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INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

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Course Contents

COURSE INTRODUCTION

This course is a broad introduction to the discipline of sociology. It familiarizes the students with the history of the development of Sociology, its relationship with related disciplines of the social sciences and some of the fundamental concepts and concerns of the discipline.

There are three blocks and thirteen Units (Chapters) in this course. The **first Block** which is titled "Nature and Scope of Sociology" deals with the emergence of Sociology and Social Anthropology. **Block 2** which is titled "Relationship of Sociology with Other Social Sciences" discusses the relationship of Sociology with other Social Sciences, specifically, with Anthropology, Psychology, History, Economics and Political Science. It has five Units. **Block 3** titled "Basic Concepts" explains some of the basic concepts used in Sociology. They comprise "Culture and Society", "Social Groups and Community", "Organizations and Institutions", "Status and Role", "Socialisation", "Structure and Function", and "Social Control and Change".

In order to help the learner to comprehend the text, the Units have been arranged thematically under successive blocks. The Units under each Block have also been structured in order to help the learner. Every Unit begins with the "Structure" of the Unit and is followed by "Objectives", "Introduction", main content, Summary ("Let us sum up"), and "References". In order to make it engaging, exercises are inserted as "check your progress" wherever required. This exercise could also be useful as sample questions in examination point of view. The other important components for better comprehension of the Units are "further reading" and "glossary" which are appended at the end of the course.

Block 1
Nature and Scope of Sociology

UNIT 1 EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY*

Structure

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand;

- Emergence of Sociology;

- Factors for the emergence of Sociology;

- Rise of Sociological Theories;

- Emergence of Social Anthropology;

- Phases of the development of Social Anthropology;

- Pioneers of Social Anthropology; and

- Emergence of Modern Social Anthropology.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Sociology and social anthropology are closely related in many aspects. In fact, social anthropology is the closest discipline of sociology. Sometimes, it is rather difficult to differentiate sociology from social anthropology in some areas of enquiry and methodology. Both the disciplines are relatively young even within the social sciences. Despite similarities, the emergence of sociology and social anthropology has diverse historical roots. Although, social anthropology is said to have emerged somewhat earlier than sociology, from the very beginning it

was very difficult to differentiate between the subject matters of the two disciplines. While the emergence of sociology is relatively easier to trace, the emergence of social anthropology (or for that matter 'Integrated Anthropology' including physical anthropology) is more complex. Both the disciplines trace back to several centuries ago; however, both emerged only in the 19th century as an academic discipline. As we go through the Unit, we shall find the varying historical developments of the emergence of the two disciplines.

1.2 EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

In order to understand the emergence of sociology as a social science discipline, it is imperative to understand the socio-economic, political and scientific factors.

Western Europe, in the 18th-19th centuries witnessed rapid and profound changes. This led to a paradigm shift to the understanding of society and also of the individual's place in it. Considerable advances were taking place in terms of scientific discovery and scientific methodology. Natural sciences, though still in nascent stages, began developing 'systematic' methods for study of the physical world. The question that occupied the minds of early sociologists like Comte and Durkheim was, could a similar scientific and systematic approach be applied to the study if the human social world?

Scientific and technological advances led to the transformation from a traditional rural agrarian society to a modern urban industrial society. Due to new inventions as we will study later, the scale of production changed from small home-based to large-scale factory like enterprises. Alongside such developments there were also widespread social, economic and political changes that had a profound effect on West European societies, including major political upheavals.

These extensive changes, though central to the process of industrialisation and modernisation, rather created a paradoxical situation. Paradoxical because it was marked by hope and despair simultaneously. Hope because of the transformation of social, economic, cultural and political aspects of life from an erstwhile traditional society towards what was viewed as rational and enlightened philosophy, especially with reference to the rule of the Church in the Dark Ages. Yet, this 'modern' society that fostered human creativity and rationality was in a perpetual state of disarray and chaos as the earlier stable orders were being replaced by new ones. Sociology, as a distinct discipline emerged in the background of these intellectual and material/social changes taking place in the latter half of the 19th century. We shall discuss some the factors which contributed to the emergence of sociology as an academic discipline.

1.2.1 Enlightenment

The Enlightenment or the 'Age of Reason' was a period of intellectual development which brought about significant changes in philosophical thought in Europe in the 18th century. Many existing ideas and beliefs, relating to social life, were overthrown and replaced during this period. The most prominent thinkers associated with the Enlightenment were the French philosophers Charles Montesquieu and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

This period marked a radical change from the then existing philosophies of feudal Europe. The social and moral orders were no longer considered as divinely

ordained and sacrosanct. Individuals became increasingly rational and critical. Departing from the age old Divine Right Theory of the Ruler, now nothing was considered sacrosanct – from the church to the state to the authority of the monarch, nothing was now infallible.

The roots of such ideas, as the belief that both nature and society can be studied empirically, that human beings are essentially rational and that such a society built on rational principles will make human beings realize their infinite potentials, was seen as a result of the Industrial and Scientific Revolutions, which got firmly established during the period which witnessed the French and the American Revolutions.

1.2.2   The Scientific Revolution

Europe produced a 'scientific revolution' in the Renaissance period of fourteenth to sixteenth century which was marked by **a new attitude towards man and nature**. Natural objects became the subject of close observation and experiment. The impact of this revolution was crucial therefore, not just in changing material life, but also the ideas which people held about Nature and Society.

Some major developments of this Scientific Revolution were Copernican Revolution and the movement towards a heliocentric theory from the previous geocentric one; the ushering of the age of experiments scientists like Galileo Galilei, Johannes Kepler and Isaac Newton that revolutionised science and led to a growing desire of sociologists to build a science of society modelled on the scientific method. Also, Darwin's evolutionary theory posed a radical critique of the Biblical theory of Genesis. Herbert Spencer had introduced the notion of evolution prior to Darwin and the French philosophers like Comte had described the evolution of society, but Darwin provided legitimate scientific proof for human biological evolution. This led to development of evolutionary theory of society wherein, not just organisms, but societies were seen as constantly evolving or developing from a lower to a higher stage.

The dissection of human body, which began to be performed only Post-Renaissance, helped people better understand the functioning of the human body.

All this led to challenging of the old ideas and suggestion of alternatives. These alternatives, however, were only accepted if they could be proved and repeatedly verified, else new solutions were sought. Scientific method, therefore, became regarded as an accurate and objective method.

1.3   SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES THAT SWEPT 19ᵀᴴ CENTURY EUROPEAN SOCIETY

1.3.1   French Revolution

The French Revolution of 1789 marked a turning point in the history of human struggle for 'liberty, fraternity and equality'. It put an end to the age of feudalism and ushered in a new order of society. An important contribution of this revolution was the far reaching changes that it brought, not only French society, but in

societies throughout Europe. Even distant countries in other continents such as, India, were influenced by the ideas generated during this revolution. Ideas like liberty, fraternity and equality, which now form a part of the preamble to the Constitution of India, owe their origin to the French Revolution.

France, like other European countries during the eighteenth century, had entered the age of reason and rationalism. Major philosophers, whose ideas influenced the French people, were rationalists who believed that' all true things could be proved by reason'. Some of these thinkers were, Montesquieu (1689-1755), Locke (1632-1704), Voltaire(1694-1778), and Rousseau (1712-1778).The ferment created by these ideas along with the prevailing social conditions in the French society led to the French Revolution which marked an end of despotic monarchy. It changed the political structure of European society and replaced the age of feudalism by heralding the arrival of liberal democracy.

The long series of political revolutions that were ushered in by the French Revolution in 1789 and carried over through the nineteenth century was the most immediate factor in the rise of sociological theorizing. The impact of these revolutions on many societies was enormous, and led to many positive changes. However, what attracted the attention of many early theorists were not the positive consequences but the negative effects of such radical changes.

These writers were particularly disturbed by the resulting chaos and disorder, especially in France and wanted to restore order in the society. Some of the more extreme thinkers of this period literally wanted a return to the peaceful and relatively orderly days of the Middle Ages. The more rational thinkers recognized that social change had made such a return impossible. Thus they sought instead to find new bases of order in societies that had been overturned by the political revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This interest in the issue of social order was one of the major concerns of classical sociological theorists, especially Comte, Durkheim, and Parsons.

Another development of the late 18th and early 19th century, which also greatly shaped up the context for Sociology to emerge was the Industrial Revolution. The early sociologists were greatly disturbed by the changes taking place in the society with the onset of industrialisation, which, with its massive rural to urban migration changed patterns of living, hardened an exploitative class structure-all such themes which rose questions fundamental to the development of many sociological theories like Karl Marx's critique to Capitalism.

1.3.2 Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution was not a single event but refers to a set of inter-related developments that led to the transformation of the western world from a largely agrarian system to an overwhelmingly industrial one. It began around 1760 A.D. in England and brought about great changes in the social and economic life of the people, initially in England, and later spread to other countries of Europe. In Europe, especially England, the discovery of new territories, explorations, growth of trade and commerce and the consequent growth of towns brought about an increase in demand for goods. Within this system, a few profited greatly while the majority worked long hours and for a paltry amount of money.

During Industrial Revolution, new tools and techniques were invented, which could produce goods on a large-scale. Spinning Jenny, invented in 1767 by James Hargreaves, led to speeding up of production activity. Arkwright in 1769, invented another tool, called Arkwright's Water Fame which was so large that it could not be kept in one's home and a special building was required to set it up. On account of this, it is often said that the factory system was introduced.

This led to a change in economy from a feudal to a capitalist system of production. Subsequently, a new class of capitalists emerged who controlled this new system of production. Due to this revolution society moved from the old age of hand-made goods to the new age of machine-made goods. This shift heralded the emergence of Industrial Revolution.

Impact of the Industrial Revolution on Society

With the change in the economy, several changes in the society followed. As capitalism became more and more complex, the developments of banks, insurance companies, and finance corporations took place. New class of industrial workers, managers, capitalists emerged. The peasants in the new industrial society found themselves with thousands of other people like themselves, winding cotton in a textile mill. Instead of the open and bright countryside, they were now living in dirt and squalor.

With the increase in production, population started increasing. Rise of population accompanied by massive rural to urban migration led to urbanisation. The industrial cities grew rapidly. These industrial cities were marked by huge socio-economic disparities.

These changes concerned both conservative and radical thinkers. The conservatives feared that such conditions would lead to chaos and disorder, while radicals like Friedrich Engels felt that the factory workers would initiate the working class revolution leading to social transformation. Though the concerns were very different from one another, yet social thinkers of that time were united in the impact the Industrial Revolution would possibly cause. They also agreed upon the importance of the new working class.

Thus important themes of the Industrial Revolution, which concerned the early sociologists were the condition of the labour, transformation of property, urbanization and technology.

1.4 THE RISE OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

As we saw in the beginning, at the time when sociology was shaping up as a subject, intellectual ferment was being witnessed in Europe in the form of Enlightenment. This was a period of remarkable intellectual development and change in philosophical thought.

Out of the consensus arrived at by the Enlightenment thinkers about the changes taking place in the society, the chief intellectual precursors that led to the emergence of Sociology were firstly, the Philosophy of History, that is, recognition of the fact that society progress in stages (patterns) and that because of the presence of this pattern, laws to understand society too can be formulated in a scientific

and systematic manner, on the lines of natural sciences. Secondly, the emergence of the quantitative method of Social Survey. As a method of sociological inquiry, social survey came to be recognised as a tool that could be used to understand the social problems prevailing in the society and thus find solutions for social reform.

Conservative Reaction to Enlightenment

However, the influence of the Enlightenment on sociological theory, was not so much direct and positive, as it was indirect and negative. In fact, Conservative Reactionists to the Enlightenment like Louis de Bonald (1754-1840) and Joseph de Maistre(1753-1821) contributed as much to the development of sociology as did scholars who were influenced by the Enlightenment.

De Bonald was deeply perturbed by the profound and revolutionary changes that led to the establishment of a highly impersonal urban city life, completely devoid of any community bonding and advocated a return to the peace and stability of the previous times.

To that extent, sociology with its emphasis on society as a unit of analysis, rather than the individual; the recognition of the various parts of the society as inter-related and inter-dependent; and, stress on ultimate harmony and stability in the society- can be said to be influenced by the Conservative Reaction.

In fact, it would be appropriate to say that 'while the goals of sociology have been influenced by the Conservative thought (harmony, stability and unity), the methods have been influenced by the Enlightenment thinkers who realised that though one can't go back to the past, but can create a better society using a new knowledge of the society (Scientific Method) (Retzer 2016).

Thus, Enlightenment and Conservative thought combined to create the science of Sociology. Also, these intellectual stirrings were not isolated from the social milieu prevailing in 18-19th century Western Europe.

1.5   EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The subject matter of anthropology and its academic profession began as an intersection of natural science and humanities. Social anthropology being part of anthropology, its emergence has been historically linked with the development of other components of anthropology. The emergence of social anthropology has also been closely linked with other disciplines of the social sciences, such as sociology, philosophy, ethno-history, history, psychology (social psychology), political science, and economics. But the closest discipline of social anthropology is sociology.

In view of the highly differentiated subject matter of anthropology, it is rather difficult to comprehensively locate the strands of intellectual development and the emergence of the discipline. Like sociology, the emergence and development of anthropology is said to be directly linked to the scientific development in the western world. If one considers the existence of the term 'anthropology' many centuries ago, then, "anthropology is a very old subject. Anthropology is a word which the ancient Greeks had also used. To them *Anthropologia* occurs in 1595.

Immanuel Kant published a book in 1798 entitled *Anthropologie in PragmatischerHinsicht"* (Sarana 1983:3). In the 15th and 16th centuries the Portuguese and Spaniards wrote chronicles of their conquests of parts of Africa and the New World. These are important anthropological source material. Besides these, the writings of travelers and others, and Rousseau's speculations concerning the noble savage, indicate the change in the intellectual climate. (ibid.). The foundation of anthropology has also been dated back to the Greco-Roman renaissance period, particularly beginning with the writings of Herodotus of Halicarnassus (484-425 B.C.). According to Voget (1975:7), Herodotus "has been even cited as a likely forerunner, if not the "father," of ethnography". In fact, Herodotus is mainly remembered for his history of the Persian Wars" and the writings of detailed travel narratives from various parts of western Asia and Egypt, the Scythians on the northern coast of the Black Sea, the Ethiopians, and the peoples of the Indus valley (cf. Erikson 2001:2).The Greek philosophers of the time, particularly, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle also influenced on the study of man and society. Later, the Roman philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero also significantly contributed to the understanding of human society. After a gap of several centuries some philosophers began to take interest in the study of society and the state, particularly in the 16th century A.D. Some of these scholars include Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli. Prior to this, mention may be made of the significant contribution of Ibn Khaldun in the 14th century A.D. on the moral-historical philosophy and structural-functional analysis of social phenomena.

1.5.1   First Phase of Development

By 18th century A.D. after the experience and influence of the renaissance in Europe, there were many eminent philosophers who have made immense contributions to the understanding of society, including Rousseau, Vico, Baron de Montesquieu and John Locke who dealt with the social phenomena of the time. These earlier works certainly laid the philosophical foundation for the development of the social sciences and the science of human society including sociology and anthropology. The contribution of the earlier philosophers and scholars has certainly contributed to the emergence and development of anthropology although they cannot be called anthropology per se. The development of anthropology and social science which makes departure to the earlier philosophical and historical studies came in two phases. The first phase (1725- 1840) "philosopher scientists succeeded in separating the study of man, society, and civilization from history and thereby formulated a general social science" (Voget, 1975:41). However, Hoebel (1958) is of the view that "anthropology stems primarily from natural science and carries a greater measure of the natural science tradition" (p.9) and not from history or philosophy. The problem of its earlier association and the nature of anthropology are such that E.E. Evans-Pritchard even in the mid-20th century had to grapple with the situation in British Anthropology (particularly social anthropology). On the nature of social anthropology**,** he states that "there is a broad division of opinion between those who regard social anthropology as a natural science and those, like myself [Evans-Pritchard], who regards it as one of the humanities. This division is perhaps at its sharpest when relations between anthropology and history are being discussed" (Evans-Pritchard, 1951:7).

1.5.2   Second Phase of Development

In the second phase (1840-1890) there was "transition in the natural sciences from a static equilibrium model to a dynamic model. Its culmination came with the introduction of thermodynamic and Darwinian evolutionary theory" (Voget, 1975:42).With such a diverse field as anthropology, an attempt was made in the 1860s for integrating into a general anthropological discipline that would engage on the early history of man. By 1870 onward, "a distinctive character of anthropology began to manifest itself" by unifying physical anthropology, prehistory and ethnology (cf. ibid.). This period marks the emergence of anthropology into an academic discipline. It is through the inspiration of the "triumphs of the scientific method in the physical and organic domain, nineteenth-century anthropologists believed that socio-cultural phenomena were discoverable lawful principles. This conviction joined their interests with the aspiration of a still earlier period, extending back before the social sciences had been named, to the epochal stirrings of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and the vision of a universal history of mankind" (Harris 1979:1). However, it emerged as an academic discipline only in the nineteenth century. The significant factors for the emergence of the discipline is however attributed to the various intellectual and socio-political changes taking place in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. Some of the important influences include the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

Fred W. Voget situates the emergence of social/cultural anthropology from the route of the emergence of social science. He states:

> "[T]here can be little doubt that eighteenth-century progressivists laid the foundations for a new discipline— a generalized social science. The fact that their general outline for a natural history of mankind was expanded and refined during the nineteenth century, and served as a model for an anthropological science of culture, testifies to the remarkable breakthrough achieved by progressivist social philosopher-scientists and historians" (1975:88).

Voget, however, points out the caveat that after considering the eminence of the eighteenth century progressivists as the forerunners of anthropology (social/cultural anthropology), the progressivists themselves ignored the "collection of specialized facts", but "elevated themselves to the rank of social and cultural theorists. In consequence, they did not have any direct connection with developments that would lead into prehistory, physical anthropology, linguistics, and other anthropological specialties. Yet it was the convergence of these specializations that generated the differentiation of anthropology from the general social science base… Historic and evolutionary processes had been at work in the emergence of the anthropological scientific institution" (Voget 1975:89). Marvin Harris, a historian of anthropological development, also views that anthropology "began as the science of history" (1979:1).

1.6   EMERGENCE OF MODERN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The emergence of modern social anthropology emerged mainly with the contribution of Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliff-Brown. Marcel Mauss is also generally considered as the pioneer of modern social anthropology in

France. Bronislaw Malinowski is one of the most well-known social anthropologists. In fact, he is generally regarded as the founder of modern social anthropology. His main contributions to modern social anthropology was the introduction of ethnographic method with participant method and/or technique, and founding of the theory of functionalism departing from the earlier approaches, particularly, evolutionary and historical approaches. His significant works include *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (1926), *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* (1944). A.R. Radcliff-Brown is also one of the founders of modern anthropology along with Bronislaw Malinowski. He is well-known for his theoretical approach, generally called structural-functionalism. His theory was developed with the conceptual ideas of Emile Durkheim and his ethnographic field data and experience. His significant works include *The Andaman Islanders: A Study in Social Anthropology* (1922), and *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*(1952). Marcel Mauss is regarded as both sociologist and anthropologist. He is well-known for his comparative study of the relation between forms of exchange and social structure. This is how he is also considered as the founder of modern social anthropology in France. His most significant work is *The Gift* (1922). Along these pioneers in social anthropology in varied areas, one can include Levi Strauss into the list for founding the theory of structuralism and structural anthropology. He is also regarded as one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century on the subjects of myth, culture, religion, and social organization. His significant works include *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1949),*Tristes Tropiques* (1955), and *Structural Anthropology* (1963).There are also many anthropologists who contributed to the development of modern social anthropology, but they come either later or of lower stature.

The emergence of anthropology (social anthropology) as a discipline can also be reckoned through the formation of professional associations. The aborigines Protection Society formed in 1837 was the first anthropological association to be established (cf. Sarana 1983:4).The American Anthropological Association was established in 1902 (ibid: 4). The American Association for the Advancement of Science recognized ethnology in 1851 and assigned a separate section for anthropology in 1882. Anthropology was recognized by the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1846 and was accorded a separate department in 1884. The Anthropological Society of London came into being in 1863. This and other the Ethnological Society of London were merged to form the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871… In India, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in the latter half of the 18th century [1774]. The Anthropological Society of Bombay was established in 1886 (ibid: 5). In the Indian context, there is no consensus that the emergence of anthropology (including social anthropology) coincides with the formation of Asiatic Society of Bengal as some would claim. Saranais of the view that Indian anthropology did not emerge in the 18th century. He opines that the establishment of Associations and writings till the mid-19th century "were only stray attempts. The generally recognized anthropological works in India were written by the British administrators like Blunt, Crook, Dalton, Grierson, Ibbetson, Mills, Nesfield, O'Malley, Risley, Russel, Senart and Thurston and the administrator-turned academician, J.H.Hutton, in the latter half of the 19th century… In this century [20th century], Sarat Chandra Roy added to this corpus of anthropological material [with] his monographs on the tribes of Chotanagpur" (Sarana 1983: 6-7; brackets

are mine). Nevertheless, the formation of these associations indicates an emergent situation of anthropology (including social anthropology) in different countries and at different periods.

1.7 PIONEERS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The pioneers of social anthropology among others includeLewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), John Ferguson McLennan (1827-1881), Adolf Bastian (1826-1905),and Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917). They were soon followed by anthropologists such as, Franz Boas (1858-1942), Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941) and W.H.R. Rivers (1864-1922). There are also many other anthropologists who had made significant contributions to the founding and development of anthropology, particularly social anthropology.

The important contributions of Henry Lewis Morgan to the development of social anthropology are among others his study on kinship system from which he developed the evolutionary stages of society. His important works include *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871) and *Ancient Society* (1877). These two works also greatly influenced Karl Marx to develop his theory of class and historical materialism. Ferguson McLennan, a Scottish ethnologist main contribution to the development of social anthropology was the study of customs based on marriage systems in the pre-literate societies. His book *Primitive Marriage*(1865) was a significant contribution to the understanding of marriage in the pre-literate societies.

John Ferguson McLennan, a Scottish ethnologist, among others made a significant contribution to the understanding of 'primitive' marriage systems, law, totemism, and kinship. His main anthropological works are *Primitive Marriage: An Enquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies* (1865), in which he also introduced new terms such as 'exogamy' and 'endogamy', *The Patriarchal Theory* (1885), and *Studies in Ancient History* (1896). Adolf Bastian, a medical-turned ethnologist (also anthropologist) is regarded as the "Father of German anthropology". His well-known book appeared as a "three-volume treatise, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (1860'Manin History') which promoted views on human psychology and cultural history that shared little common ground with the evolutionists, who studied a universal movement and ignored the concrete events of cultural history (Eriksen et al 2001: 27-28;cf. Koepping 1983).He opposed the idea of biologically distinct races and formulated the principle of the *psychic unity of mankind* (ibid: 28).

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor who is generally regarded as the "Founder" or 'Father of Cultural Anthropology' is mainly concerned with theories of cultural evolution and diffusion, origins of religion and magic. His conceptual definition of 'culture' and 'cultural survivals'are still reckoned till today. He stands out as the most eminent anthropologist among the pioneers of social/cultural anthropology. Some of his main works include, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (1865), *Primitive Culture* (1871), and *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization* (1881).

> Franz Boas who is regarded as the "Father of American Anthropology" (particularly cultural anthropology) and also of the founder of "Modern American Anthropology". Some of his main contributions to anthropology

were— the rejection of the evolutionary approach to the understanding of culture which was very popular of the time, the postulation of the concept of "cultural relativism" and his empirical methods for collecting data and analysis. His significant works include *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911), and *Race, Language, and Culture* (1940). James George Frazer greatly contributed to the understanding of magic and religion. His most significant work was *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion* (1891).W.H.R. Rivers also contributed to the development of the emerging social anthropology. His contribution is mainly concerned with kinship and social organization studies. His most significant works were *The Todas* (1906) and *History of Melanesian Society* (1914)

1.8   LET US SUM UP

The historical development in which they were evolved also had convergence and divergence in its thrust areas of enquiry, particularly in the scope, interest areas, theories, methodology, and practice. This is due to the fact that both sociology and social anthropology study human society and largely share their theoretical problems and interests. This is also the reason why social anthropology is considered by many scholars to be part of sociology or a branch of sociology. Anthropology and sociology were founded with the significant elements from the natural sciences in one way or the other although the subject matter of anthropology (integrated anthropology), particularly due to the components of physical anthropology and archaeological anthropology exceeds sociology in terms of its linkage with the physical sciences. In terms of emergence, social anthropology is said to have emerged somewhat earlier than sociology. While the immediate factor for the emergence of sociology is attributed to the various factors, particularly the industrial, socio-political and intellectual movements in Europe, the emergence of social anthropology can be mainly attributed to the intellectual quest for understanding 'the other' exotic societies outside Europe and other developed societies. However, the difference between sociology and social anthropology even from the early years of is more on the application level and setting priority of studies rather than at the level of the scope, concept, and method.

1.9   CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1)   Discuss the emergence of sociology.

2)   How did French Revolution of 1789 contribute to the Emergence of Sociology?

3)   Examine the trends of the emergence of social anthropology.

4)   Discuss the phases of the emergence of social anthropology.

5)   Examine the differences of the emergence of sociology with social anthropology.

1.10   REFERENCES

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Block 2

Relationship of Sociology with Other Social Sciences
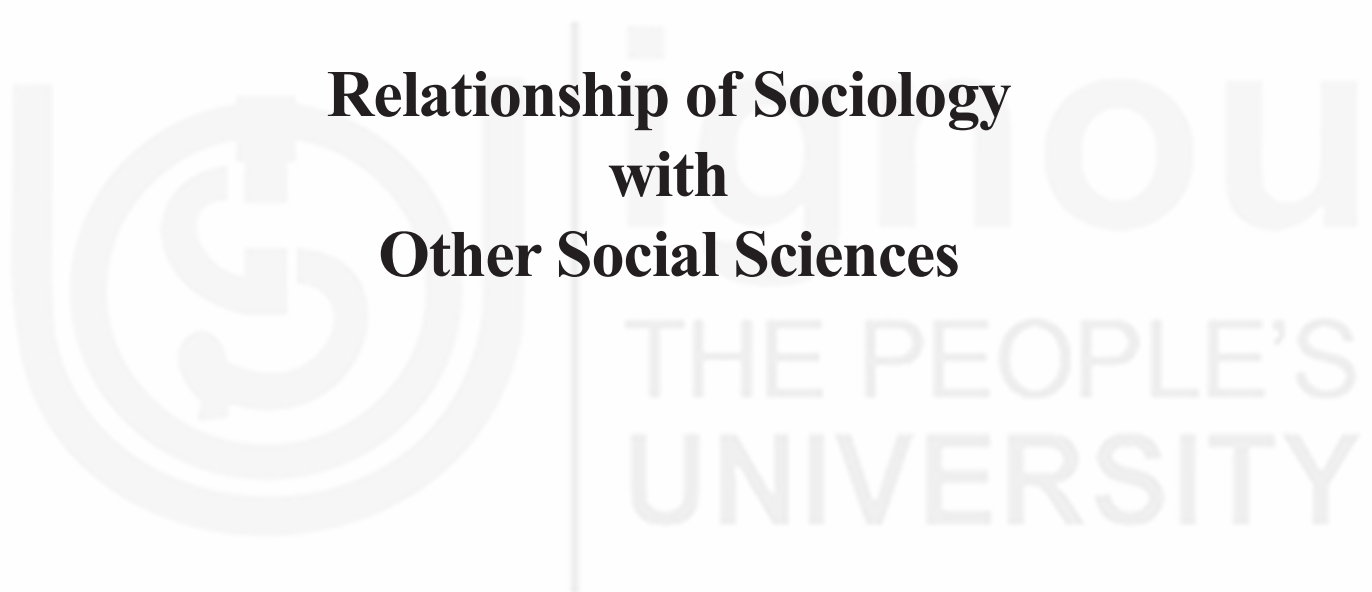
UNIT 2 RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY WITH ANTHROPOLOGY*

Structure

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- Introduce the relationship of sociology with social anthropology;

- To understand the nature of sociology and social anthropology;

- To locate the emergence and history of sociology and social anthropology;

- To examine similarities and differences of sociology and social anthropology; and

- To understand the nature of sociology and social anthropology in contemporary times.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Sociology and social anthropology are closely related in many aspects. Sometimes, it is rather difficult to differentiate sociology from social anthropology in some areas of enquiry and methodology. There are also certain differences that can also be observed between the two subjects in terms of the areas and thrust of enquiry, methodology, practice and tradition. Such differences although minor in essence, also becomes a matter of differentiation with the development of varying academic disciplines and departments in the university systems. John Beattie (1980) rightly points out that "sociology is social anthropology's closest companion discipline, and the two subjects share a great many of their theoretical problems and interests. Social anthropologists are sociologists as well, but they are at once something less, because their actual field of investigation has on the whole, been more restricted, and something more, because although they are concerned with social relationships, they are concerned with other aspects of culture as well" (p.31).It is, therefore, necessary to go through the historical as well as the contemporary development of the two subjects to understand its relationship.

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* The Unit is contributed by R. Vashum, IGNOU.

2.2   NATURE OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Sociology is the youngest of the social sciences. It is also one of the fastest growing academic disciplines. The word 'sociology' is derived from the Latin word – '*socius*' ('companion' or 'associate')and the Greek word '*logie*'/ '*logos*'('knowledge'). The term 'sociology' was coined by Auguste Comte in 1838. Sociology is a scientific study of human society which tries to explain the contexts of social phenomena. It emphasizes on the collective aspects of human behavior. The broad nature of the subject has resulted to overlap with many other social sciences disciplines, such as anthropology, political science, economics, psychology, geography, education, law and philosophy. Anthropology(derived from Greek words, '*anthropos*' meaning 'man', and '*logia*'/ 'logos' meaning 'study of') is the only subject that surpasses the scope of sociology in the study of human society with its branches encompassing social/ Cultural anthropology (also called socio-cultural anthropology), physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology (also called pre-historic archaeology), and linguistic anthropology. According to Merriam Webster dictionary, the "word '*anthropology*' dates back to the late 16th century". The anglicised word 'anthropology' is said to have appeared for the first time in the year 1805 (McGee and Warms, 2012; 6).

Social/Cultural anthropology has been historically very close to sociology from their beginnings as they both study human society. Although, anthropology has been regarded as the study of pre-literate societies (wrongly labeled as 'primitive' societies by early anthropologists and other scholars) and sociology as dealing with the more contemporary, urban and developed societies, this distinction is no longer true. The earlier trend in Anthropology being associated with micro studies (particularly exotic village studies) and sociology being identified with macro studies (particularly the modern societies) is no longer true in the contemporary times. In the same way, the study of the rural communities once identified mainly with anthropologists and the study of the urban communities mainly identified with sociologists in the initial stages of the development of the disciplines has also become blurred. Today, a trend has set in where sociologists have carried out much studies on rural communities, villages and micro settings, while anthropologists have also ventured on the urban settings and macro studies. There are ample examples of this emerging trend which is most obvious in the studies carried out by both sociologists and anthropologists in the developing countries. Hence, there has been much overlapping in the areas of enquiry and interest between sociologists and anthropology, particularly social anthropology and/or cultural anthropology.

2.3   EMERGENCE AND HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGY

Sociology as a scientific study of society has a relatively short history of development. It emerged only in the early 19th century as an academic discipline. The study of society, although not specific to sociology, was for long of interest to the Greek philosophers such as Socrates as early as 5th century B.C., Plato and Aristotle in the 4th century B.C., and Marcus Tullius Cicero, the Roman philosopher, in the first century B.C. who made immense contribution to the understanding of society in their times. They attempted a systematic study of

human society, particularly on the general consideration of society, philosophy, politics, law and the state. By the 16th century A.D., the works of Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli on society and state have been impactful to the understanding of the concepts of society and the state. By 18th century A.D. after the experience and influence of the Renaissance in Europe, there were many eminent philosophers who made immense contributions to the understanding of society, including Rousseau, Vico and Baron de Montesquieu who dealt with the social phenomena of those times. These earlier works certainly laid the philosophical foundation for the development of the social sciences and the science of human society including sociology and anthropology. The application of positivism to the study of human society transformed the conceptualization of society from a divine or God given condition to one that could be viewed as a product of human agency. This made the objectification of society possible and also introduced the notion of social transformation through human effort and action.

The most significant factors for the emergence of sociology is however attributed to the various intellectual and socio-political changes taking place in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. Some of the important influences include the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Although, Claude Henri Saint Simon used the idea of "the science of society", it was August Comte (1798-1857), the French philosopher who is generally credited for laying the foundation of the emergence of sociology. The term 'sociology' is coined in 1838 by Auguste Comte in his book, *Positive Philosophy*. He considers sociology as a science based on systematic observation and classification of the social phenomenon. Herbert Spencer, an English social philosopher is one of the pioneers who laid the foundation of sociology. His book, *Principles of Sociology* (1876),based on organic analogy of human society, was an important contribution of those times. In America, social philosopher, Lester F. Ward, made a significant contribution to development of sociology through his book, *Dynamic Sociology* (1883) which engages with the concepts of social progress and social action. But the most significant contribution to the development of sociology using scientific methodology was made by Emile Durkheim in his works — *Rules of Sociological Method* (1895) and *Suicide* (1897).Max Weber, one of the pioneers of sociology, introduced a new kind of approach to the understanding of social phenomena. His well-known works include, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and *Economy and Society*. Karl Marx also made significant contribution to the development of sociology although his contributions go much beyond sociology itself. His most popular work related to sociology is *Das Kapital*(*Das Capital*). Some of the other pioneers include George Herbert Mead,**Vilfredo Pareto**, Georg Simmel and Ferdinand Tonnies. These pioneers were followed by many well-known modern sociologists including Charles Horton Cooley, Pitirim Sorokin, C. Wright Mills, Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton, Erving Goffman, George C. Homans, Michel Foucault, Jurgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens.

2.4   EMERGENCE AND HISTORY OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology is a diverse and comprehensive field that studies humans and their culture society. In fact, it is considered as the broadest discipline that deals with the study of human kind and its multiple aspects. The subject matter of

anthropology and its academic profession began as an intersection of natural science and humanities. This trend is largely followed even today. The main reason behind this position is that the subject has been considered as a 'holistic study of mankind'. It also emerged with the understanding that the humans as a species are evolved and follow the same natural laws as all other natural species and phenomenon. In view of the highly differentiated subject matter of anthropology, it is rather difficult to comprehensively locate the strands of intellectual development and the emergence of the discipline. Nevertheless, the hallmarks of the trends of the beginning and growth of the subject can be broadly situated. The historical delineation can be focused on socio-cultural anthropology (social anthropology as founded in Britain and cultural anthropology as used in the United States of America) as it is the closest branch of anthropology with sociology.

Like sociology, the emergence and development of anthropology is said to be directly linked to the scientific development in the western world. The foundation of anthropology has also been dated back to the Greco-Roman renaissance period, particularly beginning with the writings of Herodotus in the 5th Century B.C. According to Voget (1975:7), Herodotus "has been even cited as a likely forerunner, if not the "father," of ethnography". The Greek philosophers of the time, particularly, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle also influenced on the study of man and society. Later, the Roman philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero also significantly contributed to the understanding of human society. After a gap of several centuries some philosophers began to take interest in the study of society and the state, particularly in the 16th century A.D. Some of these scholars include Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli. Prior to this, mention may be made of the significant contribution of Ibn Khaldun in the 14th century A.D. on the moral-historical philosophy and structural-functional analysis of social phenomena.

By 18th century A.D. after the experience and influence of the renaissance in Europe, there were many eminent philosophers who have made immense contributions to the understanding of society, including Rousseau, Vico, Baron de Montesquieu and John Locke who dealt with the social phenomena of the time. These earlier works certainly laid the philosophical foundation for the development of the social sciences and the science of human society including anthropology. The development of anthropology and social science which makes departure to the earlier philosophical and historical studies came in two phases. The first phase (1725- 1840) "philosopher scientists succeeded in separating the study of man, society, and civilization from history and thereby formulated a general social science" (Voget, 1975:41). However, Hoebel (1958) is of the view that "anthropology stems primarily from natural science and carries a greater measure of the natural science tradition" (p.9) and not from history or philosophy. On the other hand, Marvin Harris (1979)opines that anthropology "began as the science of history" (p.1).The problem of its earlier association and the nature of anthropology are such that E.E. Evans-Pritchard even in the mid-20th century had to grapple with the situation in British Anthropology (particularly social anthropology). On the nature of social anthropology, he states that "there is a broad division of opinion between those who regard social anthropology as a natural science and those, like myself [Evans-Pritchard], who regards it as one of the humanities. This division is perhaps at its sharpest when relations between anthropology and history are being discussed" (Evans-Pritchard, 1951:7). An important stimulus for the development of anthropology as a discipline was the

spread of Europeans to other parts of the world for reasons of trade, travel and colonization. Anthropology also developed in an attempt to explain human diversity and variation. It was initially also referred to as the study of 'Other Cultures', thus differentiating it from sociology that was regarded by the western people as study of their won society.

