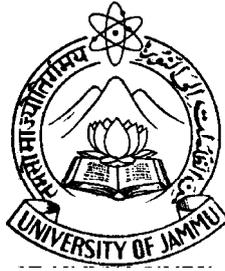# *Directorate of Distance Education*

UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU

REFERENCE / STUDY MATERIAL
FOR
M.A. SOCIOLOGY

SEMESTER - II

Title : **SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY**

Course No. SOC-C-204   Unit : I-IV   Lesson No. 1-18

Course Co-ordinator :
Prof. Abha Chauhan
HOD, Deptt. of Sociology,
University of Jammu.

Teacher Incharge :
Dr. Neha Vij
PG Sociology,
DDE,University of Jammu.

Experts involved in Script Writing

- *Prof. J.R. Panda*

- *Prof. Abha Chauhan*

- *Prof. Vishav Raksha*

- *Prof. Ashish Saxena*

- *Mr. Krishan Chand*

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SYLLABUS OF SOCIOLOGY M.A. 2ND SEMESTER FOR THE EXAMINATION TO BE HELD IN THE YEAR MAY 2019, 2020, 2021 (NON - CBCS)

Course No. SOC-C-204   **Title : Social Stratification & Mobility**

Credits : 6   **Maximum Marks : 100**

Duration of Examination : 2½ hrs.   **a) Semester Examination (External) : 80**

                                           b) Session Assessment (Internal) : 20

OBJECTIVE : Social stratification besides being a persisting empirical reality is constantly changing. It implies unequal placement of people in terms of position, rewards, assests and power. Social mobility and social movement acts as a reform and corrective measure to replace some of these inequalities. These and some other issues will be debated in this course.

Unit-I   **Meaning & Elements of Social Stratification**

Social Stratification - Meaning, Characteristics & Dimensions, Social Differentiation, Hierarchy, Inequality.

Unit - II   **Forms of Social Stratification :-**

Caste, Class, Estate, Gender, Ethnicity & Race.

Unit - III   **Theoretical Perpectives :-**

Weberian, Functional - Parsons, Davis & Moore, Marxian and Dahrendorf.

Unit - IV   **Social Mobility :-**

Nature and type of social mobility, Measurement of social mobility, Mobility within caste and class system, Emergence of middle class.

NOTE FOR PAPER SETTING :-

The question paper will consist of three sections A, B and C.

Section A will consist of eight long type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question carries 12 marks. The candidate is required to answer four questions selecting one from each unit. Total weightage will be $12 \times 4 = 48$ marks.

Section B will consist of eight short answer type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question carries 6 marks. The candidate is required to answer four questions selecting one from each unit. Total weightage will be $6 \times 4 = 24$ marks.

Section C will consist of eight objective type questions - one mark each. The candidate is required to answer the entire eight questions. Total weightage will be of $1 \times 8 = 8$ marks.

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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION : MEANING AND ELEMENTS

STRUCTURE

1.0   Objectives

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Differentiation, Inequality & Social Stratification

    1.2.1   Differentiation

    1.2.2   Inequality

    1.2.3   Social Stratification

    1.2.4   Characteristics of Social Stratification

1.3 Element of Social Stratification

    1.3.1   Status

    1.3.2   Role

1.4 Dimensions of Social Stratification

1.5 Let Us Sum Up

1.6   Key Words

1.7 Check Your Progress

1.0   Objective

    After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   The concept of social - Stratification

(ii)   Difference between Differentiation, Inequality and Social Stratification.

(iii) How status and role are the elements of Social Stratification.

1.1 Introduction

The world around us consists of human beings divided into different social segments based on caste, ethnic and racial attributes on the one hand and social strata, status groups and social classes based on economic and political dimensions of the individual and the groups on the other. Based on these criteria there exist inequalities among human beings terms of rulers and the subjects, rich and poor, elite and commoner and so on. While segmental divisions are based on non-economic factors, the social strata and dassescome into being on the basis of economic and political positions occupied by the individuals or their group in the social structure of the society. All this exist despite all religions since time immemorial and the constitutions of almost all the countries ever since their implementation all over the world have been proclaiming equality among all irrespective of caste, creed, sex, colour and religion.

1.2 Differentiation, Inequality and Social Stratification

1.2.1 Differentiation

1.2.2 Inequality

1.2.3 Social Stratification

There is no society where there have neither been differentiation, inequality and social stratification. Such a state of human society raises many questions about the proclaimed "equality of all before the law" and equality opportunity for all" in democratic as well as socialist states. The most basic question that needs to be considered first is: What do the prevalent differentiation, inequalities and stratification arise due to natural differences in human propensities and capabilities or caused by certain other mechanism? Do these terms mean the same or connote differently? In order to understand the prevalent terminology signifying segmental divisions and inequalities of income, wealth, status and rank there is need to put them in a historical sequence of time and space in which these emerged and acquired varying dimensions. Methodologically, putting the trio in the given

sequence also enables us to understand to what extent nature played an important role and where the natural differences ceased to matter in creating social structure with such features. In view of the preceding questions three aspects of the problem has been discussed. The first deals with the rise and development of the three terms, namely differentiation, inequality and stratification in their histology-social context. The second deals with the meaning of social stratification. The third describes the elements of social stratification in the contemporary human society.

Although the concept of differentiation, inequalities and stratification are often used inter-changeably but the three constitute distinct analytical categories, substantiated in the time and space context. The time -context, though may not be able to accurately point out when did the three modes of divisions came into being in the human society yet it would not be wrong to suggest these are, perhaps, as old as the human society itself.

1.2.1 Differentiation

The most fundamental differentiation that the man could think of was in the primitive society in which he differed from other biological beings: The differentiation was based on the process of development of human beings and animal species. This required a detailed understanding of the process of biological changes that took place over a period of three billion years, the time when' the man is supposed to have had his Origin. Charles Darwin in the book "On the Origin of Species" in 1859 attributes emergence of differentiation in the process of evolution of human beings. Darwin refers to the emergence of differentiation in the process of gradual transformation of man from an animal like to a human being. This implied that apart from the differences that are observed between an animal and the human being, even the evolution process of growth of the human species indicate that two factors playing an important role. First, the natural selection due to which differentiation among people comes into being due to their differential endowments and capabilities in the adaptation process. Second" the process of genetic changes affecting the biological characteristics and even the competitive abilities in some individuals for their advantage over the others. Since the nineteenth century thinking about human society was influenced to a very great extent by the principles of natural and physical sciences the differentiation in human society could also be attributed to adaptive abilities and differential genetic endowments among the people. All such attributes not only distinguished human

beings from the other animal species but also indicated the differences between the human beings themselves.

The other stream of thought that combined the social and the bio together argued about the basic differences between human beings themselves. The socio-biologists, therefore, view the difference's between men and women by using reproductive processes and procreation and the role of women from conception of the child to his care. It is believed that such a strategy not only ensured that the women provided security to the children, looked after the household chores and in the process sex based division of labour intensified differentiation in the society. Emile Durkheim's mechanical solidarity, state of human society, can be taken as the case of homogeneity with differentiation among the people. Since the aggregates of people are united by the communality of sentiments and beliefs the mechanical unity reflects similarly as the differentiated biological system. The higher form of differentiation in the society starts occurring with the formation of segments based on kinship groups and clans. It is important to mention here that due to communality of sentiments and beliefs in this stage of human existence the collectivism than individualism dominates the society. Individualism is not developed and the private property is completely absent. The control of the collectivity over the individual remains quite strong.

However, in Durkheim's views more subtle differentiation emerges with development of specialization of production based on division of labour on the one hand and interdependence of individuals and groups with a systematized mechanism of exchange. The social and economic circumstances conditioning the rise of subtle differentiation in the society include development to commercialism and Industrialization Durkhemi reached these conclusions on the basis of his analysis of post-medieval Europe. Subsequent rise of capitalism with development of private property, property created hierarchy of wealthy and the commoner and structural variations cause inequalities in the society.

1.2.2   Inequality

Inequality, in Oxford Dictionary is described as "lack of equality in size, degree, circumstances etc., especially unfair difference in rank, wealth, opportunity etc." In general, the dictionary meaning of inequality implies existence of unfair differences which in general can be in terms of size, degree and circumstances which can be natural as well as social.

But more importantly these differences are expressed in social and economic terms based on the

ranks that the people enjoy, the wealth they possess and the opportunities, depending upon their circumstances, they are able to avail for their advantages in their lives. The concept 'unfair' implies 'unjust'. What is unfair and unjust? These terms refer to the inequitable division of the income, wealth, profits, ranks and opportunities in the society resulting in privileges for some and deprivation for many. Related with inequality is the concept of inequity that indicates the inequity of the system. In other words, inequality in a society basically arises out of social system with in-built inequalities that perpetuate generation after generation. The consequently the entire system is internalized by people in the society. Their expressions of differentiation, inequality and social stratification are rich and poor, high and low, black and white as these refer to definite meanings, understanding of the social structure and the patterns of relationships existing in a society.

1.2.3 Social Stratification

The study of social stratification involves many issues- theoretical as well as the ones related with social structure of the society, distribution of social justice, power and privileges. All these concerns are not recent but can be traced from the antiquity as there was no society where there was no social stratification. The only difference that one could observe throughout the human history perhaps is found in the form of social stratification and its underlying principles. The issues and the questions related with stratification have rather been of important concerns even during the times when man acquired a collective living on the earth. Since then the human beings have been evolving norms and values guiding their interaction with others. In the process of their interaction, they not only form certain standards of behaviour but also carry on evaluation of others to rank and place them at some level in the social structure in terms of high and low. In evaluating people their qualities are compared with others in the society.

This process of evaluation evolved on the basis of qualities and attributes of the person and the group is described social stratification. Tumin argues that good things in life that are everywhere both scarce and desired are property, rights over goods and services, power or the ability to secure one's way in life even against opposition; and prestige or social honour. These are the basic things on the basis of which the evaluation

and ranking of the people is carried out in a society. The structure of positions prepared on the basis of these attributes is called hierarchy of positions. This is also called strata. Therefore, arrangement of society into hierarchies of positions commanding unequal amount of property, power, prestige and honour is called social stratification. Sorokin, describing deep roots of stratification in human society, argues "unstrarified society with real equality of its members is a myth which has never been realized in the history of mankind".

One of the often raised issues pertaining to social stratification in human society is when did it originate? Some of the social thinkers like Oppenheimer believe that it originated in the process of warfare and conquest of one group by another and the one who conquered became higher in status in relation to be conquered. For instance, the invasion of North America bye the European immigrants and the consequent subordination of the native Indian tribes. Such a process however is not a smooth transition as it involves both resistance and conflict. Such a process also at times may involve racial differences, cultural dissimilarities and other differences ultimately resulting in the formation of a structure of inequalities based on rank, privileges and power of the group concerned.

Spengler argues that when a society face the situation of scarcity i.e. when the demand for goods and services surpasses the possible supplies, a situation of scarcity arises. There are always chances that some people due to their rank and status in the society are able to monopolize more goods and services than those who do not have power and privileges. The entire arrangement is made in such a way that owning and, non-owning is differentiated in terms of lights and duties. It is through this mechanism that allocation of scarce resources, power and privileges is done in the society. In other words, the system of stratification has come to be evolved over a long period of time and space. This is perhaps due to this reason that Kingsley Davis described social stratification as an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most positions are conscientiously filled by most qualified persons. It is therefore also assumed that every society must possess a certain amount of institutionalized social stratification.

1.2.4 Characteristics

Tumin gives five main characteristics of social stratification, namely antiquity, ubiquity, socially patterned, diverse and consequences and implications. The study of these characteristics reveals not only the presence of social signification in all the societies

during all times but also the elements that constituted its basis. The antiquity of social stratification based on the study of historical and archeological sources refer to age, sex, and physical strength as important determinants in the primitive times. The placement of women and children at the bottom of the social hierarchy was the result of such an order or arrangement. Later property, power, and prestige constituted the basis.

The ubiquity of social stratification refers to its presence in literate as well as non-literate societies. Even in the socialist societies, based on the principle of social ownership of resources, social stratification can be found. Whatever, may be the nature of the social structure of the society, the socially sanctioned inequalities based on power, property and prestige are imminent. These elements are highly significant in the social patterning of the population of a society and exist as part of their complex social and cultural system. The other mechanism that are built into the structure of the society such as education, skills, personality, character etc. add to the criteria of defining the population and arranging them in an order of hierarchy.

The social and cultural complex constituted by the .norms and sanctions plays a very important role by regulating the system of rewards and punishments. These are called conventional rules and enforced by the society and the people by and large conform to such rules. In the process, those in the dominant positions are found. protecting their power and privileges through such mechanism and the deprive those who do not have power and privilege. In a way the norms and sanctions reinforce rules and regulations and thereby reinforce the system of social stratification. The process of socialization, another process of social and cultural transmission, helps in establishing conformity to the system. The reflection of operation of social cultural complex in the system of stratification can be found in the linkages and the determining effects that it has on polity and economy of a society. It is argued that structure and function of the economy are closely interwoven with the system of stratification.

The social stratification therefore is also a system that apart from social-cultural complex also involves social, political and economic elements. The social; is measured in terms of prestige, honour, status and role, and social acceptance and recognition of an individual irrespective of his property and power. The political stratification refers to the amount of power and authority one enjoys in relation to others. The economic stratification is based on the relations of production

i.e. who owns the forces of production and who works on these on wage basis. The other component of it is the distributive. This refers to the political economy of the state based on a method of distribution of good and services, income and wealth of a society.

1.3 Elements of Social Stratification

Status, Role and Stratification

Apart from the above attributes the structural elements of social stratification as discussed in many of the contributions include the status and role. We can identify these elements by examining social structure which constitutes a hierarchy of relationships based on status and role occupied by different individuals in the society.

1.3.1 Status

The concept of status is related with the concept of role and has been called by Linton as "the dynamic aspect of status". Each society's functioning depends upon the presence of patterns for reciprocal behaviours between individuals or groups of individuals. Each pattern has certain polar positions these polar positions in the patterns of reciprocal behaviour are statuses. A status in abstract is a position in a particular pattern. But an individual is a member of more than one pattern which implies that he occupies various positions. Thus his social status will be the sum total of all the statuses he occupies. In the words, it is individual's overall position with relation to total society. A status is not individual. It is different' from him because status is associated with Rights and Duties. But these rights and duties can be expressed only through the medium of an individual.

1.3.2 Role

The other structural element is role. It is described as when an individual expresses himself through the rights and duties assigned to his status. In other words when an individual puts his rights and duties into effect he is performing his role. This fact makes us to realize that we cannot separate status from role and role from status. Since every individual occupies different positions in various patterns of his society, it is therefore implied that an individual has variety of roles. The sum total of his roles which he performs while participating in various patterns and at the same time performing this role in general determines his role for the society and in return what he can expect from the society.

Both status and role perform important functions in the society. The combination of status and role become models for organizing the attitude and behaviour of the individual

in relation to other individuals who are members of the patterns and participating in the expressions of the patterns. The assignment of the position to an individual limits and defines his activities and establishes minimum of things which be must learn. In the similar way" one can apply this to individuals status and roles in the operational context of the society as a whole. As such, the society can function smoothly when there is no outside interference. But this smoothness just cannot be there in the functioning of society because the individuals differ in their habits. A status congenial to one may be uncongenial to the other. Certain roles require more training than others. The problems and dilemmas which mise out of the above said can be solved as the human nature is very much mutable and as such any individual can be trained to his adequate performance of each role. The dilemma has been met by societies by developing, what Davis and Moore describe as two types of statuses. (i) Ascribed: assigned without reference to innate differences or abilities, majority of the statuses are ascribed, principles of status ascription are age, sex, kinship societies/class societies. (ii) Achieved: filled through open competition and individual effort, through education and specially acquired skills. Whether a status is ascribed or achieved it is related to certain type of role performance. The latter is constituted by culturally defined expectations.

1.4 Dimensions of Social Stratification :

Sociologists have recognised three major dimensions of social stratification: casts, estates and social class. Of these, caste system with all its peculiar features is to be found in India only. Estate system as a kind of stratification system existed in Europe during the medieval period. But social classes are almost universal in nature. They are found in all the civilized, industrialized and literate societies of the world. These stratification systems decide largely the position that a man occupies in society. The extent of social mobility is mostly conditioned by them. The range estate or class they influence and condition the way of life of people or their "life-Styles' to a very great extent.

1.5 Let US Sum Up

To conclude, it may be argues that social stratification is a system of differential ranking based on social, economic and political attributes of the people. The make up

of any system of stratification is dependent upon conventionally ascribed meanings and socially defined criteria and prescriptions. The norms and sanctions facilitate the formation and perpetuation of the system of stratification. The latter, due to its deep rooted linkages with social, cultural, religious, educational, economic and political institutional has various implications - both as affector and affected.

1.6 Key words :

Caste : There are many hundred of caste or fats. They are not to be confused with the abstract model of varna of which these are only four.

Social Stratification : Social Stratification is a process through which groups and social categories in societies are ranked as higher or lower to one another is terms of this relative position on the scales of prestige, privilege, wealth and power.

1.7 Check Your Progress

Q.1 Give the meaning of Social Stratification.

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Q.2. Discuss the various elements of Social Stratification.

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Q.3. Write short note on :-

Inequality :

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_____

Differentiation :

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SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

STRUCTURE

2.0   Objectives

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1   Society and Organism - a Differentiation Structure

2.2.2   Herbert Spencer on Differentiation

2.2.3   Emile Durkheim on Differentiation

2.3 Characteristics on Differentiation

2.4   Let Us Sum Up

2.5   Key Words

2.6 Check Your Progress

2.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

- the concept of differentiation

- organism and differentiation

- View of Plato, Durkheim and Spencer in differentiation

2.1 Introduction

In the discussion on social stratification and social inequality, a brief reference was

made to the process of differentiation. It was noted that this process constitutes the basic premises on the basis of which emerges the structure of social inequality and social stratification. However, it also constitutes a concept with a social historical rationale and therefore as a concept it needs some discussion vis-a-vis its meaning, the socio-sociological premises of its rise in the society. Differentiation, in general, implies an act of distinguishing or description of something by referring to its specific attributes called *differentia specific.*

Its maximum usage by social scientists has been made in the context of change of form i.e. change of structure from generalized or homogenous state of existence to specialized and hetero-geneous state of being in the society. It precisely implies existence of differences among human beings social groups and various social formations. The changes in the form of social structure generated role variations and diversification in human society.

2.1.1   Society and Organism - A Differentiated Structure

Social and political philosophy recognized the emerging differentiation in human society and expressed it in terms of an analogy. Accordingly, it has been conceived as an organism with different parts. Like the parts of the organism, the society is also thought as having various parts and each part having inter-relations with the other parts. These inter-relations between the parts develop on the basis centain degree of division of labour. The latter takes place on the basis of differential and special abilities and capacities of each part in interdependence and each part specialized having different function. Differentiation was considered important from the point of view of progress of the society. Each part contributes to the progress of the society by performing its specialized role.

In view of the specialized tasks performed by individuals in the society, Plato argues that when specialization becomes inevitable its implications are and must lead to social stratification. But this stratification, Plato emphasises, should be strictly on the basis of specialized function and not birth as Golden Parent will have Silver Son and Silver Parent a Golden Son.

2.1.2   Herbert Spencer on Differentiation

Apart from social and political philosophers the tradition of organic conception of human society has been the basic premises to understand and analyses, various social

processes. Herbert Spencer used the concept of differentiation in the context of understanding societal evolution, consequently responsible for emergence of differences among people and increasing complexities of the social structure in terms of role relationships.

According to Spencer the human society because of the process of evolution experiences change from "Incoherent Homogeneity", or indefinite homogeneity to "coherent heterogeneity" or definite heterogeneous relationships between the unequal. The word unequal denotes the differences i that people have in their capacities and other natural endowments. Like Plato, Spencer also conceives society as a biological organism. Such a conception is just not to indicate the multiplicity of the cells which an organism has. It rather refers to society's various constituent units. Spencer explains these constituent units in interns of structure and functions. While the former refers to the arrangement of all the constituent units in a systematic manner in the form of a whole structure the, latter explains the role played be each unit and the contribution made by them towards the maintenance as well as sustenance whole system.

The structure and function of the society are highly significant because of the contribution which these make in society's development from a simple to complex state. The entire process of change can be understood in the context of increasing complexity of structure in which differentiation in functions becomes more apparent. In the words of Spencer "in society, as in living bodies, increase in the mass is habitually accompanied by increase of structure. Along with that integration which is the primary trait of evolution, both exhibit in high degree in the secondary trait i.e. differentiation". The process of differentiation follows a sequence or an order in its emergence.

The sequence can also be called stages. It is apparent from the following aspects of Spencer's theory:

1. Differentiation arises at a stage when people start claiming the right to exercise authority - This is first stage of differentiation;

2. Division between sexes caused by certain specific conditions under which both men and women are forced to divide their functions. In a situation of war or external aggression the men go to war and women perform less skilled functions

in the process of production for sustenance; and

3. When the process of emergence of differentiation in role relationships leads to division of roles in terms of power and authority for administration and control and the role of the chief of society or an organization comes into being there emerges distinct classes of people called chiefs and subjects.

The structure and function to Spencer, are important aspects of society in the process of society's movement or progress. What sort of structure emerges when the third stage of differentiation takes place? It is argued that with multiplicity of statuses society's structure becomes highly complex. With the increasing complexity further differentiation takes place. In the process, there comes into being a structure of various functionaries such as king, local rulers, petty chiefs, initiatory men, priests, slave etc. The process of differentiation therefore is both dynamic and progressive in nature.

2.1.3 Emile Durkheim on Differentiation

It may also be recalled that with reference to the emergence of social stratification, the concept of differentiation by Durkheim was discussed. The main causes of social differentiation, according to Durkheim is "division of labour" in the society. The process of differentiation in which division of labour is of critical importance is also linked with the physical conditions of human population. In support of his analysis Durkhiem puts forward the following argument:

1. Differentiation is a dynamic concept and has implications for progress of the society;

2. Associated with division of labour is the process of increasing population, whose needs for existence intensify needs for higher level of production and societal organization;

3. Increasing population also intensifies struggle for existence between the human individuals;

4. The' struggle for existence leads to intensive search for the means of subsistence;

5. The quest of meeting the need for means of subsistence leads to the emergence

of different type' of occupations, involving different skills and abilities;

6. The result division of labour this contributes to social differentiation in the society.

2.2 Characteristics of Differentiation

On the basis of brief discussion on the concept of differentiation based on the' ideas of Plato, Spencer and Durkheim, following points emerges as the dominant characteristics of social differentiation in human society:

1. The concept of differentiation, as has been used by scholars mentioned above, indicate the changing form of social relationships, social organization and even production system in a given society. For instance (i) change from simple to industrial society; (ii) incoherent homogeneity to coherent heterogeneity and (Hi) mechanical to organic solidarity and so on.

2. Change in the form of social structure i.e. differentiation.

3. Occurrence of various positions etc.

4. Demand for specialized roles etc

2.3 Differentiation and Social Stratification

It may also be mentioned that the concept is not discussed in isolation of other processes. It is also related with social stratification. In the context of latter, the concept of differentiation refers to a "process by which social positions are defined and distinguished from each other by assigning each position a distinctive role, a set of rights and responsibilities".

The operational affectivity of this process is closely linked with certain social situations.

(i) Clear definition of tasks;

(ii) Clear distinction of lines of authority and responsibility in the discharging of social roles;

(iii) Effective mechanism of recruiting and training sufficient number of persons to assume different statuses and reforming.

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(iv) Adequate sanctions - reward and punishments for the motivation of individuals for conscientious performance and reframing from indifference or deviation.

Since the process is linked with social stratification and is described as dynamic in nature it has various structural implications. It is argued that once the differentiation of roles takes place in a society, the society establishes certain criteria by which it ranks the role in accordance with their utility. The ranking of role itself is a process which is subsequent to differentiation and intensifies the process by which further differentiation takes place. In defining boundaries and linkages between different roles and positions it also legitimizes its basis.

There are three basis of ranking of statuses:

(i) **Personal Characteristics:** There are certain type of role which need specific type of individuals with certain characteristics such as intelligence, beauty, strength etc. e.g. army, air hostess.

(ii) **Trained Skills and Abilities:** In this context, specialized persons with special skills are required. For example doctors, engineers, workman all require certain skills a abilities.

(iii) **Social Functions of the Role:** In ranking the special functions or act performed by certain individual form the basis. Doctors save the life of the people, judges ensure justice, defence personnel protect the country from external aggression and threats.

The ranking is highly important in the process of differentiation to stratification as it tends to:

1. Facilitate the search for the light people for the light positions:

2. Facilitate the levels of skills and talents required for specific type of jobs; and

3. Help in the rational allocation of man power, in human society.

2.4 Let Us Sum Up

In view of the above brief discussion of the concept of social differentiation, it may be argued that it is an important dimension of human society which not only indicate the differences among the people but also explains its relationship with social progress and

change. This argument holds truth as differentiation is linked with different stages of development of human society, including economy and polity but also it has various implications with regard to ranking, valuation and social stratification.

2.5   Key words :

Class : According to Marx, Classes are groups of people who are distinguished from each other due to their ownership or control over the means of production or lack of the same.

Status : Effectively claim to social esteem, weber tried to show that status cuts across class barriers

Value - Consensus : Agreement by all members of a social system on what is accepted for all.

2.6   Check Your Progress

Q.1.   What do you mean by Differentiation?

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Q.2.   Give the views of Herbert Spencer on Differentiation.

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Q.3.   How Emile Durkheim is different from Spencer in his conception of Differentiation?

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HIERARCHY

STRUCTURE

3.0   Objectives

3.1   Introduction

3.2   Emergence of Concept of Hierarchy

3.3   Let Us Sum Up

3.4   Key Words

3.5   Check Your Progress

3.0 Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

- understand the concept of hierarchy :

- its emergence;

- how it can be seen in different societies.

3.1 Introduction

The concept of hierarchy, in general implies an organization of persons or things arranged into higher and lower ranks, classes or grades representing a structure of relationships. It may also be described that it also represents ranking of statuses within an organization according to some criterion of evaluation of the attributes or an individual or the group accepted within the system. The process of evaluation and ranking

simultaneously operate in opposite directions and create separation between the differentially evaluated individuals and groups and put them in a particular class. Along with separation the process also create unity by bringing the separated into some relationships with each other. It is expressed in terms of relationship between individuals, groups or classes based on a system of ranking. In the context of social stratification hierarchy is an outcome of the system of stratification as well as it expresses certain type of system of relationships between the unequal and differentially placed.

Though the concept of hierarchy as a rank order or system or arrangements of different strata in terms of high and low classes appears to be simple but it is not so simple. Rather, it is very complex to its multidimensionality. It is an established fact, as also mentioned by M. N. Srinivas, that hierarchy is entrenched in the social set up and it is quite pervasive in nature and cannot be done, away with easily. The reason being that it is not the ranking alone that creates hierarchy but there are behavioural dimensions that also influence its formation. This implies even the habits, customs, and social practices matter in determining hierarchy. There are various expressions of hierarchy found among the common masses when they address men of higher social status, such as "Mai Baap, Malik, Annadata etc. in the general regional contexts". Andre Beteille argues that there exists a "hierarchical mentality" in the society indicating that hierarchy and the social expressions that emerge are institutionalized and legitimized. In other words, hierarchy exists as an accepted fact in the society.

3.2 Emergence of Concept of Hierarchy

To elaborate the concept further if is important to discussion how hierarchy an important dimension of social stratification comes into being. There is considerable literature on social inequality and also addressing the question of origin of hierarchy. Andre Beteille discusses the concept of hierarchy in the context of social inequality and highlights its two significant dimensions of origin. First, he refers to the origin of hierarchy from the distributive system followed in a society. Second, the hierarchy emerging out of the relational dimensions of social inequality. While the distributive aspect refers to the ways through which various attributes such as income, occupation, education, power, skills and other important abilities are distributed among a population the relational aspect refers to the ways the individuals are differentiated in the society. It deals with issues such as how income affects status and

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how occupation matters in the placement of individuals in an order of high and low forming social hierarchy.

In every society both the distributive and relational aspects prevail I and presented in different forms differentiation, social stratification, inequality. Since each system represents inequalities in structured manner i.e a system of social stratification the latter is also a particular form of social inequality. It is a system, a device, method through which individuals are ranked one above another. In other words, there prevails a system of ranking structuring social inequalities and arranging them in an order.

It is also a fact that the structure of inequalities resulting in a hierarchical order is based on ranking. But the ranking involves both the natural and social components. This is a fact that all individuals are not equal with regard to their natural endowments. The natural inequalities can be found existing and observable at individual level which include the natural differences of kind among people (e.g. postures, height, physical traits, colour) and the natural differences of rank (e.g. intelligence, dull or no intelligence, strong and weak; clever and fool etc.). It may be noted that these natural inequalities exist among all the human beings and in all the societies. No where human beings including even the twins are found to have complete similarities of natural traits, of kind and rank.

The social basis of formation of hierarchy existing and observable at societal level have two dimensions. There is some from of social differentiation based on different roles people play in the society. This is expressed in the form of vertical division of labour in which people are differentiated in terms of their role but placed equally in relation to each other. In this case, though a complete hierarchical order does not come into being but the expressions of an order of high and low starts emerging as part of people's sense of belonging to a particular strata in a society. The social stratification or inequality is another form. According to this, each role in the social structure has a status. The status is ranked on a hierarchy containing several statuses each status has privileges, prestige and some amount of authority over others. Sociologically: ttle hierarchical order therefore comes into being on the basis of natural and social inequalities.

This may also be mentioned that the natural inequalities also have limitations. It is therefore, the social that encompasses the natural in the formation of a social hierarchy. It is important to state here that the social includes both the material and the non-material aspects. While the former includes attributes like income, wealth, property and

such factors the latter refers to norms, values, traditions and culture. The functionalist school of thought infact views hierarchical ordering a social necessity with both the moral as well as normative components. Parsons argues that in the formation of hierarchy "moral evaluation is a crucial aspect of action in social system". The moral evaluation becomes crucial aspect because it being the main aspect of the phenomenon of "normative orientation". It is further maintained that in any given social system, there exists an actual system of ranking in terms of moral evaluation. There is an integrated set of standards (normative order) according to which the evaluations are carried out. The stratification that emerges on the basis of evaluation ranks people high and low in the social order. But evaluation also tends to take into consideration other aspects of the individuals, such as membership of a kinship group, personal qualities, achievements, possessions, authority and power.

