values of achievement by those at the bottom. Michael Mann: cohesion results from absence of common commitment to core values. Content of values rather than value consensus is crucial w.r.t. social order.

4. Deterministic view of human action: Man is pictured as an automaton, programmed, directed & controlled by the system. Walsh: man actively controls his own social world; concept of social system represents ‘reification’ of social world.

5. Functionalism ignores coercion & conflict: David Lockwood ⇒ failure to recognize the conflicts of interest which tend to produce instability and disorder. (Mann)

71
MARXISM

- Man—both producer and product of society.
- Understanding of society: historical perspective
- Various parts interconnected
- Economic factors: prime influence
- History of human society: tension and conflict
- Social change: not smooth: contradictions \(\rightarrow\) conflict

\[\text{Idea of the dialectic}
\text{forms basis of Marxist: change involves tension between view of history incompatible forces.}\]

- Idea of dialectical change \(\rightarrow\) German philosopher Hegel
- Hegel: historical change as dialectical movements of men's ideas and thoughts
- Marx rejects priority given by Hegel to ideas and thoughts
- Source of change lies in contradictions in economic system.

\[\Downarrow \text{hence the priority to economic factors, material life}\]

men's ideas: reflections of social reln of economic production

\[\text{DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM}\]

- First historical act: production of material life.
- Production \(\rightarrow\) social relationships \(\rightarrow\) Mode of life (expression of SRP's)

\[\text{shapes man's nature}\]
- Conflict: one group gains at expense of other (As discussed earlier)
  - Private ownership of FPs
  - Conflict b/n FPs and SRPs
  - Minority owns, majority produces
  \[ \Rightarrow \text{this conflict is the major dynamic of social change.} \]

- Men: for long periods: largely unaware of contradictions:
  - False consciousness: distorted picture of reality:
  - Conflict contradictions in economic infrastructure
  - Compounded by contradiction b/n man’s consciousness and objective reality. Even vague awareness \( \Rightarrow \) tension \( \Rightarrow \) ultimately \( \Rightarrow \) resolved through dialectical change.

- Course of human history \( \Rightarrow \) \( \uparrow \) FPs \( + \) \( \uparrow \) Man’s control over nature \( \Rightarrow \) \( \uparrow \) Man’s ALIENATION
  - Max in capitalist society

- ALIENATION: situation in which creations of man appear to him as alien objects. They are seen as independent from their creator and invested with the power to control him.

- Loses himself, stranger in a world he has created

- E.g. Religion
  - Man makes religion \( \Rightarrow \) assigns Gods power to shape his destiny
  - “The more man puts into God, the less he retains of himself.”

- Religion: reflection of a more fundamental source of alienation \( \Rightarrow \) SRPs

- To abolish illusions of religion \( \Rightarrow \) eradicate source of alienation in economic infrastructure

94
- Marx's view: productive labour: primary, most vital human activity
  — if products of labour → commodities → control his existence
  → subject to impersonal forces of demand and supply —
  estranged from the object he produces, alienated from productive labour

- Alienation → max in capitalist society
  — labour dominated by requirement of capital,
  demand for profit
  — prisoner of market forces
  — subject to impersonal mechanisms
  — mercy of booms and slumps
  — alienated from product and act of production
  → alienated from himself
  — more he produces, more he loses himself

Market forces: man made
L → Alienation —> result of human activity rather than external forces with existence independent of man.

- alien to whom product of labour belongs → man → capitalist
  L → relationships b/w men —> cause alienation
  L → to end alienation —> radical change in SRPs
  L → resolve contradiction b/w man's consciousness and objective reality

- ⊕ to end alienation: radical change in economic infra.
  - abolition of private property
  - communal ownership
  - capitalism —> communism
- Marx: communism: the abolition of private property and thus human self-alienation
  - reappropriation of human essence for and by man
  - complete and conscious return of man as a social, human being
  - conflicts of interest disappear
  - not lose himself in the product of labour
  - produce both for himself and others at same time
  - each member contributes to well-being of all

- Society: sum of inter-relationships
  - most important: SRFs
    - divide into social groups called classes (except primitive communist societies)
    - relation b/w classes: antagonism and conflict
      - "The history of all hitherto existing society is history of class struggle"
      - contradiction → conflict → fight → revolutionary reconstruction or common ruin of contending classes.

- Class divisions: result of differing relationships of members of society to FPS.
  - 2 class model → all societies:
    - oppressor, oppressed
    - exploiter, exploited
    - Ruling class - dominance, ownership
    - Subject class - powerless, lack of ownership
- for existence, members of proletariat are forced to sell their labour power in return for the wages.

- Ownership of FPs → basis for ruling class dominance and control of labour.

- False consciousness: both social classes
  - SRPs in infrastructure → superstructure
  - Ruling class → their interests = interest of society
    → accepted by subject class
  - Ruling class dominance: confirmed and legitimized
    in legal statutes, religious proscriptions, & political legislation
  - Consciousness of all members is infused with ruling class ideology, which proclaims the essential rightness, normality, and inevitability of status quo.

- Fundamental contradictions will eventually find expression

- Class in itself → class for itself: Radical change occurs
  - members share same objective, relationships with FPs.
    e.g. wage labourers.
  - aware of contradictions, common interests, common enemy, concerted action against oppressor
    → unite and take practical steps

- Class becomes a Class for itself (CFI) when →
  - FPs have developed to a point → no more contained within existing SRPs
    e.g. Industrial capitalism gradually developed within feudal framework
    Eventually, FPs of capitalism → sufficient strength, bourgeoisie became CFI → united to overthrow feudal SRPs
→ Conflict b/w new FPs and old SRPs resolved.
→ new economic order → superstructure rapidly transformed.

- feudalism → capitalism: merely replacement of old set of contradictions with new.

- Predicted rise of Proletariat → not strictly analogous with rise of the bourgeoisie.
  Since Proletariat = unprivileged majority.
  Bourgeoisie was a privileged minority.
  but contradictions of capitalism sufficient to transform proletariat into a class.

  L as capitalism develops, intensity of class conflict:
  - steady polarization: intermediate strata submerged into proletariat
  - capital: fewer and fewer hands
  - pauperization of proletariat
  - competition ↑, larger less stay others driven out
  → conc. of wealth
  production → increasingly social & cooperative,
  more and more workers
  only a matter of time before proletariat recognizes reality of the situation and after
  become aware of alienation of labour, revolt against the situation which is a
  negation of their humanity.
- Capitalism \[\rightarrow\] Transitional phase \[\rightarrow\] communism

\[\downarrow\]
Bourgeoisie
society:
closing chapter
of prehistoric
stage of human
society.

\[\downarrow\]
dictatorship
of the
proletariat

\[\downarrow\]
without classes/
Contradictions.
Dialectical principal
cases to operate.
Contradictions of
human history
negated in a
final harmonious
synthesis.

Critics

- History has failed to substantiate his view
  - Class conflict: institutionalized in advanced capitalist
    society rather than growing in intensity
  - Rather than polarization \[\rightarrow\] class structure increasingly
    complex and differentiated
    - Middle class emerged between proletariat and bourgeoisie
  - Significant social inequalities in communist regimes
  - Proletariat clings stubbornly to power
  - Priority to economic factors criticized

- Max Weber: Protestant ethic \[\rightarrow\] capitalism
  Superstructure can play primary role in change

- Other critics: control of govt. machinery
  rather than CCP: power
  - Eg: Communist societies:
    power with bureaucratic
    and political elite

But

\[\rightarrow\] Marxism is sufficiently flexible to counter these criticisms,
and to explain historical changes after his death.
Economic determinism: iron clad laws governing social change with economic infrastructure as the central theme. Superstructure 'determined' by infrastructure, man's consciousness shaped by economic forces independent of his will.

BUT, on closer examination:

- Marx's writings more subtle and less dogmatic as suggested by many critics.
- Marx rejects a simplistic, one-dimensional view of causation.
  - Economic factors, though prioritized, only one aspect of history.
  - Economy primary but not sole determinant of social change.
- Idea of dialectic: interplay between various parts.
  - Rejects view of unidirectional causation.
- Various parts: interrelated, mutual effect.
- Marx: elements of superstructure also exert their influence.
- Man makes his own history.
- Radical change results from a combination of consciousness of reality and direct action.
- Men must make their own utopia.
Methodology

- Three main research methods: Questionnaires, observation, interviews.

- Methodology: study of research methods concerned with entire process of sociological research and the logic and assumptions on which it is based.

Positivism and Sociology

- Methods of natural sciences \( \rightarrow \) Sociology
  - Auguste Comte \( \rightarrow \) positive science of Society
  - Invariable laws
  - Natural world: behaviour of matter: laws: lab experiments
  - Matter: no consciousness
  - Systematic observation & measurement
    \( \rightarrow \) objective facts
    \( \rightarrow \) causal relationships, theories

- Positivist Sociology: assumption: behaviour in natural and social worlds same principles since both man and matter are part of the natural universe.

- Behaviour caused by external forces rather than internal feeling states.
Durkheim and positivism

- "The Rules of Sociological Method"
  - fundamental: consider social facts as things.
- social facts: external to the individual; can be studied objectively as things.
- collective ways of acting or thinking have a reality outside the individuals.
- external stimuli: behaviour constrained by social facts of man.
  - SfS are amenable to analysis in terms of natural science methodology.
- 1897: "Suicide: A Study in Sociology"
  - 'real laws are discoverable'
- suicide: not simply an individual act but a product of social facts
- aspects of this study: as discussed earlier. (Refer to page __)
- "Each society is predisposed to contribute a definite voluntary quota of voluntary deaths."
- social integration: measured by number and strength of a person's social relationships with others.
- integration ↑ → suicide ↓: why? → suicide morally condemned: all European societies → integration ↑ ⇒ moral pressure against suicide ↑
Also, society gives goals & values => purpose.

\[ \Rightarrow \text{isolation} \uparrow \Rightarrow \text{purpose} \text{ & meaning} \]

- Suicide varies inversely with degree of integration
  \[ \Rightarrow \text{Durkheim claimed} \text{ -- real laws are discoverable} \]

**Phenomenology and Sociology.**

- Radical alternative to positivist methodology
- Man: consciousness: unlike matter
- Actors, meanings: constructed & reconstructed in course of interaction
- Statistics: meanings given by social actors to events

- British Sociologist **J. MAXWELL ATKINSON.**
  \[ \Rightarrow \text{rejects positivist approach} \]

  \[ \text{Social world: construction of actors' perceptions and subjective interpretations.} \]
  \[ \text{How do deaths get categorized as suicides?} \]

- Durkheim's Suicide state: 1840s to 1870s:
  \[ \text{no systematic med exam of dead: inaccuracies: criticism} \]
- Religious censure ↑ in Catholics: disguise suicide
- Procedures of recording natural death: vary
- Dublin: McCarthy & Walsh: actual = 2x official rate
- Many researchers \[ \Rightarrow \text{with more efficient techniques: possible to get true rate} \]

\[ \Rightarrow \text{ATKINSON SAYS BS!} \]

83
- Suicide stats - interpretations of officials
  - Atkinson’s research: methods employed by coroners and their offices to categorize death
    - Coroners: “common sense” theory of suicide
    - Infanticide theory → categorize as suicide
taken for granted assumptions about what constitutes a “typical suicide”

  ⇒ Suicide = interpretation placed on an event.