In the second phase (1840-1890) there was "transition in the natural sciences from a static equilibrium model to a dynamic model. Its culmination came with the introduction of thermodynamic and Darwinian evolutionary theory" (Voget, 1975:42).With such a diverse field as anthropology, an attempt was made in the 1860s for integrating into a general anthropological discipline that would engage on the early history of man. By 1870 and after, "a distinctive character of anthropology began to manifest itself" by unifying physical anthropology, prehistory and ethnology (cf. ibid.). This period marks the emergence of anthropology into an academic discipline. It is through the inspiration of the "triumphs of the scientific method in the physical and organic domain, nineteenth-century anthropologists believed that socio-cultural phenomena were discoverable lawful principles. This conviction joined their interests with the aspiration of a still earlier period, extending back before the social sciences had been named, to the epochal stirrings of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and the vision of a universal history of mankind" (Harris, 1979:1).However, it emerged as an academic discipline only in the nineteenth century. According to Kuper (2018), the "modern discourse of anthropology crystallized in the 1860s, fired by advances in biology, philology, and prehistoric archaeology". The division of Anthropology into distinct sub-disciplines (or specialized field areas), namely, Physical or Biological Anthropology, Archaeological Anthropology, Social or Cultural Anthropology (also called Socio-Cultural Anthropology), and Linguistic Anthropology — and some would still include Psychological Anthropology came about by the later part of the 19th century through the middle of the 20th century. Of these branches of anthropology, social or cultural anthropology (also called socio-cultural anthropology) has been the closest branch of anthropology to sociology.

The pioneers of anthropology (socio-cultural anthropology) among others include **Lewis Henry Morgan** (1818-1881), **John Ferguson McLennan** (1827-1881), **Sir Edward Burnett Tylor** (1832-1917), **Franz Boas** (1858-1942), Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941) and W.H.R. Rivers. Some decades later (since the 1920s), anthropology (socio-cultural anthropology) evolved into a 'modern anthropology', particularly with the works of two outstanding anthropologists, namely, Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown. Malinowski's book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) on one hand, and Radcliffe-Brown's *The Andaman Islanders* (1922) were the earliest significant modern works which obviously mark the emergence of new modern phase of Anthropology. These works were primarily based on rigorous field works (ethnographic works) with theoretical orientations. The influence of the works of these two anthropologists soon spread beyond Britain, even to the extent of reaching North America, a region which was generally considered as the domain of cultural anthropology. There were also many anthropologists who contributed to the development of modern anthropology at that time and even later but they would not attain such stature as those of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown.

2.5 SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY)

Sociology is very close to social/cultural (Socio-Cultural) anthropology. The relationship between the two is so close that in the contemporary times the difference has become very bleak. There are many eminent anthropologists who have opined the close relationship between Sociology and anthropology, particularly socio-cultural anthropology. For instance, Frazer is, perhaps, the first anthropologist who in his Inaugural Lecture as the first Professor of Social Anthropology in1908 defined "social anthropology as that branch of sociology that deals with primitive societies" (Radcliffe-Brown,1952:2; cf. Voget, 1975:143). According to Frazer, sociology "should be viewed as the most general science of society. Social anthropology would be a part of sociology, restricted to the "origin, or rather the rudimentary phases, the infancy and childhood of human society" By limiting social anthropology to a study of savage life, Frazer echoed the ideas of Waitz and of Tylor in placing the anthropological emphasis on the early history and institutions of mankind" (Voget, 1975:143).

According to Radcliffe-Brown (1983) social anthropology is a 'comparative sociology'. By the term 'comparative sociology', he would mean "a science that applies the generalizing method of the natural sciences to the phenomena of the social life of man and to everything that we include under the term culture or civilisation" (p.55). Thus, he is of a considered view that social anthropology should look for 'nomothetic' approach (search for general laws of society) rather than the idiographic approach (search for particular scientific facts and processes, as distinct from general laws). It is a method to demonstrate "a particular phenomenon or event" to establish a "general law" (ibid.). There are also many other anthropologists who concur to his view. For instance, Evans-Pritchard, another well-known anthropologist considers social anthropology as "a branch of sociological studies**,** that branch which chiefly devotes itself to primitive societies" (1951:11). He opines that "[w]hen people speak of sociology they generally have in mind studies of particular problems in civilized societies. If we give this sense to the word, then the difference between social anthropology and sociology is a difference of field (ibid.).According to E.A. Hoebel, the relationship between sociology and social anthropology are, "in their broadest senses, one and the same. Both are the study of social interrelationships, i.e., the relations of men to men" (1958: 9). Lucy Mair (1965) and many other anthropologists also consider social anthropology as a 'branch' of sociology.

Although, anthropology (an integrated anthropology including physical anthropology) is said to have emerged earlier than sociology, from the very beginning it was very difficult to differentiate between the subject matters of the two, particularly with socio-cultural anthropology. While anthropology was formulated as a holistic study of mankind and related aspects, Auguste Comte also considered that sociology would be the overarching study of human society, and therefore, sociology should be the "queen of all sciences". Anthropology and sociology also founded with the significant elements from the natural sciences in one way or another although the subject matter of anthropology (integrated anthropology), particularly due to the components of physical anthropology and archaeological anthropology exceeds sociology in terms of its linkage with the

physical sciences. Even when the discipline of sociology and socio-cultural anthropology were established their relationship still existed. The relationship is mainly because of the similarity in the subject matter and methodology. According to Fred W. Voget (1975), the difference between sociology and anthropology (particularly socio-cultural anthropology) is more on the application level rather than at the level of the scope, concept, and method. He states:

> The procedural distinctions by which early sociologists sought to separate and to relate anthropology and sociology did not hold historic development of the disciplines. Both anthropology and sociology, following the model of science, combined description and generalization. The pragmatic distinction between these two disciplines came when their respective exponents began fieldwork (Voget, 1975:144).

In fact, there had been many universities and colleges where sociology and social anthropology existed in the same department in many universities of the world. It was only by the early 20th century that the distinction became more visible with the establishment of respective academic disciplines. The relationship has been growing even more in the contemporary times that it is becoming more difficult to distinguish between the two despite the maintenance of discipline-based barriers. The relationship of the two subjects is also due to the necessity of the cross-use of concepts and also the identical theoretical and research problems and their findings. This is for the fact that both the subjects need each other to strengthen their disciplines and also do justice to the scope of the study of society at large.

Since one significant difference between the two was, from the point of view of the western scholars, social anthropology was the study of the 'others', and sociology of their own society; when the 'others', that is the non-western scholars who were earlier only the subject matter of social anthropology, became scholars, the difference between the two disciplines became blurred. For example while western scholars would study caste as social anthropology, for the Indian scholars it could well be sociology.

In the non-European and non-Western regions, particularly in the context of 'Third World' countries, the distinction between "social anthropology and sociology at the level of theory and method is extremely tenuous" (Jain1986:1). In the Indian context, it has become even more difficult to differentiate between sociology and social anthropology in many respects. The similarities include identical syllabi in Indian Universities, the methodology, theories and the universe of research studies. It is no wonder why many of the sociological well-known research works in India are village centric studies with a rural setting which otherwise is supposed to be the traditional domain of social anthropology. It is also true that some of the famous sociologists in India are trained social anthropologists. As a matter of fact, the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), the apex nodal funding agency of the social sciences considers sociology and social anthropology in the same unit. At present, it is also noticeable where many social anthropologists are absorbed as faculties in Sociology departments and/or sociological research works.

2.6 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY (SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY)

Although the subject matter, interests, theories and methodology overlap between sociology and Anthropology, there are also certain differences. The first and foremost difference lies in the definition of the scope of the subjects itself. Sociology is the study (or science) of society, whereas anthropology (integrated anthropology) is the study of man and everything that concerns man, including the physical and socio-cultural aspects. The distinction between sociology and socio-cultural anthropology (which shall be focused hereafter) is however much limited.

A notable difference between sociology and anthropology can be traced through historical roots. Anthropology is generally considered to have "no roots in philosophy" while "the former has" (Sarana 1983:14). While the emergence of sociology can be mainly attributed to the attempt to bring about social order in the society (in the European social context) after the great social transformation brought about by industrial revolution and French revolution, its influence on the emergence of anthropology was not as direct as with sociology or other social sciences; rather it was an indirect influence through the opening up of intellectual and geographical spaces to enable the European scholars to go outside the European society and study the pre-literate societies (the 'other' non-European societies) (cff. Eriksen et al 2001; Sarana 1983). On the existence of the According to Merriam Webster dictionary, the "word *anthropology* dates back to the late 16th century" (The anglicised word 'anthropology' is said to have appeared for the first time in the year 1805 (McGee and Warms, 2012; 6) while sociology was coined somewhat later in 1838.

The original focus of the areas of interest between sociology and anthropology (socio-cultural) has been one of the main factors of divergences. Sociology began with the focal interest with the study of society-as a generalizing social science, particularly with a focus on a larger societal context to explain social phenomena. It focuses on the study of industrialized societies (the western societies, particularly Europe) who are considered as modern societies. On the other hand, the initial focal interest of anthropology was the study of the 'other' exotic communities that are non-European and/or non-western societies. Hence, their focus and practice was on the study of simple, small-scale, and pre-literate societies situated outside Europe and western societies. The trend changed particularly from about the mid-20th century when anthropologists have expanded their field studies to modern and urban settings while sociologists have also ventured out to the studies of rural and simple societies.

The other distinction between sociology and socio-cultural anthropology can be located in its methodology, particularly methods and techniques of research. Sociologists largely employ quantitative methods like questionnaires to collect data and subsequent analysis of the data with the help of statistical techniques. Anthropology began as a field-based science. Anthropologists largely use qualitative methods, particularly 'participant observation' along with other methods and techniques. Anthropologists go out to the field and live with the people for several months or even for years and learn their culture as one of the

insiders. However, over a period of time, the differences in the use of research methods and techniques have changed as sociologists began to extensively employ qualitative methods, while anthropologists also began to profusely use quantitative methods along with qualitative methods. The distinction of sociology and anthropology was also due to the historic development of the early exponents of the disciplines, particularly in the way they conducted their fieldworks. In this regard, Voget (1975:144) writes: At such time [early developmental stage] anthropologists and sociologists distinguished themselves and their disciplines not by what they said but what they did. Anthropologists entered the field to record the lifeways of Trobrianders, Zulus, and Zunis, while sociologists compiled information on urban life in the West from census data, interviews and questionnaires. The necessity for gathering firsthand facts about the beliefs, customs, ceremonial, art, technology, and social organization of pre-industrial peoples made an enduring impact on anthropology and emphasized a continuing collection of new data.

The differences in the nature of sociology and social anthropology till mid-20th century or even later can be summed up from the statement of Hoebel (1958) which he opines are mainly due to the following historical reasons:

> "Each field [sociology and social anthropology — even including social psychology] has had a different background, uses somewhat different methods of investigation, and has differing traditional attitudes and concepts. Anthropology tends more to work in terms of culture and whole societies. Sociology tends more to work in terms of aspects of complex Western society. Anthropology stems primarily from natural science and carries a greater measure of the natural science tradition. Still the methodological differences between these fields of study grow less with each passing year, as anthropology becomes more analytical and sociology more objective, so that today the measure of difference is one of convenience. The anthropologist concentrates chiefly on the societies of primitive[sic] people and the sociologist concentrates on our own [European and/or Western Societies'] contemporary civilization" (p.9).

The relationship between sociology and social anthropology has not been the same in different countries and contexts. The perception and consideration of "what is sociology?" and "what is social anthropology?" takes regional variations. In this regard, Beteille (1974) writes:

> In the United Kingdom the objective condition to which the distinction between sociology and social anthropology corresponded was the distinction between society and culture in the metropolitan country, and in the colonies, particularly the United States it was the distinction between life in the industrial city and in the tribal reservation. No two worlds could be more sharply separated than the aggressive, expanding world of the American city and the stagnant, moribund world of the American reservation. Small wonder, therefore, that the distinction between sociology and social anthropology was more marked in the United States than in any other country. Again, it may not be an accident that in the United Kingdom the distinction between the two became less marked after the loss of empire which reduced the sharpness of the distinction between the metropolitan country and the colonies (p.703).

There is also a general conception in Britain who makes "a simple distinction between themselves and the natives; when they studied themselves they were sociologists, when they studied the natives they became social anthropologists… [T] here is [also] a tendency for Americans to make a similar distinction, though not as explicitly. When they study the core of their own society and culture they are sociologists. When they study other societies and cultures, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America (or marginal groups in their own society), they tend to become ethno sociologists. The great pity is that some Indians are now inclined to feel that they ought to apply the same distinctions among themselves" (Beteille, 1974:704).

In the context of Third World countries, particularly India, the relationship of sociology and social anthropology is rather ambiguous. When sociology is introduced in India sometime in the 1920s, "sociology had already established its legitimacy; it had found a place for itself in some, though not in all, western universities, and it was relatively easy for Indian sociologists to claim a place for it in their universities" (Beteille, 2004:5). In fact, the "distinction between sociology and social anthropology that we find in the Indian university system was not devised by Indian scholars themselves, but was acquired from the West. In the West itself this distinction became most marked in the period between the two world wars which was precisely the time when the sciences of society and culture were beginning to take root in India. If many Indian social scientists are perplexed by this distinction today, it is because it does not correspond to their conditions of work, which in any case was not the main source from which it grew" (Beteille, 1974:703). This is for the fact that the "objective conditions of work in India are very different, although the old labels are still put to use. Almost all Indians — whether 'sociologists 'or 'social anthropologists'— study one or another sector of Indian society which is, on the whole, neither too primitive nor too advanced. When an Indian studies a 'tribal' village he is an 'anthropologist' and when he studies a 'nontribal' village he is a 'sociologist'; or, when he studies a village, tribal or non-tribal, he is an 'anthropologist', but when he studies a town or city, he is a 'sociologist'" (Ibid:703-704). Therefore, Beteille is of the view that "the distinction between 'tribal' and 'nontribal 'village, or between village and town in India is of a totally different kind from the distinction between city and reservation in the United States, or between metropolitan country and colony in the British Empire" (ibid:704).

2.7   LET US SUM UP

The relationship of sociology with social anthropology is very close indeed. The two disciplines are very close that it is difficult to differentiate, particularly in the scope, interest areas, theories, methodology, and practice. The tradition in which they were evolved also had much convergence in its thrust areas of enquiry. This is due to the fact that both sociology and social anthropology study human society and largely share their theoretical problems and interests. This is also the reason why social anthropology is considered by many scholars to be part of sociology or a branch of sociology. Despite its similarities, there are also certain differences between the two subjects which can be located from the early developmental phase to the later phases as well in terms of the areas and thrust of enquiry, preference of the use of methodology, theories, and practice. Such differences although minor in essence, also becomes a matter for differentiation

in view of the development of varying academic disciplines and departments in the university systems. Another important aspect that needs consideration is the ambiguity of the conception of sociology and social anthropology, particularly in the context of third world countries including India. As much as sociology and social anthropology is the invention of the West, the conception and perception of the same subjects and also the practitioners have been perplex and blur. The reality is that the western sociologists, particularly in America and Britain largely consider sociologists as 'social' or 'cultural' anthropologists when the research studies pertain to tribal and/or rural areas and also in the colonial countries at large. On the other hand, they would consider the sociologists as 'sociologists' when the same sociologists study 'urban' and/or 'advanced' societies. This is very true even in the context of Indian sociologists. Therefore, in the perspective of the western sociologists, all Indian sociologists are social anthropologists for the fact that the sociologists in India study both 'tribal' and 'rural' communities and also urban communities at one time or another. The other consideration is that many trained anthropologists in India have also professed sociology right from the early phases of the establishment of sociology in India. Moreover, the increasing trend of the use (or incorporation) of methods and techniques by both sociologists and social anthropologists which were otherwise traditionally the domain of either sociology or social anthropology as distinct disciplines have further led to the entrenched relationship between sociology and social anthropology in India. If the trend is any indication sociology and social anthropology, the close relationship of the two disciplines is likely to continue even in the future.

2.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Discuss the emergence of sociology and social anthropology.

2) Examine the similarities and differences of sociology and social anthropology.

3) Discuss the relationship of sociology and social anthropology with special reference to India.

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UNIT 3 RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY WITH PSYCHOLOGY*

Structure

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- Define sociology and psychology;

- Explain the major concerns of sociology and psychology;

- Describe the relationship between sociology and psychology;

- Explain how the concepts of sociology and psychology when applied together gave birth to a new discipline called sociological social psychology to understand the impact of society on individual relationships;

- To trace the historical development of Social psychology; and

- To understand the concepts and methods of sociology used in social psychology.

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

Among all the living beings, human beings have the ability to think and interact with the environment make sense of it. Human is a social animal and lives in a group. As the human society has developed, systematic attempts have been made by scholars to understand and document social and cultural activities of human in different contexts across time and space. This quest to understand the human nature and relationships gave birth to academic disciplines such as sociology, psychology, and history which form the core of social sciences. Amongst these, the discipline of sociology is mainly concerned with the study of human society and relationships within it. Along with sociology, psychology also focuses on the study of human beings. The question arises is there any inter-relation between sociology and psychology, whether the theoretical premises of these disciplines could be integrated to develop a better understanding of the socio-psychological phenomena. By studying this unit we will be able to understand the nature of sociology and psychology and also the subject matter of social psychology.

3.2 DEFINITION OF SOCIOLOGY

The term sociology was coined by Auguste Comte, who is called the father of Sociology. Sociology is concerned with the study of human relationships and the society. It is believed that relationships develop when individuals come in close contact with other and interaction takes place between them. This leads to the formation of social groups and complex relationships among these groups develop as result of constant interaction. Hence, it can be said that social self and individual self are two parts of the same coin. Given this, scholars have attempted to define and explain the subject matter of sociology.

One of the founding fathers of sociology, Auguste Comte divided the subject matter of sociology into the study of *social static* and *social dynamic*. The static was concerned with the study of how the parts of the societies inter-relate, the dynamic was to focus on whole societies as the unit of analysis and to show how they developed and changed through time (Inkeles, 1964). According to Emile Durkheim sociology is the study of social facts. Sociology can be defined as the scientific study of human life, social relations, social groups and every aspect of the society as a whole. The scope of sociology is very wide, ranging from the analysis of the everyday interaction between individuals on the street to the investigation and comparison of societies across the globe.

3.2.1 Definition of Psychology

The term psychology is derived from two Greek words; *Psyche* means "soul or breath" and *Logos* means "knowledge or study" (study or investigation of something). Psychology developed as an independent academic discipline in 1879, when a German Professor named Wilhelm Wundt established the first laboratory for psychology at the University of Leipzig in Germany.

Initially, psychology was defined as 'science of consciousness'. . In the simple words, we can define psychology as the systematic study of human behavior and experience. According to Baron (1990), psychology is the science of behaviour and cognitive processes. Psychology emphasizes on the process that occurs inside

the individual's mind such as perception, cognition, emotion, and consequence of these process on the social environment.

3.3 SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY: THE POSSIBLE INTERLINK

Sociology and psychology together form the core of the social sciences. Right from their inception as separate academic disciplines, sociology and psychology have studied different aspects of human life. Most of the other species, work on instincts in the physical environment for their survival. While the survival of humans depends upon the learned behaviour patterns. An instinct involves a genetically programmed directive which informs behaviour in a particular way. It also involves specific instruction to perform a particular action (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008). For instance, birds have instincts to build nests and members of particular species are programmed to build a nest in a particular style and pattern. Unlike this, the human mind is influenced by the social culture, customs, norms, and values. It through socialization that humans learn specific behaviour patterns to suit them best in the physical environment. Humans process the information provided by the social context to make sense of their living conditions. Sociology's basic unit of analysis is the social system such as family, social groups, cultures etc.

The main subject matter of psychology is to study human mind to analyses attitude, behaviour emotions, perceptions and values which lead to the formation of individual personality living in the social environment. While sociology deals with the study of the social environment, social collectives which include family, communities and other social institutions psychology deals with the individual. For instance, while studying group dynamism, sociologist and psychologist initially share common interestsin various types of groups, and their structures which are affected by the degree of cooperation, cohesion, conflict, information flow, the power of decision making and status hierarchies. This initial similarity of interest, takes on different focus, both the disciplines use different theoretical positions to explain the group phenomena.

3.4 SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The quest to study human behaviour on scientific principles started with the emergence and establishment of natural sciences during the nineteenth century. Comte thought that society could be studied using the scientific methods of natural sciences. Comte argued careful observation of the entities that are known directly to experience could be used to explain the relationship between the observed phenomena. By understanding the causal relationship between various events it is possible to predict future events. He also held the belief that once the rules governing the social life are identified, the social scientist can work towards the betterment of the society. This quest to produce knowledge about the society and place of the individual within it, on the basis evidence and observation is central to the origin of Social psychology. The ideas of early and later sociologist helped to shape the sociological social psychology. Mead studied the effect of social conditions on our sense of self. Other influence contributors in the development

of sociological social psychology include Georg Simmel (1858-1918),Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929), and Ervin Goffman.

The emergence of modern social psychology could be traced from the nineteenth century onwards. One of the first systematic manual of social psychology *Social and Ethical Interpretation in Mental Development* was published in New York in the year 1987 by James Mark Baldwin. However, in the year 1908, it was the work of two authors; William McDougall and Edward A. Ross that gave social psychology the status of an independent scientific discipline. This year saw the publication of two books on social psychology. The names of the books are *An Introduction to Social Psychology* by William McDougall and *Social Psychology* by sociologist Edward A. Ross.

3.4.1 Defining Social Psychology

There is constant interaction between the intra-individual and social context and both influence each other mutually. Social psychology could be defined as the study of the "interface between these two sets of phenomena, the nature and cause of human social behaviour" (Michener & Delamater, 1999 cf. Delamater, 2006:11). G.W Allport (1954:5) defines social psychology with its emphasis on "the thought, feeling, and behaviour of individual as shaped by actual, imagined, or implied the presence of others". A few other definitions of social psychology are as follows:

Social Psychology is the discipline that explores in an in-depth manner the various aspects of social interaction.

Baron and Byrne (2007) define social psychology as the scientific field that seeks to understand the nature and causes of individual behavior in social situations.

To sum up we can say that social psychology is the systematic study of people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour in the social context.

3.4.2 Inter-disciplinary Approach to Social Psychology

The definition given by Allport suggests that the roots of social psychology are embedded in sociology as well as psychology. Scholars such as Cook, Fine, and House (1995), Delamater (2006) are of the view that social psychology essentially includes analysis and synthesis of major works in the field of sociology and psychology hence, it is interdisciplinary in nature. The main subject matter of social psychology is the study of the individual in the social context. In other words, the mind, self and society are the subject matters of social psychology.

Society Internal Processes
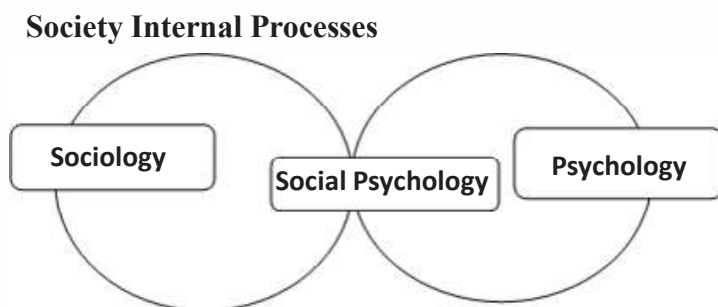
Fig.3.1: Social Psychology Mergers Elements of the Two Fields
Source: Rohall, Milkie, and Lucas (2011:9)

There are many sociological and psychological perspectives used in social psychology to explain and understand the constant influence of human and society on each other.

Depending upon the approach, purpose, and focus of the study social psychology could be is further divided into *sociological social psychology* and *psychological social psychology* (this term is coined by House (1977) and Stryker (1977)). It is very difficult to make clear distinctions between the two, as social psychology tends to draw from both the disciplines of sociology and psychology.

The cognitive social psychology or the social cognition is an approach that investigates how information is processed and stored. According to Thoits (1995:1232) "information is stored as prototypes, schemas, and the like; information processing includes attending to cues, retrieving from memory, and making judgments, inferences and predictions about oneself and others."In this approach, cognition is seen as social because it originates from the social experience and bears consequence on the interpersonalbehaviour. Sociological social psychology concentrates on the mass psyche, the psychology of classes and the elements of group mentality such as customs, moral and traditions.In other words, it focuses on small group dynamics.

3.4.3 Scope of Social Psychology

As said social psychology studies human behaviour in the social context. Social psychology attempts to understand the relationship between individual's mindand thought the processes in a group as well as in isolation. Acquisition of knowledge about the springs of human behaviour is one of the most important tasks of social psychology. This field of relationships includes the study of humans in small as well as in large groups. It also According to Delamater (1995:11) the main concern of social psychology is:

- the impact of one individual on another

- the impact of a group on its individual members

- the impact of individuals on the group in which they participate and

- the impact of one group on another.

A reciprocal relation exists between the individual and the social environment. Hence, it could be said the social psychology attempts to present an integrated picture of the social and the psychological. For instance, the prevailing culture determines how individual members of the society think and feel. There is a general level of similarity in the thought process across all the individuals socialized in a particular society. The central topics of the research under the domain of sociological social psychology include life course analysis, socialization, social networks, group dynamics, stereotyping and stigma and social stratification. In the life, individuals pass through a number of stages such as childhood, adolescence, adult, and old age. Each of the life phases is influenced by existing social norms, values, religion, and customs. For instance, child rearing practices differ across the societies which in turn have different effects on the personality of the individuals. More specifically the family and family relationships influence individual personality development. At present given the social diversity, social psychologist tends to adopt a multicultural perspective-which recognizes the potential importance of class, gender, ethnicity, age, sexual

orientation, disability, religious beliefs and many other social and cultural dimensions.

3.5 YOUR SOCIOLOGICAL TOOL KIT

You can take a few essential tools with you on your journey to study social psychology. These tools include concepts and terms which sociologists employ to develop and describe their research and theories.

3.5.1 The Sociological Imagination

Our day today life is influenced by a variety of factors, which include the family values and other norms which in turn are shaped by the larger social forces. An important tool to see forces at work in our everyday life is sociological imagination. C. Wright Mills (1959) defined sociological imagination as for how individuals understand their own and other's past in relation to history and social structure. Mills argued that sociologist must understand the larger cultural, structural, and historical factors that influence individual before arriving at any conclusion. By observing individuals and societies and how they interact through this lens sociologist are able to examine what influences attitudes, behaviour and culture.

Sociological imagination equips social psychologists with the vision essential to think about all the possible social factors and conditions that may influence individual's thought process, feelings, and behaviour.

3.5.2 Social Norms and Values

Social norms are behavioural guidelines that regulate our behaviour. It is associated with the rules of conduct which are ought to be followed by individuals. Values refer to some deeply held ideals and beliefs. Values portray an ideal, the standard that society would like to embrace and live upto.

3.5.3 Culture

Culture refers to the unique patterns of behaviour and beliefs specific to a particular society. Allsocieties have their own culture. The components of culture include-symbols, language, values, beliefs, norms and material artifacts. Culture is shared.

3.5.4 Roles and Status

Roles are patterns of behaviour that we recognize in each other that are representative of a person's social status. For instance, while reading this text you play the role of the students, besides this, you have many other roles such as 'son/daughter', 'brother/sister', a 'neighbour' to name a few. The term status is used to describe the responsibilities, benefits, and prestige person experiences depending upon his/her rank and role in the society.

3.5.5 Socialisation

Socialisation is the process through which begins at birth and is a continuous process when new born child acquires the social norms behavior pattern, beliefs,

standards, and values deemed significant and appropriate by his social group. Socialisation serves many functions for the society, most important one to maintain the social order.

3.6 CONCEPTS AND METHODS OF SOCIOLOGY USED IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social psychology draws on many concepts and methods of sociology to study the reciprocal relationship between human and social environment. In sociology, Max Weber emphasized that influence of culture on human behaviour had to be taken into account. He introduced the concept of **verstehen,** a German word that means "to understand in a deep way "In verstehen, the researcher attempts to understand the social process or the cultural activities of the small social group from an insider's point of view. This approach led to the development of methods, where the sociologists strive to capture the subjectivity involved in the social processes, cultural norms, and societal values. The aim of the researcher is to systematically gain an in-depth understanding of the social worlds he is observing rather than draw board generalizations. This is seen as the fundamental difference between the qualitative and quantitative research methods in sociology. Following this, research methods in social psychology could be qualitative or quantitative. Quantitative research in social psychology uses large-scale surveys (which involves a large number of participants), experiments (including two different groups), and statistical techniques are used to analyses the data which leads to predict general patterns of human behaviour. Qualitative research method seeks to understand the human behaviour using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and analysis of content sources. With the expansion of social psychology, it is adopting methods such ethnography and qualitative approach which are the core methods in the domain of sociology.

3.6.1 Middle Range Theory

Middle range theory is principally used in sociology to guide empirical inquiry. The concept of Middle range theory was developed by American sociologist Robert K. Merton (1949). Middle range theory is intermediate to general theories of social systems which are too remote from particular classes of social behaviour, organization, and change to account for what is observed and to those detailed orderly descriptions of particulars that are not generalized at all. Middle range theories deal with delimited aspects of social phenomena. According to Merton the assumption of 'functional unity of society' (this assumption states that any part of the social system is functional for the entire system. All parts of the society are seen to work together for the maintenance and integration of society as a whole) is doubtful in the case of complex and highly differentiated societies. He provides the example of religious pluralism to prove his case. In a society with a variety of faiths, religion may tend to divide rather than enhance the unity. Hence, he postulates middle range theories to explain certain social processes and aspects of social behaviour which do not try to encompass the social as a whole. Middle range theories are used by social psychologists to explain certain phenomena. The field theory given by Kurt Lewin is an example of middle range theory. The social psychological theories such as theories of frustration, aggression, change of attitude, cooperation, and competition fall under the ambit of middle range theories.

3.7 PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

We can understand from the previous discussions that there are many ways to investigate the role and impact of society on individual's day-to-day life. Depending upon your interest, you may focus on your immediate vicinity or you may try to understand the effects of larger social phenomena- for example, the effect of globalization on people's life. Sociological social psychologists work within the board perspectives and attempt to provide some general as well as specific explanations for behaviour across societies, time and space.

3.7.1 Symbolic Interactionism

The symbolic interactionism takes into account the mutual influences of society and self that shapes many social processes. George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) is one of the influential figures to develop symbolic interactionist perspective in the field of sociology. In his work, *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*, Mead (1934) argued that meaning is created as a result of interaction with people. Symbolic interactionism originates from a concern with language and meaning making. It focuses on the details of interpersonal interaction and how that detail is used to make sense of what the others say and do. The meanings we attach to ourselves, other people, and objects are negotiated over time. Language and symbols are used to give meaning to everything in the world. According to Ervin Goffman (1956:1) "when an individual enters the presence of other they commonly seek information about him or to bring into play information about him already possessed". Hence, the interaction could be defined as "reciprocal influence of individuals upon on another's action when in one another's immediate physical presence." According to symbolic interactionism, society is a web of communication or interaction, where people make sense of their everyday life taking into account their mutual perspectives. The ideas and imagery are collective, where humans are not passive respondents to the external stimuli of the environment rather they are active and creative thinking beings who act and interact within the given environment and make sense of it. Social psychology depends on symbolic interactionists approach which pays attention to the "structural relationships, organizational features of social environments and generalized expectations or norms that influence behaviour" (Thoits, 1995:1233).

3.7.2 Social Structure and Personality

Social structure and Personality perspective is concerned with connections between larger societal events, conditions and its influence on the individuals. More specifically, it means the influence of social structure on individuals. Social structure and personality perspective assume that our position in the social structure is dictated by some larger social processes to some degree as we are expected to think, feel and behave in certain ways which correspond to the existing social norms. For instance, Karl Marx believed that the economic system we live in affect both our social relation and individual thinking process (Rohall, Milke and Lucas, 2011).

3.7.3 Group Processes

This sociological social psychology perspective lays emphasis on how basic social processes function in group contexts (Rohall, Milke and Lucas, 2011). The group is one of the most important components of the social life and both sociology and psychology spend a great deal of time and energy to study and understand group behaviour. A group needs a minimum of two individuals and human beings spend a most of their life time with different social groups such as family, friends, and co-workers. Cooley (1909) gave the theoretical formulation of primary and secondary groups. Primary groups are those where individual have face-to-face contact and close relationships, for instance, family and friends. The secondary group is large and relatively less intimate relationship exist between the group members. According to Cooley, there is a fundamental difference between the kind of interactions produced in primary and secondary groups.

The group processes perceptive attempts to analyses the interaction and positions of individuals within and across social groups. Status and roles become important while studying group behaviour. You must have noticed in your own group of friends that some talk more and give their opinion quite often and take leadership. While others remain silent. How are these differences determined? How is power within the group distributed? A social psychologist is interested in answering such sorts of questions by systematically studying the social context in which a group is located. Table 1 shows the three perspectives in sociological psychology in a comparative manner.

Table 3.1: Three Perspectives in Sociological Psychology: A Comparison

Perspective	View of Role of Individual in Society	Area of Focus
Symbolic Interaction	Individual is active participant in construction of society	Meaning-making Process
Social Structure and Personality	The nature of interaction is based on adherence to roles that people play	Emphasizes process of how larger social structures influence individuals
Group Processes	When individuals form into social groups, certain basic processes regularly emerge in interactions	Processes that occur in group contexts

Source: Rohall, Milkie, and Lucas, (2011:13)

3.8 OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

As mentioned earlier social psychology focuses on the analysis of individual's behaviour in relation to others as well as with the social environments. The main objectives of social psychology research could be categorized into the following heads:

1) **Observation and Description** – One of the main objectives of social psychology is to observe and describe social behaviour under different circumstances in a systematic manner so that possible reliable generalizations could be drawn from a large population.

2) **Cause and Effect Relationship** – All the studies based on scientific method seek to establish cause and effect relationship between different variables. The social psychologist attempts to analyses the effect of changes in a social institution such change in values, culture, and tradition on the human behaviour. For example, does the provision of free and compulsory education till Elementary level has any impact on the attitudes of parents towards girls' education.

3) **Proposing New Theory** – One of the objectives of social psychology is to propose a new theory based on the causal analyses of the social behaviour to explain and understand why human beings under particular situation behave the way they do.

4) **Application** – the knowledge gained from the above efforts could be utilized to suggest possible solutions for some of the problems faced by individuals in their everyday life.

3.9 IMPORTANCE OF SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Sociological social psychology can make a diagnosis of contemporary situations to explain adequately the reciprocal influence of individuals and their social environment by attending all of its psychological and social level of analysis. Social psychology attempts to provide a two-way link between situation and behaviour and gives predicts the casual sequence of relations between groups.

3.10 LET US SUM UP

We have discussed the origin and evolution of sociology and psychology as an independent academic discipline. We have also defined sociology and psychology discussing the nature of respective disciplines. An attempt is also made to understand the linkages between sociology and psychology. Further, the origin of social psychology as an inter-disciplinary subject is also discussed. This introduction to the inter-relatedness of sociology, psychology and social psychology is useful for students who want to learn sociology and its relationship with other disciplines. Both psychological and sociological social psychologist studies the social context in which human thoughts, feelings, and behaviouris shaped and influenced. Perspectives and methods of the field of sociology are used in social psychology.

3.11 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Discuss the origin of social psychology.

2) Do you think sociology and psychology have something in common? If yes explain.

3) Explain the scope and nature of social psychology.

4) How would you define your role in the society using any of the sociological perspectives in social psychology?

5) What are the main objectives of research in social psychology?

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UNIT 4   RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY WITH HISTORY*

Structure

4.0   OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- Definition of history as social science discipline;

- Interrelationship between Sociology and History;

- Difference between Sociology and History; and

- Understanding Historical Sociology as an outcome of intersection between Sociology and History.

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This unit explains relationship of sociology with history. Both disciplines are very much interrelated. Sociology is often defined as study of society. Notably, no study of any society can be accomplished without looking into its history or past. It is immensely important to see how the society has evolved in the past? What kinds of circumstances and instances have been through which the society has moved on or evolved further? What has been the factors contributed to the changes in its structure and functions? Thus, to understand any society, group or institutions, one needs to appreciate its past to comprehend its present status. It may be noted that the emergence of sociology itself has been shaped up in the historical developments such as French and industrial revolutions, growth of cities and social institutions and growth of individual rights and liberties. Various earlier scholars or founding fathers of sociology such as Ibn Khaldun, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, etc. gave importance to history or historical perspective in their analysis of social structure, changes and dynamics. Sociology and past (history) are deeply interconnected with each other. Furthermore, history also takes help of sociology in order to elaborate and analyse historical phenomenon. It essentially looks into social aspects of past human lives. It is primarily in this context that the both disciplines supplement each other in understanding social developments. Hence, the sub-

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field such as historical sociology, social history, and cultural history emerged as on outcome of intersection between sociology and history.