Besides the normative orientation that gives rise to differential ranking of social positions leading to formation of a hierarchy, the norms themselves are stated to have an order of precedence. It means that even the norms have varying levels or standards thus arranging them into an order or hierarchy. Harry M, Johnson refers to the existence of such an order. He argues that there is a built in arrangement that to a considerable extent the norms that apply to a particular actor are ranked in some order of precedence. The hierarchy of norms as well as the time and place aspects of norms is part of the culture of a society or the number of individuals who are in a particular situation. The hierarchy of norms becomes important due to the relative functional significance with particular reference to conformity or non-conformity to the normative order. Its existence permits an individual to make choice, obviously of a particular values or behaviour pattern. The nature and type of normative orientation of an actor towards the normative order determines his relative evaluation and ranking in relation to others in the social structure. But it is through the process of socialization that an individual follows a particular type of behaviour or develops an orientation. The process of socialization however remains incomplete unless the time and place and hierarchical aspects of norms are inculcated along with the expected forms of behaviour. These are important aspects of the integration of the individual in the cultural system as well as the integration of the cultural system itself. It is also stated that if the system of norms is imperfectly integrated it is not the socialization even the culture itself has problems. The hierarchy of norms therefore constitutes an important mechanism in the ranking and evaluation of the individuals.

The emergence of hierarchy besides being related with the hierarchy of norms is also raced in the middle ages in France in Europe where the system of estates was in vogue and recognized even by the law. It represented a system of social divisions of the citizens, namely the clergy, the nobility, and the people. Such a system, to some extent could be stated as corresponding to the class system in two ways. First, in terms of Max Weber's criterion each estate followed a distinctive life style that made them different from each other. Second, each estate was thought of composing a hierarchy- clergy on the top, nobility in the middle order and the common people on the bottom.

Although there is complete disagreement in accepting the estates as classes but the order that emerged could be seen as a hierarchy of social positions enjoyed by different sets of people with varying and distinct life styles. The royal family always remained at the top and enjoyed the most prestigious position in relation to the others. The nobility came just next to the royal family. It may also be stated that even within each stratum there is hierarchical division. What the whole discussion whether the estates constituted social classes reveals that even if the estates did not constitute classes but estates did form a hierarchy. The divisions within a stratum refer to some degree of fluidity and overlapping between sub classes. But such overlapping can also be found in the modern society.

The reference to existence of hierarchy based on the estate system in France during the middle ages suggests that its origin as a mechanism of separation between the stratum has been a historical fact. Marxism makes it more obvious in origin of classes due to dialectical interplay of historical and materialistic forces. It is maintained that the process of differentiation and social stratification in human society - is historical in nature. But the two processes intensified during different phases of development. Although social classes, according to Marx, characterized ever since intensification of division of labour in human society but the process of social stratification acquired more pronounced form with the advent-of indusutrialization in Western Europe. There were four consequences of the process. First, division of Labour, specialization on parts and then fragmentation of man, as a specialist of part than the whole; Second, the division of labour turned man into an

appendage of machine in the process of automation and mechanization; Third, the resultant exploitation deprived man from the fruit of his own labour; Fourth, commercialization

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made every thing weighed in terms of value. In the process, even labour came to be viewed as a commodity having certain value or price in the market.

It was in this process of development of productive forces with diversification and increasing specialized division of labour that generated two opposite classes Serfs vs. Lords in the feudal system. These classes were hierarchically arranged in an order and legally bound to each other with mutual obligations. Under capitalism there emerge two principal classes- Bourgeoisie and Proletariat. They were also placed unequally in hierarchy of the capitalist economic structure. The hierarchy even in the capitalist system performed two major functions of separation between the classes and the their binding together as unequal partners in the sphere of material production.

The emergence of social stratification is a divisive rather than an integrative process. It basically implies division of society into different groups called social classes. A social class is not defined in terms of work functions, income or consumption patterns but by the relations it bears with the mode of production. He therefore argued that in all stratified societies there have always been two major groups. One owning the means of production and as a matter of their ownership control and rule the society. Such divisions, by implications, formed hierarchy and once the hierarchy came ,into being it consolidated the classes of "Haves" and "Have Nots". The process being conditioned by dialectical movements of the forces further resulted into a hierarchy of multiple classes in which the middle class became highly prominent. The foregoing reference to Marxist analysis of social stratification suggests, irrespective of the mention of it made by Marx, that hierarchy has been the part of human society.

In the Indian society hierarchy not constitutes rank order of different castes but it also forms an integral part of the major themes on which rests the North Indian society. Morris Opler refers to such a theme. It is argued that the varna, castes, and sub-castes are not only distinct from each other but they are also graded. The entire Indian life suggests that each and every thing placed in some hierarchical series. Giving the examples of sadhus or the holy men who do not have any caste and are unworldly even they are bothered and sensitive about their prerogative and rightful place in the religious procession. Even the interpretations of age, sex, food, work, and parts of human body are all coloured by the theme of hierarchy. The very supernatural are arranged in a progression from high gods to humblest of local spirits.

What is important to remember here is that hierarchy performs two definite functions. First, it grades the human individuals into various groups and sub-groups and put them in an order of high and low. Second, it encompasses all aspects of human life and by way of grading various aspects of existence it reinforces itself. For example the hierarchy of food places pucca food over the Katcha food. The Brahmin who is top of the social hierarchy can accept only pucca food from others and the Sudra accepts the Katcha food. Similar applications of hierarchy can be found in other spheres of social life too.

A. C. Mayer way back in 1956 wrote an article, 'Some Hierarchical Aspects of Caste' and Stanley Freed in 1963 entitled, 'An Objective Method of Determining the Collective Hierarchy'. Both the articles made it clear that hierarchy constitutes an important dimension of the caste society. Both the authors developed different mechanism to demonstrate the existence of a system of ranking on the basis of which a hierarchy, comes into being. This system is called the Ranking. Commenting on the formation of hierarchy Gerald D Berreman argues that the ranking can take place on the basis of symbolic criteria or familiar stereotypes as they relate to the Varna system in the Indian context. However, the hierarchy is also formed on the basis of both subjective as well as objective criteria. It is argued that caste members of a caste may accurately describe the position in the hierarchy, bit it is a hierarchy based on observed- or experienced interaction and evaluation by others, not on their own estimates of their worth. But the fact also remains that the hierarchy even in existence also raises certain amount of disagreement in the society- the traditional basis of hierarchy espoused by the high castes is not acceptable to the low castes and the other by the high castes. In the recent times the formation of hierarchy however has been attributed to both the sacred and the secular criteria. The latter views the important role of economic and political forces in the determination of hierarchy.

However, Louis Dumont, a French sociologist, refers to the social principle of hierarchy in the context of Indian society's political and social life. Although in the modern society the idea of egalitarianism, equality of all, and other such values seem to be more cherished but in reality these prevail contrary to the reality of inequality which has been characterizing all human existence through out the ages. Even the very

foundation of Indian society begins with the popular notion of superior civilization as well as popular culture. Such a notion preconceives the existence of an inferior civilization and unpopular culture. Such compulsions between the civilizations and cultures imply grading and ranking in a hierarchical order. In other words ranking and grading also characterize a society from within and in relation to others. Dumont locates the operation of hierarchy in the context of caste system of Indian society. It is argued that the caste system divides the whole society into a large number of hereditary groups, distinguished from one another and connected through three channels. First, separation in matters of marriage and contact, whether direct or indirect (food). Second, division of labour based on the theory of tradition of profession from which their members can depart only within certain limits. Third, there is hierarchy that ranks the groups as relatively superior or inferior to one another. All the three categories not only separate each caste from the other but also in the process highlights the nature of relationship between them. In this way it places each separated social group and profession in the social structure of the society. In reality, each aspect of the social organization is placed in the hierarchy on the basis of occupation, food, marriage and status. Therefore the hierarchy that comes into being reinforces the separation and exclusiveness of the castes.

The separation also creates dichotomous relationships or the relationships between the opposites. The oppositions are created through a belief system or an ideological structure according to which there are pure and the impure castes opposed to each other. The pure being superior occupies higher status than the impure, considered to be inferior. It is this opposition which according to Dumont underlies the hierarchy. Therefore according to him it is on such an ideology that caste system founded. The hierarchy is very crucial in Dumont's analysis. It is the principle by which the elements of a whole are ranked in relation to the whole. In other words, the central theme involved in Dumont's explanation is that the theme of pure and impure is linked with the principle of hierarchy. The principle encompasses power and describes it subordinate to the status.

In order to probe further into his own ideas he invokes the relevance of the study of ancient Indian theory of vama. It is argued that the relationship between caste and vama can be understood with reference to the relationship between hierarchy and power. The hierarchy has always been separated or isolated from power. In such a situation the

hierarchy remains purely a religious value that people have internalized and therefore becomes a state of mind. Therefore in the process of caste ranking and grading Dumont do not see any place for power in the hierarchy. While not denying power, he divides hierarchy into three parts containing two extremes i.e. top and the bottom, and the third middle. He asserts that both the pure and impure are located on the top and the bottom respectively and the place of power is rightly located in the middle. Since the theory of purity and pollution does not consider power as essential in the context of hierarchy therefore the analysis confine only to the parameters of the theory.

The theory of purity and pollution fails to stand the test of historical development of the caste system in which the role of political and economic factors has been very important. It however certainly indicates that hierarchy constitutes an important dimension having structural implications for the society. What is important to note in the foregoing entire discussion based on the view points of various authors is that hierarchy plays important functions of separation and inter-relationships between differentially ranked and graded groups. In view of the said functions it constitutes an important dimension in the context of social stratification.

3.3 Let Us Sum Up

Detailed discussion on the concept of hierarchy and the ideas of various scholars must have lightened you about the hierarchy in society. Every society is stratified on hierarchical order. Hierarchy may be based on one or other accept depending on the type of society, it may be caste, class or race etc. So in order to understand social stratification hierarchical division of society is necessarily important.

3.4 Key Words :

Hierarchy :   A rank order of castes or groups from top to bottom.

Functional :   The approach which refers to manifest positive consequences of aspects like economy, policy, religion etc.

Pollution : A state of mind and body which is connected with occupation and caste and regarded as unclean.

Purity :   A state of ritual cleanliness associated with caste occupation.

3.5 Check Your Progress

Q.1. What do you mean by hierarchy ?

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Q.2. How marx see hierarchy in the society, discuss in brief.

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Q.3. How the concept of hierarchy emerged in social science.

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SOCIAL INEQUALITY

STRUCTURE

4.0   Objectives

4.1   Introduction

4.2   Over view : Social Inequality

4.3   Basis of Social Inequality

4.4   Nature of Social Inequality

4.5   Let Us Sum Up

4.6   Key Words

4.7   Check Your Progress,

4.0   Objectives

After going through this topic you will be able to learn about:

(a) the concept of Social Inequality;

(b) nature of Social Inequality:

(c) how one can overview inequality in society.

4.1 Introduction

Social inequality refers to "socially created inequalities", The socially created" inequalities are not the biological or physical or natural inequalities. Instead, we have in mind certain social forces which put men into different segments and groups which not

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only differ from each other but also occupy unequal status in relation to each other. Being placed in unequal situations their life chances and life styles also differ significantly.

4.2 Overview: Social Inequality

According to Andre Beteille there are two very important aspects of social inequality: (a) Distributive aspect-refers to the ways through which various attributes such as income, occupation, education, power, skills and other important abilities are distributed among a population. (b) Relational aspect-refers to the ways the individuals are differentiated in the society. It deals with issues such as how income affects status and how occupation matters in the placement of individuals in the social hierarch.

Both these aspects characterize each and every society and are presented in different forms- differentiation, social stratification, inequality. Since each system represent inequalities in structured manner i.e., a system of social stratification. The latter is also a particular form of social inequality. If is a system, a device, method through which individuals are ranked one above another. Some scholars like C. Heller has used the concept "structured social inequality" which signifies the existence of some type of a structure or a patterned and legitimized set of social relationships. The case of Varna system of Indian society represented' a structure of differentiation along with a specific type or form of social inequality in the Indian society.

4.3 Basis of Social Inequality

There arises another question for serious consideration: what are the basis of social inequality in human society? There are two sets of explanations:

(a) Natural Inequalities existing and observable at individual level. It has two more aspects (i) natural differences of kind among people (e.g. postures, height, physical traits, colour); (ii) natural difference of rank (e.g. intelligence, dull or no intelligence strong and weak; clever and fool etc.) It may be noted that these natural inequalities exist among all the human beings and in all the societies. No where human beings including even the twins are found to have complete similarities of natural traits, of kind and rank.

(b) There are social inequalities existing and observable at societal level. Like the

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inequalities at the individual level, inequalities existing at the societal level have two dimensions:

(i) Social differentiation: people have different roles to play in the society. Differentiation of role observable in the fro form of vertical division of labour in which people are differentiated from each other but placed equally in relation to each others

(ii) Social stratification or inequality is another form. According to this each role in the social structure has a status. The status is ranked on a hierarchy containing sever statuses each status has privileges, prestige and some amount of authority over others. Sociologically, we identify two basis of social inequality i.e. the natural inequalities and social inequalities.

The most important and highly controversial question is what leads to social inequality in the society? Whether it is the natural inequality among individuals or there are certain specific social forces especially, when we argue that social inequalities are socially created. So let's first look into the issue of natural vs social inequalities. The supporters of natural inequalities argue that such inequalities come into existence because of natural differences among people. This hypothesis has been explained through the 'packing order theory or "the theory of dominance" the means that people who are by nature dominate take the lead and dominate or rule others. Such an explanation has been developed through the analysis of species and applied to explain the human behaviour. In fact, this type of thinking has been a product of biological sciences and developed under Darwin's influences. The basic problem with this theory is that it does not take into account man's differentia" capacities and capabilities that become the source or social inequalities.

Besides 'packing order' explanation, in certain societies the social inequalities among people have been explained as something created by nature. For example, the Rig-Vedic explanation of varna system in India. It explains: He, the creator, created Brahmans from his mouth, Kshtriya from aims, Vaishyas from thighs and Shudra from feet. The explanation not only builds up the basis of differences but also creates an order of the society in which different segments are hierarchically placed. The hierarchy is build up by equating qualities or social characteristics of people and the different functional qualities of various parts of human body.

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Accordingly, One also finds further division of an the four varans into two categories namely swranas and avarnas, or twice born and single of born etc. In this scheme, obviously the twice born is superior to single born. Another question that may be raised here is that why one set of people become superior and another interior? Or what ate the natural characteristics making some people higher in status and others low? This is a considered view that natural inequalities in a society are accepted by the people due to various myths and beliefs popular in a given society. Such beliefs are incorporated into a number of other factors such as biological. For example, whites in United States claim their biological superiority over the coloured people. It is not only in United States but of one can find in a society like India where untouchable castes were degraded, humiliated and suppressed. The point important to remember here is that the natural inequalities are legitimized in such a way that the internalized prejudices the prevailing myths and the beliefs are reinforced with greater are intensity. Thus the existing social inequalities among people are taken for granted as an outcome, of natural inequalities.

In support of the above view, it is argued biological inequality, no matter small may be, provides the basic foundation upon which the structure of social inequalities is constructed. There have been number of studies conducted especially in USA which attempt at justifying such a view. In the United States, the biological or natural inferiority of blacks is made out on the basis of (a) their over representation in menial and small jobs and less in the white collar position of power and prestige, and (b) on the basis of mean income of blacks against that of whites. For example, calculation of 'family income by colour and then suggesting that since blacks are biologically inferior they also tend to have less family income than the whites, the people of superior race. The other reason accounting for such explanations is that the coloured population going to high school is much less than that of whites. All these justifications are put forward to explain the genetic interiority of blacks or coloured in comparison to white. Similarly the case of scheduled castes can be explained from the point of view of those who argue that natural inequalities are reflected through the social accomplishments. For example, at one point of time certain fixed propositions existed about SCs. These were: a) They make poor students; b) They are not capable of accomplishing much; and c) They are less intelligent etc. Can we justify the proposition that Natural inequalities lead to social inequalities? The following description provides the equations that are built up in a society to rationalize the structure

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of inequalities:

(i) IQ Score	White Vs. Coloured	IQ depends upon exposure development upon life chances
(ii) Incomes:	White Vs. Coloured	Incomes $\leftrightarrow$ Occupation $\leftrightarrow$ Education
(iii) Education:	White Vs. Coloured	Income $\leftrightarrow$ Education
(iv) Occupations:	White Vs. Coloured	Occupation $\leftrightarrow$ Education

If we closely examine the relationships existing between various variables we are made to believe that everything does not depend upon one's natural qualities alone. There are of course many other factors which are non- natural but have a deterministic value and which go to the extent of determining the patterns of social relationships or the form of social structure. On the basis of the examinations of various rationales justifying natural inequalities one can argue that it is the social and other relational factors which are vital than the natural inequalities. The social and the relational include, as already argued, something on based on distributive factors i.e., the social standing or social class. It was Rousseau who made an assertion opposite to that of naturalists. He said, by nature men are not unequal. All are born equal. Instead of natural inequality Rousseau talked of natural equality among men. Inequality to Rousseau develops in later life of man. Talking about the origin of inequality he argued" inequality essentially developed when man left this natural state".

It is here (as an-argument was made by me) that any theory based on the analysis other than man cannot be applied to the understanding of man and his behaviour. The reason being that man has been able to leave natural state but animal not.

Man cleared jungles, developed agriculture and in the process of transformation of natural objects into the commodities of his use, he started claiming something as his own. This something "own" indicates something "private", Roussean called it "private property". To him (Rousseau) and many others it was the origin of private property which resulted into the emergence of social inequalities among men. Even Marx believed Private property as the sole cause of social inequality.

How does Private property leads to emergence of social inequality? To answer this question" one can quote Ferguson who said, "Possessions (various components of property) descend, and the luster (shine) of family grows brighter with age." Further, Stein's argument makes it more clear when he says "distribution of property lead to distribution of spiritual rights, goods, and

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functions among individual members of the society, in such a way that the attributes of persistence and fixity are transferred from property to social position and function". This implies that property causes inequality.

The example of land system in India and the change from the communal ownership of land to land becoming private Property explain the process.

The foregoing accounts certainly convince us on one thing that it is not natural but socially created inequalities which have important implications for the social structure. Not only that but these inequalities persist and their persistence leads to many type of inequalities including even the chances of survival which one can have.

There is an interesting example of how inequality matters. The description of a sinking ship and the chances of survival of members of different social class in that critical situation can make our understanding more clear. It is from Walter Lord's story-A Night to Remember. It relates with the sinking of a ship named White Starliner, The Republic. There were 415 passenger on board: The captain of the ship ordered that only the passengers belonging to first class should get into life saving boats first. The second class and third class should board life saving boats later. The consequence of such actions was: 143-first class but only 4 casualties (2.8%): 93- Second Class and 15 casualties (16.1%); 179 third class 81 casualties (45.3).

The example of sinking ship suggests a definite relationship between class and opportunities to save one's life. It is, therefore, the social rank than natural or physical characteristics that matter more. One very significant thing emerging from the foregoing discussion is the economic aspect of social inequality. Whether economic inequality is essentially social? To answer this question, one needs to examine the Nature of Social Inequality.

4.4 Nature of Social Inequality

The dictionary meaning of term nature is "the essential qualities or innate character of anything or a person.". In the context of nature of inequality, it would simply mean the qualities or characteristics essential to the concept.

With regard to the nature of social inequality Charles H. Anderson in his book. "The

Political Economy' of Social Class" argues that study of social class is first and foremost an inequality of economic nature. It is based upon an inequality of command over the means of production and the goods and services. It includes differential position (i) nature of It work performed, and (ii) in relation to instruments of production or forces of production in the production process. What makes economic power depends upon human being's: (i) purchasing power, (ii) material possession, (iii) property relationships, (iv) control over production, (v) work requirements, and (vi) work security etc. All these give rise to social classes or social class divisions based essentially on economic power.

4.5 Let Us Sum Up

In the light of the above discussion it is therefore concluded that inequalities in society are social rather than natural. These are, of course, product of social, economic and political attributes of the individuals and the groups rather than their natural attributes. There are different characteristics of different members of society but these differentiations takes the form of inequality and social stratification only when society attaches values with them.

4.6 Key Words

Hierarchy :	This a ladder of command which indicates in itself the status of a group the highest status group is other at the top of the hierarchy.
Caste :	An ascriptive grouping with several characterising including an allegiance to the varna all India scheme
Social Inequality :	Socially inequality refers to socially created inequalities". The socially created" inequalities are not the biological or physical or natural inequalities.

4.7 Check Your Progress

Q.1. What do you mean by Social Inequality?

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Q.2.   Differentiate between Differentiation and Inequality.

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Q.3.   Inequalities in Society are social Comment.

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CLASS : AS A FORM OF STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

5.0 Objectives

5.1 Introduction

    5.1.1. Caste and Caste System

    5.2.1 Ideology and perspectives on Caste System

    5.2.2 Caste Taboos : an indicator of social stratification

5.2 Let Us Sum Up

5.3 Key Words

5.4 Check Your Progress

5.0 Objective

After going through this topic you should be able to :

1. Know caste as a form of Social Stratification.

2. Taboos associated with Caste with reference to Social Stratification.

3. Ideologies and Perspective on Caste and Social Stratification.

5.1 Introduction

Caste is primarily confined to the Indian society, though some scholars have also referred to caste in Japan. To understand caste as a form of social stratification is highly complex as there are variations in its description - varna, Jati, etc., and regional diversities

- the North and South divide in the practices associated with it. Apart from the given complexities, the phenomenon also has been explained varyingly by scholars. Therefore an understanding of caste is not possible without relating to the system which creates social stratification. In general, it implies an autonomous system of stratification based on institutionalized inequality, closure of social system in respect of social mobility and having an elementary division of labour legitimized by ritual system. In the cultural context, caste system is described in terms of division of local society into a large number of segregated somewhat autonomous but inter-dependent units. The segregation is not simply in terms of nomenclature but also in terms of status of each of these groups in the social hierarchy. Somewhat autonomous character of segregated units is more in terms of the connubial relationship and less in the economic context. The economic interdependence, especially in the sphere of social production of goods and services, not only bring all the units into interaction with each other but also ensures the continuity of the total system. Very often ritual systems are found to be operating in the decisions of the society to place different groups differently.

5.1.1   Caste and Caste System

It may also be mentioned here that caste and caste system are not the same. The difference is very fundamental. The former, according to Victor D'Souza refers to a collection of individuals looking externally homogenous but internally charactetized by heterogeneity. Since each caste exercises its own rules, then it also seen as acting as an autonomous unit. The latter denotes a mechanism which on the one hand creates divisions and sub divisions and on the other maintain these divisions, establishes linkages by creating conditions conducive to inter-relationships and perpetuate these divisions and consequently formation of relationship generation after generation.

In a more precise way, Mees in 'Dhanna and Society' described it as number of sub-divisions exclusively endogamous, show a strong tendency to maintain these groups, perpetuates the hereditary character of these castes, and maintain certain cultural standards for the perpetuation of hierarchical divisions,. As a system, ,according to Bougle, it creates repulsion, hierarchy, hereditary specialization and certain specific conditions opposed to principle of rising in status, group mixture, change of occupation, advancement

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of social status and change of vocation. It therefore acts as a system of stratification because of three things (a) hierarchical ordering of the society, (b) differential evaluation of individuals and groups, and (c) differential rewards.

There are three implications of the system highlighted by Berrernan when ,he argues "A caste system occurs where a society is made of birth ascribed status, hierarchically ordered, and culturally distinct." Basically it is the hierarchy which entails/and specify (i) differentiation, (ii) rewards, and (iii) association. Hierarchy to him constitutes a system of institutionalized inequality. This occurs because the castes are ultimately ranked in terms of differential Intrinsic worth which may be caused by regional variations, degree of purity, the honour, economic worth etc. The last is the dominant factor. But it is the group affiliation rather individual attributes that matter most. Not only Berrerman, others (e.g. M.C. Smith) have also argued that it is the birth ascribed membership and not the individual attributes (economic or otherwise) which are important in the caste system.

The second important dimension is differential rewards which implies differential access to goods, services and valued things.. These in physical terms include ability to influence others, the source of one's livelihood, the kind and amount of food, shelter, medical care, education, justice, esteem, pleasure etc. The differentiation access to rewards is caused by caste status and therefore it is determined through the evaluation of all such attributes of the group. The criterion of evaluation is provided by the caste system. The differential rewards also reinforce the caste status in the social hierarchy.

Third dimension is constituted by the patterns of interaction in the caste hierarchy. McKim Maniot described the caste hierarchy, besides being an indicator of legitimized inequality is also "an inter-actional hierarchy". The rank is expressed and validated in interaction between persons the manifestation of which is visible in the inter-personal behaviour. The interaction between castes is regulated through certain etiquette of inter-caste relations. For example the prescriptions made by caste system on commensal and connubial interaction.

The above brief discussion suggests that the dynamics of caste system define and maintain boundaries between different castes. The system is threatened when boundaries are compromised. Berrerman therefore argues that even when the interaction between castes is maximum and cultural ties are minimal, the ideal of mutual exclusiveness, isolation

and distinctiveness is maintained. When the subversion of the system is rampant or social mobility is on the increase, a myth of stability is maintained among those who benefit from the system. But one important dimension of caste and the caste system according to Berreman is that plural societies are held together by power rather than by consensus. Hypothetically, one can be sure of connections between power-economic dominance and the maintenance of status. The economic dominance of one group also implies dependence of another group. He therefore maintains "all caste systems are held together in large measure by considerations of relative power among castes - power expressed physically, economically, politically and socially". To add further, to what Berreman has stated, the relative power within a caste system is socially and culturally legitimized. The cultural legitimacy of a caste is associated with the belief systems- the mythological origin of different castes, of the Hindus.

Another feature of caste system, as highlighted by Berrerman suggests "caste system functions as a result of powerful sanctions in the hands of the dominant groups and is really upset if the balance of power is diluted by those seeking system changes." Since the caste system does show the tendency of exercise of power for the maintenance of status quo, it resembles plural society because the similar tendency is visible in the society called as plural. Coming down again to the question of consensus, it is argued that each caste may have its subjectively defined objectives and may differ widely on issues but all disagreements are discussed by power relations i.e. the power relations dominant in the caste systems. It is therefore argued that a caste system combines the principles of stratification and pluralism.

Caste systems can be further characterized as living environments to those who comprise them. What is implied here that caste is composed of people and especially people interacting in characteristic ways and thinking in characteristic ways. It is therefore suggested that caste "being a structure caste system presents a pattern of human relationships and it is a state of mind."

At this point we also need to think of two issues that emerge out of Berreman's explanation. On the one hand, he holds the view that caste system is held together by power and on the other, the argument emerges that it is a state of mind. Dumont, an indologist, also looks at both the power as well as state of mind dimension of caste

system. Dumont argues power is subordinate to status. This is described on the basis of relationship between. varna and caste with special reference to power and hierarchy. Though Dumont finds it difficult to explain how power and hierarchy do not have a relationship, yet he continues to hold his argument by saying "what happens at the extreme ends of the hierarchy is essentially important. What happens in the middle is not significant". The reason given by him is that we are concerned with ideology that accounts for the overall framework of the caste system and not with the individual parts lying in between the extremes. Since power is in the middle zone, it is not a factor of immediate concern. In Dumont's indological explanation, the extreme ends of social hierarchy are more important.

5.1.2   Ideology & Perspectives on Caste System

The hierarchy is the significant dimension but this is based on an ideology. The ideology not only divides the Hindu society into a large number of hereditary groups but also makes Indian society a superior civilization and popular culture. The division of the society into large social segments is based on the ideological structure. There are two binary or opposite categories used to explain the two ends of the structure. One refers to the ritually pure and the second *ritually* impure. Both are opposed to each other and are located at the extreme end of the social hierarchy. It is argued that both the pure and the impure must be kept separate from each other. In the society, the proposed principle of separation is further extended to the area of division of labour in the area of production of social and economic life. Accordingly, the occupations are divided into the pure and impure categories in which the pure and the impure must be kept separate. The other argument put up by Dumont states caste is a state of mind in which political and economic aspects are secondary.

His argument is based on the rationale that caste is purely a religious phenomenon. The dichotomy between the two opposites is not a hygienic concept used to justify the ideas about impurity. What in fact, says Dumont, important in the context of caste is that the ideology also produces a structure in which pure is opposed to impure. Pure being superior, occupies a higher social status and the impure is given a low social status in the society. In the entire process of placement of social groups high and low, the structure that emerges produces a social hierarchy. The hierarchy is very important due to two reasons. First, it becomes a conscious form of reference of the parts to the whole in the system. Second, it ranks the elements of the whole in relation to each other. Since the caste is considered to be a Religious phenomenon the ranking

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done is also religious in nature.

Yogendra Singh describes the phenomenon of caste system by looking at it two distinct levels. First, caste as a structural particularistic, the dominant feature of stratification in India. Second, caste as structural universalistic phenomenon that can be seen existing elsewhere. On the basis of which Yogendra Singh refers to five features of caste as these are quite visible. First, caste as an institutionalized system of interacition among hierarchically arranged hereditary groups. Second, economic basis of division of labour. Third, caste inequalities constitute the emerging pattern of social inequalities. Fourth as structural unit components the caste and sub-caste are used in ranking of the human individuals. Finally, caste dominance and caste conflict are significant features. The last feature may give us an impression that we are talking from Marxist point of view. Notwithstanding that kind of understanding we must have in mind that even structural functional point of view sees the possibility of some conflict.

There have also been attempts to look at caste from secular and sacred dimension. The sacred dimension though formed part of the indological perspective based on the Textual analysis, the other component of it has been identified on the basis of empirical studies. According to sacred dimension the caste is based on the ritual status of the group in the social hierarchy. But it is further observed that ritual aspect of one's caste is not the sole determinant but along with it non-ritual or nonreligious factors also determine the social status of the group. The latter includes the economic and the political dimensions. The combination of ritual and non-ritual factors at first instance takes into consideration the purity-pollution dimension and in view of which the structural features of the system are evolved.

Mckim Maniot points out multiple references in the caste system that operate at different levels. These he divides into three zones. The first one is the zone of village community and the internal divisions evolved for the attainment of the goals of the village community. The second zone is of the recognized cultural and linguistic entities. The third one refers to the scheme of gradation and ranking operative at the level of the larger

society. The first one comprises castes and sub-castes, second ne involves the ethnic and the third one is based on the economic and political considerations that matter in the ranking process.

M.N. Srinivas in fact makes the sacred and the secular aspects more clear when he says that in a village exists a dominant caste. The re dominant caste concept is best understood when it is applied to the economic and political organization of the village. But at the same time he says any local caste whose ritual status is not low can be dominant on the basis of its numbers and the economic and political power. Stinivas makes ritual dimension as the pre-condition for any caste's position in the social hierarchy. The fact that one needs to remember is that caste, according to the sacred and secular dimension, commands certain status due its ritual as well as non-ritual aspects.

Unlike the foregoing perspectives discussed above, caste is considered in an outcome of economic and power inequalities that have been prevalent in the Indian society since long. According to this approach the role of political power and the ownership of means of production playa highly crucial role in determining the nature and type of social relationship. Although the reference to economic and political dimension has been made in the sacred and secular dimension but in the present case the role of ritual factors is not recognized. The ritual status is considered subordinate to economic and political status. This approach is based on the historical and empirical evidence. It is argued that the line of demarcation between the upper three Varnas and the Shudra varna holistically stemmed from property holdings. These differences in, the property holdings came into being in the historical development of the society.