  - Similarly: Aaron V. Cicourel: Study of Juvenile Justice
    - How do actions come to be categorized as criminal?

  - Social world: world of meaning

  - P-P distinction → not as clear cut → large body of sociological research → somewhere in between the two extremes.
Research Methods

Participant Observation: participant observer joins the everyday routines of those he wishes to study.
- observe action in its normal, natural context
  particularly appealing for phenomenological perspective
  e.g. Aaron V. Cicourel: juvenile delinquency

4 yrh observation
- unpaid probation officer
  to discover the interpretive procedures used by officials
to categorize juveniles

- problem: validity: since Cicourel's study relies heavily on his observational and interpretive skills
  but: complexities involved
  but compared to other methods: P.O. brings the sociologist closer to the social world which he seeks to understand.

Lengthy extracts of conversations provided for the reader to interpret - but problem remains as reader is now in the same position
some rely on skills of sociologist others: say problem of validity is insoluble.
2 classic studies using Participant Observation:

1. "The Social Structure of an Italian Slum"
   by William Foote Whyte.
   - 3 years (3:5) → Italian American
     Street Corner gang
     South Boston

2. "Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Street Corner Men"
   by Elliot Liebow.
   ↓
   low income
   dist. of NIDC.

Supporters of P.O.: best means of getting a valid picture of reality

- Structured interviews not good: as questions are pre-fixed, what is relevant/important is pre-decided
  ↓
  This framework/priorities imposed on subjects. → alters reality!

* For success of P.O. → crucial: acceptance of the observer by the group
  → Whyte → Doc (gang leader)
  → Liebow → Tally

To minimize influence on the group.

* Getting too involved may dull the sharpness of observations.

* Not possible in certain cases with questionnaires.
  + Interviews → distrust & suspicion: teenage gangs.
- Lewis Yablonsky: teenage gangs; questionnaires evoked distrust & suspicion

Researchers could [be] a cop!

In such situation Part. obs. can provide more valid data.

Critics: mostly Positivists.

L.P.O. lacks on reliability

unsystematic, procedures not explicit;
results not quantified

No way of replicating the study to check reliability of the findings.
No generalization possible.

However,

Useful insights tested on larger samples

Other sociologists may be low on reliability but makes up for in VALIDITY. Observer comes face to face with social reality.

Interviews

Structured

unstructured

wording & order remains same

unstructured

formal Q&A session

informed conversation

data more reliable

easier to replicate

apt for fact-gathering

Unstructured

varies

informal conversation

less reliable

difficult to replicate

apt for attitudes & opinions
Structured
validity

Unstructured
Validity may be more conversational setting → opportunity to clarify ambiguities/dig deeper

Advantages of interviews over P.O.
- less costly
- quieter
- can cover much larger samples
- part. obs. is limited to one place & time

Disadvantages.
- problem of reliability & validity in interaction
  - effects of interviewers on respondents
    "Interviewer bias"
    J. Allin Williams: status diff ↑
    respondent less likely to express true feelings.
    840 blacks: North Carolina, 1960s
    interviewers: females < white

Interviewers' values, attitudes, expectations likely to influence respondents especially in unstructured interviews.
- e.g. Stuart Rice: 1914: 2000 destitute men

higher proportion approved of civil rights demonstrations
Howard Becker: sometimes an active and aggressive approach is needed to get more info.

what he did with Chicago school teachers.

Being skeptical, playing dumb: prize our information.

how teachers categorized and evaluated students in terms of their class & ethnic backgrounds.

So no single best way of interviewing.

Meanings of words and phrases vary across social groups. Structured interview fails here.

different meanings attached to content of questions,

E.g. Bruce Dohrenwend

mental health & ethnicity

Puerto Ricans → mental health issues

Jews, Irish, Blacks → didn't admit

undesirable, healthy

However,

interviews still useful → some original & interesting insights.

E.g. Elizabeth Bott → conjugal roles.

(13 unstructured interviews)
Questionnaires
- list of preset questions
  if administered by interviewer → structured interview
- cheap, fast, efficient, large amount of quantifiable data
- questions → open-ended → validity
  closed/fixed choice → quantify/classify → validity
  if administered by interviewee → done as per instructions, ambiguities clarified
  ↓ but interview bias expensive
- cheap: by mail
  ↓ but low return rate: findings may be seriously biased
  better: give to a group: closed/trade union meeting
  ↓ but make sure discussion about happen amongst
- meanings of words: important → above words carefully frame questions carefully
- Questionnaires → quantifiable data
  positivists say → important for society to progress
  otherwise socio: mere impressionistic guesswork
  important tool for positivists.
- In construction of a questionnaire, concepts are operationalized.

Concept (break down) \rightarrow components or dimensions \rightarrow indicators for each component \rightarrow questions

Social class, power, religion, family (e.g.) \rightarrow 5 core dimensions like religious practice \rightarrow attendance at place of worship

CRITICISM: Phenomenologists explore to construct the ways in which actors construct social reality rather than imposing sociological categories and measuring instruments on the social world, thereby distorting reality.

Social Survey

Select sample of which is representative of particular group or population (depending upon study objectives)

Collect standardized information through questionnaire or structured interview.

Types: descriptive \rightarrow analytical

Sample: random \rightarrow representative \rightarrow generalization possible

Random sampling \rightarrow refined by stratified sampling:

Reduces risk of getting unrepresentative sample.
Analytic surveys: effects of variables on other variables. Cause-effect relationships: hypotheses. Data gathered on range of factors that may influence variables in question.


Success of survey depends on quality of data.

The Problem of Methodology

- Derek L. Phillips: little attention paid by sociologists to validity of data → they waste time & energy on non-existent 'facts' & 'relationships'.
- Research on research needed to improve quality of data.
- Studies on research procedures & methods of data collection.
- Objectivity is an illusion according to many (phenomenologists).
- J. Douglas: preserve integrity of phenomena - observe but validity still a problem - observation through eyes of sociologists.
Karl Marx

Biographical Sketch

- Born: 5/5/1818 — Heinrich & Henrietta Marx
- Trier, German Rhineland — Jew
- 1828 — Napoleon defeated → Prussian Govt. → re-imposed restrictions on Jews: Heinrich, Herschel → Heinrich, Lessen → Marx
- Some of the reasons: hostile attitude to religion
- Influenced by father, father's friend: Westphalen
- Married Westphalen's daughter at age of 19 (1837)
- Univ of Bonn, law faculty
- Berlin days: Young Hegelians group,
  - Lectures by Eduard Gans (Hegel's disciple)
  - Theoretical criticism, jurisprudence
- Father died 1841 — went academic career
- Paris — studied reasons for failure of French Revolution and the social upheaval
  - Met Friedrich Engels in 1844
  - Expelled in 1845 for comments against Prussian King in socialist journal Vorwärts
- Brussels — beginning of revolutionary vision
  - Manifesto of the Communist Party — 1848
  - Expelled from Belgium — back to Paris
- Cologne: new journal The New Rheinische Zeitung
  - Tried for sedition, acquitted
  - Exiled from Rhineland in 1849 — London
- inactivity & poverty - first 20 years
- last years - honour + materially better
- wrote for New York Daily Tribune - Engels wrote, he signed
- 1864: Workers International - Marx joined executive committee
- 1867: magnum opus: Das Kapital
- most work directed against Russia which eventually welcomed his ideas and turned him into the greatest hero of all times.
- mission — overthrow capitalism.
- death: 1883

Historical Materialism.

- scientific core of Marx's sociological thought
- evolution of societies in terms of their material or economic bases.
- Hegel: ideas were cause of change — Marx opposed
  --> ideas were result of objective reality, not
  vice versa.
- Engels & Marx used this theory as guiding thread of all their works
- Past Napoleonic Europe — reactionary powers trying to eradicate
  for changes
- Germany — liberal movement
- Hegelians
- ideas of democracy of Spinoza, Hume
  Marx studied: true conception of democracy
- Historical materialism emphasizes the fundamental and causal role of the production of material conditions in the development of human history.

- Growth of new productive forces outlines course of human history.

- Human history is an account of development and consequences of new forces of material production.

- Change determined by laws of dialectics (thesis - antithesis - synthesis)

- Conflict between new PPs & old SRPs

- Human history in terms of 4 modes of production:
  - Asiatic
  - Ancient (slavery)
  - Feudal (serfdom)
  - Capitalist (wage earning)

**Mode of Production**

- Historical periods founded and differentiated on basis of modes of material production

- PPs and SRPs → two aspects of mode of production.

- Integral unity of PPs & SRPs = MOP

- Basic elements of a systematic description of history

- Way in which surplus is produced and controlled crucial element in definition of MOP.

// Hegel's theory: dialectical idealism

Marx's "historical materialism"
- **Asian Mode of Production**
  - communal ownership of land
  - state power controls use of economic resources, appropriates part of labour & production
  - primitive communities
  - partly organized on basis of kinship relations.

- **Ancient Mode**
  - slavery
  - master: ownership over slave, a slave's labour & products
  - slaves not allowed to reproduce, captured in war
  - e.g., Roman Italy (200 A.D.)

  Western half of Roman Empire: production transformed from Ancient to feudal mode

- **Feudal Mode**
  - lords & serfs
  - serfs: legally unfree, no property rights
  - feudal rent: services or taxes
  - lords: military strength, force of law
  - intermediate by ancient slave society of ancient world & capitalists & proletariat of modern era

  growth of commodity production, agrx; products
  $\rightarrow$ trade $\rightarrow$ foundations of capitalism
  peasants $\rightarrow$ wage labourers
**Capitalist mode of production**

- goods produced for sale (not use)
- labour power bought and sold in a market
- money as a medium of exchange: important role of banks & financial intermediaries
- production controlled by capitalists

**Alienation**

- producer is divorced from means of production
- dead labour (capital) dominates living labour (worker)
- produces only part of the whole: objectification: loses creativity: mechanical work
- alien to the product, nature, other human beings & himself (to his own historically created possibilities)

Emile Durkheim

- 1858, N. E. French Province surrended to Germany in 1870
- moved to Paris after schooling
- teacher of Philosophy in State secondary school
- friend of Wilhelm Wundt (experimental psychologist)
- extended ideas: indirect experiment
- small thesis on Montesquieu
- major thesis on Division of labour

Industrial Revolution: England & Germany

Adam Smith: The Wealth of Nation (1776)

division of labour given a social meaning by Durkheim.
- 1895: The Rules of Sociological Method
- 1897: Suicide
- Professor @ U. de Bordeaux: taught education & social philosophy
- Professe Sorbonne: 1906
- Journal: Annales Sociologiques: 1898
- "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life": 1912
- A Study in Religious Sociology
- Totem worship, Arunta tribe of Australia

Sociology as Science

- Delimited the subject
- Autonomous academic discipline: established
- Social science distinct from philosophy and
- "Montesquieu & Rousseau" → General conditions for establishment of a Social Science

- Science: doesn't deal with total knowledge; has own subject matter
- definite field to explore; objective reality; things as they appear
- Science: describes types & classes; not individuals
- normal & healthy described form of social life
- Comte's influence: data discoverable & continuity of natural & social
- Social: distinct subject matter
- methods of science: natural sciences valid in social
Sociology as a study of Social Facts

- To define subject matter of Socio → 2 tasks
  - Define total field of study
  - Define “thing” found in this field

- 2nd task → "TRaSM" (1895)

Social facts: subject matter of Sociology

SF: "ways of acting, thinking and feeling, external to the individual, and endowed with a power of coercion by reason of which they control him."