Sociologists often talk of the, 'context', while studying or explaining society in terms of its structure, functions and changes. Here, time and space are two important factors which inherit and explain the contextual aspects of social reality. Time is crucial factors in explaining the evolution of social reality as social realities get shaped over period of time. Since, history take care of factors such as time or periodical evolution of societies, it essentially helps sociologist to study society in much more systematic fashion. It helps sociologists in providing rationale to articulate present status and developmental trajectory of a society. Various sociologists such as Comte in his law of three stages, Spencer in his analysis of evolution of societies, Weber in his elaboration of ideal types and growth of city, and Marx in his analysis of class conflict and social changes, have used historical dimension in their sociological analysis. Hence, history and sociology are closely related to each other. However, we may also note that both the disciplines differ in their nature and approaches, nevertheless intersect or criss-cross each other on many points. Resultantly, historical sociology, as mentioned earlier, emerged as an off- shoot such intersection between the two disciplines. This unit focuses on elaborating such intersection and interrelationship between sociology and history.

4.2 RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY WITH HISTORY

4.2.1 Defining History

History is often defined as study of past. Historians, who study history, do study cause and effects of past events and circumstances leading to social change and development. To Mallari (2013), the term, 'history', is embedded into numerous interrelated aspects; firstly, history as the past or things happened in the past, secondly, history as narrative that tells events happened in the past. Various thinkers describe history as the study of human's past based on archaeological evidences. It is important to understand that this so called past has its own social, cultural, political and economic aspects. Historians look types of societies, their structure, culture, civilisation and politics human societies had, and developed over the period of time. History studies all this social domain with respect to their time and space attributes.

Notably, history is important in many respects. First, history plays important role in the society similar to as memory does to an individual. Secondly, history like memory provides identity and recognition to any individual or groups or a community in the society. It indicates towards one's roots, historicity or trajectory of developments as it might have happened in the past. It is primarily because of such crucially important tasks that the role of history becomes critically important and crucial to unpack the social reality. It also then becomes a site where various contestations take place.

4.2.2 Relationship of Sociology with History

Sociology and history are interrelated to each other. Sociology study society and focuses on current issues by looking their historical background. Both present

and past come closer in such analysis. Sociologists often refer to history to explain social changes, developments and changing face of society over period of time. Similarly history also needs social aspects (sociological concepts) to explain past. The boundaries between the two disciplines get blurred and entangled which do entails a context to explain complex webs of social reality. These blurring of boundaries between the two disciplines are seen by many scholars as opportunity for productive research endeavours. E. H. Carr (1967), who wrote a book titled 'What is History', argued that the more sociological history becomes, and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both. Let the frontier between them be kept open for two way traffic. Many sociologists have also advocated this proposition of transaction between the two disciplines so as to enrich the inter-disciplinarily and knowledge generation.

Social change is a reality. It has to happen. History shows mirror or truer way to analyse it with respect to time and space. History, in fact, said to be the constant reminder of the fact that change, even though permanent, is irregular and unpredictable. History thus provides a frame of reference and contextual tool to examine and analyse change carefully. Both sociology and history thus depends on each other to take complete stoke of reality. Sociology depends on history to understand past events, movements and social institutions. Needless to say that sociology is also concerned with the study of historical developments of society. Sociologist studies ancients or old traditions, culture, growth of civilisations, groups and institutions through historical analysis and interpretations. Notably, John Seely rightly said that history without sociology has no fruits and sociology without history has no roots. Both past and presets are equally important to understand any social issue in totality and in-depth.

Sociology as a discipline may provide help in terms of offering a particular frame of mind to study history and its phenomenal developments. For instance, the tool of sociological imagination may help one to go beyond the general facts, to look beyond the obvious and to examine aspects of any historical phenomena critically. In the words of C. Wright Mills (1959), who gave concept of social imagination, said that the tool of social imagination involves seeing the world in terms of biography and history. In his schemes of things, personal biographies, which sociology studies, are linked with social and historical context. Such linkages discreetly situated in the womb of historical phenomenon need to be explored. In fact, Mills emphasised on three aspects of human world; structure, biography and history. He developed his patterns of analysis at the intersection of above mentioned three dimensions of human world. He focuses on social structure in terms of formation and shaping of social world as a systemic reality. He further linked up human behaviour as shaped by particular patterns of social relationships. In his scheme of things, history added to the perception that the shape and formation of social structures are always specific to given time and space which vary from one period to another period, as they themselves are subject to change. Lastly, biography relates all such social structure and change with individual experiences delineating various aspects of social living by larger social and historical process and how their agency as member of society get shaped and re-shaped. To this effect, history may help to understand the context of any social issue to locate the problem and in understanding the issue thoroughly. To understand an issue, it may be noted that just going by one disciplinary approach or frame of reference may not help to obtain an enriched analysis of an

issue rather the real answer of many problems of both sociology and history may be in sociological history and/or historical sociology.

Auguste Comte's conception of sociology includes history in his analyses of growth of sociology and society. He dwells into causes and reasons of developments of humanity through various historical stages. Furthermore, as Tilly (2001) notes, Karl Marx's Capital, Max Weber's Economy and Society or Ferdinand Tonnies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft have elaborately used historical dimension to enrich their sociological analysis. Such analysis demonstrate that sociology takes help of history (for instance Weber's elaboration of ideal type is an example of how sociologist have drawn to develop their sociological interpretations) to locate an issue and examine its significance. Furthermore, history has many things to offer to sociology. For instance, historical sources that are available provide a large body of data to sociologists for analysis on society, its growth and dynamics. For instance, social upheavals in Europe during late 1700s and 1800s motivated scholars to study society and understand the patterns of social developments. To this effect, there are ample examples which demonstrate linkages of sociology with history. For instance, many sociologists like Comte, Spencer, Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Simmel, Pareto, Parsons and even the contemporary sociologists such as Habermas, Manheim, Wallenstein, Castells, etc. used historical dimension in their sociological analysis. They placed ample emphasis on the origin of modernity, models of development and problems of urban communities. Sociology in its earlier period and in the beginning of 20th century was interested in both present and past. It essentially got historical phenomena as its integral part to define concepts and situate the same into the context. Sociological concepts also help in causal explanation of historically and culturally significant phenomenon.

The development of sociological theories is traced in 19th and 20th century historical developments at the level of philosophy, epistemology and progressive thinking. Specifically, sociological theories have been product of intellectual, social, cultural and political climate within which they were developed. For instance, enlightenment was a period of remarkable intellectual development. Some of the important ideas and social thoughts emerged in this period. These ideas and thoughts newly developed replaced the old ones. The period gave birth to the society which can be understood by means of reason, rationality, scientific methods or empirical research. Similarly, in 1789 French revolution created a space when universal rights of man accepted as essential ingredients of social fabric. New ideas such as liberty, equality, nationalism etc. took shape. This influenced structure of society and created new set of ideologies and socio-political contestations. Many earlier sociologists were product of such epochal periods and carried forward a tradition of progressive thoughts. Saint Simon was directly influenced by French Revolution, whereas Comte lived in the aftermath of the French Revolution. These earlier sociologists gave thoughts to understand and examine ongoing socio-cultural upheavals and human affairs. For instance, Comte(ref) brings together moral and social philosophy, philosophy of history and epistemology and methods of particular of sciences. Karl Marx and Max Weber, who are also counted as founding fathers of sociology, have used history in their sociological analysis. Marx's analysis of social change and historical materialism are the examples. Similarly, Weber has found elaborations of his concepts such as rationalisation, modernity, capitalism, secular society, city and ideal types in the womb of history and its analysis. As indicated earlier too,

Weber in his work, 'Economy and Society', bring out historical explanations to elaborate his propositions of secular theories about the origin and consequences of particular historical phenomenon, from protestant ethic to the modern state.

Many in intellectual in the field of sociology have worked towards developing social history. More specifically, at the turn of 19th and 20th century few historians in German speaking countries and other nations, who dared to deviate the traditional pathways of the discipline, gradually began to appear to contribute to the development of social history. For instance, J. H. Turner explained America's position in terms of boundaries between civilisation and wilderness. C. A. Beard interpreted and analysed American civil War as a conflict between industrialised north and agrarian south. Similarly, Belgian Henri Pirenne developed a socio-economic history of Europe. Dutch Scholar John Huizinge dedicated his work to the late middle ages and made a significant contribution to cultural history. Further, after short-while sort of stagnation, in the in the 1920s there was a significant shift towards history. This shift was actually associated with Annals School which was initiated by two renowned professors of university of Strasbourg, Lucien Febvre (1878-1956) and Marc Bloch (1856-1944) who were influenced by Durkheim's sociology. They advocated for a broad based study of history. Furthermore, as time advanced, sociology too grew in its approach and methodological traditions. Although sociology and history during 20th century diverged a bit, but a complete separation could never occurred. It was primarily for this reason that a new and interesting research orientation namely historical sociology took shape and gradually got a prominent place in the sociological studies. History eventually helped in substantiating sociological analysis of past and its relevant to the present. If one look for its roots in sociological theories, Parsons' structural-functionalism may be said to be one of the critical motivating factor which bring sociology and history at one place. Further, Robert Neelly Bellah in 1957 published a book titled, 'Takigawa Religion', which revealed Japanese equivalence of the protestant ethic. Neil J. Smelser in 1959 in his book, 'Social change in Industrial Revolution', attempted to explain nature of social change by examining development of cotton industry during the English industrial revolution. Similarly, Talcott Parsons in 1960s developed his theory of social evolution based on concept of increasing adaptive capacity of the system through functional differentiation in works such as Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspective (1971a) and, 'The System of Modern Societies' (1971b). Furthermore, in mid 1970s, Norbert Elias worked on theory of civilisation wherein he elaborately covers historical changes in personality, behaviour and the theory of state formation.

It is said that the golden age of sociology was probably was in the years from 1946 to 1960s, it was when it's scientific focus seemed candid, its future appeared prospective and its intellectual leaders sure of themselves on what to do and how to do. However, with the change of time, societal needs and overall social discourse since the 1960s globalisation, the emergence of interconnected world, network society, information revolution and cultural studies have transformed the context of sociology. Modernity became subject of past. Sociologist in last couple of decades become much concerned with 'post' such as post-industrialisation, post-colonialism, post-positivism, post-modernity or post-structuralism. Various sociologist such as Habermas (Communicate action and public sphere), Foucault (modernity and prison system), Anthony Giddens (Modernity) and others have worked and used historical perspective to elaborate their sociological analysis.

4.2.3 Difference between Sociology and History

Even though both sociology and history are two different intellectual disciplines in the domain of social sciences, both the disciplines differ in their methods, approaches and purposes. John H. Goldthorpe (1991), who studied history in mid-twentieth century at university college, London, compares the research approaches of both sociology and history. He claims that both sociology and history differ in their orientation towards present and past respectively. Historians emphasise their findings as time–space localised whereas sociologists believe their understanding transcends space-time dimension. Thus, the major difference between sociology and history is with regard to the nature of data or evidences put for analysis. Sociologist much concerns with the past and primary data whereas historians are concerns with the past and look for secondary data in achieves or past events. For a richer sociological analysis, it is often argued that the sociologists should be historically aware- they should be aware of historical setting and limits which should inform their analysis of social issues. Goldthorpe (1991) argues that history and sociology are two significantly different intellectual enterprises. He concludes that it is wrong to conclude to consider sociology and history as one. History in no sense is a natural science like sociology. It does not seek colourless units. It is said that history interprets whereas natural science explains. Historians collect the concrete and interpret it as unique phenomenon whereas sociologists work on hypotheses, classify and arrange data in relevant and different categories to explore and formulate the typical propositions.

It is a fact that sociology and history do not speak same language. The two professions diverge on many counts. notably, one need not to see only just two different professions but structures with distinct languages, style of thinking and values shaped by differences in education and training. It is said that sociologists have crave for numbers, historian for dates and words; sociologists recognise rules and ignore variations whereas historians stress on the individuals and specific. Furthermore, sociology differ from history in the sense that the sociologists seek generalised uniformities and processes to form typology of concepts which differ

> **Sociology and History: Differences**
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> Sociology and history are two different disciplines in the domain of social sciences differ in their methods, approaches and purposes. Sociologists have crave for numbers, historian for dates and words. Sociologists recognise rules and ignore variations whereas historians stress on the individuals and specific. Sociologists seek generalised uniformities and processes to form typology of concepts which differ from the exact data sets proposed in a particular case by the historians. History is seen as concrete and descriptive science of society. History attempts to construct a picture of social past. On the other side, sociology said to be abstract and theoretical science of society. Scope of sociology in this respect considered broader than the history.

from the exact data sets proposed in a particular case by the historians. Many scholars called history as concrete and descriptive science of society. History attempts to construct a picture of social past. On the other side, sociology said to be abstract and theoretical science of society. Scope of sociology in this respect considered broader than the history. Sociology is not only concerned with the social present, but with the social past too. Sociology thus covers a wider range of issues; often go with broad purpose and transcend time and space limits to produce generalisation grounded in theoretical propositions.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Discuss interrelationship between sociology and history.

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2) Discuss differences between sociology and history.

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3) Which of the following sociologist used history in their sociological analysis?

   a) Auguste Comte

   b) Emile Durkheim

   c) Karl Marx

   d) All given above

4.3 HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY AS SUB-DISCIPLINE

Historical sociology is a branch or sub-discipline of sociology. It emerged as a result of intersection between sociology and history. Both the disciplines have come closer in terms of concepts and theoretical underpinnings to delineate on common themes which touch boundaries of the two. This boundary-crossing phenomenon has led to the development of sub-field named historical sociology. Historical sociology uses history in its analysis. Furthermore, it may be noted that the issues of change and growth in family, kinship issues, migration, dowry system, etc. all have past which have influences on their present status. This past holds important clues to understand the present status of the problem or issue under consideration. Historical sociology has been interested in how people, communities and societies have been changing over period of time, how they have transformed themselves to the contemporary modern societies? How have the great transformation such as imperialism, renaissance, French revolution and industrial revolution have shaped the modern world? Many earlier sociologists such Khaldun, Comte, Spencer, Weber, Durkheim Simon, etc. as discussed earlier, have enormously contributed to the field. For example, Max Weber, in his study,

'The City', published way back in 1921, used historical paradigm and examine the role of city as a carrier of modern capitalistic economy and as a precursor to modern nation-state. Besides critical contributions of earlier sociologist in drawing their theoretical proposition on line of history, it is said that George Balandier in France and Robert Nisbet in America were pioneers to draw attention towards relevance of historical perspective. S.N. Esenstadt, B. Moore, T. Skocpal, C. Tilly, J. Habermas, M. Castells, A. G. Frank and I. Wallenstein all gave prominent place to history in their sociological analysis and theoretical reflection on development paradigms in the modern world.

> **Historical Sociology**
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> Historical sociology is a branch or sub-discipline of sociology. It emerged, during the twentieth century, primarily as a result of intersection between sociology and history. Historical sociology as a sub-field of sociology is likely to make two major contributions to the discipline. First, it can fruitfully historicise sociological analysis helping to situate any sociological analysis historically. Secondly, it will help to draw on important social issues which critically required historical analysis but somehow avoided or remain neglected in sociological analysis.

The idea of distinct sub-field called historical sociology said to be formed during the twentieth century. It primarily developed due to the distinction sociologist started to make between evidences come from direct observation of the present and from indirect observation of the past. Historical sociologist actually started to make sense of present in relation to past. Situating causal connection or locating the issue in the context become important not only to understand but to examine the contemporary developments thoroughly. For instance, Jurgen Habermas has interpreted developments related to modern history in his work called, 'Theory of Communicative Action'. He critically analysed work of earlier sociologist such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Parsons and others on developments related to modernisation, communication, rationality and human liberation. Similarly, Manuel Castells in his well known work, 'The Information Age' has examined changing information systems and identities in the modern world at large in order to understand needs, choices and challenges that humanity is facing today. Furthermore, many scholars like Samir Amin (1989), James M. Blaut (1993), Jack Goody (1996), Andre Gunder Frank (1998) worked in the field of historical or political sociology. They explored the history of emergence of modern world to contest the privileged place of Europe as it got in the human social thought and affairs. They essentially challenged the idea that the modernity evolved in Europe and then spread to rest of the world. Within the domain of historical sociology, they contested the time and space binaries, disputed the very idea of euro-centric notion of development to bring out the critical role played by indigenous peoples beyond Europe and America.

Historical sociology which essentially goes to history to understand a problem is critically important to the growth of the interdisciplinary scholarship to widen the spectrum of knowledge creation. Historical sociology as a sub-field of sociology is likely to make two major contributions to the discipline. First, it can fruitfully historicise sociological analysis helping to situate any sociological analysis historically. This will not only add value to the analysis, but will ground the sociological analysis contextually by specifying their time and space limits and thus attaching the same with other empirical generalisations. Secondly, a greatly broadened historical sociology will help to draw on important social issues

which critically required historical analysis but somehow avoided or remain neglected in sociological analysis. Many sociologist advocates that history should inform sociological analysis or sensibilities of the sociologist not only while studying social evolution, change in culture and civilisation or developmental tradition, but even when we are studying stability or everyday life reality.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Discuss historical sociology as an outcome of intersection between sociology and history.

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2) Who are the prominent sociologists that have worked in the domain historical sociology? Discuss.

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3) Who among following inspired the growth of historical sociology in America?

   a) George Balandier

   b) Robert Nisbet

   c) Max Weber

   d) Karl Marx

4.4 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have examined the meaning and definition of history and its interrelationship with sociology. We have seen how sociology and history are closely interrelated and actually are dependent on each other? History of culture and institutions is helpful in understanding past society, its activities and

development. Similarly, sociology offers its tools such as social imagination, ideal types and so on which help in understanding and conceptualise past social events. We have also examined, how sociology is concerned with present but interested to situate its context in past. It was noted that the both disciplines need each other to make a complete assessment of an issue. Sociology need to see past to understand the context and add value to its analysis. Similarly history also takes into account socio-cultural aspects while studying historical phenomena. Historian also needs social background and at times sociological concepts as well to write and explain historical phenomenon elaborately.

In this unit, we have also made an assessment of differences between sociology and history. It is described that sociology is much concerned with present whereas history with past. Their approaches and purposes too differ accordingly. Furthermore, it may also be noted that the relationship between the two disciplines is marked by a number of myths and misconceptions too. For instance, sociologists are often considered by historians as professionals whose abstract jargons lacks sensitivity to particular time and places. On the other side, historians are often seen mere collectors of information who are unable to analyse their knowledge with required sophistication and methodical precision. History said to be more concrete and descriptive whereas sociology is considered more abstract and theoretical science. Though closely related to each other, the two disciplines are said to be two different intellectual enterprises in terms of their purposes, world views, approaches and methods.

we have also described how historical sociology as an outcome of intersection of the both the disciplines have emerged. It is also described that the historical sociology as branch of sociology has critically contributed to the growth of an interdisciplinary scholarship. Many sociologists, from the beginning of sociology as major discipline, such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, later on Castells, Amin, Frank, Blaut as discussed, have elaborately contributed in this field. In nutshell, both sociology and history, though being two different disciplines in the domain of social sciences, are very much closely interrelated and supplements each other's field of studies.

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UNIT 5 RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY WITH ECONOMICS*

Structure

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the origin and development of the discipline;

- Describe its subject matter;

- Understand the reciprocal relationship between sociology and economics; and

- Analyze common issues concerning both sociology and economics.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit discusses sociology and its relationship with economics. There is always a connection between the social conditions of a period and the ideas which are dominant in that period. The development of sociology as a scientific discipline can therefore be traced back to the period of European history which experienced tremendous social, political and economic changes as embodied in the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution of seventeenth-eighteenth century. This was also known as the Enlightenment period because of the development of science and the positivist philosophy. Social thought, Social Philosophy and Social theory are the various stages that signify the development of sociological theories over several periods and ages. Sociology as a branch of social sciences

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has its own characteristics. It is different from other social sciences in certain respects.

Following are the main characteristics of Sociology:

a) *Sociology is an Independent Science:* Sociology has now become a completely independent discipline and it is no more treated as a branch of any other social sciences like history, political science or philosophy. As an independent discipline, it has developed its own field of study, boundary and method.

b) *Sociology is a social science and not a physical science:* Sociology belongs to the network of social sciences and not to the physical sciences like Physics, Chemistry or Biology. As a social science it focuses on man, his social behavior, social activities and social life. Instead of the above we can say

c) *Sociology developed as an independent discipline out of Social Philosophy*

d) *It was a discipline that evolved when it was realized that society is a constructed entity and can change like it did during the French and American Revolutions.*

5.2 RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY WITH ECONOMICS

5.2.1 Definition of Sociology

Sociology focuses of organization of social relationships and attempts to analyze the dynamics of organized patterns of social relations and social behavior. One can say that primarily it tries to answer three basic questions. Firstly, how and why societies emerge? Secondly how and why societies persist? And how and why societies change? Most of the sociologists agree on the following,

a) The major concern of sociology is with the analysis of human social behavior and relationships.

b) Sociology gives attention to the study of primary social institutions such as family and maintenance of social order.

c) Sociology focuses on evolution, transformation and functioning of social life.

d) Sociology deals with social process such as co-operation and competition, accommodation and assimilation, social conflict, communication in society, social differentiation and social stratification.

Sociology has its own methodology and is based on empirical data collection and inductive reasoning but also has deductive aspects at the level of generalizations.

Sociology

Sociology is an important discipline because it concerns our own lives as human beings. All humans are social- we could not develop as children or exist as adults without having social ties to others. Society is thus the very condition of human existence. At the same time, we all actively shape the society in which we live. Hence, sociology is a general science of society.

5.2.2 Definition of Economics

Economics is a social science that deals with human wants and their satisfaction. Classical economics assumes that people have unlimited wants and the resources to satisfy these wants are limited. They are always engaged in work to secure the things they need for the satisfaction of their wants. The farmer in the field, the worker in the factory, the clerk in the office, and the teacher in the school are all at work. The basic question that arises here is: Why different people undertake these activities? The answer is that they are working to earn income with which they satisfy their wants.

People have multiple wants to satisfy. People's multiple wants includes basic needs such as food, cloth, shelter and other needs like better education, better health facilities etc. According to one perspective it is assumed that there is no limit for human wants, it is insatiable. When one wants get satisfied, another want automatically takes place and so on in an endless succession. Hence, we say that it is impossible to satisfy one's want. People earn money by doing some work or activity and they use this money to satisfy their wants. Economics is about the conversion of raw material into usable good, called production. The use of these goods called consumption and the distribution of resources in society.

Thus human activities have two common aspects; first, we are all engaged in providing for our needs, and secondly, needs vary for different goods and services. This *action of acquiring resources and spending* is called *economic activity*. Seligman says, the starting point of all economic activity is the existence of human wants. Wants give rise to efforts and efforts secure satisfaction. The things which directly satisfy human wants are called consumption goods. A few consumption goods like air, sunshine, etc. are abundant. They are available at free cost. But most of goods are scarce. They are available only by paying a price. And, therefore, they are called economic goods. They do not exist in sufficient quantity to satisfy all wants.

Economics
Economics is the study of consumption, production and wealth distribution

As a science of society, Sociology is highly concerned with the institutions and associations of human beings. Sociology is the scientific studies of human interactions and inter-relations, their conditions and consequences. But Economics deals with economic activities of man. It is basically a science of wealth and choice. According to Prof. Robbins, *"Economics is a social science which studies human behavior in relation to his unlimited ends and scarce means which have alternative uses." It largely focuses on the activities of man such as production, consumption, distribution and exchange. It also studies the structure and functions of different economic organizations like banks, markets etc...* From this, it is obvious that Economics is concerned with the material needs of humans as well as their material welfare.

However, there exists a great deal of inter-relationship between these two important branches of social sciences. Both are interdependent and inter-related. Because of this inter-relationship, Thomas opines that, "Economics is, in fact, but one branch of Sociology." Similarly Silverman opines that Economics is

regarded as an offshoot of sociology which studies the general principles of all social relations. Their inter-relationships are as follows:

Economics is concerned with material welfare of individuals which in turn is the basis for common welfare. In order to achieve common welfare, Economics takes help from all social sciences and mostly from sociology. For its own comprehension, economics takes help of sociology and depends on it. Economics is a part of sociology hence without the help from sociology; it is very difficult to understand economics completely.

We knew that economic welfare is a part of social welfare. When there are economic problems in society, such as inflation, poverty and unemployment, economists usually takes the help of sociology and they take into account the social events occurred at that particular time. At the same time it is true that society controls the economic activities of an individual. Classical sociologists like Max Weber, Vilfredo Pareto etc have done extensive and rigorous research on economy and society which was later great beneficial for economics. Some economists also consider economic change as an aspect of social change. Usually generalization of any economic problem is based on the data collected/provided by sociology. Thus it is very clear that economics cannot go far alone or develop as an independent subject of social sciences without the help of sociology

Similarly, Sociology too takes help from economics. Economics greatly enriches sociological knowledge. Economic factors greatly influence each and every aspects of social life. Some of the important social problems like dowry, suicide etc. cannot be sociologically analyzed without the help of economics because these social problems are mainly of economic crisis. Hence, we can say that economics is a part of sociology and without the help of economics; sociologists will not be able to find solutions for many social problems. Economics greatly contribute to the field of sociological knowledge and research. The well-known social scientist Karl Marx said that economic relations constitute the foundation of society. Economic factors plays vital role in every aspect of our social life and so, Sociologists are concerned with economic institutions. For this reason, Sociologists like Spencer, Weber, Durkheim and others have relied on economics in their analysis of social relationships.

The fact that society is largely influenced by economic factors while economic process determined by the social conditions does suggests that the relation between Sociology and Economics is very intimate. Economics can be defined as a study of human beings in ordinary business of life or in other words, it is the sciences of wealth in its three phases of production, distribution and consumption.

The area of co-operation between Sociology and Economics is widening. Economists are more and more making use of the sociological concepts in the study of economic problems. Economists work with sociologists in their study of the problems of economic development in underdeveloped countries. Combined efforts of both the experts may be of great practical help in meeting the challenges.

Thus it is clear from the forgoing paragraphs that both sociology and economics are very closely related to each other. There are some problems which are studied by both sociologists and economists. Economic changes results in social changes and vice versa.

5.2.3 Differences Between Sociology and Economics

Despite the above discussed interrelationship between sociology and economics, both the sciences have certain differences which are discussed below:

1) Sociology primarily studies about society and social relationships whereas economics studies about wealth and choice.

2) Sociology emerged as a science of society very recently whereas economics is comparatively an older science.

3) Sociology is considered as an abstract science whereas economics is considered as a concrete science in the domain of social sciences.

4) Sociology generally deals with all aspects of social science whereas economics deals specific aspects of social science.

5) Sociology has a very wide scope whereas economics scope is very limited.

6) Sociology is concerned with the social activities of individuals whereas economics is concerned with their economic activities.

7) Society is studied as a unit of study in Sociology whereas individual is taken as a unit of study in economics.

8) Both Sociology and economics differ from each other in respect of the methods and techniques they use for their study.

5.2.4 Definitions Given by Different Economists and their Relation to Sociology

According to According to A.C. Pigou, "Economics studies that part of social welfare which can be brought directly or indirectly into relationship with the measuring rod of money." Here, instead of taking individualistic needs and concerns, he is concerned with the society as a whole which is the basis of the subject of Sociology. Here, he opines that social relations are formed due to the presence of wealth which is the domain of Economics. If we look at societal relations, we observe that in most of the cases, the rich wish to interact and spend time with the rich only and seem to ignore the presence of the poor. Moreover, the rich often feel superior over the poor owing to large chunks of money which they possess due to which they fulfill their material needs by buying both cheaper and expensive commodities. In addition, the poor often feel uncomfortable while interacting with the rich and develop a feeling of inferiority owing to lack of resources. Hence, wealth tends to affect the formation of social groups in the society.

John Stuart Mill (1844) defines the subject of economics in a social context as:- "The science which traces the laws of such of the phenomena of society as arise from the combined operations of mankind for the production of wealth, in so far as those phenomena are not modified by the pursuit of any other object." Clearly, the concept of societal effect on the economic activities is reflected in the above definition and the laws of nature prevalent in the society which form the basis for the production of economic output.

According to Alfred Marshall, who was a neo-classical economist: "Economics is the study of mankind in the ordinary business of life; it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the use and attainment of material requisites of well-being." This shows that Economics is concerned with the study of man and deals with their activities in the social setup i.e. study the activities of human being in the social setup. It is the study of man in one hand and social organization of economic activities on the other hand. He developed an original view of the relation between individuality and societal aspect by saying that," Perhaps the earlier English Economists confined their attention too much to the motives of individual action. But in fact economists, like all other students of social science, are concerned with individuals chiefly as members of the social organism. As a cathedral is something more than the stones of which it is made, as a person is something more than a series of thoughts and feelings, so the life of society is something more than the sum of lives of its individual members. It is true that the action of the whole is made up of that of its constituent parts; and that in most economic problems the best starting-point is to be found in the motives that affect the individual, regarded not indeed as an isolated atom, but as a member of some particular trade or industrial group. While including the welfare of the society as a whole, he is rejecting a way of characterizing society as set of isolated and competitive individuals which presupposes the human interaction to take place in the society for people to not have any clashes of interest.

Sir James Steuart (1767) is the premier English economist to use the concept of 'political economy' by saying that, Economy in general, is the art of providing for all the wants of the family', so the science of political economy seeks 'to secure a certain fund of subsistence for all the inhabitants, to obviate every circumstance which may render it precarious; to provide everything necessary for supplying the wants of the society, and to employ the inhabitants… in such a manner as naturally to create reciprocal relations and dependencies between them, so as to make their several interests lead them to supply one another." He introduced many essential elements of society such as family, population, social interaction, exchange. which are subject matters of sociology. Hence, the relation between Economics and Sociology seems well established.

5.2.5 Definitions Given by Different Sociologists and their Relation to Economics

Max Weber defines sociology as "The science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a casual explanation of its cause and effects." It deals with cause and effect principle which is commonly found in Economics and the various policies related to it. There are many causes that lead to different societal effects. For examples, The French Revolution was due to the atrocities and injustices faced by ordinary people leading to poor economic welfare and also due to sprouting up of the notion in the minds of the people about the notion of blaming humans for everything injurious they suffered and not finding out probable reason for the same. Thus, the given revolution was a result of economic and behavioral i.e. sociological aspect and both are interconnected to each other leading to a common effect i.e. revolution.

Morris Ginsberg defines sociology in the following way: "In the broadest sense, sociology is the study of human interactions and inter-relations, their conditions and consequences"

There are many factors that govern this interaction which includes emotional, behavioral, as well as economic factors. For example, Parents fulfill all the economic needs of their children (till the time they are competent and able to earn money) in a family i.e. social institution, by making available all the necessary goods and services for their children. Further, a man often looks after all the material needs of his wife which becomes the part of social interaction. Hence, these social interactions include the economic aspect which is of prime importance.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Discuss the relationship of sociology with economics.

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2) Elucidate the common issues concerning both sociology and economics.

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3) Illustrate the differences between sociology and economics.

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5.3   ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY AS A SUB-DISCIPLINE OF SOCIOLOGY

5.3.1   History of Economic Sociology

One can see the roots of economic sociology in the classical philosophical and social science tradition, however it emerged as a systematic academic subdivision of sociology in less than a century ago. After it became an academic sub discipline of its parent discipline, it has made remarkable contribution in analyzing society from an economic perspective. If we closely observe, we can find out that the birth of economic sociology in the writings of Karl Marx. Smelser, N, J and Swedberg, R says that the first use of the term *economic sociology* seems to have been in 1879, when it appears in a work by British economist W. Stanley Jevons ([1879] 1965). The term was taken over by the sociologists and appears, for example, in the works of Durkheim and Weber during the years 1890–1920. It is also during these decades that classical economic sociology is born, as exemplified by such works as *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893) by Durkheim, *The Philosophy of Money* (1900) by Simmel, and *Economy and Society* (produced 1908-20) by Weber. These classics of economic sociology are remarkable for the following characteristics. First, Weber and others shared the sense that they were pioneers, building up a type of analysis that had not existed before. Second, they focused on the most fundamental questions of the field: What is the role of the economy in society? How does the sociological analysis of the economy differ from that of the economists? What is an economic action? To this should be added that the classical figures were preoccupied with understanding capitalism and its impact on society — "the great transformation" that it had brought about.

5.3.2   Contemporary Economic Sociology

In the recent times, especially after 1980's, economic sociology experienced a remarkable revival. Few sociologists, who were doing rigorous research on the relationship between market and society, contributed a flurry of articles on the networks of market and society, which eventually lead to the revival of economic sociology into an important subfield of sociology. The main contributor of 1980's was Mark Granovetter, who emphasized on the embeddedness of economic action in concrete social relations. In the article *Economic Institutions as Social constructions,* Granovetter argues that institutions are actually congealed social networks, and, because economic action mostly takes place in these networks, social scientists must consider interpersonal relationships while studying economy. He further argues that in the contemporary economic sociology markets are considered as networks of producers watching each other and trying carve out niches. Hence, we can say that such networks are the core area of concern in the contemporary economic sociology.

Karl Polanyi is another renowned contributor to economic sociology, argued that the birth of the free market was an institutional transformation necessarily promoted by the state. This got a general acceptance in the domain of economic sociology.

5.3.3 Origin of New Economic Sociology

Convert, B and Heilbron, J in their article *Where Did the New Economic Sociology Come From* provides a detailed account of the emergence of new economic sociology. They argue that the new economic sociology obtained its scientific legitimacy by bringing together two promising new currents: network analysis and neo-institutionalism, along with a more marginal cultural mode of analysis. This has led to the "new economic sociology," to become one of the liveliest subfields of sociology.

Economic Sociology

According to Britannica encyclopedia, economic sociology is the application of sociological methods to understand the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of goods and services. Economic sociology is particularly attentive to the relationships between economic activity, the rest of society, and changes in the institutions that contextualize and condition economic activity.

5.4 COMMON ISSUES CONCERNING BOTH SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

5.4.1 Unemployment

When we talk about unemployment, we generally consider it as an economic problem. However, when we look at the roots of unemployment, one can see that it is equally important for sociology as well. In the eyes of sociologist, unemployment is a social problem, sociologists argue that social factors equally contribute to unemployment. Many of the pioneer sociologists who worked on social problems described unemployment is a product of social factors such as degrading social status, rapid growth of population, drawback in educational system and geographical immobility. A few sociologists have also linked it with the personal factors such as illness, disability, professional unfitness and lack of experiences.

For economists, unemployment is an economic problem. They explain unemployment through the transition of capitalists' societies to post-industrial and in the present globalized economies. Economists argues that the occurrence of unemployment largely depends upon the demand for labour i.e the number of jobs available which falls short of labour supply i.e the number of persons who are willing to work. The reasons for unemployment in India is due to the increasing population of the country and rate at which it's increasing has surpassed the rate at which jobs are created, due to which many people in India are left jobless and they are unhappy in the society. It is also leading to declining welfare and human resource in the country.

5.4.2 Child Labour

Child Labour has become a common dismal practice in many developing countries like India wherein thousands of minors are made to work and are therefore deprived of education, health facilities, leisure activities, and basic freedoms, violating their rights. Most often, it is not the children who decide to start working

instead of going to schools but there are a host of other socioeconomic factors primarily related to their families or households that force them to work. Moreover, these children generally do not get sufficiently paid for their work. In most of the families in rural areas, children are often made to engage in agricultural activities and in urban areas, poor families often send their female children who are seen as a burden to work as maid servants in domestic households. Thus, the cause of child labour is lack of economic resources which force the parents to send their children to work.

5.4.3 Inequality

Inequality is also a common topic of academic enquiry in both economics and sociology. Economist will be looking upon economic inequality whereas sociologist will meticulously analyze the social inequality prevailing in society. Both economic and social inequality can be defined in the following way,

a) **Economic Inequality** is shown by people on the basis of their different positions within the economic distribution such as people's income, pay and their wealth. Therefore economic inequality is divided into three. These are income inequality, pay inequality and wealth inequality. The first one i.e income inequality refers the extent to which income is distributed unevenly in a group of people. Here we must note that income is not just pay but all the money received from job which includes wages, salaries and even bonuses as well.

Pay inequality is another kind of economic inequality which refers to a person's pay is different to their income. Here pay refers to payment from employment only. And the last type of economic inequality i.e wealth inequality refers to the unequal distribution of assets in a group of people. Here wealth refers to the total amount of assets of an individual or household. It includes their financial assets such as bonds, stocks, property and their pensions.

b) **Social Inequality**

Social inequality occurs when the social resources are distributed unequally. We can say that it mainly occurs on the basis of class, caste, race and gender. We know that all these are characterized by the existence of unequal opportunities and rewards for the social positions and status it holds. M Haralambos in his much-celebrated book *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives* discusses about social versus natural inequalities. He argues that many stratification systems are accompanied by beliefs that state that social inequalities are biologically based. For example racial inequality/racial discrimination where whites claims biological superiority over blacks and see this as the basis for their dominance.