D.D. Kosambi, a noted historian observed that the differences sharpened as the castes that reached the advanced stage of property holdings entered into trade exchange at a large scale. It is suggested that preeminent status attained by Brahmin and the debasement of the untouchables could not be taken as the product of Hindu state of mind, rather an outcome of long historical process. The production system, after the pastoral mode and the settlement of Aryans was predominately agricultural. In this system, caste or the social formation that owned land and the other productive resources held higher social status in relation to those who did not have any ownership over means of production.

The caste system, as is understandable from various explanations and view points, besides being based on social, cultural, religious and other dimensions operates as a powerful mechanism of strictures and sanctions regulating the behaviour of different caste groups. It is already explained that as a system it creates an hierarchy representing institutionalized inequality in terms of different status, rewards and association i.e. inter-action patterns. It derives legitimacy not through consensus of values alone but in societies marked by pluralism it rests on power-social, economic and political (e.g. Max Weber, Andre Beteille, Berreman and others). Both the power and myths become important in the operation sanctions and structures to regulate the behaviour of members of caste groups at two levels: First, in the intra- caste, and second, inter-caste context.

5.1.3 Caste Taboos: An indicator of Social Stratification

The rule of caste endogamy imposes restrictions on caste members in the matters of marriages (of course allows exogamous unions and that too hypergamy type.) The violation of which, though laxity is visible now-a-days, used to be conceived as cognizable offence therefore the violator was often punished either by his excommunication or physical punishment sometimes. The phenomenon of caste strictures and sanctions is not uniform and simple but marked by heterogeneity and various complexities. Caste endogamy is a general rule. Exogamous and hypergamous marriages also take place in many parts of India. While some castes approve hypergamy in one region the same caste may allow hypogamous marriages in some other region. Yet in certain parts males may be allowed to keep concubines.

The areas where these restrictions are extended are the reflected in the way these taboos operate. We notice (Hutton argues) that taboos on food and water as between castes are subject to many gradations and variations. This implies that if we want to examine whether a high caste man, say for example Brahman can accept, drinking water at the hands of a Sudra, then we have to be region specific. Because in northern India there are a number of Sudra castes from which men of high caste can accept water whereas in South or Western India a high caste Brahman will accept water only from a caste equal to its status or higher to it.

Again one may notice variation with regard to which water is acceptable and which is not. The taboos are observed in the case of ordinary water but there is no such taboo

when it comes to Ganges water to Its acceptance is legitimized on the basis of the sacredness of Ganges. (Whatever may be the degree of pollution, never mind). Again if water is accepted by a high caste from the low caste even then the touch is avoided. This touch pertains to the vessel from which water is being poured. There is very interesting theory which approves this practice. The belief is that air purifies water. Once the water leaves the vessel of the low caste and reaches the hands of the high caste, in between the water is supposed to have undergone purification, then its acceptance is not a taboo. This implies that direct touch is avoided for the fear of pollution. But it must be kept in mind that the low shudra castes from whom water is acceptable the castes of clean shudras and not that of the unclean shudra. This distinction again is very significant in the northern India where some laxity is observable but not in south or western India. In the south in specific the people who used to sell water at the railway stations they are always Brahmans.

The restrictions imposed upon eating practices are more severe than on the drinking. In the case of food it does not matter who supplies it but who cooks it certainly matters. Thurston in his work omens and superstitions observed that cooking is very crucial and a stranger's shadow on that or of a low caste falling on the cooking vassal may result in throwing away the total contents. But this restriction does not apply to members of the exogamous unit of the same caste. The said relaxation Bhat observed could be possible due to inter-marriage. Until such marriage occurred the two groups could not take each other's food.

A part from the said, the restrictions are further imposed on the material of which eating and drinking vassals are manufactured e.g. earthen ware are tabooed by all the higher castes. The reason for the restrictions extended to this aspect is that earthen ware cannot be cleaned properly i.e. certain type of food sticks to it or gets into the pores. Since contamination was caused by touch etc., the caste Hindus saw to it that women will not touch any food article or any vassal in which food is to be cooked during certain period such as tabooed period after child birth or periods associated with biological processes.

Similarly a male who lits fire to a pyer will not touch anyone until he takes bath and gets himself purified. Besides this touch with a low caste ofter polluted the high caste. The pollution could be easily done away with by taking bath with the water mixed with

some drops of Gangajal etc. or a Brahman could come and perform penance then rendering a man pure.' But the case of south India represents a different kind of pollution i.e., distance pollution. This was basically pertaining to the distance which the men of low caste were supposed to keep from the high castes. It was the duty of the low caste to indicate by some gesture that he is passing by and the high caste men may therefore keep away.

Since caste strictures are subject to many variations the caste sanctions, we assume logically be discriminatory in nature.

Since caste strictures were subject to many variations the caste sanctions are also discriminatory in nature, The basic ideology behind, incorporation of caste sanctions in the Hindu law books is to provide sort of protection to the order of the caste system. It proves to a greater extent that caste sanctions act as guardian of caste rules. It does so by discipling the members, maintaining set of penalties for the violators, the authority to expel and admit any member etc. The religious authority to impose sanctions rests with Brahman but with some limitations. He can exercise authority (i) which is necessary, and (ii) which has scriptural approval. Ketkar argues that if an individual makes an appeal to a Brahma against his expulsion from the community, the Brahman can only administer a suitable penance. As far as readmission to community is concerned cannot do much.

The strictures and sanctions perform two functions. First, reinforcement of various rules and regulations, which help various caste groups in maintaining their solidarity. Second, whill solidarity is fostered in the case of various caste groups, these help the dominant groups to protect their power and privileges by way of segmenting the whole society.

5.2 Let Us Sum Up

To sum up, the reference to different viewpoints explaining cast and caste system and the caste strictures and sanctions indicate some the characteristics indicating caste a   system of stratification. The important one being the hierarchy underlying inequalities   between different hereditary groups. Despite the changes that have taken place from time to tin there has emerged new forms of social relationships, based on class well as caste. The emerging scenario reflects not simply the abolition the caste system but the caste

system making certain structural adjustments in terms of needs. It means that caste is becoming more of an instrument of mobilization that is reflected through increasing casteism and caste centric approach, casteisation of politics or politicization of caste and so on. The caste and its structure continues to exist and gets reinforced from time to time and characterizes the Indian society.

5.3 Key Words:

Demography: Concerned with various facts of a population such as gender ratios, distribution of a trait, gross number etc.

Hierarchy: A rank order of castes or groups from top to bottom.

Caste : An ascriptive grouping which is community based.

Class : An achievement oriented interest group.

Status : Ranking of groups in society on basis of their relative position in terms of honour or respect.

5.4 Check Your Progress

Q.1. Describe caste as a form of Social Stratification.

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Q.2. Every caste have is own rules of every day life. Comment with reference to Social stratification.

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Q.3. Differentiate between Caste & Caste System.

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CLASS : AS A FORM OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

6.0　Objectives

6.1　Introduction

6.2　Conceptual Emergence of Class

6.3　Marx conception of class and class relations

6.4　Weber views on class and stratification

6.5　Warner's classification on class

6.6　Let Us Sum Up

6.7　Key Words

6.8　Check Your Progress

6.0　Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)　concept Emergence of class

(ii)　Marx is conception of class and Class relations

(iii)　Weber's views on class and stratification

6.2　Introduction

It has been noted in the previous lessons that inequalities have been and continue to

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exist in all the known societies all over the universe Even in the societies where wealth, property, or other material means were absent, the inequalities existed in terms of sex, age etc. With the growth and development of human society the inequalities have all been increasing and their basis have been under going transformation also. Whatever may have been the basis of inequality, the structuring and legitimization of these have resulted in the emergence of system stratification corresponding with particular form of system of inequalities. Social stratification has been defined by Anthony Giddens as "Structure inequalities between different groupings of people. These groupings ex in the forms of strata in a hierarchy. The systems of stratification identified all over the world are slavery, caste, estates and class. While the caste formed a distinct stratification system in the traditional Indian sod and even today continues to have influences on the social 'structure social class forms a system of stratification in the modern industrial societies.

6.2 Conceptual Emergence of Class

The origin of concept of class is traced back from the eighteen century. This is what even the history of the concept of class suggest Kolakowski makes mention of the existence of this word in the third book of ethics-proposition XLVI. In this, it is said "If some one is affects pleasurably or painfully, the fellow will develop love or hatred not towards the stranger who causes pleasure or pains but even to class or nation to which he belongs." In contrary to this, the term estate and order has also been used to describe 'social structure'. In the encyclopedia, estate refers to those groups which have legal existence - or groups which are organized in some way and have some sort of political representation. It is also argued that estates also represented classes. In Sweden, for example, there were four estates represented by nobility, priesthood, burghers, and peasants. All the four could also be identified with social Classes particularly in terms of Weber's analysis of life styles.

At this juncture it is also significant to refer to the differential usage of the term in the pre and post French revolutionary period. At the beginning of French revolution, the conflict in France Was viewed as "struggle between the estates." Baben, however, viewed French society, especially after the restoration as divided on the basis of "class antagonism." Such a shift in the understanding of conflict and social structure of French society is indicative of the fact that though estates and classes could be used interchangeably yet both the terms conveyed different basis of their formation. In the case of former it was legal and for the latter

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it was economic base. In 1776, Adam Smith in his work, 'Wealth of Nations' looked at social structure in terms of three different orders of people divided not on legal basis but on economic basis. The basis of distinction between the three is very crucial as this is the one that demarcates one system from another. The economic base of three orders has been depicted as those who live by rents, those who live by wages, and those who live by profits. These three distinct but basic orders are the expressions of society's division into 'classes'. These social orders constituting important dimension of the society in transition also tend to indicate how the transformation of the very foundation of society's organization takes place. The changing conceptions i.e. estate to class similarly suggested one very important development of the human society. The very foundation of the social structure undergoes transformation from a legal base to an economic base. This transformation is also reflected by the changes taking place in the social structure of the French society. After Adami' Smith, the term class has come to be used for basic groups in the society. For example, Madison in his work on "class structure in social consciousness" uses class as a scheme of gradation of social groups.

Ossowski points out that the use of the term class by Adam Smith,' Madison and others was made in an unspecified manner. The rationale of such a class a possible synonym of group or estate available in colloquial speech (i.e. in day to day general conversation). How far this charge against Smith etc. is correct, it is very difficult to say. Whatever may be the charge against the usage of the term, it certainly reflects on the times prior to the development of capitalism. At the same time, it also exhibits another important dimension i.e. the usage of the term class reflected on the existence of a social order which was a legal rather than economic order.

The historical development of societies in general and the development which took place in the usage of the concept of class i.e. estate to social class, obviously suggest not only the changing nomenclature but also the changing order or social relationships in a society. The transformation in social relationships took place with the transformation in the basic criteria of determination of social position i.e. legal to economic. The change also suggests that the existing social formations and relationship between them may not have been purely class relationships yet one thing is certain that the kind of order which existed was not essentially a class based social order.

A question however arises if the estates were not classes, than what can be the point of departure from where the process of class formation began. In response to the question, it is suggested that in the estate system (feudal) the work allocation was authoritarian i.e. a particular vocation followed was not in accordance with individual's will but as per allocation. However, with decline in the medieval order the feudal authority also declined resulting in relative freedom of the individuals. In the wake of emerging capitalism the individuals became relatively more free. The legally differentiated estates resulted in the division the society (estate system) into competitive labour market and leading to development of market linkages at various levels. For instance, from local consumable item production to production for expanded and extended market. The changes also followed in different spheres of social and economic spheres of life. The ties of fealty or bondage, with personalized kind of relationships changed into impersonalized relationships guided by market forces. The transformation came in the fused economic and political power by way of emergence of separate commerce and industry on the one hand and state on the other. The structure of economy changed from complete agrarian to urban economy.

Anthony Giddens therefore suggests two things: First, existence of social classes in the pre-class society. Second, the class has also been dynamic in nature with the class system exhibiting changes during the three major periods of time and space, namely Pre-class, class and classless society. This is quite evident from the conception of classes by the leading social philosophers and social scientists.

6.3 Marx Conception of Class and Class Relations

Karl Marx viewed social classes as the historical entities which have been there in all the hitherto existing societies. A social class in Marxist terms is not defined in terms of work functions, income or consumption patterns but by the relations it bears with the mode of production. He, therefore, argued that in all stratified societies there have always been two major groups. One owning the means of production and as a matter of their ownership control and rule the society. This constituted the bourgeoisie or the "Haves". The other class comprised of those who do not own the means of production but engage themselves in some economic activity i.e. working on the means of production owned by others for the fulfillment of their basic needs. Such a group constituted the proletariat called "Have Nots".

Marx infact found the class system a dynamic process. Therefore he developed two models of social classes. The first, two classes model as outlined in his early writings and has been popularly discussed as the model of social stratification. The second, multiple class model which he developed later and appeared in the third volume of Das capital. The first model, a theoretical position was based in Marx's early speculative philosophical understanding of social' development Although theoretical and speculative philosophy, it is argued by many scholars that the analysis of social class especially with reference to capitalism cannot be adequate without referring to Karl Marx. Lipset argued "If we were to award the title of father of the study of society class to any individual, it would have to be Marx". It is further asserted by Anderson "Marxism is a potent theoretical framework for the understanding of social class and for the entire field of political economy". There is considerable amount of social reality as Anderson made this argument while analysing the socio-historical and economic foundation of Marx's concept. Another important dimension of Marxist theory of social stratification is that it does not restrict itself to just two classes of bourgeoisie and proletariat. The social classes and the structure of stratification also to operate on the principle of negation i. e. subjected to change.

Marx's view on social classes as suggested by many was not monolithic but dialectical in nature. On ruling class, he wrote "ruling class is never a homogenous group but consists of contradictory element the representatives of heavy industry, light industry, finance capital etc. Their unity remains as long as their interests are held together similarly the issue of class-consciousness is vulnerable to causing splits between different groups. Certain workers groups may reflect ruling class ideas and thereby protect the interest of ruling class rather than that of the proletariat.

It is therefore suggested that the development of class-consciousness is dialectical and contradictory in structure. Marx himself states that working class consciousness is not a given datum but is created in struggle, struggle can take many forms, from trade union and strike activity to direct political confrontation between the (a) Ruling, and (b) Oppressed Class. There is ongoing struggle between these two classes that determines the relationship between men. In the initial stages, the classes act in cooperation with each other. However, with the beginning of struggle, the process of unification of class begins which transform the character of the class.

Subsequently there is emergence of two distinctive categories of classes: i) Class in itself, (ii) Class for itself. What is meant by these two categories'? A class in itself is one in which (a) various strata, although engaged in dissimilar work activities, (b) are united by their broad social and economic ties, (c) being united objectively form a class against capital, (d) but remains in non-conscious of the antagonistic relation with an oppressing class.

A class for itself means, a class in which the members have become (a) profoundly aware of their objective, conflictive connection with another class thus, (b) develop the appropriate consciousness and (c) action necessary to defend its interests. (It may be noticed that it is not only proletarial but also bonsgerisic which becomes class for itself).

These two distinctive forms of classes arise in the process of continuous engagement of the collectivity in the given mode of production. To Marx man's position in the production process provided the crucial life experience which eventually determines the beliefs and actions of the collectivity. 'a aggregate' (here means group). The experience is gained necessarily in the process of making living with special relation to economic conflict.

It is associated with changing material conditions of life. What facilitates transformation of class in itself to class for itself. According to Marx, there are a number of variables which facilitate the process in which class transforms from class in itself to class for itself. (i) Conflicts over the distribution of economic reward between the classes. (ii) Easy communication between the individuals in the same class position - helps in the dissemination of ideas and action programmes. (iii) Growth of class consciousness - members of the class have sense of solidarity. Understanding of their historic role in the production" of material constitutions of life. (iv) Dissatisfaction of the lower class over its mobility to control the economic structure - which itself builds but gets exploited and becomes a victim of that i.e. the growing miseries. (v) Organization of class into a political party because of the economic structure, historical situation and maturation of class consciousness. In this context, Marx writes in the Poverty of Philosophy that an oppressed class is vital condition for every society founded on the antagonism of classes.

The two class model advocated by Marx in his earlier writings should not be takes

as final because Marx himself, in his later more scientific and historical work repudiates this too simplistic class model. In the historical study, "The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Marx makes distinctions between the number of groups. (i) financial bourgeoisie, (ii) industrial bourgeoisie, (iii) petit bourgeoisie, (iv) proletariat, (v) landlords and (vi) free farmers. In other studies of France and Gelmany, he notes classes like: (i) Bourgeoisie, (ii) petit bourgeoisie, (iii) farmers,. (iv) peasants, (v) serfs, (vi) agriculture workers, (vii) Lumpen proletariat, and (viii) feudal lords.

6.4   Weber Views on Class and Stratification

Max Weber argues that having property and lack of property are very significant in explaining class and social stratification as these two are basic basis and character of all class situations. Associated with the property unambiguously is economic interest. These two factors are important in the emergence of class stratification in society. Weber further makes distinction between: (i) property classes (ii) the working class whose labour is directly exploited by the capitalist (iii) those who offer services and (iv) acquisition classes - which expand due to the tendencies within capitalism. This class is composed of merchants, bankers, financiers: entrepreneurs, professionals etc.

According to Weber, there are three basis of identification of class as well as constitution of a class. First, when a group consisting of a number of individuals has in common specific casual component of their life i.e. "life chances,' it implies that there is one common factor which determines the life chances for all the members of a group. The common factor is economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income under the condition of commodity and labour market. The latter means class situation in which individuals are placed in terms of the chances they have in relation to the supply of goods, external living conditions and personal life experiences. The chances are determined by the amount of power possessed by one to dispose of goods or skills in the economic order. Weber, therefore, explains class as "a group of people that is found in same class situation in the market situation."

The point Weber emphasises is that classes develop in market economies in which individuals complete for economic gains. Sharing a similar class situation also implies that by virtue of being placed in similar class position the individuals are able to gain similar rewards. The logic of Weber's concept of class in the form of a logical equation is : Similar class situation = Similar chances in market situation, hence similar life chances. A

class which means a group of individuals also means that they occupy same class status i.e. a given state of one's being in relation to (i) provision or goods (ii) external conditions of life, and (Hi) subjective frustration or satisfaction.

6.5 Warner's Classification on Class

The description of social class by Max Weber infact acquired significant popularity and his concepts-status group, status honour, reputation and prestige were used for the empirical analysis of class stratification. W. Uyod Warner, an American sociologist developed an index of various characteristics such as education, residence, income, family background etc. in the study of class stratification. The assumption of Warner is that in each there is ultimate structure which controls and dominates the thinking and actions of people, i.e. economic and the value system which is ultimately linked with an economic order. He therefore, argued that though the economic order was fundamental yet there was something else which determined one's ranking as high and low in the society" Following Max Weber's conception, Warner also accords economic dimension, a secondary place in the status determination. He argued that in the empirical situation the requirements of ranking of individuals are education, occupation,' wealth, income, family background, speech mannerism, general outward behaviour etc. The status occupied by an individual was summation of all said measures that vouched the evaluations made by the respondents. A status of an individual further depended upon the reputation in his own community and the judgements made by him by others. Similarly,' social classes constitute two or more orders of people who are believed to be and accordingly ranked by the members of community in socially superior and inferior positions. Therefore, the class of an individual is identified on the basis of same criteria as is done in the case of status. In the process of locating individual in the class hierarchy, Warner found that geographic space or the order of ecological settlement was very important.

The class structure developed by Warner indicated that there are minimum six classes in a society. These are: Upper upper, Lower upper middle, Lower middle, Upper lower and Lower lower. There to him were real social categories and not simply a result of his own fabrication. This was the result of his empirical findings. According to him the class structure of a society exist in a pyramid form. The top positions occupied by a small minority and the level of class comes down the number expends and ultimately results in

a pyramid type structure.

In the Indian society most of the studies on social class conducted from non-Marxian perspective have been following Max Weber's approach and in the empirical context Lloyd Warner's-empirical criteria of studying social stratification. Generally the distribution of social classes is made in three distinct categories, namely Upper, Middle and the Lower.

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

To sum up the class system as a form of social stratification is both a social and historical phenomenon having its traces in the historical and space. The emergence of social classes, has been conditioned by development of society. In this process, the role of economic force been very crucial. Apart from economic forces has the social and political aspects of the society have also been suggested as the factors in the rise of social classes. The typologies of social classes indicate not one but multiple class models depending upon the criteria used by a specific scholar.

6.6 Key Words

Domination:	To exploit and be superordinate used in Marxian uterative to describe the class which owns the means of production.
Dichotomous :	Refers is stratification literature to the two class model of marx..
Property Relations :	The relations which arise out of one class owning means of production and the other one being employed as wage workers by the class which owns the means of production.

6.7 Check Your Progress

Q.1.   Class is universal but Caste is not, comment.

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Q.2.   How Marx is different from Weber in Conceptualizing Class?

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Q.3.   Trace the emergence of Class in Society.

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Q.4. How class is a form of Social Stratifications?

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ESTATE : AS A FORM OF STRATIFICATION

*Mr. Krishan Chand

STRUCTURE

7.0   Objectives

7.1 Introduction

    7.1.1   Meaning and Nature of Estates

    7.1.2   Characteristics of Estates

7.2   The Caste system and the Estates system

7.3 Estate system of Stratifications

7.4 Sociological usage of the term.

7.5   Let Us Sum Up

7.6   Key Words

7.7 Check Your Progress

7.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   Meaning and Nature of Estates

(ii)   Characteristics of Estates

(iii) The caste system and Estates System

(iv) Sociological usage of the term

(v) Estate as a form of social Stratifications

7.1 Introduction

A social stratum to which are attached specific rights and duties sustained by the force of legal sanction. The most obvious examples are the peasants, serfs, burghers, clergy and nobility of the post fundal states of continental Europe. For example, early - modern France distinguished the nobles, clergy, and the "Third Estate" until the late eighteenth century. The term is often (through controversially) applied to the system of stratification in fendal, Europe, Since fendal strata were characterised more by personal bonds of vassalage, rather than shared political rights and obligations. It should be noted, for example, that the distinguished historian of fendalism marc block refers to the strata of the fendal order as 'classes'.

7.1.1 Meaning and Nature of Estates:

The term 'Estates' represents a type of stratification that existed in Europe during the Middle ages. Estates system has a long history. The system emerged in the ancient Roman Empire, and existed in Europe until very recent time. The estates system consisted of three main divisions - the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners. In England and France, for example, these there divisions were found. In some parts of Europe for example, sweden, almost up 1866 these were four estate division, Nobles, clergy, citizens and Peasants.

These historical estates were akin to social classes in at least two respect.

(i) Each estate, was to some extent characterised by a distinctive style of life.

(ii) The three estates could be thought of as reprinting a hierarchy.

In this hierarchy the clergy were at the top and the commoner at the bottom. The intermediary position was occupied by the nobles. It should be noted that the clergy was called the first Estate only in consonance with the medieval idea that the church is supreme and the state is subordinated to it.

7.1.2 Characteristics of Estates :

T.B. Bottomore has mentioned about three important characteristics of the feudal estates of medieval Europe they ae of follows:

1. **Legal Basis of Estate :**

Estate were legally defined. Each estate had a 'status' of its own. More precisely in a legal sense the status was associated with rights and duties, privileges and obligations. As it has been said, "to know a person's real position" it was first of all necessary to know" the law by which he lived". In comparison with the first two estates - the clergy and nobility - the third estate consisting of the serfs or commoners suffered from many legal disabilities. For examples the serfs had the inability to appeal to the king for justice. They had no rights over their chattels or properties and holdings. They had the liability of paying the fines of 'marched' and 'heriot'. Even different penalties were imposed on them for similar offences.

2. **Estates Representing Division of labour :**

The estates represented a broad division of labour. They had some definite functions. Accordings to the law of the day, the nobility were to fight and defend all, the clergy were to pray or provide food for all.

3. **Estates as political Groups :**

The feudal estates were political groups. An assembly of estates possessed political power. From this point of view the serfs did not constitute an estate until the 12th century A.D. The decline of education after the 12 century is associated with the rise of a third estate. The third estate behaved for a long period within the fendal system as a distinctive group before they overthrew.

7.2 The caste system and the Estate system:-

The Caste system of India and The Estates of Medieval Europe are not one and the same. The differences and the similarities between the two systems may be noted here

i. A pure caste system is rooted in the religious order whereas the estates system is rooted an interpretation of the laws of religious ritual, the divisions of estates system

are defined by the laws of man. Hence it is not necessary in the estates system to know a man's place in a ritual order. But it is significant to know the man - made law by which he lives.

ii.   Unlike the caste system the estates system has no 'out-castes'. Because, at least in theory, all the estates of the system enjoyed their own rights, duties and obligations. All could establish some claim on the established social order. Here in the caste system, the outcasts suffered from all kinds of social, political, religions, legal and other disabilities.

iii.   Difference between these two systems could be observed with regard to the nature of social mobility. Both, of course, had institutionalized barriers for social mobility. The barriers in the caste system are based on ritual impurity whereas the barriers of the estates system are legal. Since these legal barriers are man - made they can be modified in particular circumstance.

For example, in the religious sphere, anyone belonging to any section of the community was recruited inot the church. Atleaste in theory, anyone could attain any high place in it. Promotion within the church indicated some kind of social mobility.

The caste system, on the other hand, suffers from irreparable inequality created by divinity as it is believed. Hence, no caste member could or improve upon his position in the caste system even as an exceptional case.

7.3   Estates system of stratification

Estate systems of stratification are rigid in their prescription of economic duties, political rights, and social convention, although typically they are not closed to social mobility, unlike in caste systems, the estate does not necessarily renew itself from within: the clergy in pre-revolutionary France, for example, was an 'open estate'.

7.4   Sociological usage of the term :

Sociological usage of the term dates back to ferdinand Tonnies distinction between estates and classes. In "Economy and Society" (1922) Max weber cities the estates of Medieval Europe as paradigmatic examples of status groups. In the same vein, T.H. Marshall defined on estate as 'a group of people having the same status, in the sense in which that word is used by lawyers. A status in this sense is a position to which is

attached a bundle or rights and duties, privileges and obligations, legal capacities or incapacities, which are publicly recognized and which can be defined and enforced by public authority and in many cases by courts of law'.

However, like most of other main sociological concepts for studying systems of stratification, that of estate is a matter of some dispute;

7.5 Let US Sum Up

Thus, the three estates - Clergy, nobility and the commoners functioned like three political groups. As for as participation in government was concerned, the clergy used to stand by the nobility. In France, the political position was more rigid. This system of three estates remained there until 1789, that is, till the outbreak of the Revolution. In the French Parliament called "States- General", these estates used to sit separately and not together. That differentiation within the estates prevailed for a long time. The political movement of the French revolution brought about some radical changes in France.

7.6 Key words :

Merchet and heriot' :	A fine paid to a lord for the marriage of a daughter, and a fine paid to the lord on the death of a tenant.
Status :	Effectively claim to social esteem. Weber tried to show that status cuts across class barriers.
Class :	According to Marx, Classes are groups of people who are distinguished from each other due to their ownership or control over the means of production or lack of the same.
Estate :	The term "Estate" represents a type of stratification that existed in Europe during the Middle Ages.

7.7   Check Your Progress

Q.1. Write a short note on the Estate System.

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Q.2. Explain important characteristics of Estate System.

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Q.3. Distinguish the difference and the similarities between the caste system and the Estates system.

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GENDER : AS A FORM OF SOCIAL STRATIFICAITON

STRUCTURE

8.0   Objectives

8.1   Introduction

8.2   The Gender Relations

8.3   The Psychological Difference

8.4   The Gender difference

8.5   Inequalities with regard to access to education

8.6   Income Inequalities

8.7   The Role of women in the agriculture production

8.8   Ineqality the political sphere

8.9   The Marxist perspective

8.10   Let Us Sum Up

8.11   Key Words

8.12   Check Your Progress

8.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   The Gender Relationship

(ii)   Inequalities with regard to access to education.

(iii) The role of women in the agricultural production

(iv) The Marxist Perspective

This is a known fact that for decades social stratification did not consider women in the context of distribution of power, wealth and prestige. The stratification studies, according to Anthony Giddens, remained gended, blind, It is indeed surprising that the gender itself being a cause as well reflection of stratification in a society remained untouched. The exclusion of women from the study of stratification therefore also implied incomplete analysis of social stratification. There are two underlying assumptions. First, the gender constitutes both men and women in the society and the society all through history has been divided into two distinct identities based on sex differences. Second aspect refers to the inter-linkages between women and society i.e. in what way the women have impact on social stratification and the' stratification on women.

This is also a fact that both men and women, as distinct as well as integral part of each other live in the society. A society, according to Talcott Parsons, is "sum total complex of human relationships. But these relationships must 'grow out of the action". This implies three things: first, action is always in relation to others that when the action is performed it must be in relation to others and must have an orientation. Second, it must therefore involve interaction between two or more individuals. Third, the action is the part of the ongoing larger action and interaction in the society. It is therefore observed in the society that action, interaction and relation to others imply there is some degree of unity between various constituent units. This unity, though involves unequal, is called by relationship of inter-dependance between the constituent units and the common needs for the fulfillment- of which they come together. The fulfillment of common needs becomes possible through a system, The process of common need fulfillment leads to differential social formations within and between the groups, including gender and perpetuates the relationships so formed. In other words, the society constitutes a system of social-relationship which is essential for the survival of the society. Such an argument is described as structural functional in nature.

8.2   The Gender relationship

The most fundamental relationship in the society is based' on the gender relationships i.e. the relationship between the male and the female. This relationships i.e. the relationship between the, male and the female is functional in nature. Functional means the type of functions required for the survival of the society and the continuity of the human race. The functional relationship is based' on the elementary form of division of labour based on sex. Talcott Parsons argues that there are three types of functions performed by the human beings in the society: First men perform, particular type of functions, mainly in the field of economic production and other functions which make them remain away from home for longer period of times. Second, women perform other type of functions, For example bearing and weaning the children, looking after the children, their socialization and so on. Third type of functions are preformed by men and women together in the society. These functions may even include, those performed by men and women differently. For example cooking of meals, looking after the children and so on. A process of gender relations, gender differentiation, inequality and stratification therefore start emerging with the collective and organized living of the human beings,

This is argued by Giddens that the use of terms like male and female constitute gender categories and are conditioned by psychological, social and cultural differences, the differences between the two basically arise due to gender socialization that goes on through the parents, found to give different treatment to boys and girls, sons and daughters.

The material objects such as toys, cosmetics, clothes, etc. given to male and female children differently. In this way gender conditioning and differences are built into the psychological make up of the child. Even television and radio progrmmes are tutored to make the distinctions between make and female as the former is shown more aggressive and the later more docile and timid. The school and peer group influences segregate the boys and girls with gender specific orientations. Since all societies being dominated by the patriarchy the distinctions between males and females are deliberately taught.