Society is a reality sui generis

- Not SF independent of individual manifestations
- True nature of SFs lies in collective or association characteristics inherent in society.

Types of social facts: forming a continuum of constituting social milieu of society

- Structural or morphological social phenomena
  - e.g. pop. distribution

- Institutionalized. e.g. Religious dogma, beliefs

- Not institutionalized, yet to crystallize beyond institutionalized norms of society
  - Loyal social currents
  - E.g. sporadic currents of opinion

Normal SF — generally encountered. E.g. crime

Pathological SF — deviation. E.g. 117 crime, anarchy
Main Characteristics of SFs

(i) externality
(ii) constraint
(iii) independence
(iv) generality

Rules for the Observation of Social Facts:

* Consider SFs as things

(i) all preconceptions must be eradicated: emotionally neutral attitude.

(ii) formulate concepts precisely: proceed with properties external enough to be observed.

(iii) investigate SFs from a viewpoint independent of individual manifestations.

Best example of studying SFs given in 'suicide rates'

Devices of method to be used to establish empirical relations.

Classification of Social Types: Social Morphology.

E.g. 'bachelors,' 'married persons'

according to degree of organization:

- Horde: 'perfectly simple society,' 'society of one
- Simple polysegmental
- Polysegmental simply compounded
- Polysegmental doubly compounded
Rules for the Explanation of SFs

- 2 approaches:
  - causal – determining cause in preceding
  - functional

  e.g.: Crime offends collective sentiment. Punishment preserves intensity of this collective sentiment. → function of the SF 'Punishment!'

  Comparative method: ‘method of concomitant variations’

  Not necessary to exclude other variables.

  If parallel b/t two observed variables is found in sufficient no. of cases → evidence of relationship/comparative methods → What are variations? Which other variations occur? Attempt to find cause.

  Concomitant variation: religion & suicide rate

  Variation occurring together.

  For comparison: things or SFs should belong to same genus but different species.

  Indirect experiment through comparative method.
- Exceptional use of indirect experiment through one study → study the simplest, purest case
  
  → Like Durkheim: religion; Australian tribes. in its purest primitive form.

**Collective Representations**

- Scientific understanding of all social phenomena must emerge from the collective nature of a social group, community or society: Durkheim.
  - Rejects the approaches considering 'individual' as starting point.

**Society and Individual Consciousness**

- Society imposes upon individuals the nature of its collectivity.
  - Society has a nature peculiar to itself.
  - Individuals must submit to its convenience: e.g., social norms: work, responsibility, studies
  - Society: moral authority over individual
    → Venerable respect
  - Sacred or profane, rules of conduct
  - Society also pervades individual consciousness
    - Ideas, beliefs, emotions become permanent part of individual consciousness.

- Sacred → connects individual with something beyond; expression to collectivity
- Profane → expression to individual ordinary day life
  - Held by given by society to individual consciousness
Collective Conscience
- the body of beliefs and sentiments common to
  the average of the members in a society
- life of its own
- form beyond person
- less advanced societies: CC captures more of
  individual consciousness
- primitive societies: CC strongest & all embracing
  advanced " : CC has lesser influence
- "Division of Labour in Society": 1895

Conceptualising Collective Representations:
- Collective Representations are states of the
  collective conscience, which are different in
  nature from the states of the individual conscience.
  They express the way in which a particular group
  conceives itself in relation to objects that
  affects the social group.
- Socially generated & refer to society
- sui generis
- combine & recombine to form new CRs.
  e.g. myths, legends, religious sects, etc.

Cognitive CR
- interplay of minds —> mutually owned symbols
  o" CR = concept held in similar form by many persons
    to allow effective communication
  a here concept = concept of thought (product of cognition)
Language and system of concepts which it translates is the product of collective elaboration.
- concepts & categories of thoughts: impersonal representations
- communication b/w individuals = exchange of concepts.

Religion and Collective Representations

- Religious reflection of individual's relation with society & nature
- Religion ≠ belief in God e.g. Buddhism
- Religion is a consecration of society
- reflection of collective representations
- motion of saved & profane, obligatory character
  $\rightarrow$ social origins
- rites & beliefs: society's creation
- transformation in social org. $\Rightarrow$ change & evolution in religious beliefs.
- articles of worship: symbolic forms of CRs.
- Durkheim rejected religious duty and expressed faith in secular morality.
  $\rightarrow$ delinked from religion.

Forms of Social Solidarity

Mechanical Solidarity

- Quo genericis
- based on resemblance of individuals, common experiences of like members in a society.
- characterized by segmental system.
- low degree of interdependence
- clans: consanguinity \( \rightarrow \) territorial basis
- what occurs in one segment hardly has effect on others
- low volume of moral and material density
- limited interaction
- homogeneity of experience \( \rightarrow \) collective conscience \( \rightarrow \) beliefs & practices
- penal or repressive law: indicator of mechanical solidarity

**Organic Solidarity**
- organized social structure
- different organs, each having specific role
- individuals \( \rightarrow \) specific fields of activity
- not grouped by lineage but by activity
- high degree of inner interdependence
- division of labour: essential condition of organic solidarity
- relatively high volume (material and moral density)
- laws, with sanctions of restitutive or cooperative nature: index of organic solidarity.

Read again: Pg 55, ESO-13, Block-3
Max Weber

- Born: 1864, Protestant family
- Father: Right-wing liberal, supported Bismarck, hedonistic lifestyle; pro-establishment bourgeoisie politician
- Mother: Religious, faith in Calvinist sense of duty
- meningitis at age of 4,
- Univ of Heidelberg, Univ of Berlin...
- 1898: nervous breakdown
- impressed by American economic development and civilization.
- Protestant Ethic & Spirit of Capitalism: 1904
- The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism: 1915
- Religion of India: Hinduism and Buddhism, 1916
- Methodology of Social Sciences: 1904
- Essays in Sociology: 1905-24

**Ideal Types** → Heuristic Device (Oxford dictionary)

**Meaning**
- mental construct, like a model, for the scrutiny and systematic characterisation of a concrete situation.
- methodological tool that looks at reality objectively
- constructs or concepts which are used as methodological devices or tools in our understanding and analysis of any social problem
Construction

- not common or avg. characteristics but focus on
typical and essential

e.g. democracy in India to be studied
  define concept of democracy
  
  essential: multiparty system, Univ. Adult. Fr., people's particip
  etc.

  pure-type/ideal-type concept of democracy
  tool in our analysis → deviation
  or conformity will unfold
  reality.

  ideal types do not represent or
describe total reality → they are of pure
types in a logical sense.

  Ideal types: guide empirical research, used in
  systematization of data on historical and social reality.

Purpose and use of Ideal types.

- to facilitate analysis of empirical questions

  e.g. ideal types of authority: rational, legal,
  traditional & charismatic

  Reality: mixture. So because they merge in
  reality, each type must be rigorously defined

- ITs: formed & sharpened through empirical
  analysis of concrete problems. Not
  formed out of purely conceptual thought.

- ITs help in avoiding obscurity & ambiguity in
  the concepts used → increase accuracy of analysis.
Ideal Types in Weber’s Work
- rooted in historical particularities
  - e.g. Western city, Protestant ethic
- abstract elements of social reality
  - e.g. bureaucracy or feudalism
- reconstruction of particular behaviour.

---

Ideal types of Historical Particulars
- capitalism: fully realised in modern Western societies
  - an enterprise working towards unlimited accumulation of profit and functioning according to bureaucratic rationality

- Weber tried to show -> close affinity between Calvinist doctrine

work for God’s glory — hard work and labour which are rational, regular, constant — work is worship — earning wealth through legitimate economic activity — value of efficient performance in chosen vocation as duty or virtue

- needed combination not found in any other religion / place in the world. (Weber made comparative analysis)

- historically unique phenomenon: religious & economic activity combined in a way not found in other religions. (Of which Weber made a comparative analysis)
Abstract elements of Social Reality

(i) Bureaucracy

- best administrative form for the rational and efficient pursuit of organizational goals.
- ideal type of bureaucracy: various elements
  - high degree of specialization, clearly defined division of labour
  - hierarchical structure of authority
  - formal body of rules
  - written documents
  - impersonal relationships
  - recruitment: ability & knowledge
  - promotion: seniority & merit
  - fixed salary, separation of private and official income.

Weber used these abstract elements of bureaucracy to explain a concrete phenomenon.

(ii) Types of authority.

Traditional — sanctity of age-old customs and rules
Legal Rational — laws, degrees, decrees, regulations
Charismatic — exceptional virtues of the leader

...can be used to study concrete political regimes, most of which contain certain elements of each.

(iii) Types of action (according to modes of orientation)

 Zweckrational — rational action w.r.t. goals
Wertrational — rational action w.r.t. values
Effective action —

Reality: mixture of these...
Weber: "Sociology is a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its cause and effects."

Protestant Ethic & Spirit of Capitalism - Haralambos, Pg. 447

Bureaucracy - Haralambos, Pg 278

A hierarchically organized and designedrationally to coordinate the work of many individuals in the pursuit of large-scale administrative tasks and organizational goals."

MEAD: Pg. 544, Old Haralambos.

Parsons & Merton: ESO 13 Block 7

Comparative Analysis: Marx, Durkheim, Weber: ESO 13 Block 5


Deviance: Merton: Pg. 413 - Old Haralambos. Pg. 354 - New Haralambos.

Parsons: Pg 1036 - New Haralambos.
<STRATIFICATION & MOBILITY>

# Social strat\^n \textarrow{\textarrowleft} particular form of social inequality
# unequal dist\^n of power, prestige & wealth
# hierarchy of social groups
# Social group \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} subculture, group identity
# movement from 1 stratum to another \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} social mobility
# lesser mobility \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} more distinctive subcultures
# caste : closed strat\^n sys. ; social class - open strat\^n sys.
  \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} low mobility \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} higher mobility
# Position in strat\^n sys \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} life chances
# Rousseau \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} biological inequalities : natural or physical
  \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} unimportant
# Biological diff becomes biological ineq. when men define them as such \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} ANDRÉ BÉTEILLE \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} gradation of qualities cultural & not natural.

USA Blacks vs whites : intelligence.

IQ tests \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} biased (genetic, suitable based on white middle class knowledge & skills)
  \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} unreliable
  \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} social deprivation affects score

India : caste system
  \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} status ascribed
  \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} by birth, irrespective of capacity
  \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} no evidence of superior genes

\textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE
\textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} Talcott Parsons \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} common values \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} strat\^n sys.
# diff societies \textarrow{\textarrowrightarrow} diff value sys.
# conflict kept in check by common value sys.
central values → collective goals
  
  power: legitimate authority
  accepted

inevitable ← derives from shared values
  functional ← integrates various groups:
    power & prestige differential — essential for
    coordination & integration of a specialized
    department.