Check Your Progress 2

1) How do you conceive economic sociology as a sub discipline of sociology?

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2) What are the common issues concerning for both sociology and explain. Illustrate your answer with suitable examples.

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5.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have tried to understand the relationship of sociology with economics. The relation of sociology with economics has been extensively proved in this unit by showing how society is greatly influenced by economic factors and how economic processes are determined by social environment. The conflicts and hatred among the people in the society has its deep route in economics such as property conflicts between parents and their children. We have proved that that most of the economic phenomena has been constantly determined by numerous social needs and social status such as excessive spending on goods and resources in order to raise one's status in the society. Rich people often buy luxury goods for showing off their superiority in terms of wealth over others. An individual's social life such as the type of family, education, authority, marriage, structure, determines factors like family expenditure, credit facilities, and expenditure at the time of marriage, etc. It is the economic factor which influences the individual's life style and needs. The economic needs of the society are generally met through social institutions. Thus, the two subjects are complementary to each other and it is difficult, rather impossible, to study one subject by leaving the other.

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UNIT 6   RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY WITH POLITICAL SCIENCE*

Structure

6.0   OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- Definition of political science and its interrelationship with Sociology;

- Understanding political sociology as a burgeoning sub-field of Sociology; and

- Concepts used in the field of political sociology.

6.1   INTRODUCTION

This unit explains relationship of sociology with political science. Sociology being the study of society and social life also touches various political aspects of human life. Both disciplines, by intersecting each other, attempt to provide useful answers to various issues and concerns of everyday life and policy matters or the issues which we think are of very pressing concerns to society and its functions. For instance, the issues such as governance, civil society, social class and social capital, voting behaviour, power relations among groups, participatory democracy, voluntary associations, government policies and their implications to society, are of vital importance. In fact, these are critical issues which bring boundaries of both sociology and political science closer. As result of this intersection, various sub-disciplines such as political sociology, political anthropology and political economy has cropped up to study socio-political facets of human life with an interdisciplinary framework.

Both Sociology and Political Science essentially deals with human social life and widely share their common interest. However, we may also acknowledge the fact that the approaches of both the disciplines differs, and gives divergent

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views of social life and its dynamics. It is thus important to look into relationship between sociology and political science so as to get a clearer understanding on how both the disciplines deal with the social realities and where does both the disciplines intersect and differ too.

6.2 RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY WITH POLITICAL SCIENCE

6.2.1 Definition of Political Science

Political science is generally defined as a scientific study of state, government and politics. Here, probably, the most frequently used concepts are politics, state, power, political socialisation, leadership, governance, decision taking, policy making and its impacts. The concept of politics is central to political science. In fact, sometimes both are used interchangeably. In general, politics is also defined as a process whereby people form, preserve and modify general rules which govern their lives. Such processes generally involve both cooperation and conflict. Politics as an art of governance is thus engaged with the issues of public affair, conflict, multiple decisions making, compromises and consensus at different levels and, thus, essentially delineating concerns related to power and distribution of resources. Now, let us look at some of the meanings attached to the word politics:

Firstly, politics is often considered as an art of government. There are however competing arguments whether politics is a science or an art just as we often have debates on scientific status of sociology as a discipline. If fact, as various scholars note, the word politics is derived from the word, '*polis*' which literally means, '*the city state*'. In the ancient times, Greek society was divided into independent city states, each of which had their own system of governance. In this context, politics or political science is often referred to affairs of polis- means the concerns or the matters related to state and its affairs. Political science as an academic discipline has largely adopted this definition of politics or political science.

Secondly, most essential aspect which defines politics and its nature is what we most often refer to public affair or related to public. Truly, the realm, definition and scope of political science go beyond narrower definition of political science which is simply considered as the study of government or state. Furthermore, the word public as mentioned above may be contested with the word 'private'. These distinctions often classified basing itself on two divergent views of human life. The same categorisation further corresponds to distinction between the state and the civil society as two conceptual categories. For instance, various institutions of state such as bureaucratic machinery, the ministries, the court and tribunals, the police, the army, the social security system and so on can be regarded as public in the sense that these are responsible for the society at large for its organisation, management, and the smooth functioning of social life in the state. Moreover, they are funded at the public expenses, primarily out of tax payers' money. In contrast to this, the civil society is consisted of various social institutions such as family, kinship groups, trade unions, clubs, community groups, private businesses, and so on. They are private in the sense that they are funded and set up by individual citizens to satisfy their own needs and interest rather than those of the larger society at many a times. Thus, there nature is private or individual centric.

Thirdly, politics is often defined in terms its distinctive nature in engaging with the critical issues of compromise, decision making and consensus. Politics is often related with the social machinery aiming towards resolving conflict, mostly through compromise, conciliation and negotiation rather than through the force and naked power all alone. It is primarily in this context that various scholars often define politics and its related processes as, 'the art of possible' which is mainly due to the in politics to bring peaceful solutions through dialogue, debates and arbitrations as alternate means of resolving conflict as against often called military solutions. In this effect, rather politics is also qualified to be defined as dispersal of power and resources, as societies required running their community life smoothly and peacefully.

Lastly, the politics is often associated with power and exercise of influence. Scholars thus often define politics as the heart of all collective social activity embedded with formal and informal, public and private binaries in all social groups and institutions. In this sense, politics takes place at every level of social interaction in the society. It can be found within families, peer and kin groups, organisations and nation-state at regional and global levels. In its broadest sense, politics is essentially related to power which is the ability to influence others and achieving desired outcome by whatever possible at one's disposal. Given the competing demands and limited resources, human beings often put contesting claims and counter claims. Politics is thus often seen as a struggle over limited resources. And power can be seen as the means through which the struggles for such resources take place. In nutshell, Political science is primarily an intellectual discipline, a body of knowledge about structure and function of politics, power, governance and the state. Like the discipline of Sociology, its special task is to impart knowledge about politics rather than the providing practical training to learners about the politics. However, over the period of time the discipline of political science in terms of its nature and scope transformed due its openness to borrow concepts, terms and methods from other disciplines, more so from sociology, thus becoming an intellectual discipline with interdisciplinary approach. It is important to understand that such shift, and appreciate the same before examining relationship between sociology and political science.

6.2.2 Shift in the Focus of Political Science

Nature of political science as a discipline has transformed and changed over a period of time. Hence, the changes from politics to political systems, government to governance and political reasons to social determinants too has taken place in the past. This transformation in political science did not occur in isolation from society. The changes in contemporary globalised and interconnected world essentially reflected in the changing scope and nature of the discipline. Political science is not only shifted its focus but subsequently refined its concepts and approaches towards becoming more of typical social science intellectual discipline in its orientation and approach. Though the historical roots may be deeper, cold war period make political scientists to think around critical issues such as democratic capitalism and authoritarian socialism, political identity focusing on national membership, class, status and hegemony which later on evolved as issues of teaching and research in political science departments across the world.

Furthermore, as mentioned above, it is actually during the cold war years that approach to see political world changed drastically. In fact, the major changes in

political science took place with the advent of behaviourism after World War II. Since then political science began to study political processes and behaviour (Smith 2004). The aim of political science became to study and analyse political phenomena by examining nature of politics, political leadership, decision making and behaviour patterns of individuals and groups as most part of a political system. Moreover, the period from the World War II through the 1990s experienced the disappearing of dominance of Western Europe powers and the rise of new nations in the continents of Africa and Asia. This dismantling of empires eventually coincided with the collapse of Soviet Union and many other communist powers of that time.

Subsequently, the post cold war period witnessed proliferation of transnational economic entities such as the old European market, North American Free Trade Agreement, World Trade Organisation, and the development of regional political bodies such as European Union, Non-Alignment Movement, African Union and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the growth of may transnational/multinational corporations as well as movement organisations such as on environment, labour and human rights groups. All of these generated new forms of political community, debates of political identity and critical concerns around various sociologically crucial issues such as rights, identity, religion, and politics development. Further, in 1990s and afterwards we can also notice a visible spurt in the development of identity politics or politics of identity. For instance, politics around racial and ethnic issues gender justice, communalism and secularism, immigrant politics, ecology and development, indigenous people's politics, politics and issues of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT), along with globalisation as a major discourse; cosmopolitan citizenship, transnational social movement occurred which were earlier absent from the political science discipline (Smith 2004) emerged forcefully. Resultantly, the scope and nature of the discipline has not only widened over the period of time but it has significantly transformed from a traditional base to a new and modern one by incorporating more of an interdisciplinary issues, debates and thus it refined its conceptual categories. Political science in this context has taken a turn and has covered more of sociologically relevant issues such as ethnicity, identity, religion, etc. as discussed earlier. The debates on globalisation, transnationalism, secularism, communalism, identity politics and issues of new media and many other contemporary debates around development significantly revamped political science as mature and typically social science discipline.

6.2.3 Relationship Between Sociology with Political Science

Sociology and political science are closely related to each other in many respects. It is said that the disciplines of sociology and political science are closely interwoven in their analysis of power, authority structures, administration and governance (Lipset 1964). Similarities between sociology and political science are many. Firstly, political science relies heavily upon sociology for its basic theories and methods. For example in mid 20th century Michigen social psychologists and Parsonians at Harward significantly shaped political science agendas in political behaviour and political development respectively. Secondly, focal specialities in both the discipline borrowed from similar third party disciplines such as economics, history, anthropology and psychology. Thirdly, a large number of scholars such as Marx, Weber, Gramsci, Pareto, Parsons and Mosca, etc. equally have contributed to the growth and development of both the disciplines.

In the same vein, Harol Lasswell's treatise, 'Politics: Who Gets what, When and How' (1936) was an important work from which both sociologist and political scientist get inspired and take lead to work in an interdisciplinary framework (Lipset 1964) . It may be noted that given the changing societal need and aspirations in contemporary globalised world an interdisciplinary approach is necessary to understand social problems and find answers to the problems of modern society.

Sociology is often defined as scientific study of society. We may also note that society is nothing but a complex network of various groups, institutions, communities, associations, people and their everyday life activities. Politics and power dynamics forms integral to all of these conceptions of human lives. Notably, polity or political formations has always been the essential components of any human society. In modern times, no society can be imagined without polity, political institutions or, so to say, any form of political life. State and governance are basic to any society both in terms of its function, development and meeting essential needs of social life such as law and order, security and development. Sociology too essentially reflect on status of social world with a focus on social issues and on the condition of human society, the network of social relationships in an increasingly globalised interconnected world, the growing variety of political traditions, caste and politics, ethnicity, cultural background, economic conditions and linguistic affiliations. Sociology examines various aspects of political behaviour with special focus on their social implications. This in fact indicates deeper intersection between sociology and political science. However both the disciplines differ in their approach. Political scientists investigate into rise, fall and changes of governments and their leaders whereas sociologists see governments as social institutions, political behaviour as outcome of social dynamics and leadership as social phenomena having multifarious implications for social developments.

Both sociology and political science intersect at multitude of points and provide a broader analysis of the social reality. Thus, the similarities, between the two, are well appreciated by scholars. However, both the disciplines have differences too which also need to be critically assessed. Sociologist most importantly talk of interaction system, be it within groups, institutions or organisations, whereas political science talk about control mechanism within such groups or organisations. Hence, the frame of reference or perspectives of sociology and political science differ. The former primarily concerned about interactionist views, whereas later focuses on power structure, order and control mechanisms. Scholars argued that when sociological perspective of interaction system is applied to the analysis of political phenomena it tends to become political sociology.

According to Jain and Doshi (1974), when vocabulary of political science is translated into the vocabulary of sociological analysis it is then what we call political sociology. It is in this sense that we can say that Almond Coleman's The Politics of Developing Areas (1960) and Rajni Kothari's Politics in India (1970) are earlier examples of growing political Sociology. Resultantly, political sociology which is basically an outcome of intersection between sociology and political science, is relatively a newer branch of sociology, studies various political intuitions, associations, organisations, interest groups and multitude of power dynamics in society. Political sociology, which we would elaborate in the subsequent section in this unit, also studies interest groups, political parties,

administrative and bureaucratic behaviour, social legislations, state policies, reforms and political ideologies as its areas of the study.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Discuss changes in political science in last couple of decades.

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2) Discuss relationship between sociology and political science.

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3) Which of the following issues are covered by both sociology and political science.

   a) Religion

   b) Ethnicity

   c) Language debates

   d) All the above

6.3 POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AS SUB-FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY

Political sociology often sees as a new, growing and burgeoning sub-field within the discipline of sociology. It is considered as a connecting bridge between sociology and political science. Sociologists see two way relationships between the two (Rathore 1986). Both have a give and take relationship. Various other scholars see political sociology as a marriage between sociology and political science which studies and brings critically important and newer areas as mentioned earlier which touches both sociology and political science, but could not be adequately studied by either one.

Furthermore, the application of sociological tools of analysis to the political phenomena has added to our understanding of political behaviour (Sharma 1978). This cross-bordering of both the disciplines has not only led to develop political sociology as crucial sub-field but both the disciplines have refined themselves, added to their reservoir of concepts and widen their themes and issues and applications to understand and analyse social reality embedded into human society. Areas of research in this domain include analysis of functioning of public agencies, groups and family as an agent of socialisation. Certain other areas such as voting behaviour, political ecology and political community reflect upon themes of political functioning. It is actually political processes through which conception of political membership, allegiance, ideological contestations, value orientation of the groups and identities are formed and transformed, and added to the growing maturity of political sociology as an intellectual discipline. Anthony Giddens's social theory on international relations and European studies, Weber's analysis of spheres of life and Bourdieu's analysis of politics like any other areas of social activity such as education and economics etc are some of the examples indicating the trajectory of growth of the discipline.

6.3.1 Distinguishing Between Political Sociology and Sociology of Politics

Like political sociology, sociology of politics is a subfield of sociology. Sociology of politics also throws light on sociological appraisals of political processes and institutional mechanisms. In contrast to this, political sociology focuses to explain and understand political phenomena and process while relating it to social determinants. As discussed earlier too, political sociology actually underlines the links between politics and society, between social structure and political structure, and also between political behaviour and social behaviour. Political sociology essentially deals with social reasons and contextual aspects of a phenomenon while explaining why people act the way they do. Political sociology unlike sociology of politics is a cross-disciplinary breakthrough which gave a contextualised treatment to any issue under consideration.

Furthermore, if we take an example of party system, political sociology not only investigates functions of a political party, but also underlines its social conditioning and contextual location in order to unpack critical issues under consideration. Similarly sociology of politics sees Indian politics in terms of caste ridden society, whereas political sociology looks into the ways politics has affected the Indian caste system, in what ways this has encouraged politicisation of caste or caste system in the country. In nutshell, sociology of politics provides superficial treatment of the issues whereas political sociology is a perpectival analysis which essentially embedded its examination of the issue in social context.

6.3.2   Concepts Used in Political Sociology

6.3.2.1   Political Culture

This is one of the most used and frequently mentioned concepts in political sociology. It is said that the origin and growth of the terms goes back to 1950s when the terms popularly used and became part of the disciplinary conceptual tools to define social issues and processes. Notably, each nation has certain political norms, values and beliefs which direct how people think and should act about politics. These all constitute political culture of a particular nation. Each nation has its own distinct political culture too. In terms of definition, political culture refers to a set of norms, traditions, conventions, belief systems, and values which are essentially oriented towards the political system. Such cultural elements are shared by the society and relatively distinctive to the given political system of the respective society or the nation concerned.

> **Box 6.2: Political Culture**
>
> The use of the term of Political Culture goes back to the pioneering works of Johann Gottfried Herder, Alexis de Tocqueville and Montesquieu. The recent and modern use of terms appears to begin in political science with Almond's seminal article, "*Comparative Political System*" published in 1956. In the words of Almond the terms political culture refers to the system of orientation to any political action (Forminsano 2001, p. 6).

Political culture is also defined as a subjective orientation of a particular political psychology (belief /cognition), political thought (ideology), and political institutions (preference for certain form of governance system). In this sense, political culture is a distinctive and patterned way of thinking about how a political and economic life of the people ought to be governed. It also reflects on how the society is, how it treats its people and more importantly political culture is about how people think, what are their beliefs and values which set political traditions and direct their political goals. For example, liberty, equality, secularism and democracy are elements of political culture of India. Here, we should also distinguish between ideology and culture. Culture here refers to common beliefs, values and traditions about the government whereas ideology is a set of ideas or policies government ought to pursue. Liberalism, neo-liberalism, capitalism or communism are set of ideologies which certain states see as desirable and organise their political system accordingly. For instance, India after independence adopted democracy as a desired form of polity and mixed economy as its form of economic system and the same has gradually been adopted as political culture in the country. However, it was after 1990s that the neo-liberalism as ideology of the state appears to take precedence over earlier political orientations in India. In this sense, political culture is dynamic too as it keeps changing in accordance with the need of time and convenience of the state and its policy objectives.

6.3.2.2   Political Socialisation

The terms political socialisation is also frequently used term in political sociology. Sociologically, socialisation is a lifelong learning process. The term political socialisation is related to learning of political role or behaviour. People are educated and thus made part and parcel of the larger political culture which continues over generations. Political socialisation is thus basically a social process about how people forms their political attitude, learn their political role and thus

form their political culture. In simple terms, political socialisation refers to a social process whereby people or groups learn political behaviour to fulfil certain expected political role. Most children learn their political values and traditions quite early in their younger age. However, attitudes and norms keep evolving and changing over the period of time as people come in contact with the wider society through various agencies which act as socializing agents. For instance, family, neighbourhood, school and peer groups influence children's attitude and shape their ideas in early age, whereas agencies like mass media, political parties, state, civil society, interest groups shapes people's attitude in later age. Such agencies play critical role in shaping attitude of people. For instance, in contemporary globalised and interconnected world mass media has immense influence to shape thinking and ideas of the people. Information technology driven media is considered a highly empowered entity which spread and share lot of information in short span of time and influence people's opinion and political attitudes tremendously.

Political socialisation may be direct or indirect and unifying or divisive. For instance, socialisation may take place through personal experience or through an agent or agency as mentioned above. Similarly, socialisation creates feeling for unification or 'the other' against certain groups. Thus it may divisive too. The processes of socialisation may or may not be ideologically guided. For instance, certain political parties do train their cadres or target population on the lines of their agenda whereas civil/human rights groups, not going with any particular political ideology or party politics, just attempt to make people aware of their rights.

In nutshell, political socialisation helps in shaping up of political role. Political parties, interest groups and other such organisations train their cadre or members on the line of their agendas. As a concept, political role is related to political behaviour. Sociologically speaking, a role is a socially expected behaviour. The term political role refers to a process when an individual is attached with the set of status and responsibilities to perform within the political field. The society expects it member to perform the same within a given political system. This performance of given role goes hand in hand with the processes of political socialisation by which an individual passes through. This further helps to transmit political culture from one generation to another generation.

6.3.2.3 Political Capital

Political capital is the type of resource which agents accumulate, struggle for and exercises in the field of politics to influence decision and action of others (Kauppi 2003). Political capital is actually a symbolic capital in the field of politics. In general parlance, political capital is a sort of goodwill, trust and prestige a person or politician earn with the public to gain political benefits. Such goodwill and trust a politician or a person earns are actually assets with them to gain public favour.

To understand and assess political capital, any unit such as political party, a regional political formation such as an interest group, a caste association, a confederation of nation-state can be analysed to understand power dynamics, dominance, hegemony and control mechanism embedded into social relations. People with richer political capital often may control more power and dominance.

They may take hold on the same for longer time. Notably, political capital may act as both product and process while winning an election, sustaining an elected office and influencing or mobilising people.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Discuss the emergence of political sociology as an intersection of sociology and political science.

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2) What is political socialisation?

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3) What are the agencies of political socialisation?

   a)   Mass Media

   b)   Political Parties

   c)   Interest groups

   d)   All the above

6.4   LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have explained the meaning of political science and its relationship with sociology. We have described how both the disciplines are interwoven and how both the disciplines have borrowed, refined and enriched their terms and concepts over the period of time. We understood how sociology has got intersected with the political science in developing an interdisciplinary framework to understand society and its issues.

As we have also discussed the sub-field called political sociology which is primarily an off shoot of intersection, and conceptual give and take between sociology and political science. The issue such as identity, communalism, civil society, voting behaviour etc are some of the critical concerns which are closer to both political science and sociology. These issues are covered in political sociology, as sub-field of sociology, reflecting on existing intersection between sociology and political science.

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Block 3

Basic Concepts

UNIT 7   CULTURE AND SOCIETY*

7.0   OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- The relationship between culture and society;

- The concept of culture as understood in Sociology;

- The unique characteristics of culture, culture as distinct from biology, civilization, elements of culture, culture traits and culture complex;

- Cultural change and the factors responsible to bring in cultural change;

- Cultural diversity, multiculturalism;

- The global flow of culture or how there is a change in culture under globalization; and

- Culture in Indian context, its diversity and the unity in diversity.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Culture and Society are mutually interdependent. Every society has a culture which guides its members. In order to understand the relationship between culture and society we need to understand what a society is. Ralph Linton defines society as *"an organized group of individuals. A culture is an organized group of learned responses characteristic of a particular society"* (Linton, 1955:29). Society is a much larger concept and culture is an important part of the society that we live in. A society is a group of individuals who interact and share a common culture. Through culture, the members of society experience their lives. In other words, society refers to persons and groups; culture is the behaviour patterns of these groups which emerge from communal living. Culture distinguishes a man from an animal. It is culture that shapes our attitude, beliefs, values and norms. So, culture and society cannot be separated. Giddens and Sutton (2014) say that sociology has always studied culture as bound up with social relations and the structure of society.

Different scholars define culture in different ways. Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn had discovered more than 150 definitions of culture. The first definition of culture was given by E.B Tylor. He says, "*Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capability acquired by man as a member of society*" (Tylor, 1871:1). Malinowski when referring to Arunta society, talks about the behaviour patterns like the customs, language, beliefs and also the ways of thinking feeling and acting which are important aspects of culture and also applies to any society. Abraham (2006) defines culture as "*a total way of life of a social group, meaning everything they are, they do and they have. It is a complex system that consists of beliefs, values, standards, practices, language and technology shared by members of a social group*" (Abraham, 2006:64).

Culture used in Sociological sense would be very different from as it is used in common parlance. Sutherland et al (1961) says that when we study the behavior patterns, the customs, beliefs, language and other shared ways of thinking, feeling and acting to are referring to the culture of the society. The unique aspect of culture is that it is highly variable and is also subject to change. While human heredity is a relatively constant factor, culture is variable. This can be explained when we compare culture with biology.

7.2 CULTURE AND BIOLOGY

Culture is often contrasted with biology. This distinction between culture and biology becomes important when human society is compared to that of animals. Humans and animal share the same biological traits like hunger, thirst, sex etc. It can also be said that animals do have certain behavior patterns like humans, but there are striking differences between the behavior patterns of both animals and humans. For example, hunger and sex urge are biological facts, but it is culture which determines how these urges are channelized. In human society social

behaviour is transmitted from generation to generation by communication in contrast to animals in which it is transmitted by heredity. This distinguishes human society from the complex insect society as the insects are instinctitive and do not learn to behave. Insects can pass on sounds which convey certain meanings but they are unable to produce language, hence culture which makes them different from humans. In other words, animals depend on their instinct but humans use their culture.

Worsley (1970) says that culture can be transmitted through coding, classifying and passing experience through language, a distinctive human trait. It can be said that a major difference between humans and animals is the inability of the animal to use symbols. But humans have a way of manipulating symbols and they even express abstract concepts using symbols. By symbols we mean a value or meaning attached to a particular object. As human we tend to attach value to a particular object. For example, the National flag is not any other piece of cloth but a symbol which has a meaning. Similarly, to a Christian a cross is a symbol of salvation.

7.3 CULTURE TRAIT AND CULTURE COMPLEX

Traits are the smallest elements of a culture. There are many cultural traits in every cultures. Each culture has certain components or traits like a ritual, celebration of different festivals etc which distinguish one culture from the other. Even touching feet, shaking hands, taking a particular diet, wearing a saree are all cultural traits. When cultural traits combine together they produce culture complex. Majumdar and Madan (2008) say that a culture complex is not an institution but is the outcome of interaction between several institutions. They are defined as the pattern of the interrelation of culture traits. Sutherland et al. (1961) says that kawa drinking is observed among the Samoans which is a culture trait of the Samoans. But it is not only about drinking the non alchohalic beverage but there are rituals of preparing and serving the beverage, pouring out the first cup as a libation to the Gods, there is also a ceremonial precedence of serving the kawa and the mythological belief in the background of the ceremony. So the kawa drinking is tied with many other aspects of the Samoan. In this way the kawa drinking is related to many other traits making it the kawa complex.

When similar cultural traits are found in a particular area it is called a **culture area**. For example, the different regions in India like The North-Eastern states, the states like Kashmir, Tamil Nadu constitute culture area.

7.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURE

Culture is social

Culture is acquired through social life. Human being is a social animal and has a culture of its own. Culture is shaped by our social interaction and is bound up with social relations within the members of a group. Culture regulates the behaviour of the members of a group and fulfills man's needs like hunger, shelter, clothing etc. For Clyde Kluckhohn Culture is a design for living. Culture is defined as a social adjustment or the means by which man adjusts to his environment.

Culture is learned and shared

Culture is a behaviour acquired by man from his birth and as a member of society. When a human baby is born, it is helpless. It does not have the pattern of behaviour that is required for living in society or culture is not innate. The baby learns the behaviour and culture from the elders and is socialized to become a member of society. In course of time, man becomes human by acquiring the culture of a particular society and is thus called 'culture-bearing animal'. The influence of culture on human beings is hence deep rooted. After man learns a culture, culture is internalized and is shared by the members of the group. Culture is shared through communication and cooperation by the members of a society.

Culture is transmitted

Culture is handed down from one generation to the other and also between nations and people within the lifetime. Culture is what we receive from previous generations and subsequently adapt to. Culture is transmitted to humans by parents, teachers, friends through traditions, customs etc. Cultural transmission is different from genetic transmission. One has no control on genetic transmission such as skin color, hair and color of eyes but through culture man acquires the habits, thoughts, attitudes of his or her parents and through this it is transmitted to the group. Ralph Linton (ibid.) appropriately says that the culture is the way of life of the members of a society. It is the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation.

Culture is symbolic

A symbol is something on which some value is bestowed by us or it has a meaning. The meaning of symbols is a matter of cultural intervention. For example, the National Flag is not any piece of cloth but has a culture. Similarly to the Christians the cross is a symbol of salvation.

Culture is dynamic

It is no longer seen as static, natural, well bounded and independent of political power. Culture is constantly undergoing change and often adapts to external forces. It also undergoes internal adaptation and change. Various parts of culture are integrated with each other to constitute a whole.

7.5 TYPES OF CULTURE: MATERIAL AND NON-MATERIAL CULTURE

Material and Non material culture

Sociologist William F. Ogburn distinguished between material and non material culture. Material culture refers to the objects which satisfies the material needs of human beings like houses, means of transport, factories, food items etc. They are the tangible aspects of society. Non material culture on the other hand refers to non tangible aspects of culture like customs, ideas, beliefs, patterns of communication etc. There are a lot of debates as to what should be included in the ambit of culture. Some anthropologists believe, only those aspects which can be communicated can be a part of culture. Many others also include objects in the definition of culture. Giddens and Sutton (2014) say that culture has always dealt with the non material aspect, it had not conventionally included the material artifacts like the buildings, furniture but this has changed as gradually sociologists became interested in 'material culture'. So, both material and non

material objects are part of culture. Culture not only includes knowledge, beliefs, and practices but also includes manmade objects like tools, buildings, means of transport and communication or various artifacts. Green (1964) defines culture as "*the socially transmitted system of idealized ways of knowledge, practice and belief, along with the artifacts that knowledge and practice produce and maintain as they change in time*" (Green, 1964:80).

7.6   ELEMENTS OF CULTURE

Language

Language is the most important element of culture. The essence of a culture is reflected in the language which facilitates day to day interaction with other people. The use of language distinguishes human beings from other species. It is instrumental in the transmission of cultural tradition from one generation to another as it is infused with meaning. **Sapir- Whorf Hypothesis** says that language is not 'given' but is culturally determined and through language reality is interpreted in different ways (Schaefer and Lamm 1999). For example, in the Arab world in which people depend on camels, there are 3,000 words for camels. Similarly, when we describe vegetables like Drumstick, bitter gourd etc. in Indian words we don't use any adjective. But the English words reflect the taste or appearance of these vegetables (Abhraham, 2006). Language and culture are intertwined.

Belief

Abraham (2006) says that belief is a statement or idea about reality which people accept as true. For example, many people in India believe in God and many auspicious occasions like marriage are scheduled on the basis of auspicious dates. Even marriages are fixed when the horoscopes of the bride and the groom matches. But beliefs are not static and are subject to change over time. We may be practicing a certain belief but by coming in contact with other cultures we may change our beliefs. People migrating to cities may shed off some of the superstitious beliefs. But in many other occasions the beliefs towards something is so strong that we may not be able to let it go.

Norms

Norms are the prescribed rules of society which guides the behaviour of the members of a society. Sutherland (1961) says that social norms are group developed and group held standards of behaviour of the groups' members. They direct the conduct of the members of the society or it is the guideline for appropriate behaviour. For Haralambos and Heald (2006) a norm is a specific guide to action which defines acceptable and appropriate behavior in particular situations. For example, in every society there are norms governing dressing patterns. In particular occasions we tend to wear a particular kind of dress. We wear different dresses when we go to a party, a funeral, a office or even a hospital. But norms vary from society to society. For example in a tribal society wearing a particular dress is acceptable but in other societies it is not.

Norms can be both formal and informal. *Formal norms* are written down and attract punishment when violated. *Informal norms* are not formally written down but are generally accepted. For Abraham (ibid.), formal norms are explicit norms like the explicit rules imposed by schools about uniforms etc. Implicit norms

can be some restriction on the public display of affection or norms governing dress that we discussed above.

Norms are further classified into *folkways* and *mores* and *laws*. Folkways are the informal rules which guide our actions. For example, do not poke your nose when elders discuss something, cover your nose when you sneeze etc. Mores are those folkways which are important for the welfare of the group. Sumner (1906) says, when the relation of welfare is added to folkways they are converted to mores. Laws grow out of mores and have a rational element in them or they are formally established rules. Mores are more strictly enforced than folkways but less strictly enforced than laws.

Values

Values are the general guidelines regarding the conduct in society unlike norms which provide specific conduct. For Abraham (2006) values are agreements among members of the society as to what is desirable and what is undesirable in society. They are generalized standards that define what is good or bad, ugly or beautiful. Values are the way people conduct themselves in society, it reflects the orientation of individuals, groups towards achieving essential goals of society. For example, paying attention when national anthem is played, respecting elders is a value of the Indian society. Different cultures have different value systems. American value system is different from Indian value system. Certain values are also given importance in a culture over others. Schaefer and Lamm (1999) give the example of Papua culture in which contributing to the public good is much more valuable than making a personal profit. Erasov and Singh (2006) mention families, relatives, older generation as values forming basis of cultural criteria.

Sanctions

Sanctions are penalties and rewards for social conduct of a person. Sanctions can be both positive and negative. Conformity to a norm prescribes positive sanction like rewards, praise etc. On the other hand violation of a norm attracts negative sanctions like fines, imprisonment etc. Schaefer and Lamm (1999) says that the norms and sanctions in a culture reflects that culture's values and priorities The most cherished values will be the most heavily sanctioned, the less critical matters will have light sanctions.

7.7 CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

Culture is often contrasted with civilization. For Ogburn and Nimkoff (1947), civilization is the latter phase of culture. It is a highly developed organization, a complex and more evolved form of culture. When the human society develops certain social and political organization, it is called a civilization. Cultural is internal but civilization is external as it is the external manifestation or the material aspect of culture such as the scientific and technological achievements. Majumdar and Madan (2008) say that culture is the moral, spiritual and the intellectual attainments of man. It stands for symbols and values. But civilization is secondary or it is something outside us. It is the sum total of the instruments of cultural life. Tai (2003) says that whereas civilization is the universal development of human beings and society, culture indicated particularity, each person has their own culture. Civilization is a much broader concept as compared to culture as it is spread beyond boundaries. Although civilization is a broader concept than culture but culture is often seen superior to civilization.

1) What is the relationship between culture and society? Discuss in four lines.

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2) Bring out the difference humans and animals with reference to culture in four lines.

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7.8   CULTURAL CHANGE

Culture is dynamic. The elements of culture change from time to time. In todays society, we see a lot of changes in the culture of societies. There is a change in the eating habits, dressing pattern, types of family, education, caste and many changes which are imminent. Cultural changes occur due to innovation, diffusion, acculturation and assimilation.

7.8.1   Cultural Innovation

Innovation is something which is newly created by someone. It may be a physical object or an artifact, or social in terms of rituals, stories, new ideas, new knowledge etc. For example, the carvings on the temples, the delicate artistic works or the carvings of the white marble of the Taj Mahal to the orbiting of satellites are all which are cultural innovations which we cherish. Innovation also happens when there is a modification on something that exists beforehand. Innovation is the most important element of cultural change as, if there is no innovation there cannot be diffusion, acculturation, and assimilation.

7.8.2   Cultural Diffusion

Cultural diffusion is a process by which the elements of culture spread from one society to another or it is the spread of cultural traits from one group to the other. Due to the development in transportation and communication and the movement of people from one place to another without restriction there is spread of culture in the form of food, dress, lifestyle, education etc.

Cultural diffusion happens at two levels – *diffusion of material culture and diffusion of non material culture.* According to William F. Ogburn (1966) the elements of non material culture are more resistant to change than the material culture. He refers to the term '**cultural lag**' to refer to the maladjustment in which non material culture fails to adjust to the rapidly changing material conditions. For example, it is difficult to adapt to a Western culture and accept foreign ideas than to accept foreign technology. We accept technology much faster as it makes our lives much easier but we are unable to change our ways of life accordingly. In a fast changing society, cultural lag is very prominent as a change in one aspect will bring stress and strains in other parts, there is a time lag before the other part of the culture catches up and restores the equilibrium in society. This sometimes disturbs the balance of society and brings **'anomie'.** **Anomie** is a concept coined by Emile Durkheim which refers to a condition in which the normative order of society is broken down. In this situation, there may be slight contradiction and confusion or a serious deterioration and disintegration in society.

7.8.3 Acculturation

Cultural diffusion brings with it the question of cultural contact. When two cultures come into contact, there is some interchange of ideas and culture leading to cultural diffusion. But when the way of life of one culture is in the process of change under the influence of another culture it is called acculturation. It may lead to either a least partial modification of one culture or may result in substantial transformation. In acculturation, the minority culture still retains some of its cultural elements.

7.8.4 Assimilation

It is the way in which one way of life is being displaced by another or it is a process in which a minority group is absorbed into the dominant culture. For example, with the coming up of development projects leading to the clearance of forests there are many tribal cultures which are getting displaced and the tribals are slowly getting assimilated into the society.

7.9 CULTURAL DIVERSITY

A society is made up of diverse cultures. It can be said that the culture of one society is distinct from the other society. The societal culture is a broad culture representing a society. But apart from the societal culture there are different subcultures, countercultures which occasionally lead to a culture shock.

7.9.1 Subcultures

It is a culture within a larger dominant culture. In many complex societies there are many subcultures. Schaefer and Lamm (1999) say that "*a subculture is a segment of society which shares a distinctive pattern of mores, folkways and values which differs from the pattern of the larger society*" (Schaefer and Lamm, 1999:81). Abhraham (2006) says that these subcultures are not partial or miniature cultures but are complete cultures which are unique to a particular social group. He gives the example of the Todas of Nilgiris, Nairs and Ezhavas of Kerala, Rajputs of Rajasthan; Bodos of Assam have cultures of their own. For him, the

distinct subcultures also evolve around occupations, political parties etc. Apart from this, there are deviant subcultures which are associated with the criminals gangs, the mafias, drug addicts. In American Society there may be New Englanders, Southerners, Texans etc. When we talk of subcultures, one issue that has gained prominence is "youth culture" or "youth subculture". Youth subculture implies that young are socialized into a type of values, standards, and a certain type of behavior pattern that distinguishes it from the adult society.

7.9.2 Countercultures

Though there are different subcultures in a society, these subcultures of a particular group are always not compatible with the dominant culture. Some subcultures challenge the prevailing culture and contrast the prevailing culture. For example, a group of dacoits have their own norms and standards which differ from the conventional prevailing patterns. The countercultures are very popular among the youth who generally find it difficult to cope up with the dominant culture which is shared by the older generations. In some countries an exclusive youth culture is being formed consisting of the youth population. This happens due to a lot of factors like the growing importance of technology, emergence of political radicals, hippie culture. Schaefer and Lamm (1999), give the example of a new counterculture that surfaced in Great Britain in 1968 were the skinheads who were young people with shaved heads, often sported tattoos, steel- toed shoes who had very less expectation of being a part of mainstream society. They championed racist ideologies and even engaged in vandalism, violence and even murder. The deviant subcultures can be appropriately called counter cultures.