8.3 The Psychological difference :

The psychological differences are basically the result of personality development which

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is guided by the process of socialization in a society. The process inculcates different values in the personality of male and female that make them behave differently. The social differences are brought about by the roles played by males and females in the society. The cultural differences are the values that the males and females carry along in the society which also shape the psychological-and social differences between the males and females. For example gender usages: Feminine vs. Masculine.

The social, psychological and the cultural differences built into the gender categories condition the functions performed by the women are those related with household, agriculture, horticulture, bearing children, giving them birth, bringing them up. Along with their function pertains to socialization of children and the adults. Through socialization the women not only teach children about the values and norms of the society but also keep the culture and traditions of the society alive. Therefore, the women them-selves become the carrier of the built-in inequality in the society. This is the reason that the dominance of men over women prevails as a universal phenomenon. There is no part of the world where the men do not dominate the women. Women often have lower position at the work place. Only few women enjoy high prestige and status. There are inequalities at work place. Most often the women carry on inferior work in comparison to men. Low pay and female poverty is very common. They always carry the burden of home, work, children and others.

In dealing with the question of inequalities and differences, we are looking at women not as a sexual category but as a gender category. It means how women as a gender role are ranked, evaluated and treated in the society. Before going into the inequalities and differences it is essential to argue here once again that every society attaches different value or values for men and women differently. It means that the role, of men and women are looked at differently. Since the society is dominated by the values of patriarchy, generally the males are ranked higher than the females. Accordingly, the men are given high social status and women are given low social status in relation to men.

Why does such a ranking or valuation is carried out when men and women are doing equal works rather when women are doing more work? In order to understand the reasons there is need to understand it on the basis of classical theoretical frameworks and traditions propounded to explain the inequalities and stratification. .

8.4 The Gender Differences :

i) Sigmund Freud, , a psychologist, tried to explain the gender differences on the basis of biological differences, i.e. masculine and feminine characteristics. According to him, the emergency of gender identity starts with oedipal phase i.e. during the socialization and life cycle, the son starts imitating the role of the father. Infact, Freud argues that the child feels the father is a rival as the male child cannot have the closeness to mother which he wishes to have. In the similar way, the female child learns to behave more like a female. Since the father dominates the house and the son in tile house follows the same way, the girl child feels dominated and tends to accept her self as low in status to the males. This is how she is socialized and how she also accepts her low social position in the male dominated atmosphere of the family.

Freud also argues that during the oedipal phase the child has a natural leaning towards the opposite sex parent i.e., the son more attached to mother and the daughter to father. This is up to the age of 5 years. However, the changes start appearing after the age of five. These changes are more pronounced between 5 to 13 years age. During this period the peer groups' influence is fund to be more. What Freud tends to argue is that the psychological processes make the male and female different which becomes the cause of later age difference and inequalities.

ii) Nancy Chodrow does not agree with what Freud says. She argues that learning to feel male or female is a very early experience, deriving from the infant's attachment to its parents. She places much more emphasis on the importance of mother, rather than the father. The children tend to become emotionally involved with the mother than the father. The reason being most of their needs are met through mother and they receive more dominant influence of the mother in their early life. But this attachment breaks at some point. The girl remains attached but the boys start detaching. The boys gradually break away. One of the reasons is that the boys being grown up do not remain physically close to the mother but the girls continue to enjoy the same closeness because of their similar role in the flintily. The male identity is formed through separation .from the mother rather than by remaining close. In this way, the differences start appealing in the male role and female role. These difference become the basis of inequality also.

iii) Carol Gilligan argues that it is not how we define a male or a female. The difference

between the two appear on the basis of how the adult women and adult male imagine themselves. Women define their image in terms of their personal relationships. They judge their achievements on the basis of their ability to care for other. Women's place in the traditional society is defined as that of caretaker and helpmate. In other words, the women see their success in relation to the others. On the other hand, the men look at themselves as individuals. They see their achievement as personal. The women's caring for others is described as their weakness, dependence, etc. Gilligan carried out a study of 200 American women and men of different ages and social, and economic background. She asked them certain questions. The responses given by them differed. While women persistently talked in terms of helping others, the men often said about the ideals of duty, justice and individual freedom etc. The women often tended to avoid harming others. It is in this way that Gilligan argues that the differences appearing the personality make up of the male and female.

The issue of inequalities however is not psychological and natural but social also. This is elaborated in the lesson social inequality and social stratification at length. But there are two reasons to go into such a question. First, it tends to bring out the differences in the status of men and women in the society by pointing out the areas in which the inequalities exist. Second, the inequalities are not important just for the sake of importance but because these inequalities have various implications in the life of women. In view of the two reasons given above, it is important to discuss the spheres in which the inequalities exist in human society :

8.5   Inequalities with regard to access to education

There are inequalities with regard to access to education. This is a historical fact that the women have been late started in the sphere of education in comparison to men in almost all the countries and among all the races and people. For example, in the year 1980, have the white people 2.7 males who had attended elementary school whereas for females the figure was 2.5. Similarly, among the blacks while 11.5 males attended elementary school the number of females was only 7.4 Among other races also the number of females attending school was less than that of the male. In the light of the existing data and information it can be argued that more males than the females attend the school.

This is may be further mentioned that the ratio of male and female attending school is also different in different countries. It is important to mention that in the developed societies the difference between male and female studying in schools is smaller in comparison to developing and underdeveloped ,countries. In the developing countries, the 'difference tends to be very large. This can be understood from the male-female literacy in different states in, India.

It is also important to mention that in the socially developed states the inequalities are relatively less in comparison to the socially less developed states. The general literacy for males in Himachal is 86.02 whereas for females it is 68.08 only. In Jammu and Kashmir, it is much low. The question that arises is why these, differences are observed almost every where in the world?

One of the reasons accounting for this is the historical neglect of female education. Therefore the women could not acquire education like the men. The other reason was that at certain stages of history, especially when the invasions and attacks by the foreign people increased, the women were confined to home due to the fear of exploitation, abduction etc. Third, since the women were expected to get married and go away less attention was given to their education in the society.

8.6   Income Inequalities

Income distribution and women also reveals that the differences in education not only place women at a disadvantage in relation to men in the society but also has implications with regard to the income earned by them. The empirical studies conducted on the income distribution and number of years spent by men and women in the schools indicate differences. The males normally spend more time in educational institutions than the females. Consequently males have more chances to find jobs in the market. The life time earnings of females are found to be much smaller than the males in the united States, Canada and even in India." In other words, the lack of educational opportunities is reflected in the occupational inequalities between men and women.

The women also have income inequalities and relatively less work participation. There is enough evidence to suggest vast differences in the work participation and status change among women themselves. One of the common observation is whatever the opportunities exist in the job market for the women, maximum of them are exploited by the highly educated and by those women who come from socio-economically better off background and in many cases have strong political connections.

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The statistics on women employment reveals only 16.43 per cent of the total women in India in employment. This means that 83.57 per cent women do not have work or employment. There are also differences of working in the organized and unorganized sector. Of the total employed women, 14.1 per cent are in the organized sector and only about 1 per cent of the total occupy' high social status. The remaining almost $6 per cent of the total working women are in the unorganized sector and mostly in the low prestige occupations (Census, 1991). The evidence further suggests that the women workers in the unorganized sector undergo not only economic exploitation by way of payment of low wages but also in certain cases suffer from sexual abuse.

The data also indicate that with the increasing employment and movement of women the problems of abuse have also multiplied. The other reason for the increasing number of women in unorganized sector is the profit considerations of the employers. Since, the women are often paid less they are most concentrated i the stereotyped traditional occupations such as office secretary, nursing, domestic maids, textiles bidi factories, electronics industry, construction, agriculture etc.

8.7 The Role of Women in the Agricultural Production

In the agricultural production the role of women is not uniform but varies with their land-owning status. It ranges between managing the lands to working as land-less labourers. The majority of women are working as landless labourers. It is also observed that role of women in agriculture is very important. The total contribution of women to the farm production is estimated at 55 to 60 per cent of the total labour. But they receive a share of only 25.7 per cent of the total, earned income. It is interesting in the Himalayan region that a pain bullocks work 1064 hours, a man for 1212 hours and a woman works 3485 hours a year on a one hectare of farm." After working almost three times more than the men what a woman gets in return for the work is the wage less than that of a man. Such disparities exist not only in the agricultural sector but also in the entire unorganized sector of employment.

This is no exaggeration of the fact that the women in the developing countries not only have less economic opportunities than men but also earn less and work for longer hours. Some of the studies with reference to the larger segment of women in employment reveal that the nature of their work is of supplementary nature. Such jobs are taken up by most women through which they contribute   substantially   to   the   economic   betterment   of   their

family. The significant change that has come about through work pacification in the life of women is confined only to 1 per cent of the women in the organized sector in general and those in the executive positions in particular. The most women working in the unorganized sector continue to toil through the day and receive wages much less than that of men. This is not true of India alone but the situation in the West is also not too rosy. The reason for limited change is that the low prestige jobs do not accord women economic autonomy, social status and power.

8.8 Inequalities Political Sphere

The women also suffer from inequalities in the Political Sphere. It is a fact that not many women find a place in politics. In Panchayats, the women are given representation but it is found that they do whatever is asked by their husband or the party to do. They are not allowed to have independent political life in which they can do what they like. The comparison of number of women in parliament, state legislative assemblies, provincial governments in the foreign countries indicate a jail very small number of woman in comparison to men.

8.9 The Marxist Respective

A questions that aries here is to the psychological, social, and the cultural factors account for such a state of affairs. The Marxist consideration of this issue indicates that the above discussed basis of gender inequalities refer to the super-structural aspects and fail to point the real cause of gender stratification and inequalities. Marx' basic assumption about social relationship in the society, particularly among the opposites have been integral but based not on consensus but conflict. Therefore, in the Marxist scheme the social understanding of the position of women in the society besides being functional has also been conditioned by conflict over resources and property.

The conflict perspective is basically based on the idea that capitalist Society is negative in nature and it gives rise to large number of problems. It is oppressive in nature. In general, conflict in the human Society has always been there. Thomas Hobbes beheved that prior to the establishment of social contract the human society lived in groups. Each group was at war against each other. He argued that the war between the groups stopped when the social contract was formed. It was the result of the efforts of the human beings. The conflict theorists especially Marx and his followers argued that the human nature was basically

good. But it was the capitalist society which was negative. It is coercive in nature. Coercive means that it forces people to enter into some type of social set up or in some mode of production. The meaning of mode of production in general would be that human beings in order to live their life have to produce something. In this process, they become part of the production organization and occupy a particular position. These who are in the subordinate position they often suffer from various problems or in order words those who HAVE are placed in a better and advantageous position and those who DO NOT HAVE are in the disadvantaged position.

The question of gender was not a primary concern in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' scheme of analysis. However, they did look at two things with serious concern. First, the understanding of the oppression of women could be possible buy viewing it as part of the human civilization. Second the position of women needs to be emancipated and how this could be possible.

They observed "The humiliation of female sex is an essential feature of civilization as barbarism. No body is punished for keeping woman a slave than man himself."

Although Marx always had the readymade answer to the problem the communist society, he and Engels therefore believed that the gender equality is possible in the communist society. But they also believed that the question of man woman equality was located in the family. According to' Marx and Engels, the first form of oppression of women by men emerged in the family. Engels in the book, "The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State" tried to provide materialist explanation of gender relations.

The materialist explanation basically means that every relationship revolves around property. This is something which develops throughout the history of human society. According to him, the human beings in the process of living their life keep on producing and reproducing for their life. It is argued that in the initial life the union between men and women was casual and unregulated. In such situations it was difficult to establish the paternity (fatherhood). In the first form of family was based on the natural relationship between the mother and the child. In other words the original biological link between mother and the child formed the family. This link gave women high status.

How could women have high status? The simple reason was that the development of the descent was through female line and became the material foundation of the family. In the early stages of development it was matriarchy which became predominant or the family was founded around the female rule. Later the pattern of stable relationship between men and women through marriages developed. Infact to stablise these relationship women played an important role as the unregulated unions put them into lot of problems and degraded them as lose or characterless women. The push for monogamous form of marriage and family by the women therefore resulted in the strictness for women chastity, virginity and other such values.

In this way, monogamy became a basis for the establishment of patriliny or the tracing of the family through the female line. This form of family consolidated further with the consolidate of economic or material production activities. The consolidation of production activity implied accumulation of surplus. This means that whatever the additional wealth was produced that wealth could be passed on from one generation to anther. The women were excluded as they after marriage started living with the family of the husband. The surplus was controlled by men. This was also the result of the natural division of labour that came into being due to strict following of the monogamy.

8.10 Let Us Sum Up

To sum up, the gender question in the context of stratification, as discussed above, constitutes the most basic issue of human society. The reason being that no society can carry on analysis without referring to women who constitute almost half of the total population of the universe. The justice to gender and stratification can only be possible if viewed in totality i.e. by taking into consideration the social, psychological, cultural and the politico-economic dimensions.

8.11 Key Words

Gender :   Sese refers to the biological attributes of man and women, while gender is understood to be a social contract incorporating the full range of personality trails, attitudes, feelings, values, behaviour and activities that society differentially ascribes to men and women.

Gender Identity :   The knowledge of being biologically male or female, it is usually achieved by age two.

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Gender Socialization : The adoption of gender roles through societal and parental expectations and the modeling of others in these roles.

Social Control : A term used very widely to refer to all types forces and constraints which induce conformity to norms and customs in human society.

Socialization : The process of internalizing society's value in order to adept to one's culture, influences how people behave as males and females in society.

8.12 Check Your Progress

Q.1. Describe the concept of Gender?

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Q.2. What is the Role of women in the agricultural Productions.

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Q.3. Gender is biological terms? Comment on it.

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ETHNICITY - AS A FORM OF STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

9.0   Objectives

9.1   Introduction

9.2   Ethnicity a Global Phenomena

9.3   Explanation of Recent Ethnic upsurge

9.4   Let Us Sum Up

     9.5   Key Words

     9.6   Check Your Progress

9.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   Ethnicity a global phenomenon

(ii)   Explanation of recent ethnic upsurge

(iii) Ethnicity as a form of Stratification

9.1   Introduction

The term ethnic denotes race. But when we speak of ethnic community the emphasis is on the distinct cultural identity of the group. "Race tends to refer to the biological aspect of group difference, ethnic to a combination of the cultural aspect plus putative biological element because of the assumption of common descent. According to

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J.M. Yinger, the members of an ethnic group, who constitute a segment of the larger, society, are assumed by themselves or by others to have a culture which they share exclusively among themselves. Membership of the group is believed to be passed on from generation to generation-Leo from parent to child - so that biological continuity is an element in the definition of an ethnic group. These members, preserve activities in which their shared origin and culture, playa significant role, such as 'visiting their own people' and celebrating occasions special to them.

Yinger's definition brings out the following characteristic elements of ethnicity : (i) That the ethnic group is seen by others as distinct and separate from all those around them in terms of, say religion, race, language, country of origin, etc. (ii) That the members of the ethnic group themselves see them as distinct or separate in terms of some cultural aspects from all others around them (iii) That the members of the ethnic coup, apart from participating in common activities with others, also engage exclusively in activities which they consider to be their very own in order to retain their cultural distinctions.

9.2 Ethnicity - A global phenomenon

From the nineteenth century onwards till the close of the twentieth century, the idea gradually gained ground that .nation' was the consummation of human communal living. Even four or five decades ago the U.S.A. and the then Soviet Union presented the picture of melting' pot of diverse cultures. India, both before and after partition exhibited a unity in the midst of diversities. It was thought trial through the processes of accommodation and assimilation immigrant groups completely merged themselves with others, leaving very little trace of their separate identity.

Things have, however, completely changed during the last few decades cot only in India but all over the world. It will not be an exaggeration to say that ethnicity is an emerging phenomenon in today's world. The societies which were considered to be stable till the other day are showing increasing signs of instability and disturbance. No society or political system is immune from its pressures. Ethnic groups clam our for secession from the age-old political ties. The demand for such secession derives strength and intensity when the question of preserving ethnic or religious identity becomes pre-dominant. One recent survey of regionalism in Western Europe lists 50 active regional movements while another account refers to no less than 187 ethnic activist associations

in France alone.' Even in the oldest the hitherto the most stable nation state, the United Kingdom, devolution of powers to different regions has become a popular movement. Both the Scottish and Welsh national i parties press for Commonwealth status similar to that now enjoyed by Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In Commonwealth Games England. Wales and Scotland send separate teams to compete in the games. After the break-up of a highly centralized system of the USSR some of its autonomous republics, based on ethnic, religious and linguistic differences, are asserting their right and are reluctant to remain even within a very loose federal framework like Commonwealth of Independent States. Canada often finds Quebec an intractable problem with its various demands having separatist overtones.

In India ethnic movements have assumed the form of regionalism in some form or other. Because of die large number and variety of its manifestations in present-day India, it is not easy to grasp and categorize regionalism in its entirety. We may, however, identify some of its manifestations as follows: (i) North-South divide. No discerning observer of the Indian political scene will fail to notice its division. It is not articulated explicitly. One may recall that the DMK demanded secession from the Indian Union at one time in the past on the ground of the Tamils having a distinct cultural identity (ii) Demand of the people of certain areas for separate statehood. For instance, the Bodo movement, the Uttarakhand movement and the Jharkhand movement. As a matter of fact, the demand for separate statehood has been a significant feature of the tribal politics in Assam, (iii) Demand of the people of certain areas for secession from the Indian Union. Thus, the Akalis and ULFA activists had been demanding secession on the ground of their distinct cultural identity and deprivation under the present political-set-up. At the core of each regional outburst or movement in India, there is a deep sense of identity, a quest for self-image, as well as a profound sense of deprivation.

9.3 Explanation of recent ethnic upsurge

In the light of these developments in India and abroad, it will be instructive to consider some of the explanations which have been offered for this emerging ethnic phenomenon.

The recent ethnic outburst is explained by two different schools of thought, viz. the primordialists and circumstantialities.

According to the primordia lists, ethnic feeling - and pride have their roots deep in the past. The remnant of the old does not generally lose its identity. "Eastern Europe in full of such communities surviving from the waves of Teutonic and Slavic migration in the early centuries of the Christian era. Many of the present states of Central Europe, such as the Hapsburg and Romanov empires "have grown out of the efforts to preserve a culture which was evolved in mediaeval isolation.' Throughout Europe the isolation of economic lift and the distinct political organization of each community created conditions for the survival of self-contained diverse communities. The beginning of nationalist sentiment, however, changed the entire scenario. Minority groups could preserve their distinct identity by asserting their rights against the demands of dominant majority groups. A minority group may be defined as a group of people who because of their racial or cultural characteristics, regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. "These communities survived as potential stales mainly through the conscious effort of their leaden to prevent loss of identity and in response to the repressive efforts of the dominant group". Distinctive speech, dress, religious practices and rituals have been utilized and called into play in order to re-enforce a distinct cultural identity. "The Ukrainians, for instance, although adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, have conducted their ritual in an archaic form of the Ukrainian speech test by adopting the Latin form they become indistinct from their more powerful neighbours". After the Russian revolution, the Government of the Soviet Union encouraged the different ethnic groups "to develop their group consciousness and their cultural institutions upon their inherited soil or in newly created communities on land set part for them by the government." They were only required, to conform to communist ideology and communist economic system, After seventy years of revolution as soon as winds of freedom started blowing the old traditions going back hundreds of years have been revived and utilized to strengthen the resolve of ethnic groups to have a separate political existence of their own.

In India the situation is not very different. After the colonial rule of the British ended and conditions were created for the assertion of democratic rights, various ethnic groups gradually became conscious of their identity. They made language a symbol of their distinct identity as well as the vehicle of tradition. For instance, the Gurumukhi script was emphasised by the Akalis, preservation of Nepalese language and literature became the battle cry of Gorkha movement, the Santhals insisted upon their 'alchiki' script. In course

of time language tends to become a symbol of nationality followed by a demand for separate political existence.

The circumstantialities, on the other hand, hold the view that instead of going to the origin of ethnic identity, it is more worthwhile to take into account the circumstances which are primarily responsible for the ethnic upsurge in recent years in India arid abroad.

One such explanation is as follows: "In the modem world there is a loss of traditional identities because of the trends of modernization, urbanization, new occupations, mass education, and mass media. Since there remains in mass society a need in the individual for some kind of identity - smaller than the state, larger than the family - new ethnic identities are constructed."

A second explanation focuses attention on the fact that ethnic identity is used as an instrument for strengthening the demands of ethnic groups. For instance, some linguistic agitations in India were basically movements for furthering employment opportunities or for fulfilling some economic demands. The language agitation in the erstwhile East Pakistan was an expression of the deep-seated desire of the people of East Bengal to free themselves from the economic exploitation of West Pakistanis. The movement centering around Bengali language gave the struggle against. West Pakistanis altogether a new dimension in the sense that the people were made to believe that their identity was threatened. In Northern Ireland the dispute originated as a religious movement. But today behind the facade of religious agitation other non-religious factors, such as the capture of political power or expansion of opportunities for employment and other economic benefits, became the real issues. Appeal to religion serves to strengthen a movement which is basically a political one. The movement along class or occupational lines fails in most cases to stir the emotion of the people. On the other hand, "the appeal to ethnic identity draws upon more emotional layers of the human and social personality than does the appeal to class identity. It touches on such primal things as one's language' and religion, one's earliest family experiences, one's physical self-image."

Yet another explanation of the ethnic upsurge runs on the line that disillusionment with the political system drives people to seek support, strength, and security in ethnic groupings. "Trust, confidence and belief in the political state is at an all time low in the United States and in other countries as well. It is not this or that candidate, fills or that government, that

is at the heart of the matter. It is the image of the political community whose credibility has been vastly lessened during the past half century the ethnic bond, grounded in history, is proving to be stronger than the often artificial bond."

Whatever be the reason for the recent upsurge of ethnicity, the fact remains that ethnic upsurge prepares the ground for the dismemberment of what was once considered to be stable political communities. The traditional federal framework cannot accommodate ethnic groups which are deeply stirred and bent upon an independent political life of their own. Political pluralism arising out of such ethnic divisions is likely to overtake many other states in the future. There is probably no choice in this matter. The reality of ethnic upsurge has to be faced. We have to devise ways and means of meeting the separatist aspect of this new phenomenon.

We should bear in mind in this connection a very important fact, pointed out by Wiener, that objective distinctions among ethnic groups do not necessarily lead to or aggravate conflict. But when such objective distinctions are perceived subjectively as obstacles to the attainment of certain goals - economic, political. or educational - ethnic movements tend to develop a separatist character. Therefore, one of the ways to contain ethnic upsurge within limits is to ensure that people of a particular ethnic group do not suffer from a sense of deprivation or injustice on ethnic grounds.

9.4   Let Us Sum Up

Societies differ great in plasticity. Some may be too rigid to meet the changing conditions. Some may expand to a size which threatens the inner cohesion. Some may adopt principles of social and political organization which may sap the vitality of the members of particular groups. Some may fail to make the corrections in the political structure as a whole, necesesitated by changes in the parts. A flexible approach seems to hold the key to the solution of such intractable problems, Flexibility' rather than rigidity, catholicity rather than sectarianism, and tolerance rather than outright rejection of opposing ideologies constitute the key to a meaningful and peaceful existence in a pluralist society.

9.5 Key Words :

Ethnicity : Comprises cultural layers of habits, traits and origin which bind into solidarity the entire community which is of a particular ethnic stock.

Cultural Ethnicity : The anthropological way of defining ethnicity in terms of shared cultural values and practices.

Ethnic Stratification : The unequal distribution of financial, power and cultural resources on ethnic lines in a society.

Ethincity Group : A collectivity which is perceived by others in society as being different in terms of language, religion, race, ancestral home, cultural etc. whose members also perceive themselves as different from others and who participate in shared activities built around a real or imaginary shared descent and culture.

9.6 Check Your Progress

Q.1. What do you mean by the term Ethnicity?

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Q.2. Give the meaning of Ethnic Group?

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Q.3. What is Ethnic Stratification?

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RACE- AS A FORM OF STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

10.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   Know Race as a form of Social Stratification

(ii)   Know determinants of Race

(iii) Know Races in India

10.1 Introduction

The placing of the term 'race in inverted comes is now seen by some sociologists as a useful way of indicating that this manner of categorizing individuals and population groups in not based on any biologically valid distinctions between the genetic make up of differently identified 'races' Racial categorization is frequently (through not always) based on phenotypical differences; that is, difference of facial characteristics, skin colour, and so forth. But these do not correlate with genotypical difference (difference in genetic make up). Nor, reputable scientific opinion now agrees, are there innate difference of personality, intelligence, and so forth, between populations categorized on either of these bases. The sociology of race is largely concerned with examining the causes and consequences of the socially constructed division of social groups according to their so-called race, regrades of whether this is legitimated by reference to any of the above factors or none of them (as, for example, in the case of anti-semitism).

10.1.1 Meaning:

The terms 'race is often used loosely to indicate groups of men differing in appearance, language or colour. To same, race means a nationality (the German race), or all of humanity (the human race). Some even 'define' race as the group which is mixed in nearly all aspects but socially designated as different.

10.1.2 Explanation :

'Race' is scientifically defined as a group of people possessing the same biological inheritance, identified on the basis of external physical characteristics. Thus shape of head, colour of the hair, eyes, skin etc. are same of the physical characteristics, which are taken into account in determining race.

Race is a biological concept. But in course of time, the members of a particular race develop a kind of consciousness. This race consciousness. This race consciousness becomes a sociological phenomenon and it is has an impact on social relations.

In early 19th century 'race' was equated with 'type' a category of persons of permanently distictive character. Darwin's demonstration that there was no permanent form in nature and each species was adapted to its environment by natural selection destroyed the early 19th century conception of race. Race has always a classificatory term.

The earliest classification of race was suggested by Huxley in 1870 who gave four principal types of classifications: (i) Negroid (ii) Australoid (iii) Xanthochroid and (iv) Melanochroid.

But attempts to classify mankind in a specific number of well-defined races in variably fall. No one can draw boundaries, within which all whites, all Negroes or all Mongoloids fall. Some people have mixed racial ancestry, and in modern times isolated pure races are very few. Lastly from the biological point of view, all races of men originate from the same trunk. These views have been upheld by the UNESCO committee of experts on Race problems. J.B.S. Haldane in his report said, "Race is a group which shares in common a certain set of innate physical characteristics and a geographical origin within a certain area."

Races may seem to be easily distinguishable, but the concept of 'race a employed by anthropologists suffers from confusion and lack of clarity. Ralph Linton, an American anthropologist, made a three-fold classification in the The study of Man. According to him the subdivision of Homo Sapiens are breeds, races and stocks. Today breeds are encountered rather infrequently in some small primeitive tribes or in some isolated mountains, though variants exist even in such a group. A race consists of a number of breeds, which share certain physical characteristics. The individuals than those making up a breed. A stock includes a number of races, and of course its members will share even fewer characteristics.

10.1.3 Major Races in The World:

Usually mankind is divided into three major racial stocks-the Caucasoid, (or white), the Mongoloid (or Yellow) and the Negroid (or black).

10.2 Determinants of Race:-

Physical traits are examined to determine the race but sometimes it becomes difficult to tell whether the differences of traits are hereditary or environmental. Attributes such as weight, colour, of skin etc. can be definite as well as indefinite.

Definate :- (i) Stature, (ii) Structure of head, (iii) Structure of nose (iv) blood group (v) Length of hands and feet, (vi) perimeter of chest.

Indefinate :- (i) Colour of skin, (ii) teseture and colour of the hair, (iii) structure and colour of the eyes.

However, there is no one trait which can be regarded as fundamental. It can also be noted that within the same race, there may be variations of physical traits, or the people of two different races may possess similar physical traits.

10.3   Races in India

Sir Herbert Risky classified the Indian population into seven racial types.

There Fundamental races:- (i) Dravidian, (ii) Mongoloid, (iii) Indo-Aryan.

Four Secondary races :- (i) Cytho-Dravidian, (ii) Aryo-Dravidian (iii) Mongolo-Dravidian (iv) Pre-Dravidian.

Though one of major social stocks, the Negroid was not present in Risley's classification, J.H. Hutton is of the view that Negrito were the orginal occupants of India.

The latest classifications of the Indian people are made by Hutton, Guha and Majumdar.

Guha lists six main races, with nine sub-types :-

1.   The Negrito

2.   The Proto-Australoid

3.   The Monogoloid

    (a) long headed

    (b) broad headed

    (ii) Tibeto - Mongoloids

4.   The Mediterranean :

    (i)   Palaeo-Mediterranean

    (ii) Mediterranean

    (iii) Oriental type

5.   The Western Brachy cephals :

(i) Alphnoid

(ii) Dinaric

(iii) Armenoid

6. The Nordic

Guha has summed up his conclusions specifically as regards the racial composition of tribal India in 1952 as follows:-

(1) The kedar, the Irula, and the Paniyan of South India, with frizzly hair, have an undoubled Negrito strain.

(2) The tribes of Middle India belong to the Proto-Australoid group.

(3) The Brachycephalic Mongoloids of North-Eastern India, with typical features of the face and the eye.

(4) A slightly different Mongoloid type with medium stature, high head and medium nose living in Brahmaputra valley.

Majundar disagreement with the support of an ancient Negrito-Strain theory. The Negrito, according to him, is no doubt domiciled in southern Asia, but judging from the tribal population of India today, there is certainly no weighty evidence in support a Negrito racial stock in India.

10.4   Culture and Race:

Difference in physical characteristics among people belonging to different races are often confused with differences in culture and behaviour. We here, for example, of Jewish race, Negro race, Aryan race etc. When the term 'race' is used in the manner, it combines as set of unrelated features, such as physical charactersitics, language religion, cultural traditions and behaviour patterns, which differentiate a given people from others. Further-more there is invariably an implicit value judgment in this sense of the term.

Some races are regarded as being naturally and inherently superior to the others. This is a wholly fallacious view. There is no necessary connection between race, language, culture and nationally. Racial features are largely determined by genetic and biological factors, whereas culture and languages are learn, acquired, and transmitted through training and education.

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Race prejudice is based on false and irrational premise. In fact racism has proved to be one of the most dangerous myths of modern times. Hitter's belief in the superiority of the "German race" led to the most of apartheid in South Africa was an expression of the ideology of racism.

10.5   Let US Sum Up

Sometime rather separated from these theoretical debates (though also generated by and contributing to them) there are a wide range of empirically grounded socio-logical inquiries - by for the best of which are by American Sociologists. There include of racial discrimination and disadvantage; the politics of 'race' and the impact of state policies on racialized minorities, and the distribution, concentration, and seg-regation of minority populations - especially in housing and labour markets. Examples here might include Lee Rain water's excellent (through controversial) study of Black families in a federal housing project (Behind Ghetto walls, 1970); Howard schuman's survey of Racial Attitudes in America (1985); and Black Men, White Cities (1973); Ira katznelson's comparative study of the political responses to Black migration to the Northern cities of the United States and in the United Kingdom. The best summary of the evidence for Britain is David Mason's Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain (1995).