Davis & Moore

"Some principles of Stratification" (article)

functional preq. — effective role allocation & performance

people differ — ability, talent

certain positions — finally more important

qualified persons — important positions

importance — finally unique?

other positions dependent?

Strat* — final necessity for all societies

Melvin Tumin

criticized: Davis & Moore

no way of measuring final importance

power influences reward distribution

measuring talent?

talent pool bigger than D&M proposed

no need for lifelong compensation to

ppl having undergone training for imp pos

Strat*: barrier to motivation, e.g., closed sys.

no equal access to opportunity

Strat* divisive not integrating

many dysfunctions.
MICHAEL YOUNG
# brilliant satire: "The Rise of the Meritocracy"
# imagines future British society → talent & social roles perfectly matched

But: Dysfunctional possibilities

Conflict \[\iff\]

far from perfect

lower strata demoralized

\[\iff\]

unable to pass blame

clearly inferior

self respect, vitality, frustration

vulnerable

upper strata

self assured, haughty & arrogant

deserved position

no more self doubt

no respect for lower strata

EVA ROSENFELD
# Israeli Kibbutzim sys. → attempt at egalitarianism
# marxist principle “From each according to their ability ... to each according to need”
# but → 2 distinct social strata — leaders-managers

# supports functionalists claim i.e., social stratification is inevitable

But → doesn’t mean egal. society isn’t possible

KARL MARX
# social stratification divisive
# ruling class, subject class: major social groups
# class: social group whose members share the same relationship to F opes.
# stratification diff. in relation to F opes
# private property, surplus wealth → bases for class societies
# Bourgeoisie exploiting proletariat
- ruling class ideology → false class consciousness
- infrastructure → superstructure
- history → class struggle; till now: minority vs minority
e.g. feudal aristocracy vs capitalist
- minority vs majority ↔ capitalism → communism
  - class in itself
  - class for itself
  - class consciousness
  - class solidarity

# Social production juxtaposed with individual ownership illuminates the exploitation of the proletariat.

# Capitalist economy ⇒ mechanization ⇒ ↓ differences in labour
- ↓ differences in wealth b/n bourgeoisie & proletariat
- ↓ Pauperization

# Competition → petty bourgeoisie sink into proletariat

A + B + C → Polarization

MAX WEBER — class is a group of individuals sharing similar position in
- class as a group of individuals sharing similar position in
- market economy
- Similar economic rewards

# Like Marx, sees class in economic terms
# Class situation = market situation

# Class groupings
- propertyless upper
- propertyless white collar
- petty bourgeoisie
- manual working

# Differences with Marx
- no polarization, petty bour. → diversification of classes (expanding)
- class only one basis of power
- not only ownership but market value of skills also produces
  - diff social classes
# Status situation  
- Status: Social honour  
- Class: Economic rewards

# Margaret Tracy: Study of Banbury  
- Respectable manual workers  
- Ordinary workers

# Status groups can cut across class divisions and can also form divisions within class
- E.g. USA: Blacks — different class, same status

# Parties: groups — influence policies — interests of members  
- May represent interests determined through class situation or status situation
- Mostly party class parties partly status parties
- Sometimes neither
- E.g. Black power organisations in USA  
- FICCI, ASSOCHAM, INTUC, etc.

# Parties can divide and cut across class & status
- Weber: more complex & diversified picture of stratification (than Marx)

Class in Capitalist Society

# Most sociologists: economic factors as criteria
- Anthony Giddens: 3
  - Ownership
  - Qualified labour

# Recent studies: occupational subdivisions
- Justification: Frank Parkin  
  - Reward → class → occupation

# Why different rewards?  
- Explanations: Functionalist
  - Davis & Moore: fundamental importance  
  - Parsons: high value placed on productive activity

- OR: power determines occupational rewards

- Why some are more powerful: Parkin: marketable expertise + law of supply & demand
# Parkinson - demand controlled in varying degrees by different occupational groups.

- those in dominant positions - control agencies of socialization
  - occupational status hierarchy
  - class inequalities generate prestige, status

  **Working Class**

- Marx - increasing homogeneity

- Ralf Dahrendorf - opposite - manual (skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled)
  - but others - insignificant compared to manual v/s rest

- white v/s blue collar - diff - hours of work, income, career, security of earning & employment
  - Wedderburn & Craig - fringe benefits
  - big gulf b/w them - life chances

- some degree of awareness & commitment to collective class interests: e.g. 2/3 manual workers, vote for Labour Party

- manual & non-manual → social groups with distinct subcultures

  **Traditional Working Class Subculture**

  - Fatalism
  - collective strategy
  - group loyalty, solidarity → discourage individual achievement

  **Middle Class Subculture**

  - individual strategy, achievement, success
  - high aspirations

→ Goldthorpe & Lockwood
It may be argued that manual workers form a social class with distinct interests and subcultures.

Embourgeoisement

- Marx predicted: intermediate strata sink proletarian
- However, in 1950s & 60s — sociologists: opposite happening
- Manual workers entering middle stratum

Explanation:

- Clark Kerr: industrialism needs skilled workforce
  higher wages + status
- Jessie Bernard: industrial economy needs mass market
  ↑ productivity → ↑ wages
- Economic determinism: Saye
  Marx was right about importance of economic factors but wrong about direction of social change

Embourgeoisement → hypothesis, impressionistic evidence

Opponents → Goldthorpe, Lucke, Wood

Luton Study: The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure

→ favourable for embourgeoisement
Luton Study Findings (attitudes, interactions, aspirations, political views)

AWS (Affluent workers): work: means to an end (instrumental)

- AWS: little satisfaction from work
- No close friends @ work, no social clubs of firm
- Feel there is little chance of promotion
- Concerned with money, not career
- Joins unions in self-interest: solidaristic collectivism changed to instrumental collectivism

White collar workers (WCWS)

- Job satisfaction
- Friends @ work, firm's social clubs

⇒ Affluent workers are not becoming middle class.

- AWS: friends with kin & family and worker class in neighbourhood: privatized home centered existence
- WCWS mix more
- AWS doesn't adopt middle class patterns of sociability
- AWS don't see society in terms of power or prestige model
- They see money as the basis of class divisions
- Political views: AWS still voted for Labour

⇒ AWS: new emerging working class

2 points of convergence with WCWS: privatization & instrumental collectivism.

⇒ Goldthorpe & Lockwood reject economic determinism.
# Money model leading to working class becoming less rather than more class conscious

*John Westergaard*: different view

- proletarian traditionalist: personal outlook
  - breakup → wider social vision, larger conception of class identity

- AW: cash nexus snaps → realize that interest lies in collective class action

seeds of class consciousness even in conservative Hutton workers.

# Blackburn & Mann: unskilled manual workers at Peterborough

→ no consistent & coherent image of society; left and right wing views coexisted; workers confused by clash of proletarianism and conservatism

- subordination + exploitation → power model, radical attitude
- dominant class ideology + agencies like → conservative mass media + education

but Marxists → class consciousness will eventually be generated by contradictions of capitalism

# Clerks and other routine white collar workers - ambiguous status situation

- some sociologists say → they are merging into proletariat
  - e.g. Westergaard & Reiss

# In terms of market situation, professionals higher lower
Bernard Barber: functionalist: role & rewards of higher professionals

- professionalism: 4 essential attributes
  - body of systematic & generalized knowledge
  - interest of community
  - code of ethics
  - high rewards

Ivan Illich: "Medical Nemesis": critique of medical profession

Higher professions — serve wealthy & powerful

Parry & Parry: strategy of some occupational groups to improve market situation:

- restriction of entry
- association controlling conduct of members
  - only members can provide services
  - jealously guarded monopoly

Difference in occ reward by doc & teacher — diff in degree of professionalization.
Since 19th century – Petty bourgeois lead why? Competition from large biz
Since 2nd half of 19th cent. – Joint stock company
Separation of ownership and control
Shareholders – salaried managers.

↑ complexity, expansion
administrators ↑ – gov't managers ↑ – biz corps.

WCW forming single social class is debatable.
Middle class is becoming increasingly fragmented →
Study of Images of Class by Roberts et al. (1972)

- 27%: middle class image: held by middle income WCWs
- 19%: compressed middle class image: held by petty bourgeois
- 15%: Ladder/typical middle class image: well educated & highly paid
- 14%: proletarian image: routine WCWs, low images

Marxian perspective
Westergaard and Reeler

Criticism: Frank Parkin
- Why are some propertyless professionals like doctors privileged?
- Why are there marked social inequalities in East European communist societies?

West & Reeler have no answer.
Harry Braverman - American Marxist

- classes not fixed: change, transition, variation
- SRPs: dominance

- Gulf Blk bourgeoisie - proletariat ?? why?
  - mechanization ↑ → skill, initiative, control ↓
  - labour process rationalized → worker controls less & less of work process ↓
  - de-skilling of labour force ↓
  - cheapening of labour power

- transformation of bulk of pop. into employees of capital
  - state also agent of capital

- self employed, independent professionals ↓ ↓

- workers forced to sell labour power to subsist

- degradation of work: e.g. clerks → proletarian

- Intermediate group — 15-20% — could be seen as proletarian but
  - has better economic returns
  - exercises delegated authority

- characteristics of both
  - professional & being

- Braverman: possible that like clerks
  - Int. gap → proletarian

- but transformation of labour process due for ↑ productivity & ↑ profit in socialist societies as well??

- Braverman: admits this but says: this is ↑ of
  - expects imitation of capitalist model
  - and hopes that it is a transitional stage.
Social Mobility in Capitalistic Society

Industrial Society: open: SM↑ → pre-industrial: closed: SM↓

Low degree of "closure"
Status - achieved
(Merit basis)
Status - ascribed

Talcott Parsons: achievement: value: American Society
→ occupational status ↔ prestige
achieved by own
effort + ability

Anthony Giddens: if rate of SM ↑ ⇒ class solidarity, cohesion ↑
why? → most individuals stay in their class
→ reproduction of common life
experiences over generations.

Intragenational SM — occupational status
of same person @ different times

Intergenerational SM — occ. status of father
vs. son.
E.g.: son of labourer becomes IAS → intergenerationally mobile

Problems with SM study
occupational classification through economic rewards
→ prestige
Not possible to identify many
"members of bourgeoisie on basis of occ."

Prestige — study by David glass 1949
England & Wales
E.g.: eco reward — Oxford mobility study 1972

Reasons for increase in SM
change in occupational structure
more white collar jobs

Diffr. in manual & non-manual
deficiency rates
Occupational status → merit
→ education ↑ → SM ↑

Functionalist view, criticized.
MARX: SM↑ → weaken class solidarity

Dahrendorf: this situation has arrived in modern western soc:
mobility diminishes coherence of groups & intensity of class conflict but eliminates neither.