7.9.3 Culture Shock

When people come across a unfamiliar culture and are unable to cope up with it they suffer maladjustment. In this situation they face a cultural shock. As our society has many subcultures we may not be aware of all of them and when we confront the ways of living of some other cultures we get disoriented. For example, when we go to a foreign country we may come across a particular way of life which is different from ours.

7.10 ETHNOCENTRISM

The term ethnocentrism was coined by William Graham Sumner to refer to a feeling that ones culture is always superior to other cultures. Sumner (1906) says "*ethnocentrism is the technical name of this view of things in which ones own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it*" (Sumner,1906:13). He further says that it leads people to exaggerate everything in their folkways which differentiate them from others. On the basis of this feeling, other cultures are judged in relation to one's own culture. The South Indians feel that their culture is superior to the North Indian culture. Similarly, people still feel that Africa is a country only inhabited by primitive tribals and is a Dark Continent. Ethnocentrism gives rise to a feeling of superiority in the sense that we judge other cultures as "wrong" rather than just the "other" or the other way. Ethnocentrism sometimes may lead to *xenophobia* or the fear of the foreign.

7.11   CULTURAL RELATIVISM

It is a process in which we evaluate a culture by its own standards or in its own context rather than from our own cultural lens. Abraham (2006) says that every element of the culture has a function unique to the group which shares the culture. Many customs and practices in a culture should not be judged as right or wrong, good or bad but are to be understood in terms of their function. Many Americans wonder why the Indian farmers refuse to eat their cows even if they starve. Cultural relativism may lead to *xenocentrism* which is the opposite of ethnocentrism. Xenocentrism is the belief that other cultures is superior to one's own culture.

7.12   MULTICULTURALISM

In order to understand what a multicultural society is we have to understand what an ethnic group is. In todays society there is the existence of multiple ethnic groups. Ethnic group is a community of people who share a common cultural background or they share certain common characteristics such as race, language, religion etc which differentiates them from other groups. Kymlicka (2012) defines multiculturalism as a legal and political accommodation of the ethnic diversity. He says multiculturalism emerged in the West as an attempt at replacing the older forms of ethnic and racial hierarchy with the ideals of democratic citizenship. Abraham (2006) says that "*it is a principle of coexistence of different cultures which fosters understanding and appreciation of different cultures*" (Abraham, 2012:72). A multicultural society is often equated with a 'salad bowl' in which all communities retain their distinct identities as opposed to a 'melting pot' in which the majority culture swallows up a minority culture.   Multiculturalism in recent times has become a highly debated concept with people questioning whether a multicultural society is possible?

7.13   GLOBALISATION AND CULTURE

Sunanda Sen (2007) says that "*globalization is associated with the integration of the world, with the markets breaking open the barriers across nation states in terms of flows of trade, finance, technology, knowledge, culture and even movements of people*"(Sen, 2007:1). An improvement in transportation and communication and a global contact between cultures, led to the transmission of values, ideas, meanings and even movement of people around the world. The phenomenon of globalisation has brought in significant changes in the economy, politics, culture etc of the world. Arjun Appadurai discusses about the global cultural flow. Appadurai (1996) mentions five dimensions of global cultural flow as *Ethnoscapes* – the landscapes of persons such as tourists, immigrants, refugees and the movement of persons who affect the politics of a particular place. *Technoscapes* – The global spread of technology both material and informational across boundaries. *Finanscapes* – The rapid flow of money through currency markets and stock exchange. *Mediascapes* – The distribution of electronic capabilities like television, films to produce and disseminate information. *Ideoscapes* – The exchange of ideologies and counter – ideologies which consists of notions of freedom, justice, rights, democracy, sovereignty.

7.14 CULTURE IN INDIAN CONTEXT

7.14.1 Cultural Diversity in India

The Indian society is very diverse and extremely complex. S.C Dube (1990) says that "*the Indian society had covered a span of five thousand years since the period of its first known civilization. During this long period several waves of immigrant representing different ethnic strains and linguistic families have merged into its population to contribute to its diversity, richness and vitality*" (Dube, 1990:1). The Indian society consists of a large number of languages, dialects, beliefs, rituals, customs, traditions etc. It has 22 national languages and hundred dialects. It is one of the most religiously and ethnically diverse nations of the world. There are even many languages which are till now not even recognized. Dube (1990) says that in the state of Nagaland itself there are nineteen languages. Religious faiths include Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and even Baha'i faith which is practiced by a smaller number of communities with the Hindus constituting the majority. It has been the dominant religion and has put considerable influence on the Indian culture and society. People in India belong to different castes, sub-castes or *jati* and social classes. Each caste has their unique rituals, rules customs etc. Indian society is also characterized by sharp contrasts or inequalities. On the one hand there are very rich people the **elites** who are comparatively smaller in number and on the other hand there are vast majority of people who are poor or the **working classes**. In the middle are certain classes called the **middle classes**.

Moreover the Indian society is also a home to a number of tribal communities who have their distinct cultural identity and heritage. These diversities can be attributed to the existence of different cultural traditions like the classical, folk and the tribal. In other words these traditions can be divided into **little tradition** and **great tradition**, the concepts coined by Robert Redfield. The little traditions are unwritten and are transmitted orally. On the other hand great traditions are written traditions and are found in literature and religious texts. Though in the present context there has been much overlap between traditions and there has been an interaction between the two traditions.

Todays society creates division on the basis of division of labour, specialization of knowledge which separates the highly educated from the less educated. One of the most significant divisions among people is found in the field of educational attainment. Education which should be a great leveler instead it reproduces the existing cultural and social divisions. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) calls this **'cultural capital'**. Apart from this religious, spatial segregation also brings in variability of culture in terms of manners, speech, activities, recreation. Cultural diversity can be best understood when we talk about Indian Society.

7.14.2 Cultural Unity and Integration

Inspite of these diversities in the Indian society discussed above, the Indian society is characterized by unity and this unity in diversity has become a part of India's self identity says S.C Dube. India is a secular state and has a constitution which ensures that the identities of different communities are preserved. Moreover the different facets of culture like religion, music, art and architecture, painting, dance and drama, habits and customs have contributed to the unity and integration

of India. Dube (ibid.) says that problems persists and many also have spawned in recent decades like ethnic movements, religious fundamentalism, linguistic conflicts, regionalism which pose a major challenge to the contemporary Indian society. The Indian society has witnessed a lot of invasions. Moreover liberalisation, privatization and globalization also has ushered in a lot of changes. But these have not led to the disintegration of the Indian society. It can be said that despite a lot of diversity, dissent, protests there is an underlying unity derived from its unique culture which is the cornerstone of Indian society.

Check Your Progress 2

1) What are the different ways in which cultural change is brought about? Write in four lines.

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2) What do you understand by cultural diversity? Why is Indian society so diverse?

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7.15 LET US SUM UP

Culture and Society are closely interrelated. Society is a broad aspect and culture is a part of it. Society refers to persons and groups and culture refers to behaviour patterns, the sum total of man's activities, thoughts, beliefs, attitude and all that is characteristics of man as a social being. Culture has been defined by different scholars differently as it is highly variable and differs from society to society. Though animals adapt to their environment, but the adaptation pattern of both humans and animals are very different. As a result of this there is a difference between culture and biology. Culture is learned and transmitted from generation to generation through language, an important element of culture. Culture is also conveyed through customs, beliefs, norms, sanctions, values, laws, institutions. Hence, culture is social, symbolic and dynamic. The distinguishing elements of culture are language, customs, belief, norms, sanctions, values and law. All cultures have basic structure like the cultural traits, complexes, culture area. It is through these structures communication is possible in a society. It can also be

contrasted to civilisation which is the later phase of culture. Culture is dynamic and is also subject to change. It is not static. It cannot remain isolated for long periods of time. As cultures come in contact with each other, cultural changes happen due to innovation, diffusion, acculturation, accumulation etc. Culture is also very diverse. The diversity of culture is seen both in primitive as well as modern societies. The diversity of culture is also visible in the Indian context and it can be said that India is a land of diverse cultures. It can be said that there are various subcultures, countercultures to a dominant culture. Failure to adjust to a dominant culture leads to culture shock. Each culture has its own uniqueness. We tend to relate our own culture with others and sometimes treat our culture as superior to others. But inspite of the diversity and uniqueness of cultures, there is coexistence between different cultures which seem to create a multicultural society. There are certain cultural universals which are common to all cultures. This brings about cultural uniformity and integration. In today's world of globalisation, there is a global cultural flow as a result of which there is a transmission of cultural traits in the world.

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UNIT 8   SOCIAL GROUPS AND COMMUNITY*

8.0   OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand:

*   To give a definition of community;

*   To identify the bases and elements of community;

*   To explain the relation between community and association;

*   To discuss the characteristics of community;

*   To describe social groups and their different classifications;

*   To explain the major concept of social group;

*   To describe the nature and types of social groups; and

*   To discuss the different aspects of social groups.

8.1   INTRODUCTION

Wherever the members of any group, small or large, live together in such a way that they share, not this or that interest but the basic conditions of a common life, we call that group a community. A community is essentially an area of social living. It is marked by some degree of social coherence.

Thus, community is a circle of interwoven relationships. Within the ranges of a community the members may carry on their economic, political, religious,

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educational and other activities. Hence community is the total organization of social life within a defined social space; e. g. Village, tribe, city, district.

Group means a collection of human beings who have social relationships with one another. Social relationship involves some degree of reciprocity as well as awareness of mutuality. On the basis, of this criterion, many of those divisions of a population that are sometimes named social groups may not be so. For general understanding we regard any collection of two or more individuals to be a group, whose members identify and interact with each other in a personalized manner. The small size of some groups (often no more than 15-20 People) enables all the members to know and to interact with the help of shared values and norms. As a result the members of a group feel strong inter-personal bonds among themselves and with the group as a whole. There are countless kinds of groups in contemporary societies, including families, friendship cliques, work crews, teenage gangs, sport teams, juries, rap groups and committees of all sorts. All of us are members of numerous social groups that influences or shape many of our daily activities. The family is an extremely important group in most of our lives, since bonds of love and affection, commitments, marriage and kinship link us closely within the family. Even if we do not live with all the members of our family or interact with them on daily basis, we commonly maintain these interpersonal ties through letters, phone calls and visits. Categorizing groups as either primary or secondary is a convenient way of indicating the depth and inclusiveness of their social relationship.

8.2 DEFINITIONS OF COMMUNITY

1) According to Bogardus, Community is a social group with some degree of 'we feeling' and 'living in a given area.

2) For Kingsley Davis, Community is the smallest territorial group that can embrace all aspects of social life.

3) Ginsberg defines Community as a group of social beings living a common life including all the infinite variety and complexity of relations which result from that common life which constitutes it.

8.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY

All communities need not be self-sufficient. Some communities are all-inclusive and independent of others. Among primitive people, some communities of no more than a hundred persons, (Examples: Yurok tribes of USA) which are almost isolated. But modern communities, especially large ones are much less self-contained. Economic and political interdependence rather than kinship and family relationships, is a major characteristic of our modern communities. Apart from this, a community has the following characteristics:

1) Definite territory

2) Population

3) Close social relationship

4) Cultural similarity

5) We feeling

6) Organized interaction

Great and Little Communities

In spite of the expansion of the community to the dimensions of the nation and the world, the smaller communities still remain as viable units. The nation or the world state does not eliminate the village or neighbourhood, though they may be changed in character. As social beings, we need smaller as well as the larger circles of community. The great community brings us opportunity, stability, economy, the constant stimulus of a richer, more varied culture. But living in the smaller community we find the nearer, more intimate satisfactions. The larger community provides peace and protection, patriotism and sometimes war, automobiles and the radio. The smaller provides friends and friendship, gossip and face to face rivalry, local pride and abode. Both are essential to the full life process.

Bases of Community

The mark of a community is that one's life may be lived wholly within it. One cannot live wholly within a business organization or a church; one can live wholly within a tribe or a city. The basic criterion of community then is that all of one's social relationships may be found within it. A community then is an area of social living marked by some degree of social coherence. The bases of community are; 1. Locality and 2.Community Sentiment.

1) **Locality:** A community always occupies a geographical area. Locality is the physical basis of community. Even a nomad community, a band of gypsies, for example, has a local though changing habitation. At every moment, its members occupy together a definite place on the earth's surface. Most communities are settled and derive a strong bond of solidarity from physical proximity. A group of people form a community only when they begin to reside in a definite locality. In contrast with society, a community is, to an extent, locally limited. Living together facilitates people to develop social contacts, gives protection, safety and security. Most communities are settled and derive from the conditions of their locality a strong bond of solidarity. However, to some extent this local bond has been weakened in the modern world by the extending facilities of communication; this is especially apparent in the penetration into rural areas of dominant urban patterns. But the extension of communication is itself the condition of a larger but still territorial community.

2) **Community Sentiment**: People occupying specific local areas which lack the social coherence necessary to give them a community character in today's world. For example, the residents of a ward or district or a large city may lack sufficient contacts or common interests to instill conscious identification with the area. Such a 'neighborhood' is not a community because it does not possess a feeling of belonging together – it lacks community sentiment. Locality though a necessary condition, is not enough to create a community. A community is undoubtedly a common living. Community sentiment means a feeling of belonging together. The members develop a sense of 'we-feeling'. It means a kind of identification with the group. Without a sense of

identification, a sense of awareness, a sense of living and sharing some common interests in life there cannot be any community.

8.4   ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY SENTIMENT

1) **We-Feeling:** This is the feeling that leads men to identify themselves with others so that when they say "we" there is no thought of distinction and when they say "ours" there is no thought of division. This 'we-sentiment' is found wherever men have common interest, and thus throughout group life, but is revealed nowhere more clearly than where the interest is the territorial community.

2) **Role-Feeling:** This feeling involving subordination to the whole on the part of the individual is fostered by training and habituation in the daily discipline of life, so that each person feels he/she a role to play, his own function to fulfill in the reciprocal exchanges of the social scene.

3) **Dependency Feeling:** This refers to the individual sense of dependence upon the community as a necessary condition of his own life. This involves both a physical dependence, since his/her material wants are satisfied within it and a psychological dependence, since the community is the greater "home" that sustains him/her, embodying all that is at least familiar, if not wholly congenial to his life. The community is a refuge from the solitude and fears that accompany that individual isolation so characteristic of our modern life.

Criterion of Community

We are members, mostly, of a very small community, though we may be living in big cities. This is because our interests are cut down within a narrow area. On the contrary, we may live in a village and yet belong to a community as wide as the whole area of our civilization or even wider. No civilized community, as MacIver points out, has walls around it to cut it off completely from a larger one, whatever 'iron-curtains' may be drawn by the rulers of this nation or that. Communities exist within greater communities: the town within a region, the region within a nation and the nation within the world community which again, is in the process of development.

A community then is an area of social living marked by some degree of social coherence. According to McIver, the mark of a community is that one's life may be live wholly within it. One can't line wholly within a business organization of a Church; one can live wholly only within a tribe or a city.

There may arises some questions such as, in certain condition some people gather for a long period of time, then will this gathering be called community or not? Following three set of questions are given regarding the condition given above. Among these questions first two get affirmative answer while the last one, negative

1) Shall we call monastery or convent or prison a community in our sense? These establishments are territorially based and they are, indeed, areas of social living. Many, however, would deny them a community status because

of the restricted range of functions of the inhabitants. But are human functions always limited by the nature of one's community? We should be inclined to answer this query in the affirmative.

2) Shall we call immigrant groups, which in the midst of large American cities cherish their own customs and speak their own language, communities? According to McIver such groups clearly possess the requirements.

3) Shall we call a social caste, the members of which exclude their fellow citizens from the more intimate social relationships, a community? Here the negative answer is more appropriate because, in order to satisfy our definition, the community group must by itself occupy a particular location. A social caste has social coherence, no doubt, but it lacks the community's territorial basis.

As a conclusion, community has been defined in following ways –

a) A grouping of people

b) Within a geographic area

c) With a division of labour into specialized and interdependent functions

d) With a common culture and a social system which organizes their activities

e) Whose members are conscious of their unity and belonging to the community

f) Whose members can act collectively in an organized manner.

8.5 COMMUNITY AND ASSOCIATION

One of the most important divisions of social groups is an association. An association is a group of people united for a specific purpose or a limited number of purposes. Such is an army or a school, the object of which is to defend the nation or to impart knowledge.

A community on the other hand, is a permanent social group embracing a totality of ends or purpose. In contrast with an association the life of the members of a community is wholly lived init; here they find all their social relations, while outside it there is little but they need.

The task of deciding whether a group is a community or an association is not always easy. The greater the plurality of ends of an association the nearer it approaches the concept of community, though that may never be reached. Thus in India the so-called communities, which gave rise to the problem of communalism, are not communities in the sociological sense. They are rather ethnical groups within which certain social and religious interests are satisfied; but owing to the dependence of these groups on one another and on the larger provincial or national unit, they cannot fulfill the definition of a community. For the samereason a religious community or an *Ashram* cannot be strictly called a community though it is largely self-contained. Yet many of the Utopian communities of the USA in pioneer times and not a few Indian villages may be considered as real communities inasmuch as their inhabitant live a simple self-contained life separated from the rest.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Define the concept of community. Explain various elements of community sentiments.

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2) What are the characteristics of community? Describe its various bases with examples.

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3) Distinguish between community and association in brief.

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4) Explain the basic aspects of great and small communities

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8.6   DEFINITION OF SOCIAL GROUP

Definition of Social Group

1) Albion Small defines a group as 'any number of people, larger or smaller, between whom such relations are discovered that they must be thought of together.'

2) Bogardus defines 'a social group may be thought of as a number of persons, two or more, who have some common objects of attention, who are stimulating to each other, who have common loyalty and participate in similar activities.'

3) Green Arnold defines 'a group is an aggregate of individuals which persists in time which has one or more interests and activities in common and which is organized.'

4) Williams defines 'a social group is a given aggregate of people playing inter-related roles and recognized by themselves or others as a unit of interaction.'

8.7   BASES OF CLASSIFICATION OF GROUPS

Sociology considers human groups its primary unit of analysis. If asked to describe the bases on which social groups exist, different answers may exist for different kinds of groups.There are several criteria by which social groups may be classified. They, for instance, include the nature of their interests, the degree of organization, the extent of their permanence, the kind of contact among the members and the like. Ginsberg also takes the same view and says, 'Groups can be classified in numerous ways, size andspatial distribution. Permanence and inclusiveness of the relationships on which they rest, mode of formation, type of organization and so forth.'

Thus, while some sociologists give a simple basis for classifying groups, others have given an elaborate classificatory scheme.

George Simmel considered size as the criterion for classification of groups. Since the individual with his societal conditioning is the most elementary unit of sociology, Simmel began with the nomad. He took the single person as a focus of group relationships and pursued his analysis through the 'dyad' and the 'triad' and other smaller collectivities on the one hand and the large scale groups on the other.

Dwight Sanderson takes structure as the basis for classifying groups. He classifies them into involuntary, voluntary and delegate groups.

C.H. Cooley divides groups into two types, namely primary group and secondary group on the basis of the kind of contact.

F.H. Giddings classifies groups into genetic or congregate on the basis of the type of relationship.

W.G. Sumner makes a distinction between the in-group and out-group on the basis of consciousness of kind.

Geroge Hasen classifies groups on the basis of their relations to other groups into unsocial, pseudo-social or pro-social.

Miller divides social groups into horizontal and vertical groups.

8.7.1 Primary Groups and Secondary Groups

The term 'Primary Group' was coined by Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929), in 1909 in his book 'Social Organization'. A primary group is relatively small. Members of this group generally have face to face contacts. They have intimate and cooperative relationship as well as strong loyalty. The relationships between the members are ends in themselves because members derive pleasure and enjoyment merely by associating with one another. They have no other end or goals in view. The primary group comes to an end when one or more members leave it they can't be substituted by others. The best example of a primary group is the family or the friendship or peer group.

Secondary Groups: Secondary groups in several respects are the opposite of primary groups. As they are in general large groups, members of the secondary groups maintain relatively limited, formal and impersonal relationships with one another. Secondary groups are specific or specialized Interest groups. It generally has a well-defined division of labor. Secondary groups may continue irrespective of whether its original members continue to be its members or not. A football team, a music club, a factory, an army etc. are examples of secondary groups.

Difference between Primary and Secondary Group

1) The size of the primary group is small; Secondary group is bigger.

2) There exists a personal and intimate relationship among members of a primary group while the relationship among the members of the secondary group is relatively impersonal.

3) There is much face to face communication among members of a primary group while in the secondary group the members have little face to face communication.

4) Members have a strong sense of loyalty of 'we' feeling in a primary group but in case of a secondary group anonymity prevails.

5) Informality is most common in a primary group. The group. The group usually does not have a name, officers or regular meeting place, but in secondary group such formality prevails.

6) Primary group are relationship-oriented but secondary groups are goal oriented.

7) In primary groups, the relations are inclusive and that is why the absence of one person cannot fulfilled by another. Inclusiveness of relations is not found in secondary groups and therefore a person can very easily be substituted for another.

8) Virtues like love, sympathy, mutual help etc. flourish in the primary groups while secondary groups promote self-interest and individuality.

9) Group decisions are mare traditional and non-rational in primary group while in secondary group decisions are more rational and the emphasis is on efficiency.

10) The position of a person is fixed according to his/her birth-order and age in the primary group while it is fixed according to roles in the secondary groups.

11) Primary groups are primary in time and importance. As such, they are the foundation stones of the society while the secondary groups are always secondary in importance.

Primary and Secondary Relations in Modern World

Among primitive people and in villages and small town communities, individuals are linked together for the most part by primary bonds – the other members of the group are known as persons, not merely as representatives of positions in the formal order. Thus, for his apprentices the member of the medieval guild was more than a "boss"; he was a counsellor, disciplinarian, teacher, friend (or enemy) and so on.

Task Group

Some groups are neither clearly primary nor secondary but are intermediate, with some features of each. Task groups (or task oriented groups) are small groups formed to do some task or set of task (Nixon, 1979). They include work teams, committees, and panel of many sorts. Some scholars consider the task group the most common form of group of our society (Fisher, 1980). Task group resemble primary groups in being small, for only small groups are efficient work units. This is why large labour forces are broken down into small teams. Task group also resemble primary groups in that interaction is typically face-to-face and informal. But the task group contacts are impersonal, segmental and utilitarian. Members are not much interested in one another as persons and are not concerned with the entire person but just with work performance in the task group.

8.7.2 Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

Somewhat similar to the concept of primary and secondary groups are the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, developed by Ferdinand Tonnies (1887). These two terms translate roughly as 'Community' and 'Society'. The Gemeinschaft is a social system in which most relationships are personal or traditional and often both. A good example is the feudal manor, a small community held   together by a combination of personal relationships and status obligation. Although great inequality existed, the lord of the manor was personally known to his subjects, while their duties to him were balanced by his obligation for their welfare.

In the Gesellschaft, the society of tradition is replaced with the society of contract. In this society neither personal attachment nor traditional rights and duties are important. The relationships between people are determined by bargaining and defined in written agreements. Relatives are often separated because people move about and live among strangers. Commonly accepted codes of behavior are largely replaced by rational or 'cold-blooded' calculation of profit and loss. Thus in the Gemeinschaft, primary-group relationships were dominant, while in the Gesellschaaft, secondary-group relationships gained in importance.

Gemeinschaft Relationships Gesellschaft relationships

1) Personal   Impersonal

2) Informal   Formal, Contractual

3) Traditional   Utilitarian

| 4) | Sentimental | Realistic, 'hard-boiled' |
| 5) | General | Specialized |

8.7.3 In Group and Out Group

These twin terms were introduced by WG Sumner to refer insiders in a 'we' relationship, in contrast with outsiders to the relationship. Sumner used the term 'in-group' in his celebrated book *Folkways (1906)*. There are some groups to which I belong, my family, my religion, my university, my clique, my profession, my sex, my nation – any group which precede with the pronoun, "my". These are in-group, because I feel, I belong to them. There are other groups to which I do not belong other families, cliques, occupations, races, nationalities, religions, the other sex – these are out groups, for I am outside them.

The simplest societies live in small, isolated bands which are usually clans of kinsfolk. It was kinship which located one's in-group and out-group and when two strangers met, the first thing they had to do was establish the relationship. If kinship could be established they were friends, both members of the in group. If no relationship could be established, then in many societies they were enemies and acted accordingly. In modern society, people belong to so many groups that their in-group and out-group relationship may overlap. For example, in a hostel there are various in-groups who consider others as members of out-groups. However, in a cricket match against another hostel, all the hostel inmates will behave as in-group and cheer their team on the field.

In-groups and out-groups are important then, because they affect behaviour. From fellow members of an in-group we expect recognition loyalty and helpfulness. From out-group our expectation varies with the kind of out group. From some out-group we expect hostility; from others, a more or less friendly competition; from still others, indifference. From the same out group, we may expect neither hostility nor indifference yet in our behavior a difference undeniably remains. For example, the 12 year boy who shuns girls grows up to become a romantic lover and spends most of his life in matrimony. Yet when men and women meet on social occasions they tend to split into sex groups, perhaps because each sex is bored by many of the conversational interests of the other. The clique is one kind of in-group. Thus, our behavior is affected by the particular kind of in-group or out-group which is involved. However, it should also be obvious that in-group and out-group are not actually groups in-so-far as people create them in their use of the pronouns 'we' and 'they' and develop a kind of attitude towards these groups. Nevertheless, this distinction is an important formal distinction because it enables us to construct two significant sociological principles.

a) The in-group members tend to stereotype those who are in the out-group. Thus the people of Delhi may have stereotypes of those who live in Bihar or UP. The significant thing is that such stereotypes are usually formed by considering what appears to the members of the in-group as the least respectable traits to be found in the members of the out-group. The people of each linguistic state in India have tendency to form a stereotype of the people of other linguistic states. A Punjabi, for instance, has stereotype or a generalized perception of what a Guajarati do not fit into that stereotype. In fact, social distance (a concept developed by Bogardus) encourages such categorization and discourages individual differentiation. Knowledge of this

principle helps to considerably reduce the unfortunate effects of such categorization into stereotypes and to demolish the barriers that obstruct the easy communication between people.

b) Any threat, real or imaginary, from an out-group tends to bind the members of the in-group against the members of the out-group. This may be illustrated with references to our experience in the family situation. Mecinus, the Chinese sage, said many years ago: "Brothers and sisters who may quarrel within the walls of their home, will bind themselves together to drive away any intrude".

8.7.4   Reference Group

Reference group refers to any group accepted as model or guide for our judgments and actions. However, it needs further elaboration for clarity. In some situations, we conform not to the norms to which we belong but rather to those of the groups to which we would like to be identified.

A reference group may not be an actual group. It may even be an imaginary one. Any group is a reference group for someone if his conception of it, which may or may not be realistic, is part of his frame of reference for assessment of himself or of his situation.

1) Thus, an individual who is anxious to move up the social ladder usually, has a tendency to conform to the norms of etiquette and speech of a higher social class than his own because he seeks identification with this class. 'Sanskritization' in the Indian context, is one of the best illustrations of the concept of reference group where people in the upper ladder of the caste hierarchy are taken as a 'model' and imitated by those below them. For members of a particular group, another group is a reference group if any of the following circumstances prevail 1.   When members of the first group aspire to membership of the second group, the second group becomes the reference group for the next. For example, IAS trainees serve as the reference group for many of the university students in India.

2) When members of the first group strive to be like the members of the second group in some respect, the second group serves as the Positive reference group of the first. It is to be noted here that the first group wants to be like the second group. For example, the non-Brahmins, in some parts of India have a tendency to emulate the ways of behavior of the Brahmins in order to acquire the prestige of the Brahmins (as noted by Srinivas).

3) When the members of the first group derive some satisfaction from being unlike the members of the second group in some respect, and even strive to maintain the difference between themselves and the members of the second group, the latter group is the Negative reference group of the first. For example, in USA, the whites strive to remain unlike the African Americans and in this case the African Americans become the negative reference group for the whites.

4) When without necessarily striving to be like or unlike or to belong to the second group, the members of the first group appraise their own group or themselves by using the second group or its members as a standard for comparison; the second group becomes the reference group of the first. For

examples, in some situation the non-teaching employees of the colleges are found to assess their own performance or record attendance in reference to those of the teachers.

Vertical and Horizontal Groups

A vertical group (concepts by Miller) consists of members from all walks of life, while a horizontal group consists mainly of members from one social class. Occupational groups of doctors, electricians, engineers etc. are examples of the first, while caste groups are examples of vertical groups.

Institutional and Non-Institutional Groups

Institutional group are those which function through rituals, symbols, officers, codes of conduct, regulatory power including power to punish. The nation is an institutional group. The state as an association of citizens for power is an institutional group in contrast to picnic party which is a non-institutional group.

Contractual and Non-Contractual Groups

The contractual groupsborn with a contract within a definition of power and responsibilities of the members as well as of the group. It is a formal group with definite tendency toward institutionalization. The framers of Indian Constitution, the corporation, a labor union are some examples of contractual group. The non-contractual groups are students, passengers on a train etc.

Voluntary and Involuntary Groups

A voluntary group is one which a person joins his own. It is his option whether he wants to remain a member or not. For example, a club membership is voluntary. An involuntary group is one which is based on kinship or caste group and it is beyond own will an example of involuntary group members.

Informal and Formal Groups

An informal group is one in which a number of persons work together to attain a common goal. There is no set of formal rules and regulations to govern the relationship. It has no definite structure. Crowd is an example of an informal group.

A formal group consists of a number of persons working together toward a given goal according to a set of rules under the direction of a set of officers. It has a definite structure. A bureaucratic group is an example of a formal group.

8.8 SOCIAL GROUP AND COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES

	Social Group		Community
1)	Group is an artificial creation.	1)	Community is a natural growth.
2)	Group is formed to realize some.	2)	Community includes the whole circle of social life.
3)	Membership of group is voluntary.	3)	Membership of community is compulsory.
4)	Group is comparatively temporary.	4)	Community is comparatively permanent.
5)	Group is a part of community.	5)	Community is a whole.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Define social group. What are objectives of social group?

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2) What are the different types of Social groups? Describe with examples.

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3) Explain basic aspects of In-group and Out-group groups.

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4) What are the bases of classification of Social groups? Explain.

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8.9 LET US SUM UP

This unit has explained clearly some important and basic concepts of Community and social group. Community is the most inclusive grouping of humans, marked by the possibility for the individual member to live his life wholly within it. Community need to be self-sufficient and in fact is decreasingly so as civilization becomes more interdependent. This unit briefly examined the two bases of all communities, the occupation of a territorial area and the shared possession of a community sentiment.

Basic concepts of social group, as explained in this unit, by group it means any collection of human beings who are brought into social relationship with one another. Social relationships involve some degree of reciprocity between those related, some measure of mutual awareness as reflected in the attitudes of the members of the group. On the basis of this criterion, many of those divisions of a population named social groups. The basis for the classification of groups, then, size or some quality of group interaction or some quality of group interest or the degree of organization, or some of these combination. The classification of major types of groupings is based primarily upon the range and nature of interests and the degree of group organization, while other criteria enter into the distinctions between the subtypes.

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UNIT 9 ORGANISATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS*

Structure

9.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Institutions and Organisations;

- Understand the difference between Institutions and Organisations;

- Identify different kinds of Organisations and Institutions presently structuring society;

- Understand perspectives on Organisations;

- Understand different types of Organisations; and

- Understand Organisational Behaviour.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit looks at institutions and organisations as units of society. It highlights the relationship between society, institutions and organisations. It further examines in details what is meant by institutions, organisations and organisational

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behaviour. It also captures the various sociological perspectives on the idea of institutions and organisations, and their relationship with the society.

Society is made up of individuals and collectives and a sum total of all the relationships that exist between them. Society, however, needs to order itself through organising its various constituents. One of the ways in which society orders itself is through institutions and organisations. Institutions and organisations provide the society a fair amount of consistency and predictability which is essential for the stability of the society.

Institutions are set of rules that structure social interaction (Jack Knight, 1992). Institutions can be understood as code of conduct or a set of rules and guidelines for human activity. Institutions structure human interaction through stated or implied rules that set expectations. Some examples of institutions are law, education, marriage, and family.

Organisations are specific types of institutions with more clearly defined and stated boundary that separate members from non-members. Organisations are singular in that they are characterised by its members being tied in a chain of command. Organisations clearly demarcate the responsibilities, authority and spheres of influence. They also arrange their members in a hierarchy of roles with a sovereign in-charge. Some examples of organisations are trade unions, schools, and courts.

Consider the examples of education as an institution and school as an example of organisation. Every known society formulates some ways in which it trains and cultivates the faculties of its young ones, constructs new knowledge and transmits the existing knowledge. In doing so, it organises human interactions and human activity within the society. Education becomes a way in which the young are made to understand their roles, expectations and duties as members of the society. All societies (clans, tribes, agrarian, industrial) have devised some or the other way of transmission of knowledge, values and skills among their younger members. This objective can be fulfilled through various means such as apprenticeship, *gurukulas* (traditional residential education system in India), mentorship and training.

9.2   INSTITUTION

1) Institutions are components of the society that help to maintain order and stability through structuring human interaction and activity. Institutions manifest themselves in terms of overt or implicit rules that structure human interactions. Institutions function through the members of a society being socialised into them. This makes the study of institutions critical to the field of sociology. Emile Durkheim referred to sociology as the scientific study of principle institutions. Institutions such as religion, family, education et cetera are still critical to the discipline of sociology.

Let us consider a few scholarly definitions of institutions to acquaint with the meaning of institution:

According to Morris Ginsberg (1921), "Institutions are definite and sanctioned forms or modes of relationship between social beings, in respect to one another or to some external object".

Robert Morrison MacIver1 defines Institutions as "established forms or conditions of procedures characteristic of group activity".

William Graham Sumner (1906:53) suggests that "an institution consists of a concept, idea, notion, doctrine or interest and a structure".

Bronislaw Malinowski 2 argues that, "every institution centres around a fundamental need, permanently unites a group of people in a co-operational task and has its particular body of doctrines and its technique or craft. Institutions are not correlated simply and directly to new functions. One need not receive one's satisfaction in one institution."

Jonathan Turner defines institution as "a complex of positions, roles, norms and values lodged in particular types of social structures and organising relatively stable patterns of human activity with respect to fundamental problems in producing life-sustaining resources, in reproducing individuals, and in sustaining viable societal structures within a given environment" (Turner 1997: 6).

From the above definitions we learn that 1) institutions may not be physical entities but visible in the co-ordinated patterns of behaviour of members of a society. 2) Institutions can help explain the behaviour of individual members. 3) Institutions have both restrictive and enabling potential in that it both constraints the choices available to an individual and defines the ways in which choices are to be exercised. Consider a situation whereby two individuals decide to live together the institution of marriage both defines and constraints the way in which they exercise their desire to live with each other. 4) Institutions function to forge and reiterate solidarity among members of a society. 5) It structures the interaction between members.

Institutions can be identified, in terms of the regular and consistent patterns of behaviours that are structured through norms and sanctions. While manifest behaviours may be read as observable form of institution. Institutions cannot be reduced merely to associated behaviour; for if the associated behaviour were to get disrupted that may not necessarily mean that the institution has ceased to exist. There are no clear boundaries that can be drawn between norms and institutions but institutions are distinct in that they are consistent and have generalised normative expectation. These normative social expectations are seen as obligatory and are supplemented by strong sanctions against aberrations. For example, the biological fact of reproduction has been institutionalised into marriage and family as institutions. Human reproduction outside of the sanctioned institutions of marriage and family would receive general discouragement and in some cases, a strong backlash. Therefore, institutions seek to assign and define the social roles that members of a particular society must fulfil and adhered to. Institutions may therefore be understood as an ensemble of such roles. For instance, the institution of family expects a heterosexual man to adopt certain roles and responsibilities and the heterosexual woman to adopt other roles and responsibilities. The children in a family also have socially defined roles and responsibilities. However, such delineation of roles and responsibilities is not final and absolute. The institution of family has been attacked for its assumptions about the roles of 'man' and 'woman', of sexuality and division of labour.

Institutions function well in so far as they maintain stable patterns of expectation, thought and action. The consistency and synchronisation among these elements

determine the stability of the institution. It is often argued that institutions have equilibrium like qualities, in that, when disturbed, institutions reinstate their stability by reinforcing order as purpose or preference. Repeated and consistent behaviour that has rule-like qualities assumes normative weight and act in ways that stabilise the equilibrium status of the institution.

Sociologists consider institutions not singularly as stable static phenomena but as process. Institutions have been understood in terms of the processes of institutionalisation, de-institutionalisation, and re-institutionalisation. They are generally considered as the "more enduring features of social life" (Giddens, 1984: 24).