So, Race is a troublesome concept, far it has no generally agreed upon meaning. In popular image race may mean all of humanity (The human race"), a nationality (the "German race") or even a group which is mixed in nearly all respects but socially designated as different (the "jewish race"). Almost any kind of category of people may be called a race.

10.6   Key Words

Amalgamation :   Biological interbreeding

Assimilation :   The fusion of two or more cultures so that they become one.

Discrimination :   A practice that treats equal people unequally; limiting opportunity or reward according to race, religion or ethnic group.

Ethnic Group :   A number of people with a common racial and cultural heritage

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which sets them apart from others.

Genocide : A deliberate effort to eliminate an ethnic group by slaughter, expulsion or destruction of the group's cultural heritage.

Hominids : One of the species consisting of early humans and / or their ancestors.

Integration : Condition where all racial and ethnic groups can equally share economic and cultural life a society.

Neanderthal : Race of prehistoric people who lives between 60,000 and 30,000 years ago.

Race : A group of people some what different from other people in a combination of inherited physical characteristics, but the meaning of the term is also substantially determined by popular social definition.

10.7 Check Your Progress

Q.1. Describe Race as a from of social stratification

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Q.2. What is the difference between culture and race?

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Q.3. What are the determinants of Race?

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WEBER'S THEORY OF STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

11.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i) Overview

11.0   Introduction

With reference to Weber's theory of social stratification there are certain basic and important questions that often arise and need to be discussed. These pertain to the source of Max Weber's theory of social stratification, his use of the concepts like class, status, power and party and the difference it has with other alternative approach (e.g Marxist). In fact the latter is important in order to understand Max Weber's approach.

11.1   Overview

There is a general tendency to perceive social class as a Marxist category as Marx

is believed to be the creator of class analysis. However, there has also been shift even during the times of Marx to view social class an important category in social stratification but determined not purely on economic basis. Max Weber was the one who remains very near to Marx but also differs from him. Anderson in his work, "Political economy of social class" argues that both Marx and Weber differ from each other on the basis of their basis approach to the understanding of social class. Marx's two classes and even multiple class model is based on single factor-economics. Whereas Weber's model is "multidimensional" and takes into consideration not only economic but also social class, status honour and political power dimensions significantly affecting social stratification. The closeness between the two also remain due to two factors: first, according to Weber, property and lack of property are very significant in explaining class and social stratification as these two are basic and character of all class situations. Second, the factor which creates class or helps in the emergence of class or helps in the emergence of class unambiguously is economic interest.

However, Weber makes significant departure from Marx's position' by introducing the concept of class situation in market situation. It is infact this aspect which enables Weber to make distinction between: (i) property classes; (ii) the working class whose labour is directly exploited by the capitalist; (iii) those who offer services; and (iv) acquisition classes which expand due to the tendencies within capitalism. This class is composed of merchants, bankers, financiers, entrepreneurs, professionals etc.

This way one can discover many points of convergence and departure in the theories of social stratification propounded by Marx and Weber. There are many more such points in various dimensions of Weber's theory. However, it is significant to begin with the basic source of Weber's theory of stratification. Max Weber draws considerably from Karl Marx's theory of social class to explain social order. Weber begins with the concept of power because in any given society, power is basic in the determination of distribution of social honor., As such a "social order" for Weber is the way in which social honor is distributed in a community, between typical groups participating in this distribution. "Besides social order there also exist two other types of orders: (i) economic order and (ii) legal order. It is argued that the social order and economic order are not identical. But the combination of the two has relation and similarity with legal order. As far as social order is concerned it is to a greater degree conditioned by economic order and therefore reacts

upon it. Power is central in the whole context. It involves opportunities, number of men, realizations of one's will, communal action for power and also to resist the communal action of others. All this happens in a situation of interaction. This is further obvious from the definition given by Weber.

According to him "power means the chance of a man or number' of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action." This has number of implications for the human society: (i) Power is significant aspect of social relationships; (ii) Power is held by one group in relation to others and not in isolation; (iii) Those who hold power do so at the expense of others; and (iv) The concept of power represents the phenomenon of constant sum or zero sum situation. This mean that power is not absolute, it is shared and limited. It also implies that holding of power by one group results in deprivation for the other. It is with regard to this dimension of power that Weber refers to constant resistance put up I by other group involved in the struggle for acquisition of power.

However, a question arises what is the nature of power? Whether it is economic or political power? Weber maintains a distinction between economic power and power i.e. political as such. To defend his classification, Weber argues that emergence of economic power may be the consequence of the power existing on other grounds i.e., power existing in the form of party power i.e. organized political party striving for power. According,' to Weber, "man does not shive for power only to emich himself economically, Power; including economic power, is usually desired for its practical: utility and valued for its own sake. Very frequently the striving for power is conditioned by the social honor it entails. It is therefore suggested that economic power by no means is a recognized basis of social honor. Indeed, social honor may be the basis, of economic power or political power:'

After explaining social order and the centrality of power in the social order, Weber proposes 'classes, status groups and parties as important phenomenon of the distribution of power within a community. According to Weber, there are three basis of identification of class as well as constitution of a class. First, when a group consisting of a number of individuals has in common specific causal component of their "life chances,' it implies that there is one common factor which determines the life chances for all the members of a

group. The common factor is economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income under the condition of commodity and labour market. The latter means class situation in which individuals are placed in terms of the chances they have in relation to the supply of goods, external living conditions and personal life experiences. The chances are determined by the amount of power possessed by one to dispose of goods or skills in the economic order. Weber therefore explains class as "a group of people that is found in same class situation in the market situation."

The point Weber emphasises is that classes develop in market economies in which individuals compete for economic gains. Sharing a similar class situation also implies that by virtue of being placed in similar class position the individuals are able to gain similar rewards. The logic of Weber's concept of class in the form of a logical equation is: Similar Class situation = Similar chances in market situation, hence similar life chances. A class status i.e., a given state of one's being in relation to (i) provision or goods (ii) external conditions of life, and (iii) subjective frustration' or satisfaction.

A question of considerable relevance arises here 'what according to Weber creates different class situations in an economy and which has its implications for the emergence of a specific type of (a) class structure and (b) relationship between different class? It is argued that in a market situation people belonging of different strata come and compete with each other for the purposes of exchange. The differences which people have among themselves determine their differential life chances. What is significant to note here is the "property" and "lack of property" which matters. In the competition for scarce goods, the non-owner of property are automatically excluded. Therefore, in the situation of exclusion of non-owners, the owners monopolize the opportunities. The implication of such a situation location of two distinct and basic categories of class situation i.e., propertied class and non-propertied class.

Furthermore, there are indeed very significant differences within these class categories i.e. a property class may be highly differentiated from within and therefore differentiation in terms of opportunities and also in the determination of class situation. It is further argued that differentiation depend on: (a) Kind of property that is usable for economic returns, ownership of domestic buildings, land, productive establishment etc. and, (b) kind of services which can be offered in the market, e.g., the one who advances capital as credit etc. According to Weber, it is the control over different combinations of consumer and capital goods i.e., means of production capital funds, market abilities etc., which create

different class statuses.

Along with the said categories of classes there also exist other categories of classes in a society. One of these classes is called positively privileged property class. The positive character of this class is determined on the basis of the significance that it has for itself. For example, (a) Its members may be able to amonpolize the purchase of high priced consumer gods; (b) They may be able to pursue systematically a monopoly policy in the sale of economic goods (c) They may monopolize opportunities for the accumulation of property through unconsumed surpluses; (d) They monopolize executive position in business; and (e) They may monopolize advantageous kind of education as these involve lot of expenditures. Furthermore, being privileged this class lives on property income which can be in the form of : (a) property rights on human beings (e.g. slave owners); land ownership; control over mining; property as creditors in loan relationships which can consist of domestic animals, grain or money; they may live on income from securities.

There is a negatively privileged class also with respect to property. With regard to non-property owning class Weber argues that they are the ones who offer their services in the market situation. They are differentiated on the basis of kind of services they offer. As such they can be classified: (i) objects of ownership which implies that- they are not free; (ii) they are outcasts i.e. proletariate (iii) debtors- those who are often under debt: (iv) the poor ones. What distinguishes both the classes from each other is the MONOPOLY over scare goods- it is the key concept used in highlighting the market situation as well as the process of distribution.

Besides the said differentiation and existence of different class categories the class formation also refer to another distinct category which can be designated as acquisition classes. The character of acquisition classes represents agglomeration of many: as some of these groups have all sorts of property along with their marketable abilities through training. It may also consist of entrepreneurs 'who simply offer their services. They represent themselves by virtue of being positively privileged: On the other hand, one, can find even some groups of proletariat who come in by virtue of their negatively privileged: position.

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Acquisition classes are very significant in determining class differentiation due to two factors : First, the tendency towards monopolization of the management of productive enterprises in favour of the members of this class or business interests; and second, this class tends to secure itself economically. Therefore, it exercises influences on the economic policy. Even within acquisition classes there are two distinct class situations: (i) Positively privileged acquisition class represented by: merchants, ship owners, industrial and agricultural entrepreneurs, bankers, financiers, members of liberal professions etc. and (ii) negatively privileged acquisition class who offer their services skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers etc.

In the entire-discussion, one factor seems to be of central significance i.e., the "economic interests in relation to market situation". Accordingly, there are two possible issues needing careful consideration: (i) Does realization of class interest lead to the feeling of the actors for some type of communal actions? (ii) Can antagonism arising in the situation of competition in market situation lead to class struggle? In case yes, then what type of class struggles can be there? Weber himself has answered these questions. In the context of first, Weber has argued that inspite of the fact that class is created by economic interest, the concept of class interest is ambiguous. The reason being that when class situation and other conditions remain the same, the individuals are likely to pursue their interests in a variety of ways, especially in view of their abilities to carry on the task. Similarly, even when he is pursuing his interests by sharing these with others (under a trade union) he may pursue his interests independently. Moreover, the rise of a particular type of communal action from a common class situation is not a universal phenomenon.

The class situation may have various constraints as far as generation; of similar type of mass reactions in a society are concerned. As a matter of fact, there can also emerge an amorphous kind of communal action which may simply be confined only to some type of moral disapproval of certain acts e.g. workers may not approve masters conduct. The rise of communal or societal action, in general is linked with other cultural conditions of human society. Different life chances by no mean' give birth to what may be described as communal action.

One of the reasons is that most men in the same class situation regularly reach in mass actions tangible to their economic situation and in the direction of those interests that are

most adequate to their average number. The communal action that causes class situation is not an action between individuals belonging to that class but with members of different classes. Here communal action will be seen in terms of what determines class situation. In this context, labour market, commodity market and capitalist enterprises are communal action. The latter is organized in a capitalist market. The legal order that protects the possession of goods and power of individuals is also a form of mass action. The possibility of a conflict that Marx envisaged however does not exist in Weber's frame of reference. The reason being that property based differentiation is not dynamic. It non-dynamism can be understood in terms of no class struggle of the Marxist kind. Weber argues on this by referring to human history in which both the property and non-property classes have been living side by side empirically without any possibility of class struggle.

Apart from power which is central to social order and social classes the status groups constitute the third basis social stratification. According to Weber, "Status groups are not classes". There are "communities" and very often of "amorphous kind" i.e. we cannot describe the kind of structure they have. One's status situation rests upon every typical component of the life of men that is determined by a "specific positive or negative estimation of honours". The status honour can be derived from various things such as : (a) The specific quality shared by a plurality of individuals; (b) It can be a part of the class situation; (c) Prestige derived from a mode of living or style of life; and (d) Family hereditary prestige or an occupation.

It is also argued that property (an important content of class situation) is not always the basis of a status group or honour that can be enjoyed by a group of individuals. However in the long run it may be important. But the importance of property in the long run important however does not make class and status honour stands in sharp opposition to the claims which can be made on the basis of possession of property.

Both the property and propertyless can belong to the same status group with very intelligible or perceptible consequences. For example; the unequal status enjoyed by boss and the subordinate in the sphere of economic activity and the same status of the two persons while playing soccer together in the field. In certain societies like (USA) the economic inequality may not be reflected in the playing field or even in the grocery store buying similar goods though having different class situation. It is in this sense that both

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property and property-less can belong to same status. The sociological implication of differential estimation of status honour in a society can be seen in terms of creation of social stratification which can also be understood in terms of differential social power which it accord to the person enjoying certain status honour. It is further argued that status honour is expressed by the fact that with each status honour a specific style of life is expected from all those who belong to that circle (in the case of class it was life chances).

The following of a specific life style has various social implications There are: (a) Social closure is restrictions on communal relationships (except for economic activity); (b) Endogamous closure through restrictions on connubial relations; (c) Agreed upon communal action with regard, to life style; (d) There also starts with all above the process of development of status; (e) After a group lives with a particular life style for considerable length of time there is some granting of legal privileges; and (f) Achievement of stability of the social order by virtue of a stable distribution of economic power.

It is also argued that in the process, status hierarchies develop to the extent that higher status groups successfully operate mechanism of social closure to keep out those below them. The significant factor to note here is that a style of life with its associated expectations has a consequence in terms of development of a stratified social order. Weber argues that stratification by status is also closely linked with monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities. For example: A group may be entitled to the privilege of reading scriptures and others may not be as was the case of Indian society in which the Brahmans and Untouchables because of differential social status enjoyed different privileges. Under the feudal order, the Lords were entitled legally to have control over serfs, privilege' not existing with other status groups in the feudal order. The monopolization of ideal and scarce goods and services was also understood in term of a specific convention held by specific status groups.

Weber however makes one suggestion that though different yet class and status differences may interconnected. (i) Money or property plays an important role in the maintenance of certain life style. The membership of a certain status group may depend upon favourable class situation. (ii) Since style of life requires some kind of ownership. other status groups which are also occupational groups may control apprenticeship and professional training as a device to improve upon their market situation. (iii) One can also find a positively privileged

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property class to act as a status group e.g. lords. (iv) The classes also represent certain characteristics of status groups such as mechanism of closure or boundary maintenance. It is asserted that status group are capable of creating divisions within classes. Margaret Stacey's of a study findings suggested that within he manual workers class there were three status groups namely "respectable working class". "Ordinary working class" and the "rough working class". The economic factors influenced the, formation of the groups. It is in this sense Weber also talk of possibility of status groups to cut across class lines.

However, to maintain the distinction between the two, Weber argues "classes are stultified according to their relations to production and acquisition of goods, whereas status groups are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special styles of life.

Although power has been referred to in the beginning as the basis of social - stratification, a brief reference however be made to the concept party which as third aspect, also need a separate discussion. When we talk of Party (in term of Power) we have two objectives: First, power in its political context, especially with regard to political process acts as a mechanism for the regulation of social relation-ships" Second, as a decisive force, power is critical value in relation to social stratification. It is argued that the action of parties is "oriented towards the acqui-sition of social power-: which influences communal social action for power. The parties exist at different levels or there different levels of parties.

The parties, as a matter of fact, may exist in a social club or may be at small city level or at the level of an association as well as the state that represent the larger political system these days. According to Weber, these max represent class or status of interests. These include a variety of associations from the mass political parties of western democracies to the whole range of pressure or interest groups, such as trade unions, professional situation or status situation.

It is important to state here that the parties get their following from either class situation or status situations. But these situations may not be purely class or purely status or parties. The means of attaining power may vary from naked violence of any sort to canvassing for votes with of course subtle means: money, social influence, the force of

speech, suggestion etc. The sociological structure of parties represents variations. These may be according to the kind of command action which they struggle to influence. The parties differ in accordance with the pattern of stultification in a society i.e. statuses or classes. Finally the mode of domination - ancient, medieval or modern parties is very important in determining the social structure of parties that also enables us to know the structural forms of social domination. As such we describe parties as; anthoritarian parties: which always imply integration of ethnically divided communities into specific political and communal action socialization. The reason being that any party action is directed toward a goal a party has is acquisition of political power.

11.3 Let Us Sum Up

In view of the above discussion it may be suggested that Weber's theory of stratification is based on the assumption that class, status and party as exclusive categories stratification in human society. Apart from exclusiveness of the three. Therefore their inclusiveness in determining social stratification can not be ruled out.

11.4 Key Words

Class : According to marxe, Classes are groups of people who are distinguished from each other due to their ownership or control over the means of production or lack of the same,

Class Consciousness : A class that is conscious of its distinguished position in the social esteem. Weber tried to show that status cuts across class barriers :

11.5 Check Your Progress

Q.1. Define Class?

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Q.2.   Describe weber's views on classes and life chanches.

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Q.3.   Outline some of the similarities and differences between weber and marx so far
       as their views on social stratification is concerned.

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FUNCTIONAL THEORY OF STRATIFICATION - TALCOTT PARSONS

STRUCTURE

12.0   Objectives

12.1   Introduction

12.2   Overview

12.3   Let Us Sum Up

12.4   Key Words

12.5   Check Your Progress

12.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   What this theory states.

(ii)   The importance of the theory in understanding society.

(iii) Factors accounting for differential valuation.

12.1   Introduction

Talcott Parsons, an American sociologist, developed a structural functional perspective for the understanding social stratification through" an essay entitled, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification". This theory was primarily concerned with various determinants or constituents of social stratification. According to him, social stratification meant differential ranking of human individuals who compose a given social system and their treatment as superior and inferior relative to one another in certain socially important respects. In his explanation" Parsons conceives ranking as fundamental in the formulation of a theory" He argues

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that ranking is one of many possible according to which individuals may be differentiated. The latter is significant as it involved Some type of relationship of superiority and inferiority and indicating the relevance of ranking in social ordering. The differentiation in a society arises due to the differential evaluation in the moral sense of individuals as units. For instance, moral superiority is an object of a certain empirically specific attitude, quality of respect. Its antithesis will amount to indignation. Thus moral evaluation becomes central criterion of ranking.

12.2   Overview

In order to explain why ranking for social stratification is necessary and importance social stratification in the society. Parsons refers to his "theory of social action" which according to him readily provides only answer to the questions related with ranking and social stratification On the first place, Parsons views "moral evaluation as a crucial aspect of action of the phenomenon of "normative orientation", Secondly, the human being constitutes the main units of complete social systems. Since both- individual as units and moral evaluation, are essential to social system, by implications, the individuals are evaluated as units and not in accordance with their qualities, acts etc.

According to Parsons, in any given social system, there exists an actual system of ranking in terms of moral evaluation. There is an integrated set of standards (normative order) according to which the evaluations are made. Since, the integrated set of standard constitute a normative pattern, the actual system does not correspond exactly to the pattern. There may arise a question that when the evaluations are made in accordance with the integrated set of values then why the actual system does not correspond with the pattern. Parsons makes a distinction between the two. It is argued that the normative pattern is the scale of stratification and not stratification as such. Social stratification on the other hand involves the relationships of superiority and inferiority corresponding with the evaluation on moral basis. Since the scale of stratification is a pattern characterized by moral authority whose integration is based upon common moral sentiments, it is normally part of the institutional pattern of the social systems.

In view of the fact that individuals are units of the social system a question of vital

significance arises as to what is the relation of the individual actor to the scale of stratification. According to Parsons, from the point of view of the theory of social action, "the actor is a goal directed entity". It is important because one aspect of it is the orientation of the actor vis-a-vis moral desirability of these goals. It is also suggested that it is not only the goals but to Parsons the status of others, their attitude towards the actor and things covered under these goals and their relationship with the actor are of great significance. An actor is, to a significant degree an integrated personality. It therefore follows that the things he values morally are also the things he desires as sources of his affections or satisfaction.

With regard to the importance of moral sentiments in action, with the given fact that action is directed towards goals generally implies that the normal actor has moral sentiments towards himself and his acts. As a unit, the actor is not an isolated "entity" and as a , part of social system he is integrated to certain extent with other I actors who are also constituent units of the social system. There is a tendency on the part of all to share basic moral sentiments-this implies that (i) all adhere to common values; (ii) they approve the same normative patterns of conduct; (iii) since they share common values and approve certain type of behaviour pattern, they become important to anyone in the social system. Following the existence of such a scale of stratification, there is often moral approval to different roles individuals acquire through differential orientation to various goals pursued by them. Since the society is morally and institutionally integrated all the units or actors within the society are governed by generalized patterns.

After having explained the relationship, the individual actor has with scale of stratification, Parsons argues "action in a social should, to a great extent, be oriented to the scale of stratification, is inherent in the structure of social system of social action". He further admits, "though this fact is constant, the content of scale, the specific criteria and standards, by which individuals are ranked is not uniform for all social systems but varies between wide-range".

In view of the fact of differential ranking of individuals in moral terms, Parsons builds up a classification of the socially significant respects in which individuals are differentially valued. This classification in turn can be related to the classification of value systems that explains what way differential valuation is legitimate or has social approval. The following

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factors account for differential valuation: (i) membership in a kinship unit, (ii) personal qualities, (iii) achievements. (iv) possessions, (v) authority, and (vi) power. These are the conditions under which one set of qualities or performances is value more than other. Also these conditions indicate the thrust of the society whether achieving desired ends or empnasizes on need for integration and cohesion. Each one of the factors accounting for differential valuation can betaken to explain how they matter in stratification system.

(i) Membership in a Kinship Unit:

Generally the membership in a kinship unit is by birth or by way of marriage. By virtue of which there is always detrimental status shared by each member in accordance with his or her membership in the kinship system.

(ii) Personal Qualities:

These qualities are those charactelistic features of individual which differentiate him from others and which can be basis of his ranking higher than that of other: Sex, age, beauty, intelligence, physical strength etc. Personal qualities according to Parsons are not what a person does but what a person is.

(iii) Achievements

Achievements are the valued results of the actions of the individuals. But the actions of the individuals will be subjected to evaluation in terms of moral values. For acquisition of wealth: by honest doings vs. dishonest ways such as smuggling etc.

(iv) Possessions

There are things, not necessarily material objects, belonging to an individual distinguished by the criterion of transferability. For example, qualities and achievements are not necessarily transferable though sometimes and to a certain extent they may be. On the other hand, material object in possession may be the results of others achievements.

(v) Authority

Authority is an institutionally recognized tight to influence the actions of others, regardless of their immediate personal attitudes to the dissection of influence. These are exercised by the incumbent of an office or position. The degree of authority exercised corresponds

with the differential valuation of individuals in the social system.

(vi) Power

The power helps individual to acquire legitimized status and symbols of recognition. According to Parsons, power is person's ability to achieve or secure possessions. Persons who have power often do in practice secure direct recognition in the social systems.

The six elements play a significant role in the evaluation of individuals' status in the society. Parsons argues that status of the individual is not simply determined with in the framework of common valuation and the six elements. Even the scale of stratification also depends upon the amount of emphasis being laid on these categories. To elaborate this further, Parsons makes a distinction between the achieved and the ascribed status which can be made in stratification system. It may be kept in mind that Parsons did not create these categories himself but borrowed from Linton's categories. To parsons, since society carry on valuation with reference to common values, one can find certain situations in which there is some overlap between the two. For example, ascribed status is determined on the basis of birth or biological qualities like birth. But when one is to perform a certain role expected by others, the fulfillment of that role may be an achievement. This may result into certain possessions. One may inherit some authority as a result of ascription of status or authority attached to that office which one interests.

Since to Parsons the scale of stratification also, to some extent, depends upon the six elements, a question arises what shall be the type of scale in a given society? To answer this question, Parsons takes up certain holistically significant cases. He takes the case of distinction which exists between achieved and ascribed status. This distinction as said earlier, is not an invention made by" Parsons but it is the one made be Linton. With regard to relationship between the six elements of stratification and scheme of ascribed status, it is said that: ascribed status involved biological qualities like sex, age etc. but in the context of socially defined role the other elements come into play i.e. expected achievements and resultant possessions which are linked with the status through inheritance of property.

Another area where one can see some relationship between the six elements of participatory status, which partly overlap and partly cut across, is the membership in a solitary kinship unit. The membership in such groups is based on two factors i.e. birth (consangenial) and marriage

(affinial). One of the characteristic features of kinship group is that of solidarity as those form units in the system of stratification. The members are teated as equals - but by definition they may differ in terms of age and sex, qualities, achievements, authority and possessions. On account of all these differential attributes they may be differently valued to a high degree. In spite of their' differences, they are having membership of a kinship group" Their membership of the kin- group also supposes that they share something equally.

It is here Parsons introduces the concept of social class which to-him is the "group of persons., whom members of effective kinship units and valued approximately equals". In his analytical scheme, the class structure of social system, differs in two ways. First, on the basis of composition or structure of effective kinship units or the units forming the basis of class' structure. Second the criteria of differentiation between different units. The class status of an individual in the words of Parsons, "it is his rank in the system of stratification which can be ascribed to him on the basis of his kinship ties."

Another question however also arises how come the Kinship ties bind him to aunt in the class structure. Does it make general case? Parsons, however, cautions us by arguing that kinship in his scheme is not always determining individual's class status. The reason being that class status is not simply an aspect associated with kinship ties but there are other elements combined together determined class status;

After making the argument regarding his own conception of class and class structure, Parsons, who basically designed his analytical analysis in the context of American society argued that such an analytical schemes can help us understand social stratification in American society. To him, the American society's scale of stratification has three principal elements basic to it, as mentioned below: (i)   Status to a large extent is determined on the basis of achievement within an occupational system;

(ii)   Occupational systems are organized in terms of universalistic criteria of performance and status within functionally specialized areas; and,

(iii) There is relatively higher degree of "equality of opportunity this means that

status cannot simply be determined on the basis of birth or membership of kinship unit.

As far as occupational system in American society is concerned Parsons tells that it coexists with a strong emphasis upon the ties of kinship. . The values concerning kinship ties are very strong. For example, the case of members of the Fords group in the context of "absolute equality of opportunity" he says it is as also Plato talked, incompatible with any 1 positive solidarity of family. He, however, in defense of American structure, f argues that it has developed in a way that leaves a greater scope of social system for social mobility. He further argues that in a society a very complex system of mutual symbolic references operate due to which primary criteria of status are reinforced by secondary Criteria and symbols in various ways. Such possibilities within a system give rise to greater complexities and ambiguities with regarded to the application of various criteria in the system of stratification.

The 'Primary Criteria' (Personal Qualities) are the general common value system of the society and its history. These are the things which in relation to the dominant value system are status determining attributes of the individuals and which are valued for their own sake. 'Secondary Criteria' (Achievements are results of associations formed in particular historical circumstances and have come to be traditionally upheld. These are regarded as normal accompaniments of the primary criteria.

To elicit the complexities, Parsons contrasts between the two situations of ascribed status and achieved status. He argues that the latter case is different in which birth cannot be a primary criteria but it certainly provides practical advantage in securing a differential access to opportunities. Even in the face of situation of achieved status, authority is partly significant as a necessary means of carrying on occupational functions, but the authority exercised is one of the main criteria of the prestige of an occupational group. For example, authority especially, the one of office is important as the reward for past achievements. It is therefore argued by Parsons that authority and office become symbolic criteria of status because of their traditional association with achievement.

The wealth as a criteria or measure of status is very complex. It does not constitute the primary criteria seen in terms of the common value system. Like office its primary significance is as a symbol of achievements. Since, the American society has developed

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an economic system which depends upon capitalistic system it is in respect of the value of capitalism, there emerges an income hierarchy. It on the whole corresponds to direct differential valuation. Income hierarchy forms the most convenient point of reference for the determination of the status of an individual or the family. In spite of the fact that income is significant symbol it is described as dubious if) character by Parsons. The reason being that there are other factors complicating the whole system. For example inheritance of property, availability of means of making money which are of doubtful legitimacy in term of the value system.

Wealth has further significance in individualistic society in which status is ascribed. In such society, there are fairly defined standards to which people are expected to live up. The various items of a standard of living, are symbolic of status, necessarily playa primary role in relation to class status and not to the other aspects of the status of the members of a family. This follows from the fact that income is allocated on a basis of the family as a unit..

But the valuation scale of income is somewhat vague in a society. We can place a family in a status in relation to others in a rough relative manner i.e. there does not exist any definite scale. The reason being that there is a relatively broad range of the standard of living where anyone with a given minimum income can participate without having his relative status enhanced. For example, various facilities open to public i.e. hotels, the-aters, etc. which require a minimum standard of dress, mannerism and income.

Parsons views the vagueness of the above kind as functional to any social system. The rational to back up this point is that in individualistic system when the relative adventitious circumstances of economic and social situation lead to discrepancies be-tween income and occupational status as otherwise judged, within certain limits a great strain is not placed on the system. For instance, there will be a general agreement that the difference between the top range of the income earned on the one hand in business and law, in university teaching or the ministry does not accumulate measure the relative prestige of their incumbents.

Finally, another area in which the vagueness is functionally; important in American system is the institutional pattern which basis class status on occupational achievements of a man. It is not to be severely discredited. There must be considerable room for class

mobility. But this also means dispersion of the members of the same kinship groups in the class structure - which leads to unequal positions Parsons argues that "vagueness of the American class structure serves thesocial system in determination of status of individuals -in relative terms without putting much strain on the system as such.

12.3   Let US Sum UP.

To sum up Parsons theory the following points are important to remember:

1. In the most elementary sense, the basic concern of the functional theorists vis a vis social stratification in a society is the functions of social stratification in terms of its contribution to maintenance and well being of society.

2. Parsons like other theoreticians on the subject also regards that order, stability and cooperation in a society are not only essential elements of a system but are based on value consensus i.e. all the members in a society have a general agreement on what is good and what is bad.

3. The basic argument advanced by Parsons is that the "stratification system as are based on common values i.e. the individuals are the criterion of determining evaluation is subjective judgement which help in the formation of strata of social units or statues. This is similar' to the criteria adopted by Warner. It evaluated individuals in the society according to the values on which the members have consensus and on the basis of evaluations they are placed in some form of rank order. Social stratification is conceived in its valuating aspect as the ranking of individuals (units of socials systems) in a social system in accordance with the common value system. Thus those who perform successfully in terms of society's values will be ranked highly and they will be likely to receive a variety of rewards and high prestige as they exemplify and personify common values.

4.   For example : if a society places a high value on bravery and generosity - the brave individuals and generous individuals with be accorded high bank in the society. In. a society which values individual achievements, efficiency and productive activity in those societies the successful executives receive high onwards.

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The central theme of Parsons theory is : 1) It is inevitable part of human society because the society weds it. (2) Since value consensus is an essential component of all societies, then some form of stratification does result from the ranking of individuals in terms of common values. (3) There is a general belief that 'stratification systems are" just, right and proper, the reason being that they are the impression of just values.

12.4   Key Words

Value consensus   : Agreement by all members of a social system on what is accepted for all.

Functional prerequisites : Those values that are necessary for promoting order and stability and this necessary for the survival of that society.

12.5   Check Your Progress

Q.1.   Outline the functionalist theory?

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     _____
     _____

Q.2.   Describe what is value consensus. What role does it play in social stratification?

     _____
     _____
     _____

Q.3. What is Authority?