# FRANK PARKIN: high rate of upward mobility → political safety valve
upwardly mobile reinforce stability
take on solid-political outlook of class into which they move

downwardly mobile stick to outlook of class from which they've come anticipating restoration of status
reduce working class solidarity

both upward and downward SM → reinforce status quo

Stratification in Societies

# Poland, USSR, Czechoslovakia

# Relationship with PE defined classes → disappears in socialist egalitarian society & MARX

# transition period before communist utopia during which structures of inequality established by capitalism would be dismantled.

# Contemporary communism → long way from Marx's dream

# identifiable strata → FRANK PARKIN white collar/intellect

# income inequality < capitalist societies but still significant

# prestige hierarchy

# WESOLOWSKI functionalist view → to each according to work, criticized, positions of authority important
MILovan DJSILAS — positive those in positions of authority use power to further their interests.

bourgeoisie of the west — New Ruling class of Political Bureaucrats

— new class more exploitative than bourgeoisie
— unchecked by political parties — single party — political bureaucrats monopolize power

they control forces of production — power

T.B. Bottomore & reverse is true: they have — they control power

Difference b/n new class of socialist societies & bourgeois of west

bourgeoisie

property can be passed from father to son

more open

New Class

members have no legal claim to property

more open: Frank Ballin
e.g. Hungarian study

97% managerial

admin positions filled from manual & peasant families.

in higher

Downward mobility: lower

CONVERGENCE THEORY: American sociologists — strat™ systems in all industrial societies — capitalist or communist, are becoming increasingly similar.

CLARK KERR

Industrial demands

Occupational structure

Occupational rewards

Strat™ system

same

similar

similar

similar

CRITICISM:

diff in strat™ sys of East & West

factors shaping systems are diff.

Sources other than economic forces

shaping societies can't be ignored

Goldthorpe — CT fails to consider influence of political & ideological forces

East — political regulation

West — market forces generate strat™
# Basis of Strain
Different \rightarrow Frank Parkin
\[ \text{West} \] \rightarrow \text{Income inequality smaller}
\[ \text{Income inequality larger} \] \rightarrow \text{Manual/non-manual distinction less marked}
\[ \text{Lower rate of U&M} \] \rightarrow \text{Rate of upward SM higher}

---

### Sociology, Ideology & Social Stratification

# Functionalism: Conservative Ideology

- Founded on

# Marxism: Found on Radical Ideology

# ALVIN GOULDNER - Critical of David & Moore

- Functionalism advocates status quo

- Marxism - Use of value laden terms: exploitation, oppression

  - Ideological basis revealed

# Alexandrov (Marxist) \rightarrow No real SM across real class boundaries

- SM only within proletariat

  - Picture of open society disguises situation

# Tumin \rightarrow Outcomes of stratification suggest examination of alternatives — worthwhile

---

### Social Mobility — E60-14

- SM: Transition from one social position to another

- Horizontal Mobility: Movement of individuals or groups from one position to another in society without shifting to a higher or lower stratum — Anthony Giddens prefers term lateral mobility

- Vertical Mobility: Upward or downward change in rank, \rightarrow change in stratum
Simon Kuznets: Nobel laureate, economist

Kuznets Curve: inequality increases during the early stages of capitalist development, then declines and eventually stabilizes at a relatively low level.

\[ \text{Eg: Europe, US, Canada: inequality peaked before WW2, declined through 1950s, and remained roughly same through 1990s.} \]

\[ \text{But emergence of post-industrial society has brought with it increase in inequality in many developed nations since 1990s, which calls Kuznets' theory into question.} \]
Sponsored mobility
- established elite or their agents recruit new individuals into their fold
- criterion is supposed merit
- cannot be taken through effort/strategy

elite status is prize in an open contest
- taken by aspirants through efforts
- prize of upward mobility not in hands of established elite.

Mobility created by changes in occupational structure of the society → **structural** or **forced mobility**

"status discrepancy" - mobility in one sphere need not necessarily lead to mobility in all other spheres.
There are situations where the proscribed sets of behavior that characterize roles may lead to cognitive dissonance in individuals. **Role conflict** is a special form of social conflict that takes place when one is forced to take on two different and incompatible roles at the same time. For example, a person may find conflict between her role as a mother and her role as an employee of a company when her child's demands for time and attention distract her from the needs of her employer. Similarly, **role confusion** occurs in a situation where an individual has trouble determining which role he or she should play, but where the roles are not necessarily incompatible. For example, if a college student attending a social function encounters his teacher as a fellow guest, he will have to determine whether to relate to the teacher as a student or a peer.

"Role conflict is a conflict among the roles corresponding to two or more statuses."

Example:"People in modern, high-income countries juggle many responsibilities demanded by their various statuses and roles. As most mothers can testify both parenting and working outside the home are physically and emotionally draining. Sociologists thus recognize role conflict as conflict among the roles corresponding to two or more statuses" (Macionis 90).

Even the roles linked to a single status can make competing demands on us. A plant supervisor may enjoy being friendly with workers. At the same time, distance is necessary to evaluate his staff (Macionis 90).

Role conflict is different from **role strain - a tension among the roles connected to a single status**

**Role Conflict and Its Resolution**

Role conflict may be experienced by an individual at two levels firstly within his own body of roles and secondly between his own roles and those of other people. Role conflict can occur within one own body of role when there is difference between one's own perception of his role and his actual role behaviour. This may cause loss of self-image. The other condition is when a person records incompatibility between his roles associated with two statuses. Role conflict arises
at second level when an individual perceives his role differs from the definition of his role by the occupants in the counter position. Problems arises how to tackle such situation. Gross has given a role conflict resolution theory in this regard. The theory of role-conflict resolution presupposes that a role bearer confronted with conflicting role expectation will let his role behaviour be determined by his legitimacy judgment about each of the role expectation, the negative sanctions expected after deviation from each of the role expectation and his orientation with respect to legitimacy and sanctions.

WORKS & ECONOMIC LIFE

L > UIAS - Vol II - P 22-47

important: • social determinants & consequences of economic development
  • types of exchange
  • industrialization & its effects.
WORK & LEISURE

Karl Marx: alienation labour
# production → key to human happiness and fulfilment
# Alienation → cut off from work
  # satisfaction & fulfilment lost
  # unable to express his true nature
  # in his work → estranged from himself
  # work: social → alienation
  # activity from work → alienation
  # from others.

# origin of alienation: barter
  # product → articles
  # of labour → articles
  # of trade → intro of money
  # commerce → mere "objects" in market
  # from an end in themselves to means to an end.

# barter system → private property → feeds back into heightens forces that alienated created it
  # e.g. capitalist economies.

# Marxs: Capitalism contained seeds of its own destruction.
# mechanization → skill needed → appendage to → individual character, the machine charmed
# specialized job → exclusive sphere of activity → fulfillment
# would be abolished in Marx's true socialist communist society.
Division of labour: Emile Durkheim — functionalist view.
# promise of division of labour outweighs the problems arising from specialization in industrial society.
# "The Division of labour in Society," 1893.
# Durkheim saw promise in it.
# Pre-industrial society — social differentiation, DOL unspecialized.
# Similarity in members — mechanical solidarity (unity based on resemblance).
# Industrial society — specialized occupational roles — interdependence.
# Marx — DOL divisive; Durkheim → DOL → interdep. → solidarity ↑
# Interdependence & exchange — insufficient — specialized DOL requires rules & regulations.
# Durkheim: beginning of contract → moral regulation of exchange.
# Still insufficient as moral foundation of industrial society.
# Social controls, moral obligations weak → anomie (normlessness).
# Breakdown of normative control.
# Indications in late 19th century.
# Suicide, marital break up, industrial conflict.
# Reasons of anomie in Industrial soc.
# Rapid social change, disrupts norms.
# Ceiling on desires, dissimilated & dissatisfaction.
# Solution: moral consensus on reasonable expectations.
# Exchange governed by norms.
# Code of ethics — biz & commerce.
# Occupational associations — counter-individualism establishing consensus.
# economic rewards vs. contribution to well-being of community by services of the occupation

↓

economic inequality

@ national level

# professional associations: clearly established code of conduct -> lacking in industry & commerce.

Durkheim's professional ethics is key to future moral order in industrial society.

Pluralism, trade unions & the institutionalization of industrial conflict

# pluralist perspective: power dispersed among variety of interest groups.

- e.g. Trade unions.

  Trade unionism 

  Workers class integrated into capitalist society

  Conflict institutionalized -> stability ↑

# Dahrendorf: pluralism = opportunity for success of every interest group

  → industrial democracy

Trade unions: Marxist perspective

# integration of working class in capitalist society: superficial

# trade unions

  → danger: preoccupied with furthering interests of members; lose sight of overall struggle b/t capital and labour

  → promise

  → unifying workers in a struggle against employers; create class consciousness

  → cooperation b/t unions; class solidarity at national level.
# Successors - not so optimist

- **Lenin**
  - Title: "TU Consciousness"
  - self-interested
  - TU - important part of class struggle
  - link unions to political party → to widen consciousness representing working class interests as a whole

# Modern marxist: Pessimistic

- They lack real power
- does not challenge subordination

# V.L. Allen's analysis of their failure

- basic aim: economic protection of workers: not achieved.
  - with higher wages → employer can increase cost of product → suffer as consumer
  - collective bargain → compete against each other in open market → powerful unions: greater rewards.

- Institutionalization of conflict → merely damped down more violent expressions of conflict

- essential conflict of interest remains

- integration of working class in body politic → superficial
DISTRIBUTION: set of strategies for apportioning goods and services among the members of a community

Types of exchange

- on basis of items exchanged: G: GS, GG, SS, SM, GM, MM

Karl Polanyi

- Reciprocity based exchange
  - Redistribution based exchange
  - Market exchange

- every economy: at least one of these systems.

Reciprocal exchange

- based on Role Obligation
  - usually not b/m strangers
  - not dictated by maximization
  - value of goods need not be same but within culturally defined range

- e.g. hunter communities, hunt distributed as per kinship obligations.

- Reciprocity
  - Generalized — value not calculated, time for repayment unspecified
  - Balanced — GS & of commensurate worth are traded within finite period

Exchange based on redistribution

- collected goods flow to a central point from where they are redistributed to the society
  - may be voluntary or involuntary
  - e.g., we pay income tax; potlatch ceremony
Market Exchange:
- exchange of goods & services according to law of supply and demand
- goods bought & sold @ money price determined by impersonal forces of D & S.
- unlike other types of exchanges, here social position of those who exchange is not important.
- most purely economic mode of exchange
- money: market device designed to facilitate exchange by acting as a medium for it.

Work & Economic Life: (Giddens)

Work: paid or unpaid; tasks: physical or mental → production of goods & services: human needs.

# Work for wage → occupation
# Unpaid labour → economic contribution
# Voluntary work → important social role
# Informal economy → transactions outside sphere of regular employment
  much work done not recorded

Global view → Developed
- tiny percentage work in agriculture, main source of employment, less tightly regulated
- protective employment laws
- informal/parallel/black economy relatively small

Developing
- agriculture main source of employment

Developing economies, reverse in developing
  e.g.: Nigeria — black economy 5-15% of GDP
  Most employment comes from informal sector.