Origin of the Term

The term became popular through its usage in economics where it signified constraints on human endeavour of utility maximisation due to parallel efforts towards utility maximisation by other members. The two economists who are associated with its usage are Oliver Williamson and D.C. North(Give the references). As you may notice its usage in economics is quite different from its usage in sociology. While, the usage of the term in economics is of little significance to sociology, the sociological conception of institutions, institutional change and institutionalisation have been significant to the discipline of economics. To economics, institution in the sociological sense can help predict and explain individual behaviours. Unlike its original usage in economics one can start at the understanding of institution and comprehend individual behaviour, which is what the sociological concept of institution suggests.

After its initial usage in economics, the term then spread into sociology. The first sociologist credited with the usage of the term is Herbert Spencer. Spencer suggested that society is an organism and the institutions are all organs of the society.

9.2.1 Purpose of Institutions

German Sociologist Arnold Gehlen (1980) suggested that humans seek to supplement their instinctual world with a cultural world. He suggests that this feeling of incompleteness and the attempt to supplement explains the emergence of institutions. In his book '*The Social Construction of Reality*' (1967) Thomas Luckman elaborates this idea and suggests that human beings compensate for their biological underdevelopment through surrounding themselves with a social canopy or religion. Institutions therefore make human life meaningful through connecting human beings to their natural environment with the help of intermediate social relationships and symbolic constructs.

9.2.2 Types of Institutions

Sociologists generally classify institutions into five clusters of major institutions. They are:

- Economic Institutions: These are the institutions that correspond to production, consumption and distribution of goods and services.
- Institutions of Social Stratification: These are the institutions that regulate and control differential access to social status and prestige.

- Kinship, Marriage and Family: These institutions control and regulate reproduction.

- Political Institutions: They are concerned with regulation and distribution of power.

Cultural Institutions: They regulate religious, symbolic and cultural practices.

9.3 PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Social institutions are systematic beliefs and norms that are centred on fulfilment of basic social needs. These social needs pertain to replacement of members of the society (reproduction and family) and preserving order. Social institutions provide insights into the structure of the society. For instance, the norms and beliefs surrounding kinship and incest help understand the structure of a society. The structure of the society becomes apparent through the constraints that these norms mandate as well as their adaptive feature to serve the interest of the members of the society.

Social institutions have been studied by sociologists in varied ways. While some perceive social institutions to be critical parts that must function well for the overall society to function well, others may look at social institutions as establishing a status quo that under optimum conditions causes friction. Below we look at some of these perspectives. All of these perspectives highlights some aspect of social institutions that may deepen our understanding of social institutions.

9.3.1 Functionalist Perspective

Functionalist perspective highlights the role and service that institutions play with regards to the larger society. The functionalist perspective looks at institution as part of a whole that is society. The value of an institution is understood solely in relation to the service it pays for the overall wellbeing of the society. Functionalist perspective suggests that social institutions fulfil the needs of the society through five ways. The functional needs of a society that institutions fulfil are: 1) replacement of personnel that the society loses as a result of death caused by ageing, disease, war or migration. This is done through adding new members by the means of immigration, annexation or sexual reproduction. 2) Socialization and education of new members. 3) Production, circulation and distribution of goods and services among members of the society. 4) Providing an order to day to day interactions and governance while simultaneously preserving this order through defending against outside attacks threatening the order of the society with disruption. 5) Promoting a sense of belongingness and purpose by allowing people to form and reassert allegiance to associations such as religion, culture, language, et cetera.

9.3.2 Conflict Perspective

The conflict perspective agrees with the functionalist perspective in so far as to admit that institutions fulfil basic needs of a society. However, conflict perspective argues that institutions work to establish hierarchies and perpetuate inequalities. For instance, conflict perspective has stressed how a major institution such as education has worked to privilege the powerful groups within a society. Conflict perspective further stresses that institutions work towards maintenance of

privilege. Relatedly, conflict perspective highlights that institutions are both exclusionary and oppressive to those that the institutions disadvantages. For instance, conflict perspective stresses that women within the institution of family face labour exploitation. It has also shed light on the racist, gendered and overall conservative character of social institutions. Conflict perspective attacks the assumptions inherent to norms and expectations embodied by institutions. It brings forth the unfair power distribution within the seemingly placid norms of institutions.

9.3.3 Interactionist Perspective

Interactionist perspective, unlike the former two (viz., Functionalist Perspective and Conflict Perspective) is interested in the microcosmic view of how institutions play out in actual interactions. It seeks to capture patterns of how institutions frame and feature in interactions and everyday behaviours. Interactionist perspective argues that institutions frame our daily interactions and behaviours. Our day-to-day interactions and behaviours are conditioned by the roles and statuses that we are accorded (and accept), the groups we are assigned (and promise allegiance) to within the institutions that we function in. For instance, the role of a teacher within the institution of education frames the interactions in specific ways. It can only make sense in relation to the roles of students, parents and other stakeholders defined by the institution of education. The institution of education derives its significance from the various roles and statuses that people agree to play and carry out in a consistent manner in their day-to-day interactions.

9.4 ORGANISATION

Institutions are not necessarily stated but they are rather normative expectations that structure interactions between members of a society. Organisations, on the other hand, are formal bodies with concrete structures. It is a physical entity with clearly defined boundaries distinguishing members from non-members. So, while institutions are formally unstated, organisations are formally stated bodies. Institutions are socially embedded consistent and systematic set of rules. Organisations are special case of institutions that has specific features. Institutions are therefore, like the rules of football. They frame the way in which the game has to be played. A good example of organisation in the context of football would be Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) also called International Federation of Association Football.

We can also consider other examples of organisations such as Indian postal services, Indian coffee house, Kendriya Vidyalaya, Delhi Police, Khadi Gram Udyog. What can be identified as some of the common features of all these organisations?

Organisations, despite differences in type, size, spread, efficiency and specificity of goals, all the above mentioned organisations work to facilitate large scale operations. They have clearly stated and defined goals that they pursue an established hierarchy of authority and chain of command. Organisations can also be seen in terms of social action in so far as the organisation has the ability of making decisions and acting upon at least, some of them (Coleman, 1982; Hindess, 1989).

Modern industrial societies are peculiar for their dependence on sophisticated large-scale organisations for ensuring order. The organisations of modern industrial and post-industrial societies are much larger in scale, size and scope. It is argued that with increase in specialised division of labour, organisations also become more sophisticated.

9.5 PERSPECTIVES ON ORGANISATIONS

There are various perspectives on the nature and working of an organisation. These perspectives would help us develop a better understanding of what organisations are and how they work.

9.5.1 Amitai Etzioni

Amitai Etzioni et al (1980) defines organisations as "social units that are predominantly oriented to the attainment of specific goals". Etzioni suggests the following as the characteristics of organisations:

1) Divisions of labour/ power/ responsibilities, such divisions being deliberately planned to achieve certain goals.

2) The presence of power-centres which control the productivity, monitor its efficiency and re-pattern its structure upon review, and

3) Substitution of personnel, maintaining healthy employee/participant pool and others who are transferred and/or promoted (Etzioni, 1964).

Etzioni (1961) divides the organisations on the basis of the power relationship between the people administering the organisation and lower level participants. The relationship may be based on either: 1) compliance, that is the lower level participants agree to meet the demands placed on them by their superior authorities because of fear of sanctions or because they are coerced. 2) Utilitarian consideration, that is, they are getting returns that are of value to them. 3) Shared ideas and values, that is, both the administrative group as well as the lower level participants share similar assumptions, norms, values and ideas.

Etzioni's classification draws upon the element of 'compliance', which Etzioni highlights that this element of compliance is contingent on two elements. The kind of power wielded by those who take the decisions and the kind of involvement of the lower level participants in the organisation. Etzioni suggests that power is of three types coercive (employing fear and force), remunerative (giving returns) and normative(mutual agreement upon norms and values). He further adds that the kind of involvement of lower level participants is also of three kinds: 1) alienative, 2) calculative, and 3) moral. Etzioni views that certain kind of power coincides with certain forms of involvement. Coercive power can only be reciprocated with alienative participation. For instance between prison inmates and prison staff, the relationship can only be expected to be coercion-alienative, that is prison staff is coercive and prison inmates have aleinative participation in the working of prison. Etzioni distinguishes the organisations based on this combination as organisations that have 'order' goals.

There are organisations that have 'economic' goals that have remunerative power and calculative participation. For instance workers at Indian Coffee House are

117

all tied to the goal of expanding sales to improve income which they see as tied to their individual financial goals.

The third kind of organisation combines the normative power with moral participation. These organisations are ones that have 'culture' goals. For example churches do not remunerate their participants nor are they coerced to attend. The participants attend the church because they believe in the values, norms and ideas that church preaches.

9.5.2 Max Weber

Etzioni's classification and definition of organisation draws upon the works of Max Weber. Weber's model of bureaucracy emerges in the broader context of his elaborate theorisation on the nature of authority in society. He highlighted the organisations in the industrial societies were capable of attaining highest degree of efficiency if they were administered in a 'bureaucratic' manner. Bureaucratic administration, Weber (1964, p. 337) argued, was "superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline, and in its reliability. It thus makes possible a particularly high degree of calculability of results ... and is formally capable of application to all kinds of administrative tasks". The way in which Weber sketches his ideas about bureaucratic administration it stretches to cover all major large-scale organisations of modern industrial societies like business, charitable organisations, religious organisations and even political parties.

Weber argues that bureaucratic administration is the most efficient way of organising human resources to attain desired ends. Weber does not understand bureaucracy as carrying inherent risks of too much control or inefficiency. He suggests a number of conditions that bureaucratic administrations espouse that make them most efficient form of administration. These are: 1)a series in which officials are arranged, guided by a written statement of their power and influence. 2) The offices are all arranged in a hierarchy, with each successive step embracing all those under it with the authority based on office. 3) Commands are issued in the capacity of the offices and obeyed because the rules state that they are within the competence of the office issuing them. 4) A clear statement of rules and procedures within which every possible contingency is theoretically provided for. 5) All information is compulsively recorded/written down with a ' bureau' for the safe keeping of all written records and files. 6) A contractual method of appointment in terms of technical qualifications for office. 7) A clear distinction is made between personal and business/official affairs, written down in terms of employment/contract (Pugh et al., 1964).

In Weber's conceptualisation of bureaucratic organisation individuals perform specialised segmental roles over which they have no control. Instead, he suggests that individuals are controlled by the roles they occupy within a bureaucratic administration, which does not allow much scope for rational judgement on the part of the individual. Weber argues that these conditions make bureaucratic organisation most efficient. Weber suggests that within a bureaucracy

9.5.3 Erving Goffman

Goffman highlighted a class of organisations that are different from each other in some respects yet share a common distinct feature. Consider hospitals,

monasteries, prisons and boarding schools, these are different from each other in many respects yet share a common feature that is, the participants all live within the organisation. These institutions may be different in many regards such as schools, where entry is voluntary unlike prisons where entry is forced and involuntary. Similarly, there may be differences between those total institutions that exist to perform a work task such as army camps and those that 'treat' people often without their explicit consent. These institutions were termed as total institutions by Goffman (1961). Goffman (1961) argued that all these institutions have a similar structure despite differences in personal characteristics of its participants, which is strikingly different from the basic arrangement of 'normal society'. He suggests that a 'normal society' is characterised by distinctly defined spheres of work, leisure and home. People organise their lives in these different areas of life and under different control. 'Total Institutions' are organisations whereby all three functions are localised in the contained space and under one control. Inmates, patients, prisoners or monks spend their lives in an enclosed formally structured setup and undergo more or less similar experiences.

In these 'total institutions', inmates have prescribed 'careers' (work) and a setup with privileged position that reinforces their conformity to careers/expected behaviour/work and for causing least inconvenience to those who run these organisations. The interaction between the inmates and the administrative staff is individualistic and yet what brings the inmates together is a similarity of experiences and a collective antagonism for the staff which forms a controlling and powerful group. He argues that the inmates in such institutions are yearning to be released but miss these places upon their release.

Goffman suggests that when people are living in batches the institutional arrangements made to structure their lives and administer them are more or less the same.

9.6   CLASSIFICATION OF ORGANISATIONS

As we have seen above organisations have been divided into work organisations and treatment organisations by Goffman and by Etzioni on the basis of power relationships between participants and administrators. Blau and Scott (1963) suggest yet another way to classify organisations into four categories based on 'prime beneficiary' that they serve. They suggest the four categories to be 1) Mutual Benefit, that is all those who constitute the body of the organisation. 2) Business where prime beneficiary is owners or managers. 3) Service where prime beneficiary are clients or public in contact and 4) Commonweal, that is, where the prime beneficiary are the larger population.

9.7   ORGANISATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

People often choose the organisation they want to part of based on a perceived 'suitability' of the organisation to the individual. When people get associated with an organisation it is only expected that their affiliation with the organisation (the kind of organisation, the roles they fulfil and the nature of work they do) has an impact on their personalities. Also, it is expected that people who are affiliated to the organisation also impact the organisation's character. It is important, therefore, to look at the interplay between individuals and organisations.

9.7.1 Attitudes of Members Towards the Organisation

Attitudes of participants and administrators towards the organisation are a crucial element of this interplay. For instance, administrators of a sanatorium are obligated by their role to control and restrict participants, often against their will. They have to ensure that the functioning of the sanatorium is not affected by the opposition from the inmates. The administrators are responsible for ensuring that the inmates do not run away from the facility. A monastery, on the other hand, despite a similar setup differs from the sanatorium because of the attitudes of participants and inmates. Sanatoriums have arrangements built in to acknowledge the desire of inmates to escape (high walls, surveillance et cetera), while in monasteries there is no such surveillance. This brings us to another crucial element which is about the roles individuals acquire upon entry into these organisations.

9.7.2 Roles that Members are Assigned

Individuals acquire roles upon their entry into an organisation. These roles come with their own role-expectations and these expectations are synchronised in such a manner that it ensures smooth functioning of the organisation. Each role has specific tasks assigned to them and a set of rules that must be followed. Interpersonal relationship between individuals within the organisation is impacted by the roles that they acquire upon entry. For instance, the possibility of an inmate and guard at prison becoming friends rare and unlikely given the antagonism of their roles they acquire upon entry. These elements impact the working of the organisations.

The social experiences of individuals within the roles they acquire inside an organisation impact their lives outside. Their social behaviour outside gets influenced by their experiences inside the organisations. In his 1936 movie titled 'Modern Times' Charlie Chaplin captures this element of the impact of experiences within the organisation impacting social behaviour. He plays the part of a factory worker who spends his day tightening bolts on screws. The movement of the wrist is repeated so often that he begins to move his wrist in the same motion involuntarily.

9.8 LET US SUM UP

Institutions are expectations of attitude, behaviour and a code of conduct that individuals feel obligated to fulfil. The working of institutions is contingent on people understanding conventions and rules associated with an institution and feeling obligated to live their lives by these. Organisations in contrast have explicitly stated rules that an individual is bound to fulfil owing to his or her affiliation with the organisation. Institutions are embedded in shared habits, values and norms that an individual is socialised into while organisations have explicit affiliations that mark members from non-members. There are different types of institutions that act as social units to promote solidarity and cohesion within the society. Organisations work to facilitate better and more efficient control over resources. They are explicit units of society that function to facilitate social processes.

9.9   CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) What are institutions? What are the different types of institutions? Explain giving examples.

2) What is the difference between the functionalist and conflict perspective on institutions?

3) Discuss Church as an example of an organisation.

4) What does Weber mean by bureaucracy? What makes bureaucracy efficient system of administration?

5) What are the different types of organisations that Etzioni illustrates in his work.

6) Compare perspectives of Etzioni and Goffman using the example of prison.

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UNIT 10   STATUS AND ROLE*

Structure

10.0   OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you should be able to understand:

- Explain the concept of status and its relation to roles;

- Differentiate between types of status;

- Discuss the concept of role;

- Differentiate between the two approaches in understanding roles;

- Classify roles;

- Distinguish between roles in simple and complex societies; and

- Discuss the different dimensions of roles.

10.1   INTRODUCTION

This unit seeks to introduce you to the concept of status and role which are important aspects of the social structure of any society. It discusses roles in both simple and complex societies and different dimensions of roles such as role set, multiple roles, role-signs and role-conflict. Although status and role has been discussed separately in the unit the relationship between the two will be drawn recurrently.

*This unit is contributed by Sriti Ganguly, JNU, New Delhi.

10.2 THE CONCEPT OF STATUS

In simple terms, status is a position occupied by a person in the society. In a lifetime an individual occupies different statuses on the lines of age, gender, class, occupation, and education. A person can have several statuses at a point of time such as being a daughter, social worker, member of a book-reading club, guitarist, and a manager in a company. A combination of all the statuses that a person holds is called **status set**.

Linton (1936) defines status as "a collection of rights and duties" (p.113). Each status has certain behavioural expectations attached to it which we call social roles (discussed in detail later). Drawing the relationship between status and role, Linton writes: "a role represents the dynamic aspect of status…when he (an individual) puts the rights and duties which constitute a status into effect, he is performing a role…" (Linton 1936: 114). Therefore, statuses are occupied and roles are played. Social status and social roles are important concepts in understanding how social life is organized and activities are distributed.

While ideally the term status refers simply to the positions occupied by an individual in the society, whether of a man or woman, lawyer or shopkeeper, Brahmin or Dalit we often attach a sense of high and low with statuses in our common everyday usage. The status classifications are based upon where we live, what we do, what we eat, who do we mix up with, kind of schools or institutions we attend, which social category we belong to and so on. Therefore, status is also a basis of social stratification and individuals not just occupy a position but these positions are also placed in a hierarchy. Say for example, one occupation is not merely different from another in division of labour but also ranked in terms of prestige and differentially rewarded.

Sociologist, Max Weber defined status as "positive or negative social estimation of honour" (Gerth and Mills 1946: 187) and related it to "style of life". Lifestyles are symbolized by housing, clothing, language spoken, manners of speech and occupation (to name a few). This is why in everyday life having a luxury car or living in an affluent neighbourhood is seen as a symbol of a person's status. While status normally seems to be determined by a person's income or wealth, unlike Marx, Weber, argued that class and status may not always overlap. Status can be an independent basis of social stratification. Thus both the propertied and propertyless can belong to the same status group.

Just as status is hierarchically arranged, positively or negatively valued, each status has privileges/disprivileges attached to it. Having the status of a Dalit or former untouchable in India, for instance, prevented the individuals from having access to public wells, sharing food with other castes, or marrying someone from an upper caste family. Similarly, in United States of America, being a black became a basis for denial of right to employment and segregation in schools, housing and public places.

However, honour or prestige assigned to a status is not unchanging. For example, societies where being a woman, disabled, black or 'untouchable' was considered inferior or stigmatized (a concept of Erving Goffman) these statuses and their roles are now positively seen owing to the struggles for rights and dignity that have been fought for years. Therefore, both statuses and roles are dynamic and keep changing.

Linton (1936) distinguished between two types of statuses:

10.2.1 Ascribed and Achieved Status

Ascribed statuses are "those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities" (p.115). The universally used criteria for ascription of status are age, sex, kinship, and race. Birth of an individual in a particular social category such as class and caste also become criteria for ascription of statuses in several but not all societies.

Achieved statuses: Achieved statuses are those that are "left open to be filled through competition and individual effort" (ibid). These are acquired over an individual's lifetime. Occupation and education are thus called **achieved statuses**. Marital statuses of a wife or a husband are also achieved statuses.

However, the line distinguishing between the two are not as clear as they seem. For example, although the ascribed statuses seem fixed at birth they are not immutable. Some people also undergo sex (gender) change later in life. For a long time gender was bifurcated into categories that is male and female however now a third broad category of transgender which includes homosexuals, trans-sexuals (to name a few) is also recognized in many parts of the as an outcome of struggle for recognition. Furthermore, it is difficult to put strictly class or for that matter caste also in either of the two categories of ascribed and achieved. It is also necessary to ask if all achieved statuses are entirely merit based or does ascribed status of being a white or male or upper caste can also influence the acquisition of status.

10.2.2 Master Status

In every society there is always one status that tends to overshadow all other statuses or is given more importance by others. This is called the **master status**. Gender, race and caste for instance often become master statuses in highly stratified societies. Conflict sociologists often engage with ascribed statuses of gender and race as they argue that these often shape the individual's life chances including income, occupation, education, social networks and so on.

Similarly, mental or physical disability can also become a master status and govern the everyday behaviour of the society towards the disabled. Box 1 shows how disability can become a master status.

Box 1: Does the new Act for the disabled represent the needs of differently abled women?

Both Deepa and Sakshi Malik have won medals for India. But the similarities between the two probably end there. Wheelchair bound Deepa, wife of an army officer and mother of two, made India proud with her silver medal in shot-put at the 2016 Paralympics, the first ever Paralympic medal by an Indian woman, while Sakshi, with a bronze win at the Rio Olympics became the first Indian woman wrestler to win a medal at the Olympics. But whereas Sakshi's Olympic feat made her a household name, Deepa says that though the Indian government and their own states feted the para-athletes, the able-bodied athletes got more attention from across the country and corporates looking to sign endorsement deals.

Hindustan Times, January 08, 2017

10.3 THE CONCEPT OF ROLE

Think about how our each day begins with playing different roles attached to our different statuses. Just as there are multiple statuses, there are roles associated with each one of them. A woman, for instance, plays the role of daughter, sister, student, a private tutor, a friend and so on. Giddens and Sutton (2014) define roles as "socially defined expectations that a person in a given status (social position) follows" (p.91). For example, when there is traffic congestion, we expect the traffic police to manage the traffic and ease the flow of vehicles. Similarly, at a restaurant the customers expect the waitress to provide the menu, note down the orders and serve the food.

Roles help in maintaining some kind of social order and predictability in interactions. Turner (2006) defines roles as a "cluster of behaviour and attitudes" and argues that roles help in organizing social behaviour both at individual and collective level. In Banton's (1965) definition, roles are a "cluster of rights and obligations" and what is one individual's obligation is his/her partner's right (p.2). So in a restaurant a waitress is obliged to serve and the customer has the right to be served. This way, "the concept of role", Banton writes, "provides one of the available means for studying elements of cooperation" (ibid).

Newcomb distinguished between **expected behaviour** and **actual behaviour** of individuals. The expected behaviour is one which an individual is expected to perform as per the status and role assigned to him or her. The actual behaviour of the person may be different from the expected behaviour. Banton (1965: 28-29) further refined this distinction and added that actual behaviour can be related to

1) **Role cognitions**: individual's own ideas of what is appropriate or

2) **Expectations**: to other people's ideas about what he will do or

3) **Norms**: to other people's ideas about what he should do.

Take for example, the role of a chef. Neeraj occupies the status of a head chef in a hotel. As a chef, he is expected to play the role of overall supervision and coordination with cooks who have to prepare the meals. Apart from this, some general expectations from him include ensuring discipline and maintenance of hygiene standards in the regular work environment of the kitchen.

Role learning begins at a young age when children start observing how people in their surroundings behave with them and toward each other. In fact children often engage in role playing games where they enact the role of a mother, father, or teacher. Individuals also have role models in their lives whose certain pattern/s of behaviour is incorporated in one's own behaviour. A role model can be a person in the family, neighbourhood, school or even some distant, unrelated person whom we have seen in the social media.

In our daily lives, we smoothly switch from one role to another without much effort and also play distinct roles at the same time. How one behaves as a daughter is different from how one behaves as a friend. Similarly, social situations also define roles we play. How we behave in a formal set up of workspace is different from how we behave at home. Thus we tend to compartmentalize our lives and roles. So a criminal lawyer behaves differently at home from how she behaves in the courtroom. However, to say that everyone conforms to the socially laid

expectations will be not be true. Individuals in their everyday lives are also constantly negotiating and redefining the roles they play. Roles assigned to a particular status are also challenged. For example, in India historically women were expected to perform domestic chores and confined largely to the private sphere of home. However, women are now taking up roles that were traditionally expected of men, particularly in urban India. It is important to keep in mind that social changes are slow and may take several years and sometimes even concerted struggles.

10.3.1 Role Theory

Role Theory in Sociology: Structural and Interactionist Approach

Understanding of roles has been approached in two different ways or from two schools of thought. The structuralists (Linton, Banton, Parsons and Merton) view roles as norms and expectations associated with statuses in the social structure where individuals are socialized into "role taking". Linton (1936) writes: "…the more perfectly the members of any society are adjusted to their statuses and roles the more smoothly the society will function" (Linton 1936: 115). This way the functionalist also assume consensus on part of the individuals.

The social interactionists (Mead, Turner) on the other hand argue that individuals though bound by the structure and its given expectations interpret and evaluate their roles and engage in negotiation. For interactionists this is a creative process of "role making" rather than just unquestioning internalization of given expectations.

10.4 CLASSIFICATION OF ROLES

We can further classify roles into: 1) **ascribed roles** and **achieved roles,** 2) **relational and non-relational roles,** 3) **basic, general and independent roles.**

10.4.1 Ascribed Roles and Achieved Roles

Like ascribed statuses, the ascribed roles are the ones that are given at birth. From the time an individual is born, role learning begins which is a part of what we know as socialization. These roles pertain to one's sex (gender), age, kinship, caste, class, and so on.

The achieved roles on the other hand are the ones that are largely acquired over a lifetime on the basis of merit such as occupational roles of a farmer, salesperson, banker, shopkeeper, driver, lawyer, professor et cetera.

10.4.2 Relational and Non-relational Roles

There are certain roles which are complementary in nature and are conceived of and defined in relation to another. One good example of relational role is that of a wife which cannot be conceived of without the husband. Similarly, the role of a debtor cannot exist without the role of a creditor.

Non-relational roles on the other hand are not dependent or complementary such as the role of a musician, researcher, and painter. Age and sex roles largely fall in the category of non-relational roles whereas kinship roles can be classified as relational.

10.4.3 Basic, General and Independent Roles

Banton (1965:33) developed a scale giving a comparison of the extent to which particular roles are independent of other roles.

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        s              o            l
0 |----------|----------|----------|-----------------|100
Basic roles              general roles          independent
                                                      roles
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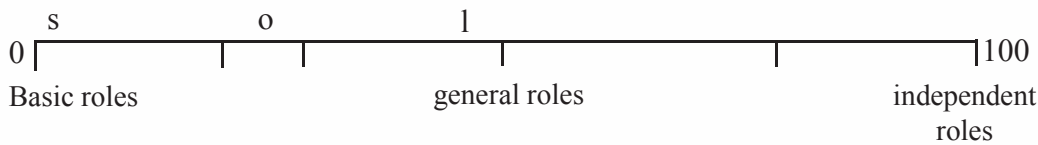
s = sex roles   a = age roles   o = occupational roles l = leisure roles

a) **Basic roles:** Basic roles are mostly determined by sex and age, ascribed to individuals at birth and these roles shape conduct in a large number of social contexts.

b) **General roles:** General roles are mostly assigned on the basis of merit of the individual.

c) **Independent roles:** Independent roles are determined by merit and have very less implications for other roles and on the way people respond to the person who occupies the independent role. Examples of independent roles are leisure roles and many occupational roles.

Usually an individual's sex role shapes the individual's conduct and the response of others towards him or her more than any other role. Occupational roles also shape the way people respond to an individual particularly in work space or social gatherings. The leisure roles are more independent and have limited influence outside of a particular setting for example, golfer in a golf club.

Placement of different roles in this scale will vary from one society to another. In primitive societies, for example, there were small number of highly undifferentiated basic roles linked to sex and age (Banton 1965: 34) but in advanced industrial societies the importance of age and sex roles is limited and less. We see more independent roles in advanced societies. For example, in primitive societies of Bushmen role of a woman was tied to her sex and she was restricted from taking up roles that were defined for men. However, in modern societies women occupy more independent roles like a female manager or doctor where they are judged in the same way as men are.

> **Box 3: Women to get combat role in Army**
>
> *The Hindu*, New Delhi, June 04, 2017
>
> In a transformational move, the Indian Army is all set to open up combat positions for women, a gender barrier broken by only a few countries... The Army Chief said he was ready to recruit women as jawans and the matter is being taken up with the government.

10.5 ROLE SYSTEMS: SIMPLE AND COMPLEX SOCIETIES

According to Banton (1965) one of the ways to understand variation in social organization is to study the criteria on bases of which roles are given to an individual. Roles allocation in simple societies differ from those in complex industrial societies.

127

10.5.1 Roles in Simple Societies

In the simplest societies like that of Bushmen in Kalahari Desert in Southern Africa and Eskimo in Arctic Wastes, roles are allocated based upon the natural differences of age, sex and kinship. Let us see how roles were distributed as per these criteria:

1) The division of roles on the basis of sex took place in the following manner. A man is responsible for hunting, preparing skins for clothing, making weapons, building fire and sometimes helping the women in fetching wood and water. The wife on the other hand builds shelter for her family, takes care of the children, gathers and prepares food and keeps the residence clean.

2) The other basis of role allocation is age. A boy's passage into manhood is marked when he kills his first buck and this passage is celebrated with rituals. Thereafter, he is allowed to marry. In case of a girl she can be married when a baby but she takes the role of a wife and a married woman only when she matures physically. Elderly people are treated with respect and as experts on traditions, myths and family lineages.

3) The third basis is of kinship. Mothers and fathers perform the important role of bringing up their children. When the children grow up as adults they have certain mutual obligations with their parents. Marriage between men and women can be dissolved but as they rarely quarrel divorce is rare. Marriages between close relations are avoided to keep kin ties clear.

10.5.2 Roles in Complex Societies

We discussed how roles are allocated on the distinction of age, sex and kinship in simple societies that have to survive in harshest environmental conditions. But as societies become complex new criteria has to be introduced for role division. Social stratum is one such criterion.

1) **Social strata:** Some societies are organized on the basis of ranks such as nobles, commoners, slaves, etc. People belonging to the same strata share a similar existence and have same privileges and duties towards the king. While this kind of social strata is more flexible than rigid role system of simple societies, social strata can become rigid and discriminatory to an extent where birth in a particular category influences the life chances of individuals. In such rigid system of stratification leaving the category in which a person is born becomes difficult.

   Take for example, the caste system in India where a person born in a particular caste is expected to adhere to the caste specific norms, customs, occupation and rules of interaction with other castes. Deviation from roles are often disapproved and also punished particularly when a lower caste individual does so. While these norms are not as rigid as they used to be earlier, due to continuous struggle and legal action, caste based rules of interaction and roles still prevail in the present day.

2) **Diversification and specialization of tasks:** In complex societies tasks are distributed based on specialization and skills. From largest to even smallest of organizations have role divisions.

For example, Meera and her friend open a small bakery. Along with the two bakers they hire two workers to attend to the customers and one person to manage the accounts. When they decide to offer home delivery service they hire another individual to deliver the orders at home or office. Further when they buy a bigger store, they make seating arrangements for customers and hire two more people to serve them. What we see is that every task is divided to avoid chaos and friction so that the bakery runs smoothly.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Discuss the concept of roles.

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2) How does the structural perspective on roles differ from the interactionist perspective?

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3) What are the different ways in which we classify roles?

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10.6 DIMENSIONS OF ROLE

10.6.1 Multiple Roles and Role Set

Sociologist, Robert K. Merton (1957) emphasized on the need to distinguish between the concept of multiple roles and role-set. In contrast to Linton's theory that each status has a single, associated role, Merton argues that "each status has an array of roles" associated with it. This is what Merton calls **role set**. It is a "complement of role relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular status" (p.110). Each status has its own role-set.

Merton offered the example of a medical student whose status as a student is not only related to teachers but to the roles of other status occupants like nurses,

physicians, social workers and so on. Merton added that this kind of complex arrangement can also give rise to contradictory expectations of the role partners in the role set.

Multiple roles, on the other hand,refers to the roles associated with the various social statuses of an individual. The figures given below explain the difference between role set and multiple roles.

Multiple roles
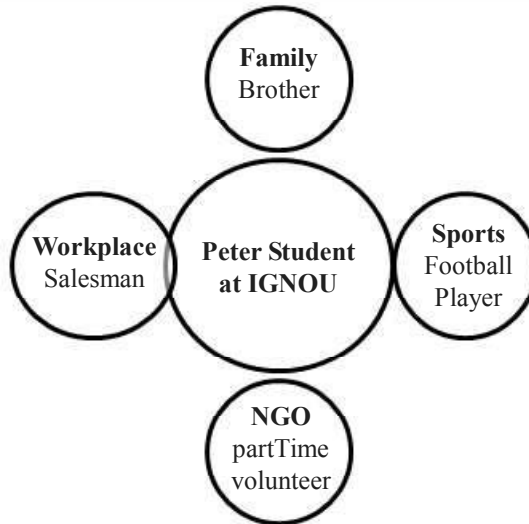
Role Set
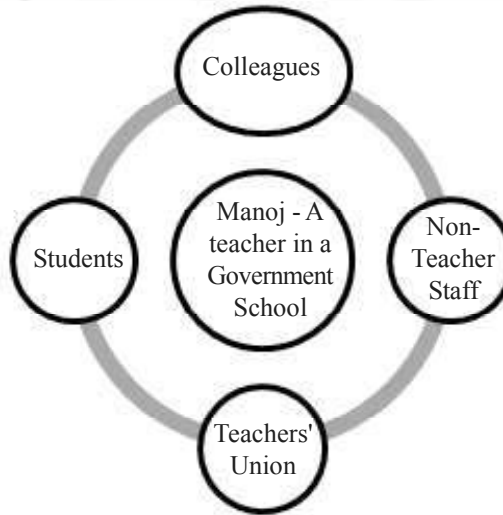
10.6.2   Role Signs

Clothing often serves as one of the most important ways to distinguish between men and women in almost all societies. But it is important to ask why we must make this distinction. It is because it works as a sign to differentiate the male and female roles and helps others to anticipate their roles and shape their response accordingly. According to Banton role signs help in communication and control. Role signs act as ways of communication by shaping our relationship, expectations and interactions. They also help in controlling behaviour and checking deviation from the role both for the individual playing the role and signalling others as well. If such distinguishing signs are totally abandoned, everyday life and activities may become very chaotic.

In our day to day lives costumes help in defining the role of the individuals, whether it is a salesperson at a supermarket, ticket collector in a train or traffic police personnel at a red light. During a traffic jam we often anxiously look for the traffic police identified by a particular uniform and expect him/her to perform the role that is assigned to them. Similarly, in hospitals nurses and doctors each have their unique uniforms that help us in identifying them and setting our expectations.

Banton identified signs of various roles in terms of basic, general and independent roles.

a) **Signs for basic roles:** Signs for basic roles which are largely determined by sex, age and kinship include names, clothes and hairstyles. The first names of two sexes are mostly distinctive. Titles like Miss, Mrs, Mr, Master also help in identification of gender, age and marital status.

b) **Signs for general roles:** Signs for general roles often depend on the extent to which it is necessary to distinguish and communicate the distinctiveness and relevance of the role for a particular situation as well as for other role relationships. The case of a policeman and his uniform discussed above is an example of sign for a general role.

c) **Signs for independent roles:** Since independent roles have less implications for other roles, signs for them are limited. Signs for independent roles have relevance only in particular contexts and may lose relevance in most other social situations. For outsiders such signs often serve as prestige signs.

10.6.3 Role Changing

Roles never remain the same and keep evolving. Individuals move from one role to another and new roles are added to the old set of roles. When a person moves from one role to the other it is important to become familiar with the rights and obligations of this new role. This is important not only for the person who undergoes role change but also for all others who are associated with the person to modify their behaviour and expectations as per the new role.

This is the reason why role changes are often marked by ceremonies. The first important change that individuals in every society experience is from childhood to adulthood. If you remember, in the tribal society of Bushmen a boy becomes a man when he first shoots his buck and this is celebrated with rituals. From this point he is also allowed to marry. Similarly, in many societies maturity of girls is marked by puberty rites.

When an individual is about to acquire the role of a wife or a husband it is followed by a ceremony where family, friends, neighbours and the community takes part. Ceremonies help in making this changeover a critical moment for the individual as well as others. Similarly, when any person acquires an important position like of a chairperson of an organization, or Prime Minister or President of a country it is marked by oath taking ceremony.

The change in roles also occurs during the passage from adulthood to old age. In many societies the elderly are relieved of their labour intensive tasks and they assume new roles such as taking care of grand children. While in some societies

old people are treated with respect for their experience and wisdom, and advice on important matters are sought from them there are some where elderly are treated like invalids.

10.6.4 Role Conflict and Strain

As a person occupies several statuses and there are multiple roles to be played, sometimes two different statuses of an individual may demand conflicting expectations placing the individual in a state of dilemma. A simple example of this can be of a class monitor. As a class monitor Ahmad is given a set of responsibilities by his class teacher. He is expected to maintain discipline in the teacher's absence and is suppose to report any disruption caused by the students. At the same time Ahmad also occupies the status of being a close friend to some of his classmates. Now if one student from his close circle of friends disturbs the class or becomes a bully in the teacher's absence it may give rise to role conflict for Ahmad. As a friend he may be expected to ignore this behaviour while as the responsible class monitor he is expected to bring this unruly behaviour to his teacher's notice.