     _____
     _____
     _____

KINGSLEY DAVIS AND WILBERT E. MOORE :

Theory of Stratification

STRUCTURE

13.0   Objectives

13.1   Introduction

13.2   Overview

13.3   Two propositions of Davis and Moore's Analysis

13.4   Let Us Sum Up

13.5   Key Words

13.6   Check Your Progress

13.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   The basic propositions of Davis and Moore

(ii) Functional prerequisite of Davis and Morre

(iii) The importance of the theory in understanding Society.

13.1   Introduction :

The functionalist analysis or theory is based on the assumption that the society is an organized, stable, establised and integrated system in which most members have universal consensus over basic values. There are three premises of functionalism. First,

there is certain degree of functional unity among the constituent units. It also implies that the society is a system of integrated parts. Second, the social systems tend to be stable because they have built-in mechanism of social control. Third, the functions have universal values. Fourth, the functions are inevitable for the integrity and progress of the society. Fifth, the change in the society is gradual and agreed upon by the larger mass of the society. Finally, the integration of the society is based on the value consensus. Similarly, Parsons has given four functional pre-requisites, namely pattern maintenance and tension management, adaptation, goal attainment and integration.

13.2   Overview

The prevalence of conditions enabling a society to have order and cooperation becomes possible when each constituent unit of the society conributes towards the total system. The contribution of each part makes a society balanced and progressive in nature. The functional approach has been associated with the work of American sociologists such as Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton and Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore. Apart from Talcott Parsons, Davis and Moore propounded another theory of stratification, published in the form of an article entitled "Some Principles of Stratification" way back in 1945. This formulation had tremendous influence on sociological analysis of social stratification.

13.3   Two propositions of Davis and Moore's Analysis

There are two underlying propositions of Davis and Moore's analysis. First, no society is classless or un-stratified due to universal functional necessity of differentiation and ranking. Second, the stratification systems all over the universe are variable in terms of their form depending upon the nature of their respective social structure. These two assumptions raise one significant question that why their is universal functional necessity for stratification in human society? To Davis and Moore, the functional necessity for stratification arises on account of two factors: (i) each society has a social structure and various positions in which the society needs to place some individuals; (ii) the task does to end simply with the placement of individuals in certain positions, but the society also requires some mechanism through which the individuals are continuously motivated' to occupy some positions in the society. The basic contention of the authors therefore is that in view of the existing functionally essential positions the society must somehow distribute

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its members in social positions and induce them to perform these duties.

By implications, one can also argue the functional necessity of a society make each society to prepare itself to deal with two very significant dimensions or problems by way' of developing a policy framework. First refers to distribution of positions in the society and development of distribution criteria. Second deals with the problem of induction of individual into certain positions to perform these duties. The inducement requires certain amount of training, skill formation and socialization with projected future rewards attached with the positions. Both the dimensions have one aspect in common, i.e. motivation to individuals at two levels: (i) to instill in proper individuals the desire to fill certain positions; (ii) after the fulfillment of these positions, to instill in them the desire to perform the duties attached with the positions.

With regard to motivation there are two questions or issues emerge: (i) Why does a society require to motivate the individuals at all at one point of time? (ii) Why should a society need continuous motivation of, individuals in spite of the fact that the filing up of the needed positions had already been accomplished? Davis and Moore discuss the questions of motivation of individuals- both at a give point of time and varying points of time. They argue that (i) each system may be static at one point of time but it is guided by a continuous process of metabolism i.e. individuals come in and go out of the system in a continuous manner, i.e. they are replaced. In order to keep up the continuous supply of the individuals to fill up positions it needs continuous motivation. It is irrespective of the type of system i.e. competitive or non-competitive. The difference may be of degree and not of kind; (ii) different positions differ in tends of their requirements. This implies that different talents and skills therefore require different levels of motivation. The different levels of motivation for different positions involve differential rewards i.e. more important the position, higher the reward. The distribution of rewards for different positions creates an order or structure of rewards along with which the individuals are ranked. The operation of such a system creates social stratification in the society.

A question arises here, what does a reward mean in the context of an occupation in a given society? The reward according to Davis and Moore means right perquisites attached with or built into the positions. Since the rewards at different and unequally distributed in the society the continuity of the process of distribution creates signification in the society. The second associated question with the regard is: what sort or rewards a society

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may have for distribution among its members. The rewards often consist of two types of things: (i) things which are essential to sustain human and social life and offer comforts to the incumbent of certain position; (ii) things through which the human beings are able to derive gratifications in the from of social as well as psychological satisfaction and diversion from the routines of life. In other words, these may include extra satisfaction by fulfilling wants and desires of the incumbent of certain positions; (iii) things which help an individual in high social esteem, prestige and enhances his self respect in relation to other in the society and also makes possible ego expansion (associated with self).

Following the above explanation, Davis and Moore hold that if the rights and perquisites attached with different positions in a society must be unequal then the society must be stratified. They therefore argue that *social inequality is unconsciously evolved device by which societies make sure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons. The society must differentiate and have legitimized inequality.*

Another question arises here, what are the factors that determine differential positional rank of individuals in the society? According to Davis and Moore, in general, one can refer to a position having high reward as occupying higher status. But the positional ranking is done otherwise on the basis of two additional factors. (a) Position having the greatest importance in the society. (b) Position that requires greatest training for special talents and skills. As far as the position's importance is concerned, it is seen in talents of its function i.e. to what extent a position is important in performing certain functions which cannot be otherwise fulfilled by persons not having the talents and skills. On the other hand, the second aspect concerns the means through which one can acquire a position. The means include the time spent or sacrificed, the money and resources for the acquisition of training and talents.

The most significant question here is that how do we determine the importance of any position in tends of the functions performed by the incumbent of a particular position? This is a different question especially when we have to examine it at cross cultural level. The reason being that a position that is important in one society or culture may be less important in another. For example, relative importance of soldier in a peaceful country is low in comparison to the country

vulnerable to external aggressions and which has to in for fighting. However, two factors are very important in this context. First, the degree to which a position is functionally unique and no other position able to perform the function attached with a unique position. Second, the extent to which the other positions are dependent on the one in question. It is asserted that higher the dependency of other positions, greater is the importance of that position in the social context. Hence higher will be the position in the social structure.

It is further stated that there is differential scarcity of the personnel suitable for certain positions that are not easily attainable. Why does a society face the scarcity of certain positions? The reason cited for the scarcity is that each position (especially functionally important) requires some skill or capacity for performance i.e. an individual must have the requisite abilities to accomplish things. The requisite qualification come either through inherent intelligence as all cannot be inherently intelligent or acquire skills through scarcely available training, a functionally important capacity and resource. It implies that the availability of training is scarce as it requires resources that are not available with all the members of a society. Only few can afford to have the resources at their disposal due to the prevalent inequalities. While training is scarce the position in question must also be high. There is a detinite correlation between the two. Since all cannot get into high and scarce positions due to their limited numbers the race for getting high positions become highly competitive. Therefore the acquisition of high position depends upon the special skills and talents not possessed by others.

Following the above argument of differential scarcity of personnel and functional importance of various positions it is further maintained by these authors that in complex societies all major functions such as religious educational, political, economic etc. are performed by distinct structures which cannot be easily changeable. The distinctiveness of a structure is detrained on the basis of the dependence of others upon it. If it create mol' determination and this different positions are organized around it then the key position within this structure will be highly valued and functionally very important than otherwise.

To examine the above proposition it is important to take into account multiple functions of certain social organizations in a society. In the context of stratification, it imperative to

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see what relationships between the certain important organization's functions and stratification have been purported by Davis and Moore. To begin with, religion which is a social fact as well as a major function of any given society. One of the major assumptions regarding the role of religion held by pioneer sociologists (e.g. Emile Durkheim) and cultural anthropologists (Rad Cliffe Brown) is that the religious beliefs and rituals help in societal integration through exerting control over human behaviour and by bringing people together.

The integrating function has a very high value in the human society. In view of the purported role of religion those performing religious activities enjoy greater rewards, prestige and esteem in relation to those who do not have such a position. This is particularly the case of a theocratic society, governed by some divine law. The religious functionaries because of their position wield more power and enjoy a very high status.

There arises one important question, needing careful consideration: why do the religious functionaires not get complete control over the entire society? It is that the religious duties do not involve very high level of technical competence. Such a role is easily replaceable by anyone with little knowledge of religious beliefs and practices. The presence of priestly guild in a society can have higher status for functionaties and where these guilds are about to fall first the functionaties do not enjoy much prestige, Moreover, advancement in science and technology has lowered the status of priests.

The other powerful entity having important social functions is the government. It acts as agent of people, government officials command high respect because of the authority they have, enjoy monopoly and play very significant role in society: Organization of society in terms of law anal authority is the function of the government. It clients towards the actual rather than unseen. Enforcement of norms, arbitration of clashing interests, planning and direction to society are some of the important functions that the government has to perform. But the society is also characterized by differences and inequality. There is political inequality in terms of power and authority which also leads to inequality in other areas or cause differentiation in society. .

Davis and Moore, however, argue that there are other factors which prevent political power becoming absolute power. The number of those having political power and control are few in comparison tot he total population of the society. The rules framed and

implemented in the society are people oliented rather than self, therefore there also exist constraints on the exercise of power. The political power is dependent upon one's political office. Davis and Moore see that rulers have less power than the expected. The implication of such a system perhaps is that the government as an agency of social control also acts in certain manner that creates differentiation in the society. But differentiation remains and order for the governance of the society. Therefore, the important positions held by some people have greater power and prestige in comparison to those who are not having an access to power and privilege.

The other important functions of the society are related with wealth, property and labour. All these cause inequality in a society. It is understood that each position in a society is economically rewarded i.e. and in general the income becomes an indices of status of human beings. However, a question also comes up : Can we say that income earned by an individual while being in a position gets power and prestige in a society? On this question, Davis and Moor argue that income is not the source of power and prestige. It is the possession of capital goods that leads to inequality in the society. The capital goods are not consumer goods. These are the assets the ownership which cause differential social standing. It also means ownership which causes differential social standing. It also means ownership of light over production goods and light over the labour of others. This kind of ownership has greater significance for stratification as it entails unequal relationship.

Therefore, the major argument in the context of wealth, property and labour made by Davis and Moore states, "Unequal control of goods and service must give unequal advantage to the parties to a contract".

Technical Knowledge also performs some important role in the society with special reference to its bearing on the social structure. With regard to technical knowledge there are two situations: (a) Very high rewards in a situation of scarcity; (b) Less rewards in the situation of abundance. The systems of stratification whom a wide range of positions of technically competent persons which are associated with degree of specialization. The latter is the function of division of labour. It is argued that division of labour creates many specialties and specialists, it brings in prominence, accentuates the position of true experts like scientists, engineers, administrations. An such persons with high position in the society command high rewards. The differential reward systems also create differentiation in the society.

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Davis and Moore also discuss the issue why an over the universe stratitication system are vm-iable? There are a large number of factors (internal as well as external) affecting the stratification systems. These include the degree of specialization. It affects the tineness and multiplicity of the gradations in power and prestige. Differential emphasis based on amount of specialization e.g. polar types: specialized and un specialized result in differentiation and inequality. The nature of functional emphasis e.g. sacred vs. technical also crats variations. It is therefore mugged that the magnitude of individual differences (the degree of extent to which there exists the chance to excite values such egalitarian vs in-egalitmian, degree of opportunity mobiles vs closed or immobile societies etc. are calise differences in a society. Further more, the degree of class solidarity, the promotion of class interest e.g. class organized and class unorganized, external conditions i.e. conditions outside the system i) stag of cultural development, ii) situation with respect to other societies, iii) size of the society, etc. are all have significant being on the system of stratification. In this way, Davis and Moore provided a functional theory of stratification based on the assumption that each important function of any organization has a definite being on the social structure of human society. These cause differentiation and stratification.

13.4   Let Us Sum Up

To sum up, the following constitute the central arguments of Davis and Moore's theory of stratification:

1. Certain positions in any society are functionally more important than others, and require special skills for their performance.

2. Only a limited number of individuals in any society have the talents which can be trained into the skills appropriate to these positions.

3. The conversion of talents into skills involves a training period during which sacrifices of one kind or another are made by those undergoing the training.

4. In order to induce the talented persons to undergo these sacrifices and acquire the training their future positions must carry an inducement value in the form of differential i.e. privileged and high proportionate means to the scarce and desired rewards which the society has to offer.

5. These scarce and desired goods consists of the lights and perquisites attached to or built into the positions and can be classified into those things which contribute to: (a) substance of control, (b) humour and diversion (c) self respect and ego expansion

6. The differential access to the basic rewards of the society has as a consequence the differentiation of the prestige and the esteem which various strata acquire. This may be argued that lights and perquisite constitute institutionalized inequality.

7. Therefore social inequality among different strata exist in terms of the amounts of scarce goods and the amounts of prestige and esteem which they receive is both positively functional and inevitable in any society.

13.5 Key words

Functional Prerequisites :   Those value that are necessary for promoting order and stability and thus necessary for the survival of that society.

Function :   The part a component plays in the integration of a whole e.g. the part economy plays in integrating society.

13.6 Check Your Progress :

Q.1.   List down the functional prerequisites of Davis and Moore

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Q.2.   Explain the basic propositions of Davis and Moore.

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Q.3. The functionalists view society as an organision with various parts. Comment on it?

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MARXIAN : THEORY OF STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

14.0   Objectives

14.1   Introduction

14.2   Overview

14.3   Marx developed two models of social stratificaiton

14.4   Marx's views on social classes

14.5   Let Us Sum Up

14.6   Key Words

14.7   Check Your Progress

14.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   Marx's models of social stratifications

(ii)   Marx's views on social classes

(iii)   Transformation class in itself to class for itself.

14.0   Introduction :

To understand Marxist theory of social stratificaiton it is important to view it in the overall perspective in which Marx analysed the human society, particularly in his historical and dialectical materialistic conception of history and the, emergence

of social classes, Emergence of Marxism in the 19th centaury not only produced a distinct stream of thought on society, social relationships, various class and conceptual categories with distinct methodology i.e. dialectical materialism and historical materialistic analysis of history, but also led to the division of the total world into two camps or blocks - the socialist and capitalist. Marx's social thought and vision of society is called socialist social structure, It is based on the assumption that all the resources are socially owned. It emanated from Marx's quest for how to undo the suffering of the poor in a society - a society which is just not static but always in the process of evolution - which he explained in one of works - historical materialism.

It Was the "idea of whole man" that made him to theorize a model of society based on distribution system, During his times, Marx saw that after the industrial revolution and the capitalist method of production at the turn of eighteenth century, the fragmentation of man through the process of division of labour, mechanization, exploitation and commerce had become the fundamental basis of social organization of European Society.

14.2   Overview

Although the process of differentiation and social stratification is historical in nature but there are phases of differential degree of intensification of these processes," The process of social stratification certainly intensified with the advent of industrialization in Western Europe. What emerged a consequence were: (i) Division of Labour, specialization on parts and then fragmentation of man, as a specialist of part than the whole; (ii) Turned man into an appendage of machine in the process of automation and mechanization: (iii) The resultant exploitation deprived man from the fruit of his own labour: and, (iv) Commercialization made every thing weighed in terms of value. In the process, even labour could not escape its brunt. These four points can be stated as the characteristic features of European society during the life of Karl Marx. What is important here is that due to capitalist method of production, the poor people having no control over forces of production, primarily 'infrastructure, confronted certain consequences. Friedrich Schiller writes: (i) Enjoyment was divorced from labour: (ii) the means from the end: and (iii) the effort from the reward. Besides the said, the man found himself everlastingly chained to a single little fragment of the man found himself everlastingly chained to a single little

fragment of the entire system of production. Though complete in himself but develops into a fragment within and: everlastingly the monotonous sound of the wheel that the man has been turning for producing goods has been affecting his ears. Due to which he never develops the harmony of his being. Instead of patting the stamp of humanity upon his own nature, the becomes nothing more than the imprint of his occupation of his specialized knowledge.

In this way, Marx found two developments taking place simultaneously. First, marginalization of man from his own self. Second, fragmentation of society into distinct social formations based on the relations of production. Infact, it was in his very young age Marx saw man being reduced to nothingness i.e. an alienated being from his own self, from his relationships, even from the products he himself produced. This is what led Marx to think of a non-capitalist society-a society in which the vision of total man could be realized and man could be free from exploitation by other man.

What was exactly happening in the capitalist system of production and which is even true in the contemporary society is that: "Labour certainly produces marvels for the rich, but it produces Privation for the worker. It produces palaces, but hovels for the workers. It produces beauty but deformity for the worker. It replaces labuor by machinery, but it casts some of the workers back into a barbarous kind of work and turns the others into machines. It produces intelligence, but also stuidity and eccentrism for the workers."

The exploitation of labour is not something peculiar to capitalism. Marx believed that the exploitation of working class whatever may have been the mode of production, has always been there. In his earlier writings - Paris Manuscripts, Marx outlined existence of two social classes, namely proletariat and bourgeoisies as principal classes in any historical society. It is argued that there always been two inevitable situations for human beings essential from the point of view of the production of social life. First the relations of production are independent of man's will and indispensable for man's existence. Second relations of production corresponding to definite stage of development of material forces of production.

Both the relation of production and forces of production during different periods of history of human society have been the source of social stratification. The forces of production or productive forces are very vital as on these forces rests the entire super-

structure law, politics, morals, religion, philosophy and even art. The relations of production or property relations, mainly concern with the form of ownership. It is argued that property relations are directly linked with mode of production. The latter gradually change come into conflict with the existing and more static relations. To reflect on the emergence of social formations during each phase of history, Marx examines four major phases of material history.

In the primitive communism i.e. the pre-historic society with no or least developed material forces, communism was the mode of production and there were no classes. Since material resources i.e. the natural objects were gathered and hunted as common property there were no distinctions based on classes. Only elementary division between sexes existed in the society. In such a society, each member shared similar relations with the forces of production, every member was a producer and owner; all provided labour an shared equally. Such relations could be possible because of the subsistence level of economy and little development of productive forces.

Marx argues that man bring the possessor of "projective consciousness and intelligence" in the process of his interaction with the natural world or the external world expanded his imagination and transformed his ideas into reality and advanced further from his mere subsistence living. While acting upon nature he altered the existing natural objects in accordance with his needs and thus makes additions to the formation of a new order with new forces of production i.e. enters into Asiatic mode and resort to settled agricultural production. To Marx, with the emergence of agriculture as the dominant mode of production classes appear on the scene. In such an organization of productive forces less number of people can produce food for large numbers some people are freed from production process and they specialize in other tasks. In this way, from a mere subsistence level the society enters into a higher stage of development. It is argued that very act of diversification in activities augments differentiation in the form of specialized tasks leading further to specialized division of labour. Agricultural development also leads to production of surplus health. The exchange of surplus goods also results in trading within as well as between communities. Ultimately the development of private property i.e. the land in the agricultural economy and the accumulation of surplus wealth is the real cause of the development of class society.

It was in this process of development of productive forces with diversification and increasing specialized division of labour that generated two opposite classes Serfs vs. Lords, legally bound with mutual obligations. In accordance with dialectical reasoning, a method used by Marx throughout his writings, feudal mode of production was negation of promitive communism. The process has been going on. In the modern capitalist mode of production, based on profit maximization and market oriented production the relationship changed from mutual obligation to contract relationship, money wags etc. The two principal classes that emerged in this process were Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

The presence of different classes has always based on two was relationship. First, there exist relationship of mutual dependence. This is what made Marx to argue that these are indispensable and independent of man's will. It implies that for bourgeoisie as well as proletariat entering into some sort of relations of production is essential - whether they will or not, their survival is based on these relations. Second, there always arises an antagonistic interests. The reason for the rise of conflicts is due to : (i) wage labour sells its labour for the purpose of survival and for survival it must sell to the capitalist who owns the means of production. The wage labour cannot do without it as it has to for its survival. Second, the capitalist who depends upon labour for production, has to employ labour.

The emergence of social stratification is a divisive rather than an intergrative process. It basically implies division of society into different groups called social classes. A social class is not defined in terms of work functions, income or consumption patterns but by the relations it beat's with the mode of production. He therefore argued that in all stratified societies there have always been two major groups. One owning the means of production and as a matter of their ownership control and rule the society. They are called "Haves", the other class that does not own the means of production but engages itself with the means of production owned by others for the fulfillment of its needs is called "Have Nots". It only owns labour power and sells it to the Haves.

14.3   Marx development two models of Social Stratificaiton

Marx developed two models of social stratification. The first two class model as outlined in his early writings and popularly discussed as model of social stratification. The second multiple class model, which he developed later and appeared in the third volume of Das capital. The first model, a theoretical position was based in the early speculative philosophical understanding of social development. Although theoretical and speculative philosophy it is

argued by many scholars that the analysis of social class, especially with reference to capitalism, cannot be adequate without referring to Karl Marx. Lipset argued "If we were to award the title of father of the study of social class to any individual, it would have to be Marx." It is further asserted by Anderson "Marx is is a potent theoretical framework for the understanding of social class and for the entire field of political economy." There is considerable amount of social reality as Anderson made this argument while analysing the socio-historical and economic foundations of Marx's concept. Another important dimension of Marxist theory of social stratification is that it does not restrict itself to just two classes of bourgeoisie and proletariat. The social classes and the structure of stratification also due to the operation of negation of negation principle are also subjected to change.

14.4　Marx's view of social classes

Marx's view of social classes, as suggested by many was not monolithic but always involved dialectics. On ruling class he wrote that a "ruling class is never a homogenous group but consists of contradictory elements, the representatives of heavy industry, light industry, finance capital etc. These unity remains as long as their interests are held together. Similarly our issue of class consciousness is vulnerable to causing splits between different groups. Certain workers groups may reflect ruling class ideas and thereby protect the interests of ruling class rather than that of the proletariat.

It is therefore suggested that the development of class consciousness is dialectical and contradictory in structure. Marx himself states that working class consciousness is not a given datum but is created in struggle, struggle can take many forms, from trade union and strike activity to direct political confrontation between the (a) Ruling, and (b) Oppressed Class.

There is ongoing struggle between these two classes that determines the relationship between men. Why does struggle arise? The struggle arises because (a) the ruling class not only controls the means of production but (b) also the moral and intellectual life of the people. The reason for such a control is that the super-structure i.e. law, government (politics), art, literature, science and philosophy: all serve more or less the interests of the ruling class.

On the initial stages the classes act in corporation with each other. However, with the beginning of struggle the process of unification of class begins which transform the character of the class. Subsequently there is emergence of two distinctive categories of classes: (i) Class is itself, (ii) Class for itself. What is meant by these two categories? A class in itself is one in which (a) various strata, although engaged in dissimilac work activities, (b) are united by their broad social and economic ties, (c) being united objectively form a class against capital, (d) but remains in non-conscious of the antagonistic relation with an oppressing class.

A class for itself means, a class in which the members have become (a) profoundly aware of their objective, conflictive connection with another class thus; (b) develop the appropriate consciousness and (c) action necessary to defend its interests (It may be noticed that it is not only proletarial but also bonsgerisic which becomes class for itself).

These two distinctive forms of classes arise in the process of continuous engagement of the collectivity in the given mode of production. To Marx, man's position in the production process provided the crucial life experience which eventually determines the beliefs and actions of the collectivity a aggregate (here means group). The experience is gained necessarily in the process of making living with special relation to economic conflict.

It is associated with changing material conditions of life. What facilitates transformation of class in itself to class for itself. According to Marx, there are a number of variables which facilitate the process in which class transforms from class in itself to class for itself. (i) Conflicts over the distribution of economic reward between the classes. (ii) Easy communication between the individuals in the same class position- helps in the dissemination of ideas and action programmes. (iii) Growth of class consciosness- members of the class have sense of solidarity. Understanding of their historic role in the production of material constitutions of life. (iv) Dissatisfaction of the lower class over its mobility to control the economic structure- which itself builds but gets exploited and becomes a victim of that i.e. the growing miseries. (v) Organization of class into a political party because of economic structure, historical situation and maturation of class consciousness. In this context, Marx writes the Poverty of Philosophy that an oppressed class is vital condition

for every society founded on the antagonism of classes.

The emancipation of oppressed implies creation of a new society. This can be possible through the destruction of the existing relations or production. Among all the productive installments, the most powerful is the revolutionary class itself. It is here that the boundmies between the classes become significantly obvious. Marx argues that it is only in such a situation that a class can only be identified both in terms of property ownership or non-ownership and thus the degree of control over, or subservience to, exploitation and the degree of personal freedom that the members of a class enjoy.

It emphasizes the economic relation between the mode of and relations of production, and the subjective awareness by the worker of his freedom., his sillimanites with other workers and the authority and power of a dominant class. There is conjunction of two subjective ad objective conditions which create class consciousness. So far', especially in view of the assertions made by Marx in his earlier writings, we have been treating mode of production at a given point of time as a homogenous category or having homogenous structure. But in view of the logic of dialectics the development of mode of production is dialectical i.e. each society contains within in survival or previous mode of production, residues which strike at the heart of pure class model.

The two class model advocated by Marx in his earlier writings should not be takes as find because Marx himself in his later more scientific and historical work repudiates this too simplistic class model. In the historical study "The eighteen the Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Marx makes distinctions between the number of groups. (i) financial bourgeoisie, (ii) industrial bourgeoisie, (iii) petit bourgeoisie, (iv) proletmiat, (v) landlords and (vi) free farmers. In other studies of France and Germany he notes classes like: (i) Bourgeoisie, (ii) petit bourgeoisie, (iii) farmers, (iv) peasants, (v) serfs (vi) agriculture workers, (vii) Lumpen proletariat, and (viii) feudal lords.

14.5   Let Us Sum Up

The foregoing discussion of Marxist theory of stratification reveals two distinct models of stratification. The first Two class model based on the earlier writings of Marx can be stated as a static model which he believed a historical social reality. The second model which contains several classes refers to the dynamic model of stratification which comes

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into being due to the changes that occur in the economy and structure of the society in which the principle of dialectics plays an important role.

14.6 Key words :

Conflict Approach :   The approved in which stratification is seen as a result of two opposing classes. The class which owns means of production exploits the working class.

Capitation :   The system in which there are owners of the means of production and the workers. This leads to an exploitation of the latter by the former.

Egalitarian :   The principle that each individual must have equal status and opportunity.

14.7 Check Your Progress :

Q.1 Write down Marx's ideas on the division of labour.

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Q.2. Describe what is the meaning of class according to Marx.

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Q.3. Describe the concept of class - consciousness.

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RALF DAHRENDORF'S THEORY OF STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

15.0   Objectives

15.1   Introduction

15.2   Explanation

15.3   Concept of power

15.4   The difference between Marx's conceptions of capitation and that Dahrendorf.

15.5   Let Us Sum Up

15.6   Key Words

15.7   Check Your Progress

15.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   The Functions of conflict

(ii)   Dehrendorf's theory of capitatism

(iii)   The difference between Marx's Conception of capitation and that of Dahrendorf;

15.0   Introduction :

In the middle of twentieth century, as is always the case in the history of human society, a paradox emerged between the on going philosophical theorization of social

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processes and social reality on the one hand and the increasing failure of the emerging theoretical paradigms to solve the problem of human society on the other. Marxism, a philosophy and a methodology emerged as an alternative doctrine that not only challenged the conservative and idealistic ideas but also offered a scheme through which the emerging contradictions of the human society could find a reprieve. The latter was to occur in the form of a revolution putting an end to exploitation of the working class by establishing a communist society. However, the growth of capitalism did not follow the process Marx viewed as essential and inevitable. The process of capitalist development with many of its innovative policies and programmes fragmented the working class and minimized the possibility of a revolution. The conflict between the classes remained put the nature of conflict changed considerably.

15.2   Explanation

The Conflict theory, however, remained a general alternative analytical system to explain the structure of any society characterized by some form of stratification. The conflict theorists' conception of society is "an arena in which groups fight each other for power and in which the control of conflict means that one group is able. temporarily to suppress its rivals." For example, the functionalists see law sanctions or normative order essential for social unity, integration whereas the conflict theorists tend to look at law, norms, sanctions as means which the ruling class and its functionaries evolve in order to suppress the non-ruling and powerless groups.

Within the conflict school, there had, infact, been two major streams of sociological thinking. The one primarily developed as a critique of society: Among these the name of Marxism by Karl Marx and after him, Frankfurt School represented by Habermas etc. The other called Analytical School of thought that tended to see the possibility of development of positive or scientific sociology. The prominent among these were scholars like C. Weight Mills, Ralf Dahrendorf etc.

Both these schools differed from each other. The critical theorists looked at the social sciences as intrinsically forming the part of the political action and deny that fact and value can and should be separated. The analytical sociologists however, conceived such a separation as essential to the scientific analysis. 'The belief within both the schools therefore also raised the controversy regarding having   a   value   free   sociology.   The   area   of   differences,

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also important from the point of view of stratification, refers to how a society is stratified, The critical school looked at society as divided on the basis of single dimension i.e. ruling group opposed to the non-ruling and vice-versa. The analytic school does see such a division but in fewer societies. This school believes that on the whole the societies are divided on the basis of various complex dimensions, the way power and status are distributed. The power is, to analytical conflict theorists, derived from various sources and not just from one particular set of institutions i.e. property.

To analytical conflict theorists, conflict is permanent and conflict of interests is inevitable in the society. Dahrendorf, a conflict theorist is concerned with two things in understanding of society and social classes. There are general principles of social explanation that he calls theories of society, In this context, Dahrendorf stresses the primacy of power and consequent inevitability of conflict in human society. His second concern, somewhat similar to Marxism, is that how active conflict is determined in a society. One can argue that Dahrendorf is basically concerned with how the social institutions generate social groups with conflicting interests and the conditions leading to the organization and activation of groups -in conflict situations or with conflict orientation towards each other.

15.3   Powers is significant in conflict / concept of power

The underlying assumption of Dahrendorf's theory is that there is an "inherent tendency for conflict in society, for the groups with power will pursue their interests and those without power will pursue their own interests. Therefore conflict is the great creative force of human history". Power is significant in conflict. This further implies that distribution of power in a society determines the type of social structure a society has and how the distribution of power creates stratification and inequality.

Dahrendorf's conception of power is similar to that of Weber. Therefore, power means "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in position to carryout his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests". Further, his essence of power is the "control over sanctions". He argues that with control over sanctions, the people in power are able to extract whatever they want from the powerless. The powerful is able to give orders and expect obedience from those ordered.

It is in such situations that emergence of conflict between the powerful and the

powerless becomes immanent. The rational of expecting conflict is embodied in the interests of the powerful and the powerless i.e. former is always in the defence of power and like to maintain the status quo and the latter in pursuit of power. Power is a lasting source of friction in the industrial society.

The power in Dahrendorf's scheme of analysis is essentially "coercive power". This implies that the use of power is carried out even with the use of force. In other words, when the power is used against the powerless the latter is compelled to -accept the command even against one's will. Such a view makes him different from functionalists' view who see possibility of equilibrium (e.g. Parsons) and power in terms of functional imperative to the attainment of societal goals. As far as Parsons was concerned, he described it as secondary and it was delived as an ability to acquire what one wants.