Exchange types
# before 1940s - focus on paid employment, ignored domestic sphere
# 2nd wave feminism - challenged this
# Oakley's explanation of how & why it happened
  - separation of home from workplace
  - domestic work - invisible
  - seen as natural domain of women
  - even with equipment, any time spent remained same (new tasks were created)
  - unpaid
# housework: 25 to 40% of wealth created in industrialised countries.
# Oakley: domestic work props up the rest of the economy.
# full-time domestic -> isolating, alienating, dissatisfaction, monotonous
# men: sharp division b/t work and leisure
# women: no clear division
# paid work -> income -> unequal power relationship. As housewives are dependent on male partners

CRITIC
# Oakley neglected major shift b/t working and middle class in terms of decision making & resource sharing
# Gershuny: real change: equalization of amount of work
# Oakley was too pessimistic about prospects of change in gender household gender relations.
# Her ideas remain important. Women continue to do more housework -> deeply embedded attitudes -> 'proper place' of women in domestic sphere.
Traditional Societies

- 20-30 major craft trades together with specialized roles such as merchant, soldier, etc.
- Most of population worked on farms, economically self-sufficient - produced own necessities of life

Modern Societies

- Thousands of distinct occupations.
- Economic interdependence

---

*Adam Smith*: Father of modern Economics

"The Wealth of Nations", 1776

- Adam Smith: Father of modern Economics

"The Wealth of Nations", 1776

- Advantages of DOL (pin factory)

---

*Frederick Winslow Taylor*: "Scientific management"

- Detailed study of industrial processes, break them into simpler operations that could be precisely timed and organized
- Scientific management = Taylorism
- Academic study + eyes of prod^m for max output
- Time & motion studies -> knowledge of prod^m in management's hands
- Taylorism is associated with destilling and degradation of labour

---

*Henry Ford*: Assembly line (Inspired from Chicago slaughterhouse)

- Model T

mass prod^m needed mass market - wages $5 for 8 hr day
Fordism → system of mass production tied to the cultivation of mass markets.

- assembly line expensive
- system rigid
- needs cheap labour to compete
- low trust system

Low Trust Systems
- close supervision
- little autonomy of action
- continuous monitoring
- result: ↓ commitment, morale,
  ↓ dissatisfaction, absenteeism.

High trust system
- workers given control over pace and content with overall guidelines
- concentrated at higher levels of industrial organizations.

Recent decades: Post-Fordism (Rose and Label)
- "The Second Industrial Divide" 1984
- radical departure from Fordism
- flexibility & innovation maximized to meet market demands of diverse, customized products.
- group production, upskilling, autonomy ↑, pride ↑
- peer supervision, same power and control systems.
- flexible prod & mass customization or new set of pressures
  - e.g. Dell
- Global production - retailer dominated production
  - 2/3 of clothing sold in US made outside US @ sweatshops, by workers getting peanuts.
# Neo Fordists → critical of past Fordism
Fordist practices not fully abandoned, new approaches have been integrated into it

# Since the beginning of 20th century → in industrialized countries
→ blue collar ↓ white collar ↑ why?
  → ↑ labour saving machinery
  → ↑ maunuf. industry outside west
  → ↑ globalization, economic production
  + ↑ IT ↑

# Decline in trade unionism after 1980 → why?
↓ bargaining power
  → ↑ service sector ↓ ↓ older maunuf., → reindustrialization
  → recession
  → competition from Far East
  → right wing forces
  → flexible production

# Organized conflict
→ strike
  ↓ lockout
  ↓ output restrictions
  ↓ clashed in contract negotiations

Less organized
→ high labour turnover (employees regularly replace) old staff with new
→ absenteeism
→ interference with machinery

# Impact of IT, technological determinists → Pg 914, Giddens

IT ← media, advertising, design → ↑ creativity, flexibility
  ← call centres → routine, unskilled, alienation, isolation
Offshoring → Pg 918, Giddens.

Alan Blinder → main threat to developed countries is India (services) & not China (manufacturing).

2/3rd of Global outsourced staff → employed in India.

Social significance of work:

- Money
- Activity level
- Variety
- Temporal structure, sense of direction
- Social contacts
- Personal identity
<POLITICS AND SOCIETY>

# Power: Max Weber has defined power as the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others participating in the action.

"get done what you want even against others will→ you have power over them."

# Power → aspect of social relationships

held in relation to others, not in isolation.

# Political Sociology → study of power in broadest sense.

# Dowse & Hughes → politics is about power. Politics occurs when there are power differentials.

Social relationship in which there are power diff. → is political.

# State & machinery of govt. → emphasized but studied in relation to society as a whole rather than in isolation.

# power

coercion → not seen as legitimate by those subjected to it.

# Weber: constant-sum concept of power: fixed amount of power, if some hold, others do not. ⇒ power holders tend to use power to further own interests ⇒ power used mainly for oppression, exploitation of others.

# Functionalist Perspective: Talcott Parsons: variable-sum concept of power → possessed by society as a whole, capacity to mobilize resources of society to attain collective goals. ⇒ ↑ efficiency of social sys. in achieving goals ⇒ → power exists in society. → power not seen as fixed: can increase or decrease.
Parsons's view of power derived from his general theory of nature of society.

- Survival of social sys ← Value consensus → Collective goals
  e.g. Economic expansion + high living std. in western society

- Power differentials: Collective goals → Those in power use it for benefit of all
  cooperation ↔ all
  necessary
  Reciprocity

Lucky → Collective goal → cooperation → organization → positions of command

Some are granted authority for the benefit of all.
E.g. Power given to Marshals in Sioux Indian society
  Control excitable young warriors during hunt which was crucial for food supply of entire tribe.

Critics: Parsons has failed to appreciate the power is frequently used to further sectional interests.

Marxian perspective

# Constant-sum concept

# Source of power: economic infrastructure

# Coercion

# If seen as legitimate — false class consciousness is the reason

# Relationships of dominance and subordination in infrastructure reproduced in superstructure
Measurement of Power.

Robert Dahl → careful examination of actual decisions

Critics → those in power can prevent issues from reaching point of decision

Who has the power to determine what are decisions?

Westergaard & Rostow → power can only be measured by its results

Proof of pudding is in the eating? → whoever reaps largest rewards holds largest share of power

Inequalities in British society → reflect continuing power of capital

Conc. of wealth with capitalists → visible proof of power

Ruling class ideology → no challenge to its position

→ merely has to actively exercise its power

Ralph Miliband → advertising → one of the ways in which capitalism is legitimated → massive indoctrination

All advertising is political; exploitative and oppressive nature of capitalism effectively disguised.

Capitalist State vs Marxist Perspective

State represents ruling class interests

Aaronovitch → government, manned & financed by finance capital

Poulantzas → role of state determined by infrastructure

Relative autonomy exists & is essential to effectively represent capital

Otherwise, internal conflict → no united front against proletariat
Also → relative autonomy → give concessions to contain radical demands → promote myth that it represents society as a whole

Marx → before communism → 'period of transition' → revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat → capitalism dismantled → state will finally 'wither away' → transition to communism complete

Critics → no evidence of state withering away → dictatorship continues → communist utopia wishful thinking → elite theory strongly advocates this

Elite Theory → Pareto & Mosca
- Personal qualities separate ruler from ruled
- Developed in part as reaction to Marxism
- Two main groups: ruling minority & ruled
- Proletarian revolution, if occurs, will merely replace one ruling elite by another
- Majority: apathetic and unconcerned with major issues of the day
- Mass of pop: controlled & manipulated by elite

Classical Elite Theory → Pareto & Mosca

Vilfredo Pareto
- Psychological characteristics as basis of elite rule
- Governing elite: lions & foxes
- Lions: direct & incisive action, rule by force, e.g., military dictatorships
- Foxes: cunning & guile, diplomatic manipulation & wheeling & dealing, e.g., European democracies
- Position based on print qualities—lion like or fox like
change in society & circulation of elites
history's never ending circulation of elites
graveyard of aristocracies!

causes of change from elite to elite
decadence
decay
lucidity
absence of
qualities of
Counter past
inflexible to change

CRITICS
model too simplistic
difference in political systems considered minor
method of measurement of qualities?
measuring elite decadence?
Pareto: no recruitment from below — & vigour, vitality
but T.B. Bottomore → Brahmans: closed group; still survived

Gaetano Mosca
rulers, ruled
qualities → superiority

Unlike Pareto; Mosca opined that qualities required for elite rule varied from society to society
diff b/n democracy & other elite rules: ruling elite in democratic societies is open → possibilities of various interests being represented

democracy: govt of the people, might be for the people but never by the people; ELITE RULE remained INEVITABLE
masses lacked capacity to self govern; Regrett[ed extension of] franchise — he said it should be limited to middle class

Pareto: qualifications reqd. for elite rule same for all time
democracy merely another form of elite domination

Mosca: qualities reqd. vary from society to society
democracy diff from other elite rules
Power Elite: C. Wright Mills

- Analyst of American Society; 1950s
- Elite rule — institutional rather than personal terms
- Structure of institutions is such that those at top of hierarchy largely monopolize power.
  - Ruling minority: "Power Elite" → major corporations, key institutions
  - Similar interests, activities, military, federal govt.

- How? Decentralization of decision making power
- Coherence, unity of power elite: similar background, values, trust, cooperation, exchange of personnel between elites, overlapping of personnel → unity

Critics
- Evidence circumstantial & suggestive rather than conclusive
- Robert Dahl: potential for control doesn't mean actual control; range of key decisions not investigated → case unproven

Elite theory & Communist societies

- T. B. Bottomore: Gys. in Communist countries approaching pure type of 'power elite'
- Raymond Aron: elite model applicable to Communist societies
- Many researchers: ruling minority in Communist soc. uses e.g., Milovan Djilas; power for self-enrichment
  - David Lavan: says this is not so. In USSR, principal aim was economic & industrial dev. of USSR, so caution against extreme versions of elite theory being applied to these societies.
Pluralism & power & politics in Western Democracies.

1. Power: dispersed — variety of groups
   - differentations, 
   - various needs & occupations
   - interest groups
2. Organizations representing particular interest in society
3. Pluralism & elite pluralism: power dispersed among plurality of elites who are involved in political arena, compete to further particular interests
   - no income latency, both democracy & elites — interests channeled & mobilized for participation in govt.
   - main interests represented: groups have a say in running of affairs.
4. Unlike interest groups, political parties must appeal to & represent wide range of interests to gain power & form govt.
5. Politics → biz of bargaining & compromise
   - Raymond Aron: "Govt. becomes a biz of compromise"
   - Karl Mannheim: governed can remove leaders or force them to take decisions in interest of society many
     - Talcott Parsons agrees.

Support for pluralism:

- Robert Dahl — study: New Haven, Connecticut
- no evidence of ruling elite;
- power dispersed among interest groups
- no overlap of personnel in various elites

Arnold Rose — similar conclusions at national level
- multi-influence hypothesis & multiplicity of relatively independent elites

CRITICS: decision making approach — criticized (pre-pages)
- Concessions by govt. against economic interest groups
  - to defend radical protest, protect privilege
Politics is a process of competition and bargaining and Gouv. is a process of mediation and compromise.

PR Riggs: political party: org. which nominates candidates for election to legislature.

Segmouz Lipset: democracy—political sys which provides regular constitutional opportunities for changing officials & social mechanism for majority to influence decisions.