While this is an example from a classroom, in everyday life individuals are often confronted with similar or much more complex dilemmas pertaining to their roles. We have already discussed that an individual plays multiple roles in his/her lifetime and therefore such incompatibility is bound to arise. A frequently cited example of role conflict is the one experienced by working women who are also married. In traditional societies the culturally accepted role of women were largely related to child rearing and household chores. However, in modern societies these roles are being challenged and women are increasingly entering full time salaried employment and sharing professional workspace with men. When such social changes take place a woman may experience a pull from both sides –her commitment to her work as a professional and her commitment towards the family and children as a wife or mother. Such conflicts arise when and especially because the role partners may not accept and reorient themselves to the fact that women are re-making their roles or adopting new ones.

While role conflict takes place between roles associated with *two different statuses* of an individual, **role strain** is experienced when *different responsibilities associated within a single status* are incompatible. For example, Rohit has to prepare for an exam that is next day but has to also represent his school in an inter-school chess competition on the same day. As a student he might experience stress and anxiety because he has to perform well in both the situations.

People try to manage role conflict by role compartmentalization or separation where they try to keep what they do in one role distinct from what they do in another and giving priority to one role over the other. Concepts of role strain and conflict are important to understand role exit as they can also give rise to doubt about one particular role eventually lead to exit.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Define social status. Is status simply a position occupied by an individual in society?

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132

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2) Do class distinctions and status distinctions always overlap? Discuss with reference to Max Weber's theory.

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3) Discuss the difference between ascribed and achieved status with the help of examples

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4) What is master status? Discuss with help of an example

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5) What is the difference between role strain and role conflict? What are ways in which they can be handled

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6) How is the concept of role set different from multiple roles

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7) Write short notes on the following:

a) role exit

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b) role-person merger

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c) role signs

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10.7 LET US SUM UP

This unit introduced you to the concept of status and role which form important aspects of the social structure. You read in the discussion that there are different conceptions and ways to understand and classify status and roles, some are ascribed while others are achieved. Both are also dynamic in nature and constantly being defined and redefined by individuals and the society. The dimensions of role such as role conflict, role exit and role change which we experience in our own lives have also been discussed in this unit.

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UNIT 11   SOCIALISATION*

Structure

11.0   OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you should be able to:

- Define socialisation;

- Identify some of the main thinkers contributing to studies on socialisation;

- Distinguish the various types of socialisation; and

- Identify agents of socialisation and how they affect your personality.

11.1   INTRODUCTION

We will begin this unit by focusing on the meaning and definition of socialisation. The discussion will be carried forward by looking at the types and theories of socialisation.Finally we will end the discussion by examining the various agents of socialisation. This unit, thereby, will provide an in-depth understanding of socialisation.

11.2 SOCIALISATION – MEANING AND DEFINITIONS

11.2.1 What is Socialisation?

Socialisation is an important process for the functioning and continuation of society. Different societies have different ways and methods to train their new born members so that they are able to develop their own personalities. This training ofand building the personality of the child is called socialisation. Socialisation is a process of learning rules, habits and values of a group to which a person belongs whether it is family, friends, colleagues or any other group. It is the process by which a child slowly becomes aware of her/himself as a member of a group and gains knowledge about the culture of the family and also the society into which she/he is born.

Socialisation is also considered as the passing of culture from one generation to the next. During the process of socialisation, children learn about their family traditions from their elders and preserve them and pass them on to the next generation as they grow older. Socialisation helps children to learn and perform the different roles and responsibilities which they have learnt from their elders. It therefore, helps to associate one generation with the others (Giddens, 2006; Jonson, 1960).

11.2.2 Some Definitions of Socialisation

i)   **Anthony Giddens:**"Socialisation refers to the process which transforms a quite helpless human infant into a self-aware, knowledgeable person who is skilled in the ways of their society's culture" (2014:263-64).

ii) **Peter Worsley:** "By this is meant, simply, the transmission of culture, the process whereby men learn the rules and practices of social groups. Socialisation is an aspect of all activity within all human societies" (1972:153).

iii) **Tony Bilton:**"The process by which we acquire the culture of the society into which we are born – the process by which we acquire our social characteristics and learn the ways of thought and behaviour considered appropriate in our society- is called socialisation" (1981:10).

11.3 TYPES OF SOCIALISATION

Socialisation is a process that continues throughout life from birth till adulthood. However, there are different phases in which the process takes place. These phases are usually spread across different age groups and have been categorised as the different types of socialisation.

11.3.1 Primary Socialisation

Primary socialisation is the most important feature in the process of socialisation. It happens during infancy and childhood. The primary stage basically takes shape during infancy and childhood where basic knowledge and language or behaviour is taught. This phase of socialisation usually takes place within the family. During

this phase infants learn language and certain basic behaviour forms of the family and the society in which she/he lives. It is through primary socialisation that the foundations for later learning are laid. As Frønesargues, "Primarysocialisation refers to the internalization of the fundamental culture and ideas of a society; it shapes the norms, values and beliefs of the child at a time when it has little understanding of the world and its different phenomena, and the basic socialisation agent moulding the child is the family" (Frønes, 2016: 13).

11.3.2 Secondary Socialisation

Secondary Socialisation occurs once the infant passes into the childhood phase and continues into maturity. During this phase more than the family some other agents of socialisation like the **school** and **friends**' group begin to play a role in socialising the child. Different kinds of social interaction through these different agents of socialisation help the child to learn the moral standards, customs and principles of their society and culture. Whenthe child receives training in institutional or formal settings such as the school, secondary socialisation takes shape. This levelruns parallel to primary socialisation. But, unlike the family settings, children in schools are trained to conform toauthority.

Frønes argues that, secondary socialisation is usually carried out by institutions and people in specific roles and positions. Further, it involves the "acquisition of knowledge and conscious learning, and thus opens for critical reflection, while primary socialisation points to the transmission of naturalised cultural patterns" (Frønes, 2016: 14).

11.3.3 Gender Socialisation

Gender socialisation can be understood as the process by which different agents of socialisation shape the thoughts of children and make them learn different gender roles. According to the World Health Organisation, **Gender** "refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men." **Gender role** refers to "social roles assigned to each sex and labelled as masculine or feminine"(Giddens, 2014: 82).

Much before children begin to know themselves as a male or a female they receive a series of clues from adults in their family and society because male and female adults have different ways of managing infants. Infants learn quite a lot from visual and symbolic indicators. Differences in the manner of dressing, hairstyle, different cosmetic products used by men and women, provide children with indicators of variation between the male and female. Within two years of age children begin to vaguely understand what gender is. Apart from adults around them children receive a lot of clues about gender roles and differences from television programmes, toys they play with as well from their colouring and picture books. **For example**, a baby girl is very commonly seen playing with dolls and/or a kitchen set while a boy would be found playing with toy cars and/ or toy guns.

However, today the definition of gender is no longer fixed within the binary of male and female because there is a third category which is often referred to as the **third gender**. The term third gender is assigned to a person by the society or by the person her/himself when one does not want be recognised as a male or a

female. In some societies where three or more genders are recognised, we can find the use of the term third gender. This is usually associated with the gender role that a person performs and in some societies the gender roles are not very strictly defined. The term third gender is often used to describe *hijras*in the context of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. More recently the term third gender is also associated with the term **Queer** wherein any person not willing to be strictly identified as male or female may be categorised as a Queer person (Towle and Morgan, 2002).

11.3.4 Anticipatory Socialisation

The term **anticipatory socialisation** was introduced by the sociologist Robert K. Merton (1957). It is a process by which someone is consciously socialised for future occupations, positions and social relationships. Through anticipatory socialisation people are socialised into groups to which they wish to or have to join so that entry into the group does not seem to be very difficult. Some people suggest that parents are the primary source of anticipatory socialisation when it comes to socialising their children for future careers or social roles. **For example**, a child made to leave home to stay in a boarding school with the anticipation of better socialisation.

11.3.5 Re-socialisation

Re-socialisationrefers to the process of leaving certain behaviour patterns and roles in order to adopt new ones as part of one's evolution in life. Resocialisation occurs when there is a major transformation in the social role of a person. It occurs throughout life where individuals experience radical breakthroughs from their past experiences and learn new manners and values which are starkly different from what they had learnt previously.Sociologist **Erving Goffman**analyzed resocialization in mental asylum. According to him a mental asylum is a total institution in which almost every aspect of the resident's life was controlled by the institution in order to serve the goals of the institution. **For example**, the institution demands that every inmate obeys the rules and regulations even if it is not very useful for the person (Fergusan, 2002; Kennedy et al, 1973). Another common example is that of a girl who is about to get married is often re-socialisedby suggestions and advice from her parents on different matters so that after marriage it is easier for her to adjust in her husband's home with her in-laws.

11.3.6 Adult Socialisation

Adult socialisation takes place in adulthood when individuals adapt to new roles such asthat of a husband, a wife or an employee. This is related to their needs and wants. People continue to learn values and behaviour patterns throughout life. Socialisation does not have any fixed time period. It begins at birth and continues till old age. In traditional societies the older people had a significant influence in important matters related to the family. Both male and female adults had exerted their influence with increase in age (Mortimer and Simmons, 1978).

In modern times we can find this elderly influence decreasing in some families. However, that is not to say that older people have completely lost their authority in the modern day families. Even today their opinions are sought for certain

important matters. Like the younger generation continues to be socialised by their adults similarly the older generation also gets socialised by their younger generation through different experiences. Apart from the family adult – socialisation continues to take place through other agents of socialisation. **For example**, one's workplace, social groups, senior citizens' forums, clubs for recreation and some religious institutions also.

Check Your Progress 1

1) What are some of the important characteristics of Socialisation?

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2) Give one prominent definition of socialisation?

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3) Write a small note on the types of socialisation by explaining how the different types are spread across different age groups throughout life.

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11.4 THEORIES OF SOCIALISATION

Some of the most well-known theories in sociology and psychology agree that the 'self' is the primary concept in the development of the child and it is through the process of socialisation that such a development takes place. Therefore, let us look at some prominent theories of socialisation in order to understand the concept well.

11.4.1 George Herbert Mead and the Development of Self

According to the American sociologist **George Herbert Mead** (1972), young children begin to develop as social beings by imitating the actions of those near

them. By doing so the child is able to develop the ability to understand the action of the person with whom he is interacting. '**Play**' is one of the ways by which children often imitate what adults do. The play stage begins around the third year during which the child begins to adopt different roles of adults in her/his life. Mead refers to these others as "**significant others**". Children's play gradually develops from simple imitation to difficult games where a child of four or five years old will enact the role of an adult. **For example**, children are often found imitating the classroom situation where one becomes the teacher, the others become students and they enact a classroom teaching session. Most children locally refer to this play as 'Teacher-Teacher'. Another similar act of play is that of 'Doctor-Patient' where children imitate the role of a doctor, nurse and patient and try to enact a situation where a patient goes to the doctor for treatment.

Mead refers to this act of imitation as "**taking the role of the other**". This stage being a complex one is known as the **game stage** where children begin to attain maturity and develop a sense of self and others. Children begin to understand themselves as "**me**" by looking at themselves through other people's views and opinions about them. The "me" is the social self while the "**I**" is the response to the "me". In simple words, "I" comprises of the response of the child to the action of others while "me" is the organised set of reactions of others that the child takes on.

Another stage of self-development occurs around the age of eight or nine. At this stage children are able to function as members of a group and also understand their role as a member of that group. Mead introduces the concepts of "**generalised other**" and "**significant other**". "Generalised other" can be understood as those rules and values of the culture of a particular group in which the child is engaged. By understanding the "generalised other" the child is able to understand what kind of manners is expected as well as valued in any social setting. "Significant other" consists of those persons who are of importance in the child's life and affect her/his understanding of self along with the child's emotions and behaviours. Mead was one of the first thinkers to understand the role of "significant other" in the development of self. According to him socialisation depends upon the child's understanding of others' views as important in her/his life.

11.4.2 Charles Horton Cooley and the Looking Glass Self

Charles Horton Cooley(1922a) the American sociologist is best known for his concept of the "**looking glass self**". Children develop a concept of their selves with the help of others around them. She/he forms an idea about oneself based on the opinions of others about her/him. The kind of social self that develops out of an imagination of how one appears to the other person and the kind of feeling about one's self can be referred to as "looking glass self"or "reflected self". The knowledge about ourselves develops in us through the opinions and reactions of others around this. The social "looking glass self" consists of these other people through whom we build an image of ourselves. This knowledge about one's self is first obtained from the parents and later it is reformed by the judgements of others.

The way in which the mirror helps us to form an opinion about ourselves through the clothing we put on, our face and figure/physique, in a similar manner we try

to imagine how in another person's mind we might appear through our behaviours, manners, and so on. As a result, in our imagination we form an opinion about ourselves through the other person's perceptions and may get positively or negatively affected by it. **For example**, a child who is in the mood to create some mischief might want to lie to her/his parents. However, before creating the mischief the child might reflect over and think that if hislie is caught that will have a bad impression on her/his parents about her/him.

According to Cooley, there are three main features that make up the idea of the self. The first consists of our imagination of how we appear to the other person. The second feature consists of our imagination of the judgement that the other person makes by our appearances. The third feature consists of some feeling of self-importance, shame or self-doubt based on the imagination of the other person's judgements about our appearances.

11.4.3 Sigmund Freud and Psychoanalytic Theory

The Austrian neurologist and father of psychoanalysis **Sigmund Freud**(1923a in Strachey, 1961)believes socialisation demands that individuals must do away with their selfish wants for the benefit of the larger society. According to him socialisation is a process that directs one's cravings and instincts in ways that are culturally accepted by the society. He has explained the process of socialisation through three distinguishable parts of the personality: "**id**", "**ego**" and "**superego**".

The "**id**" consists of all kinds of basic impulses. It is the unconscious, selfish, impulsive and illogical part of the personality that always tries to increase the feeling of pleasure by avoiding pain. The "id" tries to make a person work towards achieving the selfish desires by not paying any heed to other individuals or social rules and standards.**For example**, a child craving for a second helping of dessert screamed constantly until she was given another serving.

The "**ego**" is the referee between the "id" and the "superego". It tries to maintain a balance between the "id" (basic impulses) and the "superego" (norms of the society). The "ego" tries to regulate our desires and cravings and helps us to obey the norms of society. As a referee the "ego" tries to control our impulses according to the norms of the society. **For example**, we often get tempted by discount offers in the shopping malls and feel like purchasing as much as we can. However, we restrict ourselves to buying just a few products because we realize that buying everything at once might not be a practical thing to do. This process of adjustment among the "id", "ego" and "superego" continues throughout life. This adjustment is the principle means of socialisation.

The "**superego**" refers to the principles, rules and ethics that one learns through the process of socialisation. The "superego" comprises of the norms of a society which are internalised through socialisation. The "superego" is the inner voice ('conscience') of the individual and inthat inner voice the hopes, beliefs and guidelines of the society are organised. **For example**, Ruchi was eager to steal some grocery from the store without anyone noticing her. But, because she knew that stealing is not the right thing to do so she did not steal even though she would have never got caught.The "id" and the "superego" are always opposed to each other because neither is it always possible to fulfil all our wishes and demands nor is it easy to keep ourselves completely away from our cravings.

Check Your Progress 2

1) According to Mead, how does the social self of a child develop?

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2) According to Cooley what is the meaning of 'looking glass self'?

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3) What are the different parts of the personality and how are they associated with socialisation according to Freud?

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11.5 AGENTS OF SOCIALISATION

The process of socialisation is not just limited to the family. It consists of a range of groups and institutions through which people learn the culture of their society. As already mentioned the family is the primary agent of socialisation while some of the important secondary agents of socialisation include the peer group, school and the mass media.

Frønesargues that, "*Primary socialisation* was implicitly understood as taking place in the family and during the first part of childhood. In this perspective the socialising agents in the primary process are the parents, especially the mother. *Secondary socialisation*came later and was related to agents as significant others, educational institutions and the media" (Frønes, 2016: 4).

11.5.1 Family

Parents along with the family are the most important agents of socialisation. Within the family it is the mother who first begins to socialise the child. Socialisation in basic values such as love and affection, manners and etiquettes

are first taught in the family. In a joint family structure apart from the parents, uncles, aunts, grandparents also play important roles to socialise the children. Children learn their language and develop their speaking abilities in the family. Regional and class differences of the family into which one is born affects the socialisation patterns in different ways as a result of which children from different cultural backgrounds grow up with different values, attitudes and beliefs. The situation within the family whether affectionate or disturbed will affect the growth of a child accordingly.

For example, Patterson et.al (2015) argue that, greater numbers of separations from primary caregivers or greater numbers of residential moves are more likely to have problems in adjustment. These aspects can lead to stress for children and adolescents. Also that, these moves may often be associated with family disruptions – such as separation or divorce of parents, so they may be markers for other stresses. In all, children and adolescents whose families provide stable, supportive environments seem to be at an advantage over those in more chaotic home situations (Patterson et.al. 2015: 205). They further attest that, factors such as 'physical resources', 'high-quality parenting', 'favourable family climate', 'reasonable stability', and 'supportive extra familial social networks' are important resources for socialisation(Patterson et.al. 2015: 206).

11.5.2   Peer Groups

Peer groups usually consist of friends who are of the same age. They share a mutual sense of understanding and cooperation with each other and also consider each of them as equals. Initially peer groups are formed in the neighbourhood or the housing community where the children live. When children are young they usually begin by making friends with children of similar gender. As a result peer groups exert a significant influence on gender socialisation. Once children enter the school their peer groups become diverse. Children who become part of peer groups are usually seen spending more time with their friends than with family members. The influence of peers group continues throughout life from the neighbourhood to education institutions to workplace and so on.

Bukowski et. al. (2015) argue that, "even after face-to-face interactions have come to an end, peers can maintain their contact with each other through 20th- and 21st-century forms of media. Starting during the preschool years, when many children spend their days in day care centers, experiences with peers can make up a large part of a child's daily life. These experiences can be sources of companionship, stimulation, information, help, rewards, security, joy, and, at times, frustration and harm" (Bukowskiet.al., 2015: 228).

For example, one of the many negative forms of peer socialisation can be the aspect of peer pressure: deviant acts such as any kind of addiction (smoking and drinking) can be attributed as elements of peer pressure.

11.5.3   School

The school is known to be the first formal agent of socialisation which shapes the ideas and attitudes of a child. Children learn to maintain certain decorum in the class, they learn to obey rules of discipline in the school and be diligent in learning the lessons that are taught in class. The children are expected to listen to their teachers and accept their authority. At times teachers' reactions also have positive or negative implications on the children. The school is not only

responsible for formally training the child in reading, writing and arithmetic but it also helps to develop critical thinking abilities. Broadly speaking, the school helps in the overall development of the child and in the diffusion of culture of the society. The role of the teacher becomes very important within such a setting.

Frønes argues that, for many children the teacher becomes a secondary socializing agent. However, for many others, the teacher can have primary functions. Hence, the borders between primary and secondary socialisation get blurred in such cases. He further says that, "although schools and the dissemination of their curricula in general is understood as part of secondary socialisation, in the knowledge-based economies the fundamental numerical and alphabetical skills provided by the schools could also be defined as belonging to primary socialisation". In this way, it is suggested that the 'hidden curriculum' of cultural codes suggests that the major educational institutions influence young people through more than just the mediation of the formal curriculum (Frønes, 2016: 4).

Overall, the role of the school can be attributed as equally important with respect to the family when it comes to socialisation of the children. A recently popular film, *Hindi Medium* vividly demonstrates this aspect wherein in contemporary societies; parents tend to over-rely on the school setting for socialisation.

11.5.4 Mass Media

Mass media includes various agents of communication for instance, the radio, television, newspapers, magazines, media portals and websites and the like. Prot et.al. (2015) argue that in this age of electronic media, children are provided with a variety of new learning opportunities which broaden the range of events children experience. As a consequence, it is witnessed that socialisation is no longer primarily or secondarily dependent to the influences of family, peers or other such agencies (Prot et.al, 2015: 276).Frønes further contends that our contemporary social realities and myths are given a visual as well as a narrative form through the media, and in this respect the modern social media illustrate how the medium shapes the message. He gives the example of Facebook's architecture which "encourages various presentations of taste, identity and popularity assessment, structuring both the form and content of the communication" (Frønes, 2016: 21).

Over the years television has become the greatest source of influence especially for children, when compared to the other tools of communication. There are different kinds of programmes that are available on the television ranging from serials, movies, cartoons to news, music, fashion, food, history and geography that cater to people belonging to different age groups. However, Protet. al. (2015: 280) reiterates that, violent media exposure is a causal risk factor for aggression. Television programmes for children especially cartoons, portray high levels of violent acts and episodes of different types. Although children might remain passive to such depiction of violence yet these can affect them in the form of nightmares and/or feelings of uncertainty and fear. Apart from this, certain forms of music, films or even violent video games may have such attributes. For example, Prot et.al attest that, racing video games such as *Need for Speed*, *Burnout,* and *Road Rash,* which can be rewarding for players, can be causes for reckless or violent driving. However, they also suggest that playing prosocial characters in nonviolent video games such as *Super Mario Sunshine* can lead to

significant decrease in hurtful behaviour and increase in helpful behaviours (Prot et.al, 2015: 286). Hence, the media plays a very important role in the process of socialisation by moulding our understanding of the world around us.

Check Your Progress 3

1) Discuss the role of family and the school as agents of primary and secondary socialisation respectively.

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2) Give two examples of peer group socialisation.

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3) Explain how media can have negative impacts on socialisation.

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11.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have studied the various dimensions of socialisation. We began by understanding the meaning and nature of socialisation which included some definitions. We learnt about various types of socialisation and then we moved on to study some of the most important theories of socialisation. In this unit we have also seen that there are many agents of socialisation and how each one of them plays an important role in the process of socialisation.

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UNIT 12   STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION*

Structure

12.0   OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the premises of functionalism;

- Discuss the relevance of the concept of function in understanding society; and

- Compare and contrast the theoretical approach of Radcliffe-brown, Malinowski and parsons.

12.1   INTRODUCTION

Functionalism is the name of an approach in social anthropology and sociology according to which a society is a whole of interconnected parts, where each part contributes to the maintenance of the whole. The task of sociology is to find out the contribution of each part of society and how society works together as an ordered arrangement of parts. At the same time 'function' is a multi-meaning and multi-usage term, Levy, Jr. (1968: 22) writers: 'Perhaps the major difficulty associated with the general concept of function has been the use of a single term to cover several distinctly different referents.'

As a distinct approach, as a way of looking at and analyzing society, functionalism emerged first in social anthropology in early twentieth century, and later in sociology, beginning in the 1930s. However, its roots are as ancient as the concept of organic analogy, used in the philosophy of Antiquity by Plato (B.C. 428/7-345/7) and Aristotle (B.C. 384-322). Some writers regard **Claude Henri de Saint-Simon**, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century scholar, writing after the French Revolution, as the '**father of sociology'**, because in his writings, one finds a coexistence of two ideas- one from which a scientific study of society emerged, and the other which contributed substantially to the growth of Marxian theory (**Giddens** 1973). The first idea is that 'scientific methods' should be used for the study of society, and the second is that each society contains in it the

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* This unit is contributed by Prof. Vinay Kumar Srivastava, DU. The Unit has been adopted after editing from Unit 6 of MSO-001.

germs of its contradiction, because of which it changes over time. Saint-Simon also recognizes revolution as an important process of change.

It is the first thought of studying a society scientifically that Auguste Comte (1789-1857), the collaborator of Saint-Simon and the person who has coined the term 'sociology', fully develops under the rubric of what the calls 'positivism' or 'positive philosophy'. In this view, the methods for the study of society come from natural and biological sciences. The aim of the study is to discover the 'Laws of evolution' as well as the 'Laws of functioning' of society, i.e., 'how has the society evolved with the passage of time and what are the various stages through which it has passed' and 'how does the society function (or work) at a particular point of time.'

In this unit we expose the concept of function in sociological writings. We begin with the basic premises of functionalism and then look into the theoretical contributions of Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, and Parsons.

12.2   FROM POSITIVISM TO FUNCTIONALISM

The immediate forerunner of functionalism in sociology is Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), who is a sharp critic of Comte as well as influenced by his ideas. Like Comte, Durkheim is keenly interested in defining the subject matter of sociology as distinct from that of philosophy or biology. For him, sociology is a comparative and an objective study of 'social facts', which are the 'ways of thinking, acting and feeling' that have the 'noteworthy property' of existing outside the 'individual consciousness'. Social facts do not originate in the individual but in the collectivity, in the 'collective mind'. Because they exist outside the individual, they can be studied in the same way as one studies the material objects. Social facts are 'things', perceived objectively and outside the individual. This however does not mean that they are as tangible as are the 'material things'. Instead, for their study one uses the same frame of mind which one uses for the study of natural and biological objects that constitute the subject matter of natural and biological sciences. Durkheim's book titled The Rules of the Sociological method (1895) was basically concerned with these issues.

Box 12.1: Sociological Explanations

From the study of social facts, sociologists offer what Durkheim calls 'sociological explanations'. Each sociological explanation is consisted of two parts: to quote Durkheim (1895: 123) here : ' …to explain a social phenomenon the efficient cause which produces it and the function it fulfills must be investigated separately,' the first component of the sociological explanation is the 'causal-historical explanation': to delineate the cause(s) which produce a phenomenon by examining historical sources rather than indulging in what Radcliffe-Brown calls 'conjectural history'. The second component is 'functional', i.e., the contribution that a part makes to society 'in the establishment of ..general harmony' (Durkheim 1895: 125).

Durkheim's definition of function has tremendously influenced the writings of later functionalists, both in social anthropology and sociology. For him, function is the 'contribution' a part makes to the whole for its 'maintenance and well being'. Thus, function is a 'positive contribution': it is inherently good for society (the whole), for it ensures its continuity and healthy maintenance.

For instance, in his doctoral work, which was on the division of labour, Durkheim (1893) rejects Darwin's idea survival. Instead of lending support to the theory of competition, conflict and elimination, Durkheim shows that as human population increases, society becomes more and more differentiated with the division of labour moving towards the specialization of jobs. Rather than competing with others for survival, human beings are able to depend on one another. Specialization makes each one of the beings important for society.

Durkheim is also critical of the utilitarian (i.e., economic) and individualistic (i.e., psychological) explanations, because according to him none of them actually explains the real function of the division of labour. For him, the function of the division of labour is sociological: it contributes to social solidarity. Modern industrial society is integrated because of the interdependence that comes into existence with the specialization of jobs. In his study of Australian Totemism, he shows that the function of religion is to produce solidarity in society, 'to bind people in a moral community called church' (Durkheim 1915).

Durkheim is particularly interested in showing that the function of social facts is moral. Social institutions work to produce the goal of integration.

With this perspective, he is able to account for such phenomena that to many may appear 'unhealthy' for society. For example, he regards crime as a 'normal' and healthy' feature of all societies, because it reinforces collective sentiments and works towards the evolution of morality and law. A normal rate of crime indicates that the society lacks the total authority to 'suppress' all 'divergences' of the individual to express them as 'individuals'. However, if crime exceeds the normal limits, then it becomes unhealthy (or 'pathological'), jeopardizing the normal functioning of society. As is clear, Durkheim distinguishes between the 'normal' and the 'pathological' forms of social facts. What is general in a society is normal and what is not is pathological. The former performs the function of integrating society, whereas the latter, thwarts the process of integration.

12.3 THE PREMISES OF FUNCTIONALISM

Durkheim is not a 'functionalist' in the sense in which this term has come to be used for the approach that the British social anthropologists, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955) and Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), have espoused. Durkheim does not use the term 'functionalism', although he defines the concept of social function. One comes across in Durkheim's works a fine coexistence of the diachronic (genetic, evolutionary, and historical) and the synchronic (society 'here and now') approaches. For instance, in his celebrated study of religion, he begins with a consideration of Australian Totemism as the most elementary form of religious life, but instead of speculating on origin he is more concerned with the function of totemism and how its study can help us in understanding the place of religion in complex societies. This emphasis on the study of synchronous (or 'present') societies exerted a tremendous impact on later scholars.

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of functionalism and disappearance of evolutionary theory. Adam Kuper (1973) thinks that 1922 was the 'year of wonder' (annus mirabilis) of functionalism, for in this year were published two monographs that substantiated the functional approach. One was by Radcliffe-Brown titled The Andaman Islanders, and the other, by Malinowski,

titled Argonauts of the Western Pacific. The impact of anthropological functionalism was felt in other disciplines, particularly sociology. Sociologists such as Talcott Parsons were clearly impressed with the writings of functional anthropologists. As a result functionalism emerged as an extremely important approach, holding its sway till the late 1960s and the early 1970s. In its history of about 150 years, first in the positivism of Comte, then in the 'sociologistic positivism' of Durkheim, and then, in the works of the twentieth-century functionalists, functionalism has come to comprise a number of variants and fact. Pointed differences exist between different functionalists – in fact, some of them happen to be archrivals, like Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski. Notwithstanding their differences, it seems that all functionalists share the following five propositions:

1) Society (or culture) is a system like any other system, such as solar system, or organic system.

2) As a system, society (or culture) consists of parts (like, institutions, groups, role, associations, organisations), which are interconnected, interrelated, and interdependent.

3) Each part performs its own function – it makes its own contribution to the whole society (or culture) – and also, it functions in relationship with other parts.

4) A change in one part brings about a change in other parts, or at least influences the functioning of other parts, because all the parts are closely connected.

5) The entire society or culture – for which we can use the term 'whole' is greater than the mere summation of parts. It cannot be reduced to any part, or no part can explain the whole. A society (or culture) has its own identity, its own 'consciousness', or in Durkheim's words, 'collective consciousness'.

12.4 FUNCTIONALISM IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY: RADCLIFFE-BROWN AND MALINOWSKI

Both the founders of the British functional approach (Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski) were vehemently critical of the nineteenth-century evolutionism. Radcliffe-Brown (1952) said that it was based on 'conjectural history', a term we used earlier, and not 'authentic history'. It was 'pseudo-historical', thus devoid of a scientific value. For Malinowski (1944), classical evolutionism was a 'limbo of conjectural reconstructions'. With the works of these scholars came a shift from:

1) Arm-chair anthropology to fieldwork-based studies;

2) The study of the origin and stages of evolution of society and to institutions (diachronic studies) to society 'here and now' (synchronic studies);

3) The study of the entire societies and cultures (macro approach) to the study of particular societies, especially the small-scale societies (micro approach); and

4) An understanding of society confined to a theoretical level to putting the knowledge of society 'here and now' to practical use, to bring about desired changes in society. It was believed that the knowledge acquired should be

used for improving upon the conditions of people in society. Malinowski called this concern of anthropology 'practical anthropology'.

The functionalists did not level their criticism against the processes of diffusion and evolution, for they knew that they were important processes of change. In fact, both Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski thought that eventually they would take up the study of these processes. What they were against was a study of the past through 'imaginative history' rather than empirical studies. If authentic documents were available about societies, they maybe used for some insights into change. But the functionalists noted that these documents were not available about 'primitive and pre-literate' societies.

Structural-functional Approach of Radcliffe-Brown

Radcliffe-Brown (1952: 180) defines each society as a 'functionally interrelated system' in which 'general laws or functions operate'. He accepts that Durkheim offered the first systematic formulation of the concept of function and that this concept is based on an 'analogy between social life and organic life'. However, Radcliffe-Brown suspected that functionalism as used by Durkheim might become teleological. He thus substitutes for the word 'need' the term 'necessary conditions of existence.' He believes that the question of which conditions are necessary for survival is an empirical one, and the study of a society will tell us about this. Radcliffe-Brown recognizes the 'diversity of conditions necessary for the survival of different systems.' Once we have recognized this, we shall avoid asserting that each item of a culture must have a function and that 'items in different cultures must have the same functions' (Turner 1987: 48)

Radcliffe-Brown dislikes the use of the word 'functionalism', which Malinowski propagated with enthusiasm. His objection is that '-isms' (like functionalism) are ideologies, schools of thought, philosophies, and realms of opinions. Science does not have either of them. What it has are the methods of study, opting for those methods that are regarded as the best for study.

Moreover, Radcliffe-Brown also looks at the distinction between an organism and society. For instance, an organism dies, but a society continues to survive over time, although it may be changed and transformed. An organism can be studied even when its parts have stopped working. In over words, the structure of an organism can be studied separately from its function, which is not the case with society. Social structure is observable only when it functions. Structure and function are inalienable concepts in social-anthropology; that is why Radcliffe-Brown calls his approach 'structural-functional', rather than 'functional', as many have done. He writes (1952: 180):

The concept of function…involves the notion of a structure consisting of a set of relations amongst unit entities, the continuity of the structure being maintained by a life-process make up of the activities of the constituent units.

Radcliffe-Brown's structural-functional approach comprises the following assumptions:

1) A necessary condition for survival of a society is a minimal integration of its parts.

2) The concept of function refers to those processes that maintain the necessary integration or solidarity.

3) And, in each society, structural features can be shown to contribute to the maintenance of necessary solidarity.

For Durkheim, the central concept is of solidarity, while for Radcliffe-Brown, it is the 'structural continuity' of society. For example, in an analysis of the lineage system, according to Radcliffe-Brown, one must first assume that some minimal degree of solidarity must exist for it to continue. Then, one must examine the processes associated with the lineage system, assessing their consequences for maintaining social integration. Then, one will move to the other systems of society, analyzing at each level the contribution a part will make to the structural continuity of the whole.

Reflection and Action 12.1

What are the assumptions of Radcliffe-Brown's structural functional approach?

Radcliffe-Brown is far from being dogmatic in his assertions. For him, the functional unity (or integration) of a social system is a hypothesis. That we look for integration and structural continuity of society does not imply that does not imply that it does not change, Radcliffe-Brown believes that the states of 'social health' (eunomia), and 'social illness' (dysnomia) constitute two ends of the continuum, and the actual society seems to lie somewhere in between.

b) **The Functionalism of Malinowski**

By comparison to Radcliffe-Brown, it is Malinowski who claims the creation of a separate 'school', the 'Functional School'. Malinowski (1926:132-3) assumes that In every civilization every custom, material object, ideas and belief fulfils some vital function, has some task to accomplish and is indispensable within a working whole.

Whereas Radcliffe-Brown begins with society and its necessary conditions of existence (i.e., integration), Malinowski's starting point is the individual, who has a set of 'basic' (or 'biological') needs that must be satisfied for its survival. It is because of the importance that Malinowski gives the individual that the term 'psychological functionalism' is reserved for him, in comparison to Radcliffe-Brown's approach which is called 'sociological functionalism' because in this society is the key concept.

Malinowski's approach distinguishes between three levels: the biological, the social structural, and the symbolic (Turner 1987: 50-1). Each of these levels has a set of needs that must be satisfied for the survival of the individual. It is on his survival that the survival of larger entities (such as groups, communities, societies) is dependent. Malinowski proposes that these three levels constitutes a hierarchy. At the bottom is placed the biological system, followed next by the social-structural, and finally, by the symbolic system. The way in which needs at one level are fulfilled will affect the way in which they will be fulfilled at the subsequent levels.

The most basic needs are the biological, but this does not imply any kind of reductionism, because each level constitutes its distinct properties and needs, and from the interrelationship of different levels that culture emerges as an integrated whole. Culture is the kernel of Malinowski's approach. It is 'uniquely

human', for it is not found to exist among sub-humans. Comprising all those things- material and non-material- that human beings have made right from the time they separated from their simian ancestors, culture has been the instrument that satisfies the biological needs of human beings. It is a need-serving and need-fulfilling systems. Because of this role of culture is satisfying biological needs that Malinowski's functionalism is also known as 'bio-cultural functionalism.'

One more difference between Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski may be noted here. A concept fundamental to Malinowski – the concept of culture – is a mere epiphenomena (secondary and incidental) for Radcliffe-Brown. He believes that the study of social structure (which for him is an observable entity) encompasses the study of culture; therefore, there is no need to have a separate field to study culture. Further, whilst social structure is the individual peoples, culture is in the minds of people, not amenable to observation in the same way as social structure is. Radcliffe-Brown wants to make social anthropology a branch of natural science, which would be possible when there is an empirically investigable subject matter.

Reflection and Action 12.2

What are the major differences between the theoretical approaches of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski?

The basis of Malinowski's approach is a theory of 'vital sequences', which have a biological foundation and are incorporated into all societies. These sequences number eleven, each composed of an 'impulse', an associated physiological 'act', and a satisfaction which results from that act. For instance, the impulse of somnolence accompanies the act of sleep, resulting in satisfaction by 'awakening with restored energy' (Malinowski 1944: 77; Barnard 2000:68). Malinowski follows this eleven-fold paradigm with a set of seven biological needs and their respective cultural responses (see Table 6.2).