Unlike the functionalist thinkers, Dahrendorf asserts that power is necessary in the achievement of goals by the large organizations. He, therefore, argues "the powerful are not granted power by the community to carry out some common will, but they grasp and use that power for their own ends". Power includes actors within a set of social relationships. This is basically what Weber argues about power. This means a situation in which the actions and/or others also matter. But there are .times when people are free to do whatever they like.

With regard to norms, Dahrendorf argues that norms do not come into being merely from social consensus (the value which is dominant aspect of functional-ists, like Talcott Parsons). Norms, in fact, to conflict theorists "are established and maintained by 'power' and their substance may well be explained in terms of the interests of the 'powerful'. One of the hard facts of any society is that 'norms are backed by sanctions'. The sanctions co-exit along with the expected standards of behaviour. But the question is who create sanctions? There is noth-ing the fact that, obviously, those who wish to maintain norms for the pursuance of their interests as create sanctions. In a way, sanctions backing norms involve control and use of power, especially the power of law and punishment. The norms that are established in a society become the ruling nouns. The ruling norms definitely also imply existence of a ruling class that makes use of the established norms to further its interests.

Dahrendorf comes closer to Max Weber when reference is made to the role of norms and their association with the process of differentiation and constructions of hierarchy. The capitalist society is seen as an extrapolation from economic to social relations. It implies an estimation of the consequences of capitalism. Marx's extrapolation of capitalism was development of conflicting relationships between the ruling and the ruled, bourgeoisie and the proletriate, the two classes that have always been in the human society. However, Dahrendorf argues that there are two basic facts, which are distinguishable from each other, characterize the industrial society. The positions and jobs are different therefore demand different skills and different jobs are treated superior and inferior to one another. These two facts indicate that in a society there is both differentiation of positions and hierarchy of positions expressed in a rank order of social status called social stratification. The latter is caused by norms. The application and operation these norms categorize certain things as desirable and others not desirable. Therefore values are also embodied in the operation of norms in the society. In other words, the normative structure in the process of development also incorporates values. The behaviour patterns envisaged by norms entails discrimination against those who do not comply to the norms. The source of norm is power. It has already been stated earlier that norms are established and maintained through power or power upholds norms. It is in the process of power playing an regulatory role that the said power becomes the central basis of social stratification in a society. In totality, it is the trinity of norms, sanctions and power that give rise to inequalities (which one can see in the form of different positions ranked as superior and inferior).

He argues that social norms and sanctions are the basis not only of ephemeral individual ranking but also of lasting structure of social positions. Sanctions are the instruments of maintaining the norms, Norms and sanctions are sustained by authority structure. This authority structure is a usage or substitute for power. In view of the assertion that unequal positions are ranked in a social order as superior and inferior to one-another, what we can deduce is that Dahrendorf talks of existence of social classes in a society which are maintained with the said three factors norms, sanction and power.

15.4 The difference between Marx's conception of captalism and that of Dahrendorf's

One very crucial aspect of Dahrendorf's concept of class is that he being a conflict

theorist he differs from Karl Marx. Infact, Dahrendorf's innovating of a separate concept is motivated by his systematic criticism of Marxist theory of capitalist society. Infact he sees that the predictions made by Marx have failed in the post-capitalist industrial society. He therefore defines class as a category for the analysis of conflict Oliented formations with systematic roots in the structure of society. On the contrary, Marx made beginning with social relations of production as the foundation of the classes. He also views classes as "aggregates of the incumbents of identical or similar positions within particular relations of authority which to him are relations of legitimate authority which are primary ill the determination class interests and class conflict within an industrial society. Unlike Marx who stated conflict between the two major social classes, Dahrendorf to the similar question and argues that social conflict takes place systematically among groups that differ in authority they enjoy over others. While defining authority, he follows Max Weber and says "by authority it means the sort of power that is attached to a social role or position i.e. legitimate in the sense of being defined and delimited by norms and backed by sanctions up to these limits". Authority in his theoretical schema operates in a dichotomous manner i.e. you have it or not your interests are formed accordingly.

Dahrendorf however affirms with Marx that conflicts involves only two sides and authority is the crucial divide. Another question that arises relates to in what way Dahrendorf view themobilization of classes in a society in relation to the conflict or one can say what is the mechanism of mobilization of classes for conflict. According to him, mobilization of classes depends upon two types of requirements: (a) Structural (b) Psychological. The structural requirements on which formation of groups depends are: (a) technical, groups, requires a leader founder, charter of ideology, (b) political nature of state is of critical value. The more liberal state provides chances of action mobilization for active conflicts. The social component of structural mechanism includes three social factors: (i) Group formation. This depends upon the concentration of members. When the members are well concentrated the process of group formation is fast. (ii) The means of communication with for better information and linkages. (iii) When the members have similar relation to authority and come from same type of families and educational organizations.

The psychological requirements include individual identification with the dominant interests associated with his position is important and real to them. In other words, development of social consciousness is essential for meeting the psychological needs of

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human individuals in a given situation.

The intensity of conflict that takes place in the society is not to the same scale as was envisaged by Marx. He visualized full-fledged war and consequently revolution in the human society. But to Dahrendorf, the intensity of class conflict is affected by a number of factors. These factors include the following situations:

(a) How far conflict is institutionalized?

(b) Degree to which people who are in position of subjugation in one association are in the same position in .the other associations.

(c) Degree to which authority in an organization is held by people who are also on top in other respects in a society.

(d) The degree of mobility from the position of subjugation into dominating positions.

The chances of conflict are affected by the fact that the structure of classes becomes somewhat fluid with the change in the nature of the capital and the industrial production with the growth capitalism. He argued that changes in the industrial society have defused the hostility and obliterated the distinctions between classes. The emergence of joint stock companies decomposed the capital and resulted in heterogenisation and embourgeoisement of labour. The latter is also called decomposition of labour through which the labour is fragmented. The emergence of new middle class constituted an important dimension of the industrial society that basically affected the power of the capitalist. The control and management of revolutionary consciousness through trade unionism, increased rates of social mobility, extension of welfare services, universal adult franchise, growing affluence and diminishing differentiation of wealth have resulted .in the elimination of class struggle.

15.5 Let Us Sum Up

To sum up, Dahrendorf's theory of stratification it may be argued that his theory provides a systematic critique of Karl Marx theory of stratification and class conflict. In his scheme, the social stratitcation is the function not only of the economic structure of the society but also involves the role of norms, sanctions and power. It is the power that becomes the real basis of stratification in the society.

15.6 Key Words

Capitatism : The system in which there are owners of the means of production and the workers. This leads to an exploitation of the letter by the forms.

Decomposition : The breaking down of a class or group into smaller groups, e.g. that of labour and capital based groups.

Function : The part a compound plays in the integration of a whole e.g. the part economy plays in integrating society.

15.7 Check Your Progress

Q.1. In which way does Dahrendorf's theory differ from that of Marx.

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Q.2. Power is significant is conflict comment of it?

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Q.3. Explain the two types of requirements which needs for mobilization of classes in a society?

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SOCIAL MOBILITY - NATURE, TYPES AND MEASUREMENT

STRUCTURE

16.0   Objectives

16.1   Introduction

16.2   Explanations

16.3   Nature of Social Mobility

16.4   Types of Social Mobility

16.5   Measurement

16.6   Let Us Sum Up

16.7   Key Words

16.8   Check Your Progress

16.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   Various types and forms of mobility;

(ii)   Nature of social mobility;

(iii) Measurement of mobility;

16.1   Introduction

Human society is characterized by social stratification that divides the entire society,

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at first instance, into a macro hierarchical order and places all the individuals differently in the vertical order high and low, depending on their evaluation and ranking. The differently placed groups in an order of high and low represent social formation such as social classes, castes, estates, ethnic and racial groups. These are also called forms of social stratification. Although these social formations constitute historical entities with historicity but these are observable and found in operation in fluid form even in the contemporary human society. Within the macro hierarchical order encompassing the entire society there are numerous micro hierarchical orders with further divisions based on the relative position, socio-economic power and the authority commanded by the individuals within the order.

In the micro hierarchical order too, the placement of individuals is carried out on the basis of ranking and rating according to the social value scale. Any change in the value scale or any movement of individuals and groups affects changes in hierarchical order as well as in the social, status of individuals. Similarly, while ranking and rating individuals differently their occupational standing, income and other attributes such as social prestige, esteem within the society enjoyed by them at different points of times' is taken into consideration. Such changes are quite visible in the human society. The members of the priestly class under monarchy or during the feudal system enjoyed high prestige. They were rated higher than the members of other social class during those, times in Europe as well as in India. Their position however started declining after the transformation of the political system from monarchy to democracy.

In the contemporary times, in the changed political and economic system the priestly class does not enjoy the similar high status as it used to be in the past. A doctor or engineer enjoys greater prestige than a priest. Likewise if a person becomes a minister from an ordinary shopkeeper, his status is also goes up. On the other hand, if the minister loses his job and comes to his old shop, the status of minister enjoyed by him is lost. It may therefore be noted that people in society continue to move up and down the status scale with the changing values scale of the society. This movement of people and the groups from low to high and high to low in a given social structure is called social mobility.

16.2 Explanation

The concept of social mobility not only indicative of the movement of people in the hierarchical order of the society but also suggests the level of unity and solidarity among

the people. Infact it is believed to be an indicator of class formation as well as dissolution of the society. Anthony Giddens argues that a society where social mobility is the minimum tends to have higher order of social solidarity. The concept are has varying connotations. It therefore also needs to be distinguished from other types of movements of people, especially movement from one place to another place i.e. migration which is a movement over a geographical space and also called spatial mobility. This movement can be from village to the town, from town to the city, from one region to another region and from one country to another country. Anthony Giddens refers to it as lateral mobility that is also geographical movement between neighborhoods, towns and regions. Since in such a movement change of geographic place, direction of change etc. is involved it is also called geometrical mobility.

16.3   Nature of Social Mobility

One of the most fundamental questions to understand social mobility is its nature. This raises the issues whether social mobility is a self caused phenomenon or conditioned by certain socio-cultural, economic and political factors or such forces embodied in the social system as well as structure of the society. In other words, another question related with the nature of social mobility is its causation. In order to understand the causation of social mobility one needs to carry out two-fold analysis. First refers to the theoretical framework that explains the process of change and the consequent transformation in the lives of people. The second deals with empirical analysis of social mobility and their underlying cases.

The sociological frameworks dealing with social change resulting in social mobility are divided into two. The first includes those theories describing change as a natural phenomenon and such a change further causes change in the overall structure of the society i.e. patterns social relationships at different points of time. The social relationships are affected due to the change that occurs in the social order, level of material development and social sentiments. It is believed that human society is characterized by social evolution. There are certain natural forces and principles that constitute the part of social evolution. It is argued that human organism constitutes the most agile being that has tremendous adoptive and adaptive abilities in relation to the environment in which he is placed. It is due to this natural ability that man has been able to live through thousands of years

adopting and adapting to the continuous changing conditions. Aguste Comte, a French sociologist, argues that there are certain natural principles or laws operating in the universe and brings about change in the society:. The development of human knowledge and mind, the emergence of corresponding material phase, social order, formation of basic social unit, sentiments and concerns proved progressive in nature and placed man in a higher pedestal in comparison to his previous conditions of existence. This is a kind of mobility that takes place during the life span of generations of human beings, sometimes noticed and sometimes un-noticed.

The other natural factor that has had bearing on the human living is the population. Emile Durkheim, a pioneer sociologist, refers to the relationship between the increase in the population and the quantification of needs in the society. The population increase is a natural factor but the process of satisfaction of increasing needs leads to division of labour in the society causing" differentiation at first instance and then leading to division of society into hierarchically arranged order. An examination of the process suggests that the obility that occurs in this process is both upward and downward. In other words, the change from the horizontal to vertical divisions transforms the society from a more or less system of equality to a system of inequality.

The evolutionary thought became a popular system of understanding changes within the society, particularly after Darwin. It was argued that there is a process of natural selection in which the fittest survives and the weak is eliminated. This idea has been widely used by the evolutionist theorists like Herbert Spencer to Talcott Parsons. The basic argument in the context of social mobility that emerges is that the biological levels create two distinct social formations in the society. One group of those who can survive healthy with greater adaptation to their environment and the other which is either eliminated due to lack of adaptability or if not eliminated survives and perpetuate malnutrition, disease, poverty etc. In the valuation scale of the society, they occupy higher and lower positions respectively. When the movement takes place between the two due to the changes in the levels of biological fitness it results in the upward or the downward mobility.

Among the evolution theorists there have been some whose analysis indicate mobility of the society as whole in a cyclic manner. Spengler, the man who coined this theory,

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argued by that human society passes through certain cycles of its birth, growth, maturity and decay. Each stage in the cycle is indicative of a social order and the composition of social order. Although Spengler does not say anything regarding social mobility as such, yet two implications of the argument are obvious. First, the changes occurring within the cycle i.e. from birth to growth, there must follow some changes in the social order as the society and its various functions and aspects expand. Second, the expansion must also induce changes in the social segments. It is difficult to say what kind of mobility might have been under such a system of change but one can certainly suggest that during the phase of growth, a progressive phase the society must have witnessed upward mobility. In the stage of maturity the social formations must have stabilized and started downward trend drming the decay period. Since according to the cyclic theory history repeats itself, the process of change not only in the society but also in the states of the human beings continues to experience upward and downward mobility.

The second includes set of theoretical positions indicating that the change is caused by socio-economic and political processes in the society that ultimately affect changes in the position of the individuals and the groups in the society.' In this context, one can refer to changes that come about in the structure, of society caused by the human action that boosts vertical movement among the social formations. The change in the nature of capitalism from industrial to post-industrial society created classes within the classes and some of the classes earlier occupying low social position in the hierarchy by virtue of the divisions earned higher social status.

There is also change of the structure of the society which completely transforms the system. The Marx's thesis of proletariat over throwing bourgeoisie infact refers to change of the structure which ultimately replace the existing social order. In the process, social classes earlier devoid of power and privileges gain heights and upward mobility. In this process the downward mobility of certain groups cannot be ruled out, especially when they lose their power and privileges.

16.4   Types of Social Mobility

The above view point suggests that social mobility and its nature does not only constitute the movement of individuals and the groups in the social scale or hierarchy but it is also connected with power and privileges. The entire issue infact involves the social

structure and the social system of the society which also get affected due to various changes occurring in the society. From the above description one can also draw an inference that social mobility is not of one type but also has multiple dimensions. This is visible from its various types discussed below.

Mobility has been classified as (i) Vertical and Horizontal mobility, (ii) Open and closed mobility, (iii) Inter-generation mobility and (iv). Intra-generation mobility.

The concept of Horizontal Mobility refers to that movement in the life of an individual during which he/she changes residence or job without experiencing any change in the social status. For instance, an any officer transferred from one place to another place in the same rank and pay or a teacher leaving one school to work in another or even a factory worker leaving one factory and joining another without affecting any change in his status. Increasing differentiation in a given organization or system of production without affecting change in the statuses of the individual incumbents can be considered another example of horizontal mobility in a society.

Vertical Mobility refers to movement up and down the socio-economic scale. Those who gain in property, income or status are said to be upwardly mobile while those who move in the opposite direction are downwardly mobile. Anthony Giddens argues that the amount of vertical mobility is in a society is a major index of its openness. It also reflects on the talents and skills in the society enabling people to move up during their life span. Since it has been argued that social mobility concern with gain and loss of social, economic and power attributes the vertical mobility therefore is also understood in major three or any of the tree areas of living: class, occupation and power involving status change. An individual's mobility, up or down is measure of how his achieved status compares with his ascribed status.

The openness of the system basically relates to the industrial system of production. It was established after the decay of the feudal system in which the labour and its movement was not free. The industrial system of production under capitalist mode freed the labour as it could move heely in the market. It is this open system of mobility that has enabled free movement of labour as well as opened up chances for social mobility opportunity for status change. It does not recognize the formal fixation of status. In such a system,- status can be achieved, mobility is

system of stratification is governed by free market economy and competition an individual is at liberty to improve his status and position. The urban conditions of life, the extreme division of labour and rapid social change has made it possible for individuals to achieve status on the basis of their accomplishments.

On the contrary, in a closed system of society or social stratification the status is based on birth or caste. Since it is ascribed by the society it is impossible to change one's caste. The ascription as a mechanism of status determination results in the creation of different degrees of status on the basis of sex, religion and caste. In such a system, those who constitute the socially favoured and enjoy power and privileges often prevent the entry of the people from the lower groups. Such a system represents a closed model of society limiting the chances of mobility. The Indian caste system is considered an example of closed system in which once an individual was born could hardly escape his caste. It is also argued that even if the change could take place it was a positional change, a movement within the strata and change of status in the overall hierarchical order of the society.

Intergenatational mobility refers to mobility across the generations or between generations, i.e. movement between two generations. It refers to how far the children have been able to transcend the occupational status of their father. Or alternatively to what extent change in the status has taken place between a father's generation and a son's generation. With the opening of the society and expansion of economic opportunities there are significant changes that have taken place between the occupational structures of two generations. This is often observed that parental occupation is generally not followed by the succeeding generations. especially in the middle level status categories. However, in the case of lucrative and high category statuses like the doctors, lawyers, businessmen, bureaucrats and politicians and other such categories the sons and daughters may follow their parents occupational pursuits. The same may also be true of low category of occupations. But it depends upon the degree of openness of the system the degree to which it allows change. In case, the son of a farmer becomes civil servant or a business executive this will be case of intergenerational mobility. With the change in, occupation, the son moves up in the ladder of social scale occupation being an important criterion of status determination. The present day industrial society is marked by inter-generational mobility.

Along with intergenerational mobility that looks into the movement across the generations, there is also concern among the sociologists to view to What extent there has also taken place change in the status of an individual- up or down the social scale. The study of such a movement in the same generation is called intragenerational mobility.

Melvin Tumin discusses structural mobility and circular mobility also. The former is sometimes called forced mobility, means movement in and out of occupational categories. Sometimes the change in the occupational structure itself results in the change in the number of individuals in those occupational categories. Such changes also come out of the change in the process of production, change of technology that makes obsolete the existing skills of the working class and replaces them, etc. Such changes also occur due to the change in the demographic structure or the demographic behaviour of certain professional classes producing less number of children.

The circular mobility on the contrary refers to that mobility which becomes possible due to the opening up of the opportunity structure and creation of new employment avenues which were not earlier open to the people. This type of social mobility is caused by the change in the nature of the political system and expansion of the civil liberties that enable the erstwhile disabled people to take up new positions. For instance the Civil War in the USA ended discrimination against blacks and opened new opportunities for them. Similarly, with the implementation of affirmative policy (Reservation Policy) for the members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes their segregation has been ended and they have been enabled to take up higher social and economic positions with power and privileges. In other words, any policy framework or any action that makes possible for the people to move into jobs from which they or their ancestors were barred is called circular mobility.

Social Mobility of any of the above mentioned types is inevitable. Although an absolute class or caste system is an impossibility, yet there are both limiting as well as liberating factors. Social change is both a natural and social phenomenon. The moment there is a change caused by natural or the social forces there is also bound to be some social mobility. Probably no society absolutely forbids social mobility and no society is immobile. If, for example, we wished to have each caste occupying the same status generation after generation a uniform rate of population replacement would have been a necessity in every caste. There is no such factor which can ensure homogenous

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democratic behaviour. It is by the law of nature that some castes expand in population while others contract. For those that expand, some new occupations must be found while for those who contract replacements from other castes must be had. Thus differences in population, increase or decrease of various castes make social immobility impossible.

Likewise geographical adaptations require social adaptations. There is a constant change 'in the physical setting of a society. As population grows, forests are depleted and fields eroded to provide more housing accommodation. New calamities and diseases appear. New economic and political developments take place. Naturally the social system must adjust itself to the changing physical conditions and such adjustment inevitably entails a certain amount of social mobility.

Further, every society allows some scope for personal ambition. Had it not been so, there would have been no progress. In every system there are different awards for different achievements and man makes an effort for that kind of achievement that is most rewarded. The belief that individuals can get ahead legitimately by their own efforts is a basis for social progress. The social scale is related to and based on .a scale of values. Any group that improves its: standards, will also improve its social status. And inevitably some groups will strive to improve themselves. Thus the very system of different values for different characteristics itself induces people to move up the scale of social status.

Henry M. Johnson lists down the following important conditions that make the social immobility impossible in a given society. The first pre-condition is the value scale of the society on which social prestige depends. When in any system certain qualities of achievements are socially valued the people tend to strive for them. There is nothing in the nature or there is no constant tendency for intelligence and other kinds of native capacity to be confined to upper classes. Historically, there are numerous instances of people from the low socio-economic background rising to the highest position in society. Since no system of production or technology is constant and under go change at varying rates of speed the changes are always occulting in the demand for different kinds of skill. Due to the changing demographic behaviour of the upper classes the prevalent birth rate of each class never exactly fills all the positions in the class.

This is interesting to note that despite the increasing inequalities that hinder equality

of opportunity in a society, a great deal of mobility continue,:; to occur in every society. This tendency in the society and the people to experience social mobility makes sociologists study it to ascertain data and information about the relative "openness" of asocial structure. As Anthony Giddens observed the greater the amount of social mobility, the more open the class structure, particularly in the industrial society. Since the industrial societies are economically more progressive, as the case has been with the developed societies of the world, it is the most important factor in determining the rate of mobility in any country. There is a relationship between economic progress and industrialization and the latter is associated with a higher rate of mobility. Ossowaski argues that even a socialist system needs economic development more than a capitalist one. Therefore, one of the immediate aims of the leaders of the socialist states was to reach the level of more advanced capitalist countries in the context of industrialization, urbanization, development of communications, and spread of mass education. All such initiatives not only implied but also ensured social mobility in socialist countries as well as elsewhere.

16.5   Measurement

Another important dimension of social mobility is its measurement. The related question arises is it possible to measure social mobility? Another associated question comes up is possible to measure the rates of social mobility i.e. the ratio between the actual and the expected mobility? In order to measure amount and scale of social mobility in an given society one needs to take into account the census data or the data based on the surveys. A ratio larger than one indicates that the occupation of the father had influence on the occupation of the son. On the contrary a ratio less than one indicates limited chance of influencing the occupation of the son.

Similarly, to calculate the amount of social mobility in a given society there are other factors that need to be taken into consideration, including the nature of social mobility which may be downward or upward. The conditions for downward mobility are when one fails to live up to the Class standards expected of him in his class. In the estimation of his class members the person falls below his class status. In India, a person may be excluded from his caste by marrying someone of another caste, especially a lower one. In the case of upward mobility there is no society that either absolutely forbids it or allows it without achievement value. However,   the   degree   of   upward   mobility   depends   upon   to

the extent a society experiences social change, social development the development of means of communication and transportation etc.

With regard to social change as a cause of social mobility. it is important to mention the historical events which made possible occupational, social, geographical mobility possible in the human society. The mobility became easy and rapid with the industrial revolution in Western Europe, particularly in Great Britain and France. The emerging conditions of rapid social change expanded the opportunity structure not only in Britain but all over the world with significantly high rate of labour movement and emergence of new occupations linked with the market economy. This made upward social mobility very high. However, during the period of economic recession, little technological or tentorial change, the opportunity squeeze that provides little opportunity for the individual to rise out of the status which is ascribed to him. It may be noted that political, economic, religious or other revolutions may produce rapid social mobility so as to reduce the upper classes to the bottom of social scale and to elevate to the top classes formerly at the bottom. However, all depends upon the extent to which different classes and groups are able exploit the emerging opportunities and also on their abilities to exploit.

Marx argued that the change of the class status depends upon the level and extent of consciousness prevailing in a society. The level of consciousness is further determined by the interaction and communication between the members of a social class. Any system that limits communication between classes and restricts knowledge of the conditions of life to one's own class tends to discourage social mobility. Conversely, a system through which members of all classes become familiar with the conditions of life in other classes helps in facilitating social mobility.

16.6   Let Us Sum Up

In view of the above discussed nature, type and measurement of social mobility briefly it may be concluded that social mobility, an upward or downward movement in the hierarchical order of the society is significantly associated with social, economic, political dimensions of the individuals and the groups. It is manifested in many ways and under varying types depending upon the nature of socio-economic and political system of the society. It may also be stated that although the measurement of social mobility is possible but no where in the world the rate of social mobility is uniform. It differs from

country to country and within countries from class to class. Even in the industrialized counties it is not uniform. Its other correlates are division of labour and sex. Both result in differential rates of social mobility.

16.7   Key Words

Contest Mobility	Refers to mobility which occurs through open competitions.
Horizontal Mobility	Refers to shifts in position in a society which does not involve movement between starts.
Intragenerational Mobility :	This is mobility which occurs within different generations of people.
Intergenerational Mobility :	Refers to mobility within the time span of two or more generations.
Sponsored mobility :	This type of mobility refers to upward status shiffs which occur due to the decision of the 'sponsor' or members of the elite group into which the individual in invited to join.

16.8   Check Your Progress

Q.1.   Distinguish between intergenerational and intragenerational mobility?

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Q.2.   Write a note on 'upward' and 'downward mobility'?

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Q.3.   Discuss briefly the concept of social mobility?

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EMERGENCE OF MIDDLE CLASS

STRUCTURE

17.0   Objectives

17.1   Introduction

17.2   Overview

17.3   Economic transformation

17.4   C. Wright Mills theoretical Schemes

17.5   Let Us Sum Up

17.6   Key Words

17.7   Check Your Progress

17.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   The concept of middle class;

(ii)   Middle classes in India and Western Countries

(iii) Politics of the middle class;

17.1   Introduction

The concept of middle class is widely used by the people in indicating their social position in the social structure in the contemporary human society. It covers people

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working in different occupations starting with low level executive to high profile managers in the corporate sector and economic organizations. In order to understand middle class, it is important to raise some small but highly significant questions. First, what does a middle class signify or mean? Second, How does a middle class come into existence? And what is its importance of the middle class in the contemporary human society?

17.2   Overview

The concept of middle class, according to Anthony Giddens signifies, "a social class ,composed broadly of those working in white- collar managerial occupations". However, the composition and the characteristics of this Class nave never been homogenous. In fact, the evolution of middle class has been from a simply observable phenomenon to a theoretical construct. Historically, each phase of evolution of the middle class corresponds with the different phases of development of human society and its economic structure. Since the knowledge about the middle class has become highly accessible the concept therefore has become more fitting for analysis.

In the initial phase of its formation and development, the evidence suggests existence of middle class, what is called as old middle class. In the pre-capitalist society, the initial stage of its formation, the number of people falling in this category has been very small. They had limited range of functions to perform in the society.

In the phase of refinement, the period during which it starts expanding is called the new middle class with a wide range of functions to perform in the society. The combination of the two phases of formation of the middle class along with its expanding functions it becomes a continuum of wide range of roles, statuses and functions. The general definition of middle class therefore explains, it as an "amorphous group" occupying a middle position between workers and the capitalist.

Ralf Dahrendorf, in his work, "Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society" discusses the concept of middle class. He argues that on the basis of the existing literature on this class one conclusion is drawn. The studies of salalied employees in industry, trade, commerce and public administration indicates "that there is no word in the modern languages to describe this group which is no group, class that is no class, and stratum which is no stratum". Despite the amorphous nature and composition of this' group it has become the most significant category   of   study   in   human   society;

According to Marx, there are four formulations on the description of middle class. The first views it as an extension of the capitalist class. The second looks at It as-an extension of the working class. The third describes it as a fragmented class and palt of it is, an appendage of bourgeoisie and the other is part of proletariat. The fourth formulation refers to it as the intelligentsia, a creator and producer of ideas. The four formulations have one common factor describing middle class is any category which stands between the capitalist and the working class.

Dahrendorf argues that the confusion and the vagueness in the definition of the middle class by Marx arises due to the reason that the latter had viewed that middle class would ultimately whether away and therefore does not remain a fact of the dynamic social structure. .Since, the middle class in its initial phase of formation has remained somewhat fluid, the initial phase of the development of the concept of middle class has been described as a phase of take of stage from where the concept has been further developed as an analytical construct.

C. Wright Mills argues that there are three factors due to which difficulties arise in the understanding of the concept of middle class. First difficulty is linked with the fluid nature of the class that makes it difficult to delimit the group in terms of its size and numbers. There are problems in defining its lower and upper limits as it includes a wide range of occupational groups- post office clerks to senior executives, doctors, engineers, etc. Along with the given there are problems involved in the cross-cultural comparison of middle classes making it further difficult to define the boundaries and the concept.

17.3   Economic transformation

In spite of the problems, the process of economic transformation has led to the expansion of this class. Dahrendorf refers to the consequences of economic transformation in terms of (i) decomposition of capital leading to differentiation between owner and controlled (ii) increasing needs of the industries for specialists at different levels of the production system has resulted in the decomposition of labour.

Given the description of middle classes as inclusive of salaried employees: from post office clerk to senior executives, etc., there arise two typical situations, First, those employees who in terms of their salaries, delegated authority and social prestige come very near to the wealthy or men who live in the house of power, Second those employees

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who are just on the bottom of the scale of the social hierarchy but still forming part of the middle class. A question arises that given these two extreme situations of existence can such differentially placed groups can be regarded as middle class. The answer would certainly be in negative, because from the point of view of the theory of conflict there cannot be any such class with extreme positions within it.   Dahrendorf, therefore, argues that the contradictions of the above kind can be resolved by way of having two theories of middle classes. The first theory espoused by Corner states that "mew middle class constitutes an extension of the old, capitalist or bourgeois, ruling class and in this sense part of the ruling class". This statement is based on the fact that in "structural terms the salaried class is characterized by the exercise of delegated authority- the authority which it has been delegated from the real position of power.

The second theory (as propounded by C. Wright Mills and others) states that new middle class though not extension of proletariat, but at any rate comes closer to the working class than to the ruling class whether capitalist or managerial. Mills argues that objectively the structural position of the white collar mass is becoming more and more similar to that of the wage based workers. Both are, of course, property-less, and their incomes draw closer and closer together. All the factors of their status position which have enabled white collar workers to set themselves apart from wage workers, are now subject to definite decline.

The essence of both the theories obviously seems contradictory. However, Mills argues that both the theories may not peacefully coexist even though they may be correct. The theory explaining salaried employees as having delegated authority and are part of ruling class obviously do not mean office boy or the sales girl or even the skilled worker having the symbolic status of salaried employee. The theory explaining that salaried employees are closer to working class does not mean senior executives, higher civil servants and professional people. The contradiction between the two theories can be resolved by employing a criteria through which we can identify which category of salaried employees is closer to working class and which one has to ruling class.

The first is constituted by the salaried employees who are part of bureaucratic hierarchy; and the second, salaried employees whose position does not form a part of bureaucratic organization. In order to make it clear it is important to understand the

conditions that are involved in the formation of the structure of the middle class. These conditions, according to Dahrendorf, mean those conditions that help the middle class to emerge as a distinct category of white-collar workers and are certainly different than the blue-collar workers. In other words the conditions follwing two distinct categories of people having distinct characteristic features.