Political parties
interest groups
aim to take power
seek to influence parties & policies
represent wider interests
particular interest

Interest groups
protective
promotional

How IGs influence exert pressure?

Contri to funds of political parties
illegal payments/bribe
appealing to public opinion
civil disobedience
provision of expertise

From pluralistic perspective & pol. parties & IGs: cornerstones of democracy.
Managers & Corporations

- James Burnham
  - Joint stock company
    - Separation of ownership & control
    - Owner manager → Salaried manager
    - Managerial societies (e.g., Communist Soc.)
    - Where power of managerial elite would be max

Criticism: Marxists
- Separation Illusory
- Managers vs. Shareholders
- Decisions like investments & mergers
- Primary motive = profit maximization

# Pluralists - 'Countervailing Power' restricts power of large corporations (e.g., consumer organizations)

(Giddens)

# Max Weber: 'Ideal Types' of authority
- Traditional - Power legitimized through respect for long-established cultural patterns, e.g., hereditary family rule of nobles in medieval Europe
- Charismatic - Drawn from devotion felt towards a leader
  - 'Charisma' - trait of personality
  - Disrupts tradition
  - Jesus, Hitler
- Legal-rational - Legitimated through legally enacted rules and regulations
  - Modern orgs and bureaucracies
Power operates at all levels of social interaction, in all social institutions, by all people. Not concentrated in an institution or group. Power and knowledge reinforce each other. E.g. Doctor. Critics' hazy conception; underestimates concentration of power.

**STEPHEN WILKES**: three dimensional view of power.

1D: conflict of interest — whose side decision goes? — more powerful.

2D: also looks at ability of groups or set social actors to control which issues are decided upon. Power to limit alternatives available to others. E.g. authority, govt. regulating what press can report.

3D: radical view of power — manipulation of desires — ideological exercise of power — observable when people act in ways contrary to their interests.

**CRITICS**: how do we know what people's interests are? — how can unobservable influence of ideology on desires be studied? — theory of structural determination rather than theory of power?

---

Singapore: 'soft authoritarianism', Disneyland with death penalty

Velvet revolutions of 1989 - collapse of communist govt. in Eastern Europe

in China - protests suppressed in 1989 (Tianamen Square)
why has democracy become widespread?

- globalization → increase in cultural contact
  - → invigorates democratic movements
- international organizations: UN, EU
  - eg. DRC: UNDP administered elections
  - (tactics: diplomacy, manoeuvres, trade embargoes, conditional provision of loans → dismantle authoritarian regimes)

- expansion of world capitalism & firms tend to invest in stable & predictable environments → many countries pursuing democracy to attract investments
  - "Revolutions from above"

Read about EU @ Page 1009 - Giddens

Social movements and social change

- social movement → collective attempt to further a common interest through action outside the sphere of established institutions.
- protest movements → operate near margins of what is defined as legally permissible.

- most powerful forms of collective action

Theories of social movements.

- Chicago School of Sociology: first to delineate forms of collective behaviour
  - Herbert Blumer: symbolic interactionism
  - social movements are agents of social change, not merely products of it
  - Blumer: Theory of Social Unrest: dissatisfaction with some aspects of current society hope for "new order of life"
 Movts. → aim to transform society
  → labour movt.
  generally
  ↓ both active & expressive elements
  \[ \text{New Age Movt.} \]

 Life Cycle of Social Movts. - Blumer

  Social Ferment - people agitated but unfocused, disorganized
  ↓
  Popular Excitement - dissatisfaction clearly defined
  ↓
  Formal Orgs. + Effective Campaigning - struct. set up.
  ↓
  Institutionalization - movt. accepted as part of wider society and political life.
  ↓
  Dissolution.

 Niel Smelser - Social Movts (structural functionalist)

 Multi causal model of SM

 Value added model - each stage adds value to movt. emergence

 Theory of structural strain

 Six value added elements necessary for SM to develop

 - Structural conduciveness
 - Structural strain
 - Generalized beliefs
 - Precipitating factors
 - Mobilization for action
 - Failure of social control

 Do Social Movements from ESO-12, BLOCK-8
RM - Resource Mobilization Theory

- We need resources. More resources we can mobilize, more likely we are to be successful.

MSO-001

1. When power acquires legitimacy or justification, it is understood as authority; authority receives voluntary obedience. Exercise of authority does not necessarily imply superiority of the person who commands.

- Formal organizations: Power → Institutionalized Authority
- Informal orgs.: Power → Institutionalized Power

2. When a person has power, he/she has prestige but vice versa may not necessarily be true.

- Power commands obedience & submission
- Influence is persuasive rather than coercive
- Control through sanctions - no use of sanctions/punishment

Influence is not essentially accompanied with power.

- Newton: Influence, not power
- Policeman: power, not influence
- PM: both

3. Power associated with status, associated with one’s personality
- Structure of society
- Sociological concept
- Psychological concept

153
Religion

for fundamentalism
& revivalism — Refers Giddens

for 'Religion & Science'

→ Refer - Wiki, Q&A, IGNOU

ESO-13
block - 5
RELIGION

# Belief in the existence of supernatural beings which have a governing effect on life

**Origin**

# Animism: belief in spirits, earliest form of religion as per Edward Tylor.

> What makes living different from dead? (→ Animism to satisfy human shapes in dreams and visions?)

> Man's intellectual nature, make sense of death, dreams and visions.

# Naturism: belief that forces of nature have supernatural powers, earliest form of religion as per F. Max Müller.

> Arose from effect of nature on man's emotions.

Animism seeks the origin of religion in man's intellectual needs, naturism seeks it in his emotional needs.

**Evolution**

# Tylor: evolutionist → religion evolved in 5 stages from animism to monotheism

# Many criticisms of evolutionary approach

> Origin not explained

Andrew Lang: many simplest societies are monotheistic

**Functionalist Perspective**

# Evolutionists: human needs → Religion

# Functionalists: society's needs → Religion

# Religion → Functional Prerequisites (e.g., social solidarity)

**Emile Durkheim**

# "The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life" - 1912

# All societies → world < sacred > profane? Religion based on this division

Anything can be sacred - it must be a symbol representing something
- Durkheim's study: Australian aborigines: totemism
- Aboriginal society → clans; totems: symbols of clans, emblem, flag, distinguishing the clan + it is sacred (carved on bullroarer) → totem is "outward and visible form of the totemic principle or God."

⇒ if symbol of society = symbol of God ⇒ society = God ⇒ men are infant worshipping society.

- how does this happen? → man is inferior to and dependent on the sacred. Man - sacred relationship is same as Man - society. Society → ↑ more powerful + important than man. Symbol? → easier to visualize and direct feelings of awe towards a symbol than so complex a thing such as clan.

- Religion reinforces "collective conscience" → order, control, solidarity, cooperation. Collective worship → ↑ drama & reverence, highly charged atmosphere → ↑ integration

- Durkheim's view: more relevant to small, non-literate societies.

BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI
- Study: Trobriand Islands off the coast of New Guinea
- Religion reinforces norms, values. Solidarity (like Durkheim)
- Religion not represent society as a whole (unlike !)
- Religious ritual ≠ worship of society.
- "crises of life", anxiety, tension
- e.g. death - socially destructive; funeral - Solidarity ⇒ reintegration society
- Situations producing anxiety — uncertainty — rituals
  e.g. Trobriand islands: no rituals while fishing in lagoon; but rituals before fishing in open sea.
  ⇒ Group unites to deal with stress situations ⇒ Unity
- Religion promotes social solidarity by dealing with situations of emotional stress which threaten the stability of society.

  "Talcott Parsons"

  - norms → action
  - values, beliefs, cultural system → norms
  - religious beliefs integrated into cultural system
  - so religion helps → consensus → order, stability
  - like malinowski: mechanism for adjustment to disturbing events
    2 kinds of disruptions
    unforeseen event, out of control uncertainty
  - rituals: 'tonic to self confidence'
  - religion: give meaning to life; make sense of experiences
    provides meaning to contradictory, frustrating events
  ⇒ intellectual and emotional adjustment. → order & stability
- Dysfunctional aspects ignored! e.g. hostility by religious groups.
  Glock & Stark criticised
Marxian perspective.

- illusion which eases the pain produced by exploitation and oppression
- myth - justify ruling class domination
- opium of the people
- most religious movements originate in oppressed classes. E.g. Christianity: slaves, poor, subjugated by Rome
- promise of salvation in afterlife, make virtue of suffering, hope for supernatural intervention, justification for social order and person’s position in it.
- instrument of oppression — keeps people in their place.
- distorts reality -> false class consciousness.
- Brazil: Pentecostalism. Ministers tell poor that poverty is caused by their sins. Govt. condones.
- caste system: justified by Hindu religious beliefs.
- conflicting evidence also: religion doesn’t always legitimate power.
  - Israeli Kibbutzim: fervently religious; no contradiction b/n religion and socialism.

Marx: Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people.
Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann

- every society has its own body of knowledge: "universe of meaning"
- Sociology of religion = sociology of knowledge
  \[ \Rightarrow \text{meanings & definitions of reality held by members} \]
- UoM requires constant legitimation, reinforcement, justification, or else \( \Rightarrow \) UoM crumbles \( \Rightarrow \) society unstable

- Religion helps build, maintain and legitimate UoMs — links reality of empirical societies to ultimate reality, legitimated social institutions (e.g. when legal offences = sin; pharaohs)

- Each UoM grounded in social base (social structure of society) called Plausibility Structure. PS \( \uparrow \) \( \Rightarrow \) UoM \( \downarrow \) \( \Rightarrow \) e.g.
  Spaniards destroyed Incas \( \Rightarrow \) Inca religion died.

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{UoM} \\
\downarrow \quad \downarrow \\
\text{P.S.}
\end{array} \]

Max Weber

- Religion not always shaped by economic factors as Marxists claim. Sometimes reverse is true — religion influences economic behaviour.

- World view \( \Rightarrow \) meanings, purpose, motives \( \Rightarrow \) action
- Religion: imp. component of world view.

"The Protestant ethic and the spirit of Capitalism"

- Ascetic Protestantism \( \Rightarrow \) Western capitalism
- Calling in life, determine single-minded pursuit of career, work for God's glory. Success = grace in God's sight. Money = Success
- Protestant uniformity of life aids standardization of production

- fixed calling \( \rightarrow \) justification for \( \alpha \) specialized DoL

- Creation of wealth, depending \( \rightarrow \) saving and reinvestment

- Ascetic protestantism didn't cause but was an imp influence on origin and development of capitalism in Western Europe.