Basic Needs	Cultural Responses
1. Metabolism	Commissariat
2. Reproduction	Kinship
3. Bodily comfort	Shelter
4. Safety	Protection
5. Movement	Activities
6. Growth	Training
7. Health	Hygiene

For example, the first need is of food, and the cultural mechanisms are centered on the processes of food getting, for which Malinowski uses the term 'commissariat', which means the convoy that transports food. Similarly, the second need is of reproduction (biological continuity of society) and the cultural response to which is kinship concerned with regulating sex and marriage. From this, Malinowski goes on to four-fold sequences, which he calls the 'instrumental imperatives', and associates each one of them with their respective cultural responses. The four-fold sequence is of economy, social control, education, and political organization. From here, he shifts to the symbolic system – of religion, magic, beliefs and values – examining its role in culture.

12.5 FUNCTIONALISM OF TALCOTT PARSONS (1902-1979) AND ROBERT K. MERTON (1910-2003)

In 1975, in an important article, Parsons labels his student, Robert Merton and himself 'arch-functionalists'. For him, structure refers to 'any set of relations among parts of a living system'. On empirical grounds, he says, it can be assumed or shown that these relations are stable over a time period. By process, which is the correlative concept with structure, one refers to the 'changes' that occur in the state of the system or its relevant parts. With respect to structure, the key concept is of stability, and with respect to process, it is of change. Thus, by structure, we refer to a pattern of relationships in a social system, and process refers to the changes occurring in that system. A significant characteristic of 'structural functionalism' has been that it has stressed 'structure' over 'process'.

Parsons thinks that his original formulation under the rubric of 'structural functionalism' tends to analyze society as if it is static, but the new formulation, where stress is laid on the concept of function than structure, in the name of functionalism, takes much more account of change and evolution. For example, one may examine in the American context, the function of the process of education of women on 'static' structures like family.

Parsons' functionalism is best known in terms of the 'functional imperatives', the essential conditions required for the enduring existence of a system (Parsons 1951). Also known as the 'AGIL model' (based on the first letters of the four functions that Parsons has devised) or the 'four-function paradigm', it evolved from Parsons' collaborative work with Robert F.Bales in experiments on leadership in small groups (Rocher 1974).

All 'action systems' – and society is one of them – face four major 'problems' (or have four major 'needs'), namely Adaptation (A), Goal Attainment (G), integration (1), and Pattern Maintenance, or, as Parsons later renamed it, Latent Pattern Maintenance-Tension Management, or simply, Latency (L). Parsons pictures society (or the social system) as a large square, which he divides into four equal parts. The underlying idea is that all systems need to accomplish these four functions in order to survive. The meaning of these four 'functional imperatives' is as follows:

1) *Adaptation:* By this is meant the problem of securing sufficient resources from the society's external environment and distributing them throughout the system. Each society needs certain institutions that perform the function of adaptation to the environment-which is an external function. Adaptation provides the means – the instrumental aspects – to achieve goals. Biological organism performs the function of adaptation in the general system of action. In the context of society, economic institution performs this function.

2) *Goal Attainment:* this function is concerned with the need of the system to mobilize its resources to attain the goals and to establish priorities among them. It mobilizes motivations of the actors and organizes their efforts. In the general system of action, personality performs this functions, while in case of society this task is given to the political institution, because power

is essential for implementation and decision-making. Goal attainment is concerned with ends – the consummatory aspects. Since goals are delineated in relation with the external environment, it is, like adaptation, an external function.

3) *Integration:* It is regarded as the 'heart' of the four-function paradigm (Wallace and Wof 1980: 36). By integration is meant the need to coordinate, adjust, and regulate relationships among various actors (or, the units of the system, such as the institutions), so that the system is an 'ongoing entity'. According to the general theory of action, the social system performs this function, whereas in society, legal institutions and courts are entrusted with this task. Integration is concerned with ends, and the internal aspects of the system.

4) *Latency (Pattern Maintenance and Tension Management):* This function pertains to the issues of providing knowledge and information to the system. In the general theory of action, culture – the repository of knowledge and information – accomplishes this function. Culture does not act because it does not have energy. It lays hidden, supplying actors (who are high in energy) with knowledge and information they require for carrying out action. Because culture exists 'behind' the actions of people, it is called 'latent'. Integration takes care of two things: first, it motivates actors to play their roles in the system and maintain the value patterns; and second, to provide mechanisms for managing internal tensions between different parts and actors. The problem that every society faces is of keeping its value system intact and ensuring that theare property transmitted and imbibed. The institutions that carry out this function are family, religion, and education, and education. Latency gives means to achieve ends; it is internal to the system.

AGIL Model

Means (Instrumental)	Ends (Consummatory)
External A Adaptation	Goal attainment G
Internal L Latency (Pattern maintenance and tension-relieving mechanisms)	Integration I

General Level of Action Theory

Organism	Personality
Culture	Social System

AGIL Functions in the Social System	
Economy	Polity
Fiduciary System	Societal Community

For the purpose of analysis, Parsons identifies sub-systems corresponding to the AGIL model in all systems and their sub-systems (see Diagram 1). As we have seen, at the general level of action theory, the biological organism performs the function of adaptation, the personality system, the function of goal attainment, the social system integrates different units, and the cultural system is concerned with pattern maintenance. Then, the social system is broken down into the four AGIL functions. We noted earlier that economy performs the function of adaptation, whereas, polity (or political institution), the function of goal attainment. For the sub-system that carries out the function of integration, Parsons uses the term 'societal community', which reminds one of Ferdinand Tonnies's ideas of gemeinschaft ('community'). 'Societal community' produces solidarity, unity, cohesiveness, and loyalty to norms, values, and institutions. The function of pattern maintenance, Parsons says, is the task of what he calls the 'fiduciary system', which pertains to the nature of a trust or a trusteeship. This system produces and legitimizes moral values, beliefs, and expressive symbols.

Each of the sub-systems of the system can be taken up for analysis by treating it as a 'system', and then, breaking it down into four parts looking for its components that respectively perform the functions of adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency. This way of analyzing society is known as the systemic approach.

12.6   LET US SUM UP

Parsons's AGIL model is an ideal type, applicable to differentiated societies than simple societies. It is popularly known as a 'grand theory' – an all-encompassing, unified theory – which is believed to have a large explanatory power. Parsons' student, Robert Merton, is skeptical of such a theory, for it is too general to be of much use (Merton 1957). Instead, he expresses his preference for mid-level (middle-range) theories, which cover certain delimited aspects of social phenomena (such as groups, social mobility, or role conflict). Partially because of this middle-range strategy, Merton's functionalism is quite different from that of Parsons. For instance, Merton abandons the search for any functional prerequisites that will be valid in all social systems. He also rejects the idea of the earlier functionalists that recurrent social phenomena should be explained in terms of their benefits to society as a whole. For criticism, Merton identifies the three postulates of earlier functionalists given below:

1) Postulate of the functional unity of society. It is an assumption that there is unity in society, which comes about because of the contributions that parts make to the whole.

2) Postulate of the universal functionalism. It is an assumption that all social or cultural forms have positive functions, which are for the maintenance and well being of society.

3) Postulate of indispensability. It is an assumption that the function that a social or cultural from performs is an indispensable precondition for the survival of society.

Merton notes that none of these postulates are empirically justifiable. For instance, there is no reason to suppose that particular institutions are the only ones to fulfill the functions. Empirical research shows that there may be a wide range of

what Merton has termed 'functional alternatives' that may be able to perform the same function.

With a critical look, Merton tries to attempt what he calls a 'codification of functional analysis in sociology', a functional paradigm (for perspective) (which is not a grand theory) that takes into consideration the actual dimensions of social reality, of conformity and deviance, understanding and explaining them. Like other functionalists, he views society as a system of interconnected parts, where the functioning of a part has implications for the functioning of other parts and the entire system. Like his predecessors, he is interested in the concepts of equilibrium and integration, and the contribution of customs and institutions to the persistence of societies. His definition of function is also in terms of the 'positive contribution' of a part to the whole: functions are those contributions or consequences that 'make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system.'

While agreeing with other functionalists on certain points stated above, Merton has made a distinct contribution to a set of two typologies, namely, the distinction between 'function' and 'dysfunction', and between 'manifest' and 'latent' functions. Most functionalists think that all contributions are inherently good or 'functional' for society, a proposition Merton finds difficult to accept. He thinks there are acts that have 'consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system'. Such acts have harmful consequences, the technical term for which is 'dysfunction'. It is, therefore, expected that the sociologist will always ask the following question: 'For whom are the consequences functional or dysfunctional?' The same institution can be functional in one context and dysfunctional in another. All social institutions are expected to have some mix of functions and dysfunctions. Whether the institution tilts to the pole of function or dysfunction in a continuum will depend upon the net balance between the functional and dysfunctional consequences.

Box 12.2: Manifest and Latent Function

The distinction between manifest and Latent functions has its roots in the writings of the funders in sociology. In his study of religion, for example, Durkheim (1915) makes a distinction between 'what people do of which they are aware' and 'what emerges from their collective acts which they had not intended and anticipated.' When people assemble for collective totemic rituals, their explicit aim is to honour their totem, but what these rituals produce is a sense of we-ness, which is an unintended, unrecognized, and unanticipated consequence. Following this, one can say that manifest functions are those consequences people observe or expect, while latent functions are those consequences that are neither recognized nor intended.

Merton was able to advance four types of explanations in terms of the two dichotomies (function and dysfunction; manifest and latent functions). The earlier functionalists put forth only one explanation and that too with respect to latent functions. Merton's conceptual scheme guided empirical research, rather than remaining a theory with several explanatory claims, like the 'grand theory' of Parsons.

12.7   CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1)   What are the assumptions of Radcliffe-Brown's structural functional approach?

2)   What are the major differences between the theoretical approaches of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski?

3)   Examine Parsons' model of AGIL.

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UNIT 13   SOCIAL CONTROL AND CHANGE*

Structure

13.0   OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you would be able to understand:

- Social control as a concept;

- Relationship between social control and social order;

- Agencies which function as social control;

- Concept of social change and social transformation;

- Various approaches to the understanding of social change;

- Causal factors of social change; and

- Rate of social change.

13.1   INTRODUCTION

Social control is a central concept in sociology. All of us are expected to behave in a certain way. It ranges from how to eat to giving respect to our elders to driving to the left side of the road and to obey the laws of the land. The very basic idea behind following certain desired rules is to make collective social life possible. Community life is possible only in the context of social constraints as social living demands sacrifice of individual interests. For example one is always

tempted to jump a traffic signal but does not do so for fear of being fined. Thus, in order to function smoothly and efficiently society makes certain rules and regulations and expects that its members will follow them. Social institutions such as family, school, religious institutions and media are some of the agents that reinforce and maintain these rules. Many sanctions are not applied directly but only by embedding certain values in the socialized person. Thus most people conform not because of fear but because they are internally conditioned to do so. In the most fundamental sense 'social control' refers to the capacity of a society to regulate itself according to desired principles and values.

13.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The purpose of social control is as the term indicates is to exercise control over people in an effective manner. Confirming or behaving in accordance with the norms of society is referred to as conformity. In fact in a modern complex society social order can be achieved by making the people to accept and follow certain specified group norms. By maintaining solidarity and stability among its members society ensures its continuity. As a result the means of social control does not remain external to individual but are followed unconsciously too and becomes the larger part of culture and gets transmitted from one generation to another. And this is how a social order is maintained. It delimits the chances of chaos and confusion in the functioning of society. Therefore, social control is a necessary component of social order.

It was E.A. Ross, an American Sociologist who introduced the concept Social Control in his famous book "Social Control" published in 1901. He has defined social control as "system of devices whereby society brings its members into conformity with the accepted standards of behaviour". Others like Ogburn and Nimkoff have said that social control refers to "the patterns of pressure which society exerts to maintain order and established rules".

From the above definitions it is clear that society exercises some kind of influence on the behaviour of the individual. The influence may be exercised by means of public opinion, religion, morality, ideology or by coercion. Such influence is exerted at various levels. It may be the influence over all members of society or influence of a dominant group over smaller groups or individuals. Some members exercises and influence the behaviour of others by having moral authority on them. The influence of society over individual or group may also result in benevolence and care giving approach. Thus socialization into the moral code of society results in some members taking care of others. Thus social control underlies all forms of social behaviour and has been an essential aspect of all societies from ancient to recent times.

13.3 TYPES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Society exercises its control on the behaviour of individual or group in many ways. The nature of social control is also dependent on the social situation and the nature of social goals. In some simpler societies some form of beliefs and customs exercise enough control to act as a social pressure on individuals or groups. In rural society long established traditions and beliefs have significant

influence on the behaviour of the individual or group. However, it does differ in modern industrial urban society. Here, modern means like radio, television, school, and law etc. work more effectively for the purpose of controlling behaviour of members of society. In a way, formal and informal represents two types of means to have influence on the members of society.

Thus, social control can be classified into two major types on the basis of the means of social control that are exercised.

They are: formal control and informal control.

Formal Control: Formal control is exercised by some institutionalised organisations or associations characterised by formal authority like government which makes law and legislation to control. Formal control is a feature of modern urban complex society in which the interaction is mostly impersonal in nature and social life is anonymous. A complex society requires the necessity of formal control or rules and regulation to make its members conform. The legal institution and judiciary are a well recognised and well accepted means of social control. The various laws are exercised by specific body in which officials are vested with power to enforce control. The state is often the highest agent of social control and subsumes within itself subsidiary institutions like that of the police and the military for the enforcement of control.

Informal Control: Informal control is mainly exercised by unwritten rules and regulations characterised by informal agents like folkways, traditional beliefs and customs, rituals, gossip, public opinion etc. Informal means of social control evolve on their own and are an integral and accepted part of life over a period of time. They become more established with practice. Though no specific punishment is given to persons in case of violation yet, informal controls are more effective in their influence than even formal control. They are more effective in simple or rural society where members of society are more tradition oriented and the community is more tightly knit. They are also more effective in primary groups like family where interaction takes place more at personal ground. In informal control, the control is either through internalized values or through feelings of shame, honor and ridicule.

In complex societies and in urban city life, both formal as well as informal mechanism of control work simultaneously to maintain social order.

13.4   AGENCIES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

A society maintains social control through agencies that have evolved over time to be effective. Society uses law, education, physical coercion and codes besides folkways, religion, traditional customs, mores etc. to exercise control over its members of society. The types of social control mechanisms used by society depend upon nature of society in terms of its organisational complexity.

Control by Law: Law is the most powerful instrument of social control in the modern urban industrial society. Law appears in a society with a political organization of the state. The term 'Law' has been defined in various ways. J. S. Roucek says that "*Laws are a form of social rule emanating from political agencies*". The sources of law are many. Laws are made and legislations are

enacted on the basis of social doctrines, ideals and mores. Laws are made formal when they are enacted by a proper law making authority. Formal laws are deliberately made with proper planning. In the western system laws are supposed to be definite, clear and precise and everybody is treated equally before law in identical circumstances. Such may not however be true for non-western laws emanating from cultures other than European. Law is enforced by agencies; therefore, formal bodies are created. With colonization and the spread of western civilization, the nature of formal law has become similar in most societies.

Control by Education: Education is very significant tool and a mechanism of social control in all forms of society. Education can be just simply viewed as imbibing of social values and norms by the younger generations. Informal education is imparted by all socializing agents especially the family. Education has been visualised by Emile Durkheim as '*the socialisation of the younger generation*' because it is through education by which society passes its heritage to from one generation to another. Formal education, that is the education that is imparted by an institution that is dedicated primarily to it and which has its own tools and techniques, books, and teachers, been playing central role in controlling the behaviour of members of society. Formal education is designed to impart the right kind of ideology to the young members of society so that they contribute to its reproduction. Formal education often includes religious and patriotic values that are deemed necessary for the formation of the responsible citizen.

Control by Public Opinion: Public opinion is an important agency of social control. Public opinion simply refers to mass of ideas which people expresses on any given issue. In fact it works as a collective opinion of majority of members of society. Moreover it is more valued in democratic societies. Public opinion is gathered through various modern means like Press, Radio, and Television etc.

Control by Propaganda: Propaganda does affect people's attitude, behaviour, faith and ideology. At times it is also used to replace an older belief system with the new one. However, it may have both positive and negative impact. Most governments and power regimes use propaganda to bring changes in the behaviour of people. Thus people are urged to conform to the goals of the state willingly through propaganda that makes them believe that what the society wants is actually also good for them.

Control by Coercion: Coercion refers to physical force to stop or control the behaviour of an individual or group. When people are forced to follow certain rules under threat or under some imposed controls, it is said that coercion is used to regulate the behaviour of an individual or members of society. State is the only agency which uses it legitimately although every one may not agree with every situation of use of force, like when police uses force on peacefully demonstrating people or when the state uses repressive measures to suppress any protest.

Control by Customs: Custom is basically an informal means of social control. It is exercised mostly unconsciously. We learn them from childhood in our families or what we say in primary groups in a very informal manner. It ensures collective life. They are more influential in traditional or rural society.

Control by Religion: Religion refers to faith in some supernatural forces. MacIver and Page has defined religion as religion "*implies a relationship not merely*

between man and man but also between man and some higher power". It is a strong instrument of social control. Therefore, it is based on the belief that it confirms the man's relationship with God and therefore, constitutes a religious code. And it is this religious code which becomes significant to control the conduct of human behaviour. The power of religion is very deep rooted as it conflates the social requirements with the wishes of the higher power. For example in many religions women are made to believe that it is their religious duty to serve men and is very effective in maintaining and continuing a patriarchal society. Similarly many religions supported the rule of kings saying that the king or ruler was divine.

Control by Morality: There is a close relation between morality and religion. Morality is "*that body of rules and principles concerned with good and evil as manifested to us by conscience*". Morality is what makes a person distinguish right conduct from wrong. But the moral order is not universal and varies from society to society, and each society imbibes its own norms and values in its children. In the context of a Western society one may identify honesty, faithfulness, trust, fairness, conscientiousness, kindness and sacrifice to represent some of the moral concepts. The moral order of Indian society is more towards family and respect for elders and following rules. The moral order is internalized by the people and therefore, plays very crucial role in influencing people's behaviour or maintain control on members of society.

Besides the above mentioned mechanism of formal as well as informal means of social control different social ceremonies in terms of rituals, fashions are also used to regulate the behaviour of an individual or members of society.

Thus, society in order to function smoothly and effectively uses some form of inbuilt mechanism. Individuals have the tendency to deviate from the desired behaviour because of their desires for their self, like pleasure and individualistic goal fulfillments. For example people wish for the good things of life that they may not be able to get by fair means but by anti-social means such as theft or breaking of rules. Social control refers to all the mechanism which are used to regulate the behaviour of individuals and makes them conform to its norms and values. It is the way through which society ensures its collective life and maintains normative social order. The effectiveness of mechanisms varies from simple to complex society. Means like customs, folkways and mores are more effective in rural traditional simple society. But law, education, public opinion plays more significant role in urban complex society.

Check Your Progress 1

1) Explain the meaning and definition of social control.

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2) Discuss various types of social control.

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3) Discuss the agencies of social control.

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13.5 CONCEPT AND MEANING OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change has been defined in various ways. Scholars and authors have defined them in many different ways so that there is no one agreed definition of social change. Nevertheless, for our purpose we shall attempt a working definition of social change. Social change can broadly be defined as the *significant alteration or modification of any social organization and/or social structure and functions of a society and its various manifestations*. The definition incorporates the aspects of significant changes in the various patterns of social relationships – social processes, social patterns, action and interaction – the rules of relationships and conduct (norms), values, symbols and cultural products. The concept of social change also refers to variations over time in both the material and non-material aspects of culture. These changes take place both from within the societies (*endogenous forces*) and from without (*exogenous forces*) that is brought about by external forces.

13.6 APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL CHANGE

There are a few main approaches to the understanding of social change and/or social transformation. They are:

i)   Evolutionary theories;

ii) Cyclical theories; and

iii) Structural-functional and conflict theories.

13.6.1 Evolutionary Theories of Change

Evolutionary theories of social change are conglomeration of many but interrelated theories of change. The main notion of the evolutionary theory of change is that

there is a consistent direction of social change of all societies in a similar sequence of stages from the original to the final stage of development, or from a simple and 'primitive' to the more complex and advanced state. Evolutionary theory also implies that evolutionary change will culminate at reaching the final stage of development. Evolutionary theorists consider change as progress and growth. The theory can be classified into two main categories- Classical evolutionary theories and Neo-evolutionary theories.

The classical evolutionary theories have been developed by the 19th century anthropologists and sociologists. Although, approaches differ among them, there is an underlying principle of convergence of ideas that evolutionary change takes place in a *unilinear* and similar direction. They largely draw an analogy of the progress of animal life from the simple uni-celled organisms to the most complex animal- the human being. They believe that as societies evolve and grow, the functions of its members would also become more specialized just as the development of millions of body cells to perform specific functions within an interrelated system. The main proponents of the classical theories of evolutionary change were August Comte (from French Evolutionary and Positivist School), Herbert Spencer, E.B.Tylor, H.J.S.Maine, J.F. McLennan and S.J.G.Frazer (from British Evolutionary School); Lewis Henry Morgan (from American Evolutionary School); and J.J.Bachofen, Adolf Bastian and Ferdinand Toennies [Ferdinand Tönnies] (from German Evolutionary School).

The Neo-Evolutionary theories were introduced in the 20th century by V.Gordon Childe, Julian Steward and Leslie White. Their formulations of evolutionary theories are characterized by careful scrutiny of evidence, systematic analysis, and rigorous reasoning. To distinguish them from the classical evolutionary theorists, they have also been labeled as neo-evolutionists. Later, Marshall D. Sahlins and Elman Service attempted a synthesis of the theories of evolution (particularly the theories of Julian Steward and Leslie White's) by developing the concept of '*specific*' and '*general*' evolution. The main claim of these theories was that evolution moved simultaneously in two directions in both the biological and cultural aspects. This evolutionary process then led to progress and made new ones emerge out of the old ones. They considered these two processes as interconnected in its totality.

13.6.2 Cyclical Theories

Cyclical theories have been concerned with the repetitious change of conditions, events, forms and/or fashions over a long period of time, although the period of recurrent phases (cycles) of change would vary. The cyclical theorists believe that societies pass through a series of stages. However, they do not consider the notion of ending in a stage of perfection but see them as a return to the stage where it began for further round in a cyclical manner. Some of the eminent contributors include A.L.Kroeber, Oswald Spengler, Pitirim Sorokin, Arnold Toynbee, and Vilfredo Pareto.

13.6.3 Structural-functional and Conflict Theories

The structural-functional and conflict theories are generally concerned with micro and middle range theories of social change. The structural-functionalists assume that society, like the human body, is a balanced system of institutions, each of

which performs a function in maintaining society. They consider 'change' as a constant that requires no explanation. They hold that changes disrupt the equilibrium of a society, until the change has been integrated into the culture. Societies accept and adopt those changes that are found useful (functional), while they reject changes that are useless (dysfunctional).

Conflict theories are closely related to structural-functional theories of change. They have no specific theory per se of change. The conflict theorists believe that societies progress to a higher order when the oppressed groups improve their conditions of life. They do not however assume that societies smoothly evolve from lower to higher levels. They consider conflict as a constant and necessary factor to bring about social change. They view social change as the result of social conflict, but not as constant. As conflict continuous, so is also change.

13.7 SYNTHESIS OF SOCIAL CHANGE THEORIES

Most theorists today integrate the various ideas and theories of social change that have been discussed above. There is a general agreement, however, that societies change because of various factors conditioned on the society. These factors could be both within and without the society and/or planned and unplanned. Many theorists do believe that changes in societies are not necessarily good or bad. They opine that although a stable society is usually better than a chaotic and conflict-ridden society, stability would sometimes imply exploitation, oppression, and injustice. In such situation of injustice and oppression, conflict is bound to take place and the society will be forced to change.

13.8 FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change is brought about by various factors. These factors are mainly responsible for the differences in the rate and nature of change in different societies and at different times. They may be broadly classified into the following categories —

i)   Biological factors

ii) Geographic factors

iii) Technological factors

iv) Socio-cultural factors

13.8.1 Biological Factors

Biological factors may be further classified into two types – *Non-human biological* factors, and *Human biological* factors. The *non-human biological* factors include plants and animals. They affect the lives of the people in varied ways. Human beings need plants and animals for survival, be it for food, cloth, medicine and other purposes in many different ways as defined by one's culture. Man also needs plants and animals indirectly for availing oxygen and other utilities through many processes. Transformations of the environment may bring about changes in livelihood, food habits and related social aspects. *Human biological* factors affect social change in two main ways – the genetic character of a given population, and the quantity, density and composition of population. *Population* change, unlike genetic factor, is considered to be one of the most important factors of

social change. Growth in population and also it s composition have been affecting various aspects of socio-cultural lives. Migration brings about further change by creating a new environment setting after the contact of two or more alien peoples and cultures with that brings about numerous new problems. Migration could also affect the processes of acculturation, cultural diffusion and/or social conflict.

13.8.2   Geographic Factors

Geographic changes have been significant factors of social change. There are several instances where social changes have been brought about by geographic factors. Natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods can cause both environmental and social changes. Often when land and resources are lost in such mishaps there is deepening of social inequalities as most of the burden falls on the marginal people. Ecological change is also a major source of social change in the modern times. Many ecological changes have been induced by human beings. Over population of a region, overexploitation of a region/border area due to social and political conflict, deforestation, construction of large dams, among others, for one reason or another have caused enormous social and ecological problems in the contemporary world which are found to be even greater factors of social change than migrations and disasters.

13.8.3   Technological Factors

Technology has been considered as one of the important factors of social change. This is quite true particularly in the context of the contemporary World. This is for the fact that variation in technology affects social organization and/or structure of a society in a significant way. The use of mass media and rapid transfer of information through the internet and the revolution in communication technology has changed the face of the world. However this has often resulted in the dominant cultures such as American culture making its impact worldwide. People have began to wear western clothes and eat popular junk food all over the world. At the same time, the magnitude and the rate of change could differ from one period and situation to another depending on the availability and use of technology. While modern technology has been a great boon to man, there are also the other dark side of it. This is mainly due to change of the old ways of life and systems, destructive nature of the technologies being designed or misuse of technologies for destructive ends.

13.8.4   Socio-cultural Factors

Socio-cultural factors have been the most important causal factors of social change. Humans are the most important player of social change. As society is a human creation so also humans are primarily responsible fo rchanging their own creation. Social change has been caused by various human activities in the form of *discovery*, *invention*, *diffusion*, *social movements*, and so on. Change is also caused by the attitudes and values of the people toward innovation in a society. Some people are more conservative and resistant to change while others are more open to transformation. Change is however viewed as inevitable and natural by most people.

Societies located at world crossroads areas of greatest intercultural contact have always been centres of change. On the other hand, isolated areas are generally centres of stability, conservatism, and resistance of change. Ethnographic

evidences show that the most primitive tribes have been found among the most isolated communities. Discoveries and inventions have contributed much to the process of social change. This truth is increasingly realised in modern times after the introduction of modern technological know-how.

Diffusion, the process of the spread of culture from group to group, has been considered as one of the main causes of social change. Diffusion takes place within societies and between societies through contact. This is why the process of diffusion becomes difficult to penetrate in a situation of isolation. Jazz, which was originated among black musicians of New Orleans diffused to other groups within the society, and then later spread to other societies as well and to different parts of the world.

Social movement is certainly one of the most important factors of social change. We can understand social movement into two different forms- one, those movements organised to create some new social forms that are usually radical and liberal in nature; and two, those movements concerned with maintaining or recreating older social forms that are generally conservative or reactionary. However, in both these cases, social change will depend much on the success of the movements and the impact it could cause to the society.

Again, the amount of success of a social movement aimed at creating new social forms will depend on several inter-related factors, such as, the bearing and relevance of the goals and objectives of the movement to the people concerned, quality of leadership it provides, the art of strategy, the ability to incorporate influential persons and sections of the society, and the extent to which vested interests, counter forces and hurdles are successfully tackled.

Revolutionary movement may be considered as a kind of social movement. Revolutionary movements also cause social change. The French Revolution of 1789 witnessed the rise of French democracy, rise of modern civilian army, and was a great eye-opener and model for many peoples in different parts of the world who are struggling for liberation and justice. The Russian Revolution is also another example of revolutionary change that brought an end to monarchical government and class stratification in Russia.

13.9   IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The impact of social change on human society has been a major concern for social scientists, particularly, sociologists. Sociologists are concerned with the impacton the group more than on the individual. The opinion of sociologist about social change differs according to the schooltowhich they belong.

There are many sociologists who believe that industrial society alienates individuals from one another because of the nature of the work. Karl Marx was one of the thinkers which believed that the move from agrarian to industrial societies would alienate people from their labour and therefore from their real selves. This, he felt, was inevitable because the goods produced would be owned by the factory owner, and not the worker. There are also other sociologists who think that industrial society would affect human society. Ferdinand Tonnies and Max Weber, among others, may be cited as those sociologists who subscribed to the idea that industrial society would affect human relationships, albeit in different

ways. While the former believed that industrialization and urbanization isolated people and had negative impact on social relationships the latter believed that people will become more rational and practical.

There are few sociologists, such as Emile Durkheim who felt that complex industrial societies have positive effect on human relationships by virtue of the division of labour after specializations among other attributes that promote interdependence and integration of society. But he had also talked about anomie and break down of social relationships.

Sociologists today realise that industrial society has disintegrated traditional family and community systems and has led to increasing cases of broken families and divorce. The rise of individualism and more liberal views have also been viewed as ushering in a more liberal and humane society. Sociologists are also aware that modern socialisations and life styles encourage individuals to behave in a way that would be compatible with industrial life and specialised professions. The media also plays immense role in influencing the individuals to emulate and adapt to the lifestyles of the middle class.

The introduction of modern know-how and technology has also caused great problems and anxiety to human life and the environment. The heavy use of automobiles and fuels causes massive pollution and hazardous emissions. It also pollutes and damages the physical environment that man depends for survival. The acute demand for fuel and the means to meet the demand have often led to conflicts between communities and states even to the extent of war. The invention and use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction have caused great concern to humanity. At the same time humans are forming bonds across the world and we have now the concept of the Global Village. Thus change works both ways and the future is always unpredictable.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Discuss various approaches to understand social change.

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2) Explain the factors for social change.

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3) Discuss the impact of social change on human society.

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13.10 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have explained the meaning and concept of social control and social change. We have discussed how social control is a necessary component of social order to maintain the relationship among individuals in the society through various mechanisms. We have also explained the various aspects and approaches to understand social change through evolutionary theories, cyclical theories, structural-functional and conflict theories. Various factors for social change and their impact on society and individual have also been discussed.

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GLOSSARY

Achieved status: Ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals irrespective of their innate differences or abilities. The universally used criteria for ascription of status are age, sex, kinship, and race.

Anomie: Refers to a condition in which the normative order of society is broken down.

Artifacts: It is a manmade object that has a kind of cultural significance. It is the thing that id made.

Ascribed status: Achieved statuses are those that are acquired through competition and individual effort.

Association: A group of people united for a specific purpose or a limited number of purposes; army, school.

Association: An organised group of people pursuing some common interest.

Capitalist: In an industrial system of production, the class of owners of the means of production (such as, the capital i.e. the money, the property, the tools, etc.) is called the capitalists.

Classification: A way of putting social data into different categories and groups.

Community: A permanent social group embracing a totality of ends or purpose.

Cultural lag: A situation in which some parts of culture changes at a faster rate that the other.

Cultural Relativism: Culture being specific to a group, each group should be studied according to its own culture.

Culture: The system of behavior, customs, regulations etc. which is learnt by and socially acquired.

Democracy: A form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people collectively. It is a state of society characterised by recognition of equality of rights and privileges, social and legal equally.

Diffusion: The spread of culture traits from group to group.

Discovery: A shared human perception of an aspect of reality which already exists.

Dominant Ideology: It denotes the attitude and belief, value shared by the majority of people in a given society as a mechanism of social control.

Enlightenment: It refers to that period in European history, which embodies the spirit of the French philosophers of the eighteenth century. During this period a belief developed that both nature and society can be studied scientifically. Human reason and the ideas of progress developed.

Estate: The system of stratification followed in medieval European society of around 17th-18th century, in which society was divided into different social groups having a different set of laws and social status for each.

Feudal: A system of tenure in agricultural areas whereby a vassal or serf served the landlord to whom the land belonged. In return the landlord allowed the serf to till his land and live on his land.

Gemeinschaft: Strong reciprocal bonds of sentiment and kinship within a common tradition.

Gesellschaft: Impersonally contacted association between persons.

Group Process: A perspective within the sociological psychology that examines how basic social process operates in the group context.

Group: Any number of persons sharing a consciousness of membership and of interaction.

Group: Comprises two or more people who have a meaningful interaction and common goals.

Historical sociology: It is a sub-field emerged as an outcome of intersection between sociology and history. It is interested in studying about how people, communities and societies have been changing over period of time, how they have transformed themselves to the contemporary modern societies. It depends on historical data for such studies.

History: Generally, history is defined as study of past. It studies people and events of the past. It presents a chronological account of past events, development and growth of the human society.

Industrial society: A society in which goods are produced primarily through machine-factory methods of production.

Institution: An organised system of social relationships which embodies certain common values and procedures and meets certain basic needs of society.

Invention: A new combination or a new use of existing knowledge.

Locality: The physical basis of a community.

Master Status: There is always one status that tends to overshadow all other statuses or is given more importance by others. This is called the master status.

Mentifacts: It is used to describe how beliefs, ideas take on a life of their own spanning over generations.

Migration: Movement of people into or out of an area.

Multiculturalism: It is a principle of coexistence of different cultures and this also results in appreciation and understanding between different cultures.

Political capital: Political capital, in the form of goodwill, trust and prestige, is a symbolic capital which is primarily related to decision making, value and prestige within political field. Political capital acts as a device helping people to gain expected result in the political arena. In other words, the better the political capital one, the better the influential or prestige one may have in the political field.

Political culture: The term refers to a set of norms, traditions, belief systems, and values which are essentially oriented towards the political system. Each nation has its own distinct political culture. The modern origin of the term goes back to 1950s when it was popularly used and became part of the discipline. The term is used in the work of Herder, Tocqueville, and Montesquieu.

Political role: Sociologically, role is a socially expected behaviour. The term political role refers to a process when an individual is attached with the set of status and responsibilities to perform within the political field. The society expects him or her perform the same within the given set of political boundaries.

Political science: It is generally defined as scientific study of politics. The discipline covers study of government, state and political behaviours related to politics and its various institutions.

Political socialisation: The terms refer to a social process whereby people or groups learn politics or political behaviour. This socialisation may or may not be ideologically guided. For instance, certain political parties do train their cadres or target population on their ideological lines. However, on the other hand civil/human rights groups just attempt to make people aware of their rights.

Political sociology: It is a sub-field of sociology which has primarily emerged as an outcome of positive relationships between sociology and political science. In other words, this is sort of intersection between sociology and political science.

Population change: A change in the number of people in a society, or the characteristics of the population such as age or sex.

Primary and Secondary group: A small group with close ties and dealings is primary group; e.g. Family. A large group with looser ties but common goals is secondary group; e.g. Office Employees.

Progress: Social or cultural change that are considered desirable according to some set of values.

Psychology: The study of human behvaiour.

Reference group: Any group accepted as model or guide for our judgements and actions.

Role Conflict: The stress and dilemma caused roles associated with two different statuses of an individual are incompatible.

Role Set: It is a complement of role relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular status.

Role Signs: Signs act as means of communication about the roles, distinguishing one role from another and also help in controlling any deviation from the role.

Role Strain: The anxiety and frustration experienced when different responsibilities associated within a single status are incompatible is called role strain.

Role: In social life human undertakes various responsibilities, e.g. husband, wife, mother, son etc. They are various roles.

Salad Bowl: It suggests the integration of cultures that combine like a salad as opposed to the traditional concept of melting pot. In a salad bowl, cultures are brought together but each one maintains its distinct identity and do not form a single homogenous culture.

Social Facts: The laws, moral, values, religious beliefs, customs, rituals, and all the cultural rules that govern the social life.

Social history: Social history is a sub-field bringing sociology and history closer. It predominantly includes socio-cultural aspects as defining features. The term, social history, is often used interchangeably with the term historical sociology.

Social interactionism: A theoretical perspective through which scholars examine the relationship of individuals within their society by the means of communication (symbols and language).

Social movement: A collective act to promote or resist change.

Social Psychology: The systematic study of people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour in the social context.

Social Role: Roles as socially defined expectations that a person in a given status (social position) follows.

Social Status: Status isoccupied by a person in the society. Statuses are also ranked and have differential prestige, privileges and rewards attached to them.

Sociological imagination: The ability to understand how your own past relates to that of other people, as well as to history in general and societal structures in particular.

Sociology: Systematic study of the society.

Verstehen: A German word that means to understand in an in-depth manner.

Voluntary associations: Formal organisations directed toward some definite functions which one enters voluntarily rather than by ascription.

NOTES