One of these factors is Market Capacities of the group concerned. There is differentiation between the market capacities of white-collar and blue Collar workers in terms of their capacity to bargain for wages. The other distinction is the differentiation confine-ed by educational and technical qualification. This differentiation can also be seen in terms of the differences between the manual skills based on pure labour power of the blue-collar workers. These differences further lead to clear cut divergences in income and other modes of economic rewards. The differences in many respects caused by differential market capacities, there occurs a division in the forms of non-manual vs. manual workers.

Historically, these differences in rank sub-merged in the Great Britain and United States during the World War I and the subsequent war. But these were re-established and therefore the differences have continued to exist. The reasons that account for the differences are:

a) The traditional superiority of the white - collar worker in terms of job security continues to exist.

(b) The range of promotional opportunities open to white-collar workers is not visible in the case of blue-collar workers.

(c) In terms of earning, there has been a decline in the case of manual workers whereas in the case of white-collar workers it has been relatively increasing (the annual increments etc. add to the increased capacities of such classes).

(d) The length of the working week is longer in the case of manual than the white collar (non-manual workers).

(e) The considerable proportion of non-manual workers draw fringe benefits of various kinds such as pension, sick pay, gains from tax remissions etc. which in the case of larger proportion of the manual workers are denied.

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(f) Working conditions of non-manual workers include desk seated jobs and involve less physical strains whereas the manual workers carry on the most strenuous works.

The issue of significance of middle class, especially after the new middle class has displaced the old one, has become very vital for sociologists and the political scientists alike. What interests them most is the political role of this class. In fact this question has been widely discussed and debated. The question of political role of the new middle class is linked with another important dimension of the modern society i.e. the system of social stratification and the position of the .middle class occupations within the modern social stratification. Second, the poltical role and its link with stratification was first discovered by the Marxist theoreticians or in other words this linkage could be found in Marxist prophecies whereby it was expected that society would be polarized into class conscious proletariat and bourgeoisie. The middle class which did exist in a very smaller proportion due to its decline would choose to join either proletariat or bourgeoisie, thus revolution will take place. But the development of capitalism did not follow the way Marx thought or predicted.

The critiques of Marx including the Marxist of Dahrendorf stature argued that the Marxist prophecies and expectations of the Marxist theoreticians could not be realized even in the so called socialist societies. The situation that has emerged in the contemporary socialist societies and the rise of the middle classes within these societies make the role of middle all the more interesting. Because it presents a problem to Marxists in terms of "shift from simple property versus no property dichotomy to differentiation within no property groups". The groups being property-less, yet differ in their political attachment. It does not coincide with their economic position i.e. the lack of property. Thus the middle class may represent only a numerical "up-thrust of falsely conscious people".

17.4   Wright mills theoretical schemes

C. Wright Mills, from the given theoretical schemes infers four major possibilities of the political directions of the middle class.

First, the new middle class, as a whole or certain segments of it, will continue to grow in numbers and power: as a result of which and in the due course of its growth it will develop into a politically independent class. Since this class has emerged as a pivotal

functionary in the modern society, it will gradually displace the ruling class and will itself become a ruling class.

Second possibility is that though the middle class continues to grow in its size (number) and power, but it will not become a force in itself which can rise into an independent power. Rather the most significant role of this group will be to establish balance between different classes in a society. This is due to the fact that since it creates balance, it certainly becomes an hindrance to what Marxist sociologist visualized. Thus middle class hampers revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist society. The consequence of which is the continuance growth of the liberal cap. The spread of this class checks the creeping proletarianization (the reason being that some sections of the proletariat because of their economic advancements become a part of the middle class). This is something that also goes against the Marxist predictions. Therefore the role of middle class becomes that of "buffer between labour and capital: bridge contrasts and mitigate class conflicts; as balance wheel of class interests, this class is identified as that of stabilizers and harmonizes.

Third, the social character and political outlook of the new middle class is such that it represents bourgeoisie and it will remain that (e.g. what Croner talks in terms of extension of bourgeoisie). It has been noted that these groups have a tendency to become 'status groups' rather than economic classes. For instance take the case of Nazi Germany where the middle classes acted for conservative forces, reactionary and even fascist movements. What it shows is that such groups act more as status groups and that too as allies of the bourgeoisie. As far as its political role is concerned one possibility is that it acts as conservative force for the maintenance of status quo. To illustrate this further one can also talk of middle class of 19th century Indian society and the way it combined national liberation and social reforms with their programme of preserving status-quo.

Fourth, the possibility could be in terms of Marxist schema, i.e. middle class is reduced to the level of proletariat and thus becomes homogenous group and will follow the socialist policy. It has been argued that the new middle class in fact is a proletariat which has the interests similar to proletariat.

The four-fold possibilities of the political role of the middle class do not mean that everything is sailing smooth. In fact there are problems that start with the basic description or the definition of middle class and pertain to its role in totality. It may be argued that

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one of the problems is similar to the one faced in describing what a middle class is. All the four arguments cannot be compared because all these arguments do not emerge on the basis of analysis of similar occupations coming within the purview of "middle class". As a consequence of which the image of the political role of middle class is bound to differ.

Second, all the theorists have covered varying historical span. As far as the occupational groups which composed strata during the historical spans studied by theorists have changed. In view of which one can say that divergent views on the political role i.e. as vanguard of revolutionary struggle and as conservatives and hindrance in the way of struggle, can prevail side by side and can be regarded as correct also.

Third, the other problem faced is that most of the theoretical arguments concerning middle classes political role are based on the general theories of the course of capitalist development. The views of these scholars are, -as C. Wright Mills put it, are not based on the analysis of middle class stratum rather based on the political programmes which these classes have. It makes quite difficult for us to sort out the its real role.' Besides political programmes another base is of the argument is ideological position of the class and what in reality is happening in the twentieth century industrial societies.

In view of the above arguments, it obvious that historically the middle class has both the roles to play i.e. revolutionary as well as non-revolutionary. Historically, what Marx predicted in the nineteenth century was rejected by sociologists in 1950's and 1960's and suggested the opposite. Marx predicted intermediate (middle) strata will be reduced to proletariat but the process of embourgeoisment that had set its pace with the advancement of capitalist society is proving differently. The stratification system that once indicated pyramid type structure of the society and distribution of population has turned into a diamond type distribution of population with ever increasing number of the middle class.

The process of change has also been occurring in the advanced capitalist societies along with the increasing general economic prosperity. The earnings of the manual workers were increasingly getting into the white-collar range. Another associated belief was that the stratification was fast disappearing i.e. the number of poor was decreasing in the industrially advanced societies. Although this remains to be validated as poverty has certainly increased even in the advanced societies but the poverty is relative.

Another factor of change was the demands of the modern technology and an advanced economy. According to Clark Kerr, advanced industrialization requires an increasingly highly educated, trained and skilled workforce. Since the workforce is highly educated, trained and skilled, it leads to higher pay and higher status occupations. These factors further make possible mass consumption by the affluent workers on the one hand and the possibility of their mobility on the other.

In view of the ongoing changes Bernard argued that it is not the "proletariat who has absorbed the middle class rather the situation has taken other way round course i.e. middle class is absorbing the proletmiat.

Another consequence of embourgeoisment is that it has led to the formation of middle class life styles - i.e. the adoption of the norms, values and attitudes of the middle class. In terms of the change in the political role what happened in Britain was that traditional political loyalties were eroded and a large number of manual workers started supporting the conservative party. In other words, the emerging economic scenario has resulted in the emergence of new interests and the formation of new alliances based on the new interests.

Moreover, the process of embourgeoisment itself was accelerated by the demand of the modern industry of the mobile work free. Physical mobility broke down traditional communities which has affected the structure of stratification as well as community based stratification system. The new communities have been established where there could not be much distinction between the white collar and the manual workers. The important issue therefore for consideration is that if the embourgeoisment thesis holds true, then the conservative role of the middle class has to be accepted. In case one has doubt over it with special reference to synonymity between an affluent worker and while-Collar worker then probably the role of middle class has to be rethought.

In fact, certain doubts did arise over the embourgeoisment hypothesis. Goldthrope and others conducted a study "the affluent worker in the class structure" in England. The study revealed certain very significant finding which not only contrasted between the affluent workers and the white collar but also showed that embourgeoisment thesis could not be accepted in totality. Some of the findings suggest thai the affluent workers define their work in instrumental terms i.e. it is a means to certain ends i.e. earning money whereas white collar workers

do not purely define their work in instrumental terms. One conclusion drawn from such differences is that affluent worker is not becoming middle class. The most interesting change in the case of affluent workers is that their solidarity and collectivism is replaced by instrumental collectivism.

By instrumental collectivism what we mean is that even participation in the union activities is motivated by the fact of personal gains in wages etc. They do believe in collective action and solidarity but not the way it was looked upon by the traditional workers. In the latter case it was more in terms of kinship ties and neighbourhood relationships. But in the case of affluent workers it is only a mean to maximize their wages. They differ from white collar on the other hand in one respect. While the affluent workers unionize for wage rise the white collar was instrumental solidarity to improve their market situation. From such differences it is said that affluent workers are not becoming middle

17.5   Let Us Sum Up

The foregoing discussion on the middle class indicates that the emergence of this class is linked with the transformation in the economic system of the society. One may also find that the existence of middle classes even in other modes of production; i.e. the feudal mode in which the lords had the military elite and other courtiers etc. But, by and large the rise and development of middle class is associated with the rise and development of the capitalism, joint stock companies, multipurpose corporate sector requiring the middle class managers and professionals.

17.6   Key Words

Domination :	To exploit, and be superordinate. Used in Marxist literature to describe the class which owns the means of production.
Dichotomous :	Refers in stratification literature to the two class model of Marx.
Property Relations:	The relations which arise (antagonistic or other) out of one class owing means of production and the other one being employed as wage workers by the class which owns the means of production.

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17.7 Check Your Progress

Q.1. Explain Marx's dichotomous model of class structure?

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Q.2. Write a breif note on middle classes in India?

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Q.3. Write a breif note on C. Wright Mills theoretical Schemes?

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MOBILITY WITHIN CASTE & CLASS SYSTEM

*Mr. Krishan Chand

STRUCTURE

18.0   Objectives

18.1   Introduction

18.2   Mobility in Caste

    18.2.1 Level of Mobility

18.3   Sanskritisation and Westernization

    18.3.1 Sanskritisation

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    18.4.3 Industrialization and Urbanization

18.5   Class and Social Mobility

    18.5.1 Significance of Class Mobility

    18.5.2 Class Mobility and Class Formation

    18.5.3 Industrialization and Mobility

    18.5.4 Education and Mobility

18.0   Objective

After going through this lesson you will be able to know:

(i)   To outline the processes and factors that influence mobility in caste;

(ii) to describe the nature of mobility in class and the factors influencing it; and

(iii) to highlight the factors influencing class mobility in India.

18.1   Introduction

Sorokin has made pioneering contribution to the analysis and study of social Mobility and has contributed to conceptualization, types and channelization of it. He difference between societtes that are 'closed' rigid, immobile and impenetrable and those that are 'open' plastic, penetrable or mobile, the nature while caste system is often associated with 'closed society' where avenues for mobility rare restricted and few. Classes are found in 'open' 'societies' which often-ample opportunities for mobility through achievement. It is important to investigate into the nature of mobility in caste and class to find out how far they confirm to the generalization mentioned by sorokin.

18.2   Mobility in Caste :

While the general impression has been that caste is a 'closed' system of stratification's, yet in reality it is for from true. No society is static and even in the traditional set up where ascription was the prime deter-minant one's ritual and occupational standing, access to

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rewards and resources and social Mobility both upward and downward was not totally absent.

Social Mobility in the caste system is evident in the increasing discrepancy between caste and occupations, withering away of Jaj mani obligation, the rigidity regarding purity and pollution and acceptance of secular lifestyle. In the olden days, Srinivas points out, there were two major sources of mobility. First was the fluidity of the political system, which made it feasible for new castes to assume the status of Kahatriyas and exercise power. Second was the availability of marginal land which could be brought under cultivation. As a consequence of these two available routes to upward mobility, leaders from dominant castes such as Reddis, Marathas could seize political power and claim Kshatriyas status. The Patridard of Gujarat originated as peasant caste. When the leader of a dominant caste escalated the rank of raja or king, it become a source of mobility for the other members and this was strengthened by adoption of practices and life style of the upper castes.

18.2.1 Level of Mobility :

Mobility has taken place at the level of individual, family and group. K.L. Sharma has made a careful analysis of these levels of mobility.

i) **Mobility of an Individual within a family:** Some individuals even though of low caste, may have better status and prestige compared to other members of their family. This may be on account of one's personality traits such as integrity, honesty, acquisition of education and other achievements. Similarly an individual of higher may lose his position on account of misdeeds and slothful habits. This may result in downward mobility for the individual.

ii) **Mobility of a minority of families within a caste :-** This kind of mobility is linked to socio-economic and political aspects of the families. The improvement in status could be result of acquistion of land and education which is further reiterated by emulating the practices of higher caste with regard to dress, lifestyle and rituals. Mobility of this type is not cooperate in nature and can be viewed as 'horizontal mobility' rather than 'Vertical Mobility' which bridges the gap between status distinctions.

iii) Mobility of a majority of family or group: This kind of mobility is 'corporate' in nature. It involves collective state at prestige, honour, status and is therefore marked by changes in socio-cultural practices regarding purity and pollution. Certain castes improve their positions by discarding practices regarded impure and degrading.

18.3 Sanskritization and Westernization:

There are several features and processes of mobility. We now turn to these:-

18.3.1 Sanskritization

M.N. Srinivas formulated and contributed immensely to the concept of Sanskritization as a process of Mobility in caste. He refers to Sanskritization as a "process by which a now hindu caste or tribal or other groups, changes its customs, ritual ideology and way of life in direction of a high and frequently 'twice born' "Castes" (Srinivas 1966) Sanskritization has been prevalent throughout history and has assumed various forms. It has been used as mechanism to bridge the gap between secular and ritual rank. Whenever a caste achieved secular power it tried to legitimise its status by acquiring traditional symbols of high caste by adopting their customs, rituals.

The census recording was considered and excellent source of making claims to higher status. This claim according to Srinivas was upgraded in subsequent operations. For example if in one census the caste claimed to by Vaishya, in the subsequent operations it would lay claim to Brahmin or Kshatriya. This attempt was followed by attempts made by the castes to emulate the lifestyle of the respective caste they laid claim to. The status attributes of highly ranked warrior ruler category i.e. Kshatriya and the Brahmin served as model or most upwordly mobile groups.

18.3.2 Westernization

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doors for social Mobility. A large number of inter-related factors are responsible for this.

Westernization accelerated the mobility process in more ways than one. On one hand it was a desirable mechanism of altaining mobility, on the other, it generated mobility also because the 'Westernized' become a model for emulation for the others.

It must be noted that westernization did not begin and end with British rule. It provided trackes which furthered and accelerated the mobility process. It set the ball rolling which gained further momentum after Independence. The Independent India over from the rationalistic egalitarian and humanitarin principles front the British and created further room for mobility.

(i) New Legal System : The British rule resulted in the poltical integration of the country into a single administrative unit with a uniform and homogeneous pattern of law and order grounded in the principles of rationalism, humanitarianism and egalitarianism. These laws were sometimes in contradiction with the pre-existing ones. For example under the traditional law punishment varied according to the caste of the person committing the offence, while the British laws treated everyone equally. The caste Disabilities Removel Act and Abolition of Salvery were a great leap forward towards upliftment of lower castes. These laws were efforts in the directions of bridging the gap between lower and higher castes.

ii) Adoption of Reforms : Whenever efforts are made at reforming the society it generates opportunities for mobility. Budhism, Jainism and later Sikhism which are the rects of Hindu religion have disregarded the rigdities associated with purity and pollution. They have advocated against the prevalent inequities and established a new egalitarian order within the rects. Similarly the Christian missionaries during the British rule proselytized the most oppressed castes they extricated the untouchables from a life of misery and exploitation and provided them education and health facilities. This enabled them to find new employment opportunities and attain higher status and prestige than before.

The educated liberal reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda in their endeavour to reforms the society got abolished evil practices such as sati, child marriage human a sacrifice etc.

Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar fought vociferously for the upliftment of the untouchables and their efforts bore fruits in the form of abolition of untouchability and the provision for protective discrimination. This has generated large scale upward social mobility among.

18.4. Secularization :

The term " Secularization" implies that what was previously regarded as religious ceases to be such and it also implies a process of differentiation in the various aspects of society, economy, polity, laws and morality becoming i increasingly by discrete in relation to each other. With increasing emphasis on rationality and education the nation of purity pollution weakened and today it is common to see people of different castes work together in factories or rub shoulders against each other in buses and trains and even dine together in restaurants. Together with this, the manner of dress in the modern society serves to blue caste distinctions. The new law based on universalism and the constitutional recognition of equality for all citizens and the declaration of India as a secular state has served to abolish discrimination based on.

18.4.1 Education:

Education was the prerogative of the Brahmins and "twice born" castes in the traditional setup. During the British rule educational institutions were opened to all and knowledge had a secular and rational basis.

Education had such a deep impact on the pace and pattern of mobility that it created a new middle class. After independence, in an effort to uplift the SC, ST and OBC's through education, seats have been reserved for them in educational institutions. Since then these benefits have been appropriated by a small section. It has resulted in new cleavages among these sections. These cleavages are an aspect of mobility patterns based on those who have and do not have access to education.

18.4.2 SC's and OBC's :

Under this section we will analyze two main modes of mobility i,e. mobility through conflict and mobility on account of protective discrimination.

For years the backward sections who were appressed remained submissive and

servile. But under British rule they improved their status and tried to legitmise it though Sanskritization. But simultaneously, the upper castes leaped forward by usurping new opportunities. The gap between the upper and lower castes widened and this they tried to bridge by laying claim to economic and political resources. These under privileged castes consolidated themselves against the upper castes in the form of castes of Sabhas the anti-Brahmin movement date back to 1870's Maharashtra and were led by dominant castes such as Kammas, Reddis, Nayars etc. The most significant movements were launched by Mahras under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar. The other movements include those of 'Dalit Panthers' who united all sections of depressed people.

The backward sections have found opportunities for upward mobility on account of 'protective discrimination' polices which involves reservation of seats in education institutions, freeship and scholorships.

18.4.3 Industrialization and Urbanization :

Industrialization accelerated the rate of social mobility in various ways. It provided employment opporunties which emphazied on achievement and qualifications rather than caste. In the factories jobs were hierarchically graded graded according to qualifications and experience rather that ritual ranking. These employment opporunties were open to all and proved a source of upward mobility for the landless labours.

18.5   Class and Social Mobility:

We will now discuss the significance of class and social mobility below:

18.5.1 Singnificance of Class Mobility :

Classes are a very significant and pervasive dimension of stratification and the analysis of mobility along class line is of crucial significance not only as an end in itself but also on account of its ramifications on other social processes. The extent of mobility has been used as a measure of the "Openness" of industrial society and high mobility rates are an indication of the society being characterized by achievement rather than ascription and that it is meritocratic where individuals reap regards on the basis of their personal qualities rather than through inherited wealth and position.

Class Mobility is a crucial factors for the understanding of class formation . Also,

study of class mobility can provide indications of life chances of the members of society i,e. the impact of one's class of orgin on life chance.

18.5.2 Class Mobility and Class Formation:

The most crucial aspect of class formation. A large number of scholars have shown keen interest in this area of study. Karl Marx was concerned about the relationship between class formation and action on the hand and the extend of mobility between class positions on the other. He was of the view that proletarianization was inimical to the process of class formation. Also in advance capitalist societies, the expansion of middle class in based on recruitment from proletariat. Marse also recognised that a certain degree of immobility is seen as an indispensable prerequisite for the emergence of class consciousness. Similarly, Weber too emphasized on the significance of social Mobility for class formation. Weber recognized immobility as a chief determinant for social and cultural identify of a class.

18.5.3 Industrialization and Mobility:

In the analysis of mobility processes and patterns that term class is not used strictly in the sense used by Marx or by Weber. Rather class is viewed in terms of occupational groupings because occupation is an aspect of one's merit, education and qualifications and it determines one's status, prestige and salary which is turn influences the consumption patterns pattern and life chances.

Industrialization has introduced a lot of changes not only in the economic sphere but in all realm of society. Industrial societies are referred to as 'open' societies where the opportunties for mobility are available in plenty. The high rates of mobility in industrial societies is attributed to rapid economic change which necessitates occupational geographical and social mobility to make optimum and efficient use of available talent. It is on this account that Lipset and Zelterberg feel that industrialism creates uniform mobility patterns. Duncan and Blua emphasis on a number of factors generated by industrialization that have a bearing on mobility patterns. They are of the opinion that industrialization is connected with growing rationalism which accounts for universalistic criteria for selection and up grading occupational division of Labour, weakening kinship and neighborhood ties.

18.5.4 Education and Mobility:

The impetus on achievement and qualifications as determinants of one's merit has resulted in the increasing emphasis on education and training to obtain them. Education has attained a key role in facilitating mobility especially in the industrial societies. The increasing specialization and division of labour presuppose the existence of qualified personal who can handle specialised tasks. These specialists whether in the field of industry laws, or medicine are trained and educated in specialised branches of knowledge. These educational and training facilities are open to all in the industrial societies.

18.5.5 Intergenerational and Intragenerational Mobility :

It refers to mobility or shift (upward or downward) vis-a-vis one's parents class. If a son or a daughter of a supervisor becomes an unskilled labour it would be downward mobility and if the same person's son or daughter becomes a manager it would amount to upward mobility.

One of the first major studies on inter-generational mobility was conducted in England and Wales by David Glass in 1949. It was found that inter-generational mobility was quite high and about two-third of the persons interviewed were in a difference occupational category form that of their father. Most of the mobility was short range i,e. people were found in categories close to their father. Upward mobility was more common than downward mobility and was mostly concentrated in the middle levels of the class structure.

Later studies by Hauzer and Hout have confirmed that short range mobility is greater than long range and that mobility is more likely in the middle of socio-economic hierarchy than at its peak. Intra-generational Mobility i.e, Where the individual changes social position during his/her career. It has been found that work like mobility is generally less than inter-generational mobility its degree depends on the first job.

18.6 Social Mobility and Classes in India:

Very often it is expressed that classes in India are a result of social mobility induced by British rule in India. This statement is for form true because classes did exist in pre-BRITISH times. However, it cannot be denied that in the traditional setup caste system was more predominant system of stratification. In the present set up classes and castes

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have co-existed as dynamic systems and have interacted to create a complex and multi-dimesional empirical reality. It is only for analytical purposes that the following different class strata are being identified.

18.6.1 Social Mobility in Agrarian Classes :

In the traditional set up load could be brought or sold and was a source of great prestige. During the British rule land became of saleable commodity and it had serious repercussion on the nature of agrarian relations and on socio-mobility.

The introduction of land reforms in the 1950 Which aimed at abolishing the intermediaries, such as the Zamindars and providing land to the tiller generated vertical mobility-both upward and downward. While some tenants could buy surplus land and become upwardly mobile, others were thrown out by the Zaminders who claimed to be the cultivators. This resulted in the pauperization of the landless labourers, land reforms were also a source of downward mobility for the Zamindars. They lost their right to extract taxes and share from the cultivations which was a source of their wealth. They were left fregmented holdings which could not support their feudal lifestyle.

A new class of 'Progressive Farmers' have come to characterize the villages under the Green Revolution Programme. They have large land holdings and can afford to invest in resources like tractors, pumpsets, power threshers etc. These progressive farmers are entrepreneurs who invest in land to reap profits. They are a distinct class who are separated from the small farmers and from the agriculture labour whom they employ Green revolution has thus further reinforced social inequality. It is now clear that a large number of processes have influenced the nature of agrarian classes and mobility among them.

18.6.2 Social Mobility in Urban Classes :

Urbanization is not a new phenomena for Indian society. During the Pre-British period, there were a large number of cities with a district pattern of ranking and administration. After industrialization, the resultant urbanward migration has been rapid and enormous. This has grossly affected the nature of the social classes. There are four major classes that can be identified in an urban set up. These included.

(i) The Capitalist/bourgeoisie :-

The Britishers introduced modern industrialization in India. The setting up of industries, free trade and now markets gave impetus to trade and commerce. The traders became wealthier and took to industry. It is note worthy that even today a large number of industrialists hail from trading castes and communities such as Marwaries in Rajasthan, Gujarati Banias and Jains in the west, Chettiars and the South. The merchant class was the first to become capitalist certain artisons and craftsmen who availed of the new economic opportunities also setup small scale factories.

(ii) Entreprenurs Traders and Shopkeepers :-

Urban society always comprised of entrepreneurs who included traders and shopkeepers. These classes have flourished and expanded with the growth of cities and towns and cashed on the rising demands of new goods and services in them. This class would include entrepreneurs running restaurants, marriage bureaus, video libraries and other like property dealers, grocers, laundered, drycleaners, who are a direct link between suppliers of good and service and consumers.

(iii) Professional Classes :-

This class has undergone vast changes in its nature and complexion on account of the changes introduced under the British rule and after independence. The British required a large body of professionals for various purposes. They felt it was cheaper to educate Indians for the same. With the expansion of tertiary sector, this class has expanded bothin size and prestige ranging from clerks to CA/S, Babus to bureaucrats.

(iv) Working Class :-

Studies have shown that the earliest working class population comprised of pauperized agricultural labour who were landless or improverished peasantry who had mortgaged their land. The later joined the labour force on a short term basis as 'target workers' to earn a fixed sum of money to be able to get back their land, Others Joined as reasonal workers in search of work during slack periods in agriculture. These workers worked in factories, textile mils. Plantations, and in informal sectors what characterized them all was object living conditions in slums.

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With the expansion of industry in recent decades, working class has expanded and diversified into various industrial set ups in all parts of the country.

18.7 Let Us Sum Up

It can be noted from the above discussion on social mobility that even in so called 'closed' system of stratification, there is constant efforts among members to improve their social positions through the means available to them. As we have seen in India, some of the mechanisms and progresses involved in social mobility were culture specific as is the case of Sanskritization, The new avenues for mobility provided by education, urbanization and industrialization were quickly united for advantageous shifts in hierarchy.

Industrialization and Urbanization have played at vital role in generating mobility both in the caste and class societies by emphasizing on the role of achievement and skill acuired through education. These twin processes have widened the horizons for vertical and horizontal mobility.

18.8 Key Words

Sanskritization : It is a process of social mobility in caste whereby a low caste may change its customs, Life style, rituals and ideology in the direction of high castes mainly Brahmins and Kshatriyas.

Westernization : It is term used to describe the changes that came about as a result of British rule in India. These changes include those at the level of technology, institutions, ideology etc. Westernization open new doors for mobility at the level of individuals and castes.

18.9 Check Your Progress

Q.1. Write in brief Sanskritization ?

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Q.2   Write a short note on Protective Discrimination ?

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Q.3   Explain the term Industrialzation ?

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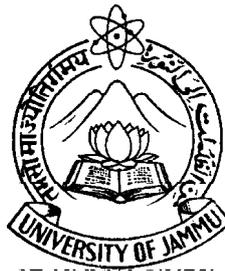## Experts involved in Script Writing

- *Prof. J.R. Panda*

- *Prof. Abha Chauhan*

- *Prof. Vishav Raksha*

- *Prof. Ashish Saxena*

- *Mr. Krishan Chand*

Directorate of Distance Education

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REFERENCE / STUDY MATERIAL
FOR
M.A. SOCIOLOGY

SEMESTER - II

Title : **SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY**

Course No. SOC-C-204   Unit : I-IV   Lesson No. 1-18

Course Co-ordinator :
Prof. Abha Chauhan
HOD, Deptt. of Sociology,
University of Jammu.

Teacher Incharge :
Dr. Neha Vij
PG Sociology,
DDE, University of Jammu.

Contents

SYLLABUS OF SOCIOLOGY M.A. 2ND SEMESTER FOR THE EXAMINATION TO BE HELD IN THE YEAR MAY 2019, 2020, 2021 (NON - CBCS)

Course No. SOC-C-204   **Title : Social Stratification & Mobility**

Credits : 6   **Maximum Marks : 100**

Duration of Examination : 2½ hrs.   **a) Semester Examination (External) : 80**

b) Session Assessment (Internal) : 20

OBJECTIVE : Social stratification besides being a persisting empirical reality is constantly changing. It implies unequal placement of people in terms of position, rewards, assests and power. Social mobility and social movement acts as a reform and corrective measure to replace some of these inequalities. These and some other issues will be debated in this course.

Unit-I   **Meaning & Elements of Social Stratification**

Social Stratification - Meaning, Characteristics & Dimensions, Social Differentiation, Hierarchy, Inequality.

Unit - II   **Forms of Social Stratification :-**

Caste, Class, Estate, Gender, Ethnicity & Race.

Unit - III   **Theoretical Perpectives :-**

Weberian, Functional - Parsons, Davis & Moore, Marxian and Dahrendorf.

Unit - IV   **Social Mobility :-**

Nature and type of social mobility, Measurement of social mobility, Mobility within caste and class system, Emergence of middle class.

NOTE FOR PAPER SETTING :-

The question paper will consist of three sections A, B and C.

Section A will consist of eight long type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question carries 12 marks. The candidate is required to answer four questions selecting one from each unit. Total weightage will be 12 x 4 = 48 marks.

Section B will consist of eight short answer type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question carries 6 marks. The candidate is required to answer four questions selecting one from each unit. Total weightage will be 6 x 4 = 24 marks.

Section C will consist of eight objective type questions - one mark each. The candidate is required to answer the entire eight questions. Total weightage will be of 1 x 8 = 8 marks.

PRESCRIBED READINGS:

1.   Bendix & Lipset. 1976. Class, Status and Power. London: Rautledge & Kegan Paul.

2.   Beteille, Andre. 1972. Inequality and Social Change. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

3.   Beteille, Andre. 1969. Social Inequality. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

4.   Dumount, Louis. 1970. Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications. New Delhi : Vikas Publications.

5.   Gupta Dipankar. (ed). 1991. Social Stratification. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

6.   Harlombus, M. 1980. Sociology: Themes and Perspectives. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

7.   Kirby, Mark. 1999. Stratification and Differentiation.UK: Macmillan Education.

8.   Scott, John. 1996. Stratification and Power: Structures of class, status and command. Blackwell publishers.

9.   Sharma, K.L. (ed). 1980. Essays on Social Stratification. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

10.   Sharma, K.L. 1994. Social Stratification and Mobility. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

11.   Sharma, K.L. (ed). 1997. Social Stratification in India. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

12.   Singh,Y. 1998. Modernization of India Tradition. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

13.   Singer & Cohen. (ed). 2001. Structure and Change in Indian Society. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

14.   Singh, Yogender. 1997. Social Stratification and Change in India. Manohar Publications, New Delhi.

15.   Tumin, M.M. 1999. Social Stratification. New Delhi: Prentice Hall.