- CRITICS: Marxists: Capitalism predated protestantism
  \( \Rightarrow \) Protestantism: ruling class ideology for legitimation.
  E.g. Kantsky

---

Religion, stratification & change

- Church
  - large, formal org
  - hierarchy of officials
  - recruits from all strata but in practice, higher status gains
  - identifies with the State
  - integrated with socio-eco structure of society
  - E.g. Roman Catholic Church of Middle Ages
    - accepts norms & values of society

- Denomination
  - less members (minority)
  - doesn't identify with state
  - approves separation of church and state
  - other denom. & churches - coexist, cooperate
  - lower working class least represented
  - E.g. Methodists
    - hierarchy, bureaucratic structure like church
    - tendency for more lay preaching
    - religious orgs. in USA: no estb. Church there
    - Some say Church of England today is more denom than Church!!
sects
- relatively small religious group
- members - usually - lower classes & poor
- often reject norms & values of wider society
- beliefs & practices strange to non-believer
- in tension with larger society & closed against it - Berger
- strict pattern of behaviour, loyalty
- insular, closed to uninitiated
- ↑ intensity, ↑ open commitment
  e.g. Black Muslim Sect (Nation of Islam)

Weber - sects more likely to emerge within marginal groups outside mainstream, ↓ privilege → sect based on 'theodicy of disprivilege'

(theodicy: religious explanation & justification)

- concept of Relative deprivation: subjectively perceived deprivation
  e.g. Middle Class hippy in California
  RD → sect as response to RD

- sects - tend to arise during rapid social change (UoM undermined)
  e.g. Methodism: chaos in newly settled industrialized areas
- sect → new & stable UoM legitimated by its religious beliefs

sects & denominations &
- Richard Niebuhr - sects are short-lived
  - favour of members not sustained > 1st gen
  - isolation/marginality may disappear
  - wealth → entry into mainstream
    sect → dead or sect → denomination
    e.g. methodists.
- Some see: Jehovah's Witnesses, 7th day adventists, etc. continue as sects.

- Bryan Wilson: Why some denominations, others do not?
  - determining factor: prescription for salvation
  - conversionist sect likely to denomination
  - evangelical sect aiming to convert as many as possible through revivalist preaching
  - crucial factor: the way sect answers the question "What shall we do to be saved?"

Adventists: found on principle of separation from world in expectation of 2nd coming; have to stay as sect as deep from world and denominationalism are not compatible.

Millenarian movements
- religious movements which promise that the world will be transformed suddenly and soon. e.g. Ghost Dance religion of Teton Sioux
- found primarily in oppressed groups
- sometimes due to relative deprivation. e.g. Melanesian Islands
- found in situation of rapid change; disruption of traditional norms
- often: response by natives to impact of Western culture
- Marxist: Engels: awakening of proletarian self-consciousness

- Cohn: expanding urban areas: traditional norms undermined; preceded by crisis → discontent + inadequacy of normal solutions.

Secularization

- Study "Family And Neighbourhood" - 1950s, Oxford: J.M. Mogey
  - Growing indifference towards religion & church going
- Many sociologists: Western societies → Secularization: ↓ in influence of religion in all areas of social life.
  - Bryan Wilson supports
- Problem: what is secularization and how to measure it?
- Definition of religion? → one may see worship as important, other may bet on belief & not attendance.

Institutional religion: participation

- Church attendance ↓, no. of marriages @ church ↓ → Secularization occurring in Western societies: Bryan Wilson
  - Traditional view that religious person goes to Church

Other views
- Phenomenological: David Martin: Victorian times: church attendance = middle class respectability, not today
  - Robert Bellah: collective worship → privatized worship

Disengagement and differentiation

- Disengagement of Church from wider society = Secularization
  - Bryan Wilson

- Other views: Parsons
  - Evolution of society: structural differentiation: parts more specialized, fewer functions but importance does not ↓
  - Structural differentiation ≠ Secularization.
Religious Pluralism

- From one faith, one church to small scale non-literate societies or Medieval European Society \[\rightarrow\] multiplicity of denominations and sects to today. \(\Rightarrow\) secularization
  - Bryan Wilson
  - Competing religious instins \(\Rightarrow\) power of Religion
  - L. Berger and Luckmann

- Past 30 yrs: Ecumenical movement towards unity of Churches and denominations.
  - Wilson - further evidence of secularization,
    - only weak amalgamater
  - ecumenism = declining Christianity grasping at straws.

- Wilson: New religious moves have little to offer in terms of contribution to the wider society.
  - irrelevant
  - exotic novelty
  - provide religious setting for ‘dropouts’
  - transient and volatile gestures of defiance in face of a secular society.

- Herberg: Religion in America subordinated to “American way of life.”

- Europe: Religious institutions unchanged with changing society \(\Rightarrow\) Empty Churches
  - America: “” adapted “” “” \(\Rightarrow\) Full Churches

- Herberg: Secularization in America then why attendance at Churches
  - Need of Americans to identify with a social group
  - American society becoming “by other directed”
  - Religion < American Way of Life
  - Acceptance + belonging
CRITICISM: Seymour Lipset
- Formal (law, courts, gov't) vs. informal (church, family, etc.)
- Religious: strong religious content
- Secularized religion not necessarily new in America
  - Mentioned by 19th century visitors (lack of religious content)

Changing role of religion in Western Industrial Society

Generalization & Parsons
- Religious institutions: specialized => values: generalized
- Religious beliefs: incorporated in value system, provide general guidelines for conduct
  - E.g.: Small-scale, Non-lit. soc. => Shaman: religious leader + curer

Today: hospitals: secular institutions, yet practice of medicine based on value: duty to care for sick
  => general directive has replaced religious rituals.

Problem (critics): vagueness, lack of evidence of foundation in religion and not in secular society.

INDIVIDUATION
- Robert N. Bellah: Religion increasingly an individual quest for meaning rather than collective act of worship
- Importance not declined, just form of expression changed.
**TRANSFORMATION**

- Religious beliefs transformed into secular guides to action
  - Ascetic Protestantism → Spirit of Capitalism
  - but by 18th century, 'pursuit of wealth' stripped of its religious and ethical meaning
  - Secularizing influence of wealth + mechanization of production

- Weber: Ascetic Protestantism transformed into secular guides to action

**PROBLEM**: transformation or generalization of Asc. Prot.?

---

**DEASCRIALIZATION**

- Sacred has little or no space in contemp. West. soc.
- Supernatural not seen as controlling the world
- Action not directed by religious beliefs
- Man's consciousness secularized

- Weber: Rational action, rationalization, intellectualization ↔ Industrial society

- Bryan Wilson: people acting rationally (less motivated by religion)

**WHY?**

- Ascetic Protestantism
  - rational org. of society → sustained involvement in rational orgs
    - imposes rational behavior
    - Knowledge based on reason
  - rational ideologies of orgs offering practical solutions
- Wilson: rational world view is enemy of religion

- George Peter Murdock: "Social Structure" - Sample of 250 societies: hunter-gatherers to industrial → Murdock: some form of family in every society → family is universal

- Murdock: family: common residence, economic cooperation & reproduction. Sexually co-habiting adults + children. norms vary! Bemaro of New Guinea: Husband can't f**k wife until she has borne a child by his father's friend!

- Smallest unit: nuclear family (NF): husb, wife, immature offspring

- More members → extended family (horizontal or vertical extensions)

- Any grouping broader than nuclear family which is related by descent, marriage or adoption.

- Murdock: NF existed everywhere: on its own or as basic unit

- NF universal

- However his conclusions may not be well-founded.


  - No adult males

  - Reasons:

    - West Africa: polygyny, female eco independence

    - System of plantation slavery

    - Economic pres' of Blacks in New World

    - Poverty, culture
in support of Murdock:

- female headed family not the norm statistically
- matrifocal family is NF that has been broken
- mainstream NF model considered ideal by Blacks
- MF: family gone wrong, product of social disorganization not
  a viable alternative to NF: Maladjusted children, juvenile delinquents, high school dropouts.

Against Murdock:

- statistically not norm, can't be considered alternative to NF
  - e.g. polygynous marriages accepted as extended family
- low-income Black commns. → MF expected & accepted
- members of MF regard it as family
- not just broken NF, e.g. WI: MF is well organized
  - social group representing the adaptation to poverty
    - Woman: dispersed loyalty + sibling ties
    - Israeli kibbutz: not common residence (children live out)
    - 4% Israelis in 240 kibbutzim
      - communal dormitories
      - no economic cooperation
      - each works for kibbutz as a whole

family as defined by Murdock is too specific, not universal
phenomenological persp. → may be universal (perception by
members)
functionalist perspective

Murdock: family = multifunctional, indispensable to society
universal, inevitable = multi-faceted utility

functional = society for individual

Eg. sexual function -- sexual gratification
- unity
- order
- control

economic function -- Del.
- unity

Criticism: doesn't look for final alternatives
- exaggerated harmony and integration

Parsons

# 2 basic + irreducible fns. of family
- primary socialization of children
- stabilization of adult personalities

primary soc.  \rightarrow \text{internalization of culture} + \text{structuring of personality}

# families: "factories which produce human personalities"

Criticism: idealization of family
- picture of American middle class, not representative
- functional alternatives not explored
- socialization seen as one way process, not 2-way interaction ignored.
Social change

+ Family, Kinship

→ UIAS

Vol. II

Pg. 76 onwards.
J. Maxwell Atkinson - phenomenological perspective

- How do deaths get categorized as suicides?
- Coroners' common sense theory of suicide. If info about the deceased fits their theory → likely to categorize death as suicide.
- 4 kinds of evidence considered by coroners: suicide note, modes of dying, location & circumstances, biography of deceased
- taken for granted assumptions on "typical suicide" or "typical suicide biography."

Criticism: Barry Hinde: that logic studies by Atkinson can be criticized as no more than a sociologist's interpretation. Just as coroners' verdict can't be validated, so is the case with claims on how they reach their decisions, forward'd by phenomenologists. → no sociology would be possible!

STEVE TAYLOR: Realist conception of science
- study of persons under trains - London Underground
- based not on statistical evidence but upon attempts to discover "underlying, unobservable structures & causal processes."

Diagram:

Ectopic (inner-directed)

Uncertainty ( ordeal)

Thanatation (who am I?)

Submitive (I am dead)

Appeal (who are you?)

Sacrifice (I am killed)

Certainty (purposive)

Symphysis (other-directed)
1. Ectopic — result from what person thinks about themselves
   a) Submissive — certain about themselves and life
      see themselves as already dead, e.g. terminally ill
      sure they wish to die

   b) Thanatation — uncertain about themselves
      gamble — may or may not survive
      some cases: exhilarated by thrill — multiple attempts
      e.g. novelist Graham Greene — Russian roulette!
      poet Sylvia Plath — drove off road

2. Sympathic — result from relationship with others
   a) Sacrifice — certain that others have made life unbearable
   b) Appeal — uncertainty over attitude of others towards them
      suicide = communication → desperation to know response
      wish to die + wish to change others; despair + hope
      e.g. Marilyn Monroe’s death → hung her self before ODing.

Evaluation: Taylor’s theory: Some advantages over others — why
some leave notes, others don’t, why some seem more serious,
why some occur in isolation, etc. But his theory is hard to test.

So: Ray Pawson: methodological brawl is exaggerated
1. not necessarily sticking to own methodological principles.
   E.g. Douglas painting our Durkheim giving mental sketches of
   what it felt like to be a Catholic or Protestant: subjective
   state of individuals.
2. Methodological brawl has ended → trace; concerned more
   with practical difficulties — choice of method; many now
   advocate methodological pluralism.
3. Outdated conflict — new approaches like realistic conception
   critical social research, do not fit neatly into either camp.