Sociological Texts in English

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Introduction

This book includes several important topics about sociology (ie; Social Conflict, Social Problems, Poverty ...)

As It's obligatory for 3rd year students to study about the most effective sociologists whom left major fingerprint in establishing this science and put some important theories, and deal with social environment topics, like Max Weber, Emile Durkheim and Auguste Comte.

Chapter 1
Social Problems

WHAT IS A SOCIAL PROBLEM?

We will see throughout this chapter that social problems are often closely interrelated. Crime, poverty, lack of medical care, violence, drug abuse, and many other behaviors or situations that we commonly think of as social problems rarely exist in isolation. And for any one of the problems just named or others we could cite, there are vigorous debates about causes and responsibilities. Are we responsible, some ask, for the sins of others? Are not many people facing bank foreclosures on their homes to blame for their own failure to pay their mortgage debt? Others might point out that the banks themselves had much to do with the economic crash of 2008, so why should homeowners who find their homes less valuable now than when they were purchased be the ones to lose? This is a problem, after all, that affects all of us, so why should we not seek solutions that will help embattled homeowners keep their property? These and similar arguments deal not only with the causes of social problems but also with what should be done about them. Most people will agree that

unemployment, terrorism, and crime are problems that society must somehow address, and this is true for all the other issues mentioned earlier. Most members of society agree that they are conditions that ought to be remedied through intentional action. Of course, agreement that remedies are necessary does not imply that people agree on what the remedies should be. Most people would like to see a reduction in rates of poverty and homelessness, but far fewer agree that welfare payments are a reasonable way of dealing with these social problems in the absence of work requirements. However, work requirements, in turn, introduce the difficulty of ensuring that there actually is work available that can be done by poor people with little education. The same controversies arise in connection with almost all social problems. Many Americans are appalled at the level of gun violence in their nation, but many others are equally appalled at the prospect of more government restrictions on their freedom to buy and use guns as they wish. Clearly, recognition that a social problem exists is far different from arriving at a consensus about a solution to the problem.

Sociological Perspectives on Social Problems   When enough people in a society agree that a condition exists that threatens the quality of their lives and their most cherished values, and they also agree that something should be done to remedy that condition, sociologists say that the society has defined that condition as a social problem. In other words, the society's members have reached a consensus that a condition that affects some members of the population is a problem for the entire society, not just for those who are directly affected. We will see, however, that for every social problem, there are arguments about the nature of the problem, its severity, and the best remedies—laws, social programs, or other policies— to address it. There must be enough consensuses among people in a society that a problem exists for action to take place, but this does not mean that the consensus is general. In fact, we will also see that not all people count equally in defining social problems and seeking remedies. For better or worse, even in mature democracies like those of the United States and Europe, more powerful actors have far greater

influence in defining social problems than average citizens do. Rupert Murdoch, for example, is an Australian-born businessman who owns television and newspaper companies not only in the United States and Great Britain but throughout the world. His media empire includes the Fox network and many others that adhere to his personal editorial views, which are strongly opposed to government intervention in the battle against poverty and lack of healthcare and very much in favor of a strong role for government in combating crime and pursuing the global "war" on terrorism. The importance of power in the definition of social problems becomes clear if we consider one or two examples. In China, before the Communist revolution of the mid-twentieth century, opium use and addiction were widespread. In Shanghai alone there were an estimated 400,000 opium addicts in the late 1940s. Everyone knew that the condition existed, and many responsible public figures deplored it, but few outside the revolutionary parties believed society should intervene in any way. After all, many of the country's richest and most powerful members had made their fortunes in the opium trade. However, the

Chinese Communists believed society should take responsibility for eradicating opium addiction, and when they took power, they did so, often through drastic and violent means. What had previously been seen as a social condition had been redefined as a social problem that had to be solved. To take an example from our own society, before 1920 women in the United States did not have the right to vote. Many women objected to this condition and opposed it whenever possible, but most men and many women valued the traditional pattern of male dominance and female subservience. To them, there was nothing unusual about women's status as second-class citizens. It took many years of painstaking organization, persuasion, and demonstration by the leaders of the woman suffrage movement to convince significant numbers of Americans that women's lack of voting rights was a social problem that society should remedy through revision of its laws. that the conditions affecting women's lives continue to be viewed by some members of society as natural and inevitable and by others as problems that require action by society as a whole. It is worth noting that the

idea that a society should intervene to remedy conditions that affect the lives of its citizens is a fairly recent innovation. Until the eighteenth century, for example, most people worked at exhausting tasks under poor conditions for long hours; they suffered from severe deprivation all their lives, and they often died young, sometimes of terrible diseases. But no one thought of these things as problems to be solved. They were accepted as natural, inevitable conditions of life. It was not until the so-called "enlightenment" of the late eighteenth century that philosophers began to argue that poverty is not inevitable but a result of an unjust social system. As such, it could be alleviated by changing the system itself through such means as redistribution of wealth and elimination of inherited social status. The founders of the American nation applied these principles in creating a form of government that was designed to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility. Promote the general welfare. And secure the blessings of liberty

For Further Reading   Social Problems

Chapter 2
Social Conflict

Social Conflict

Social conflict can be considered in two ways: as a perspective in which conflict permeates and shapes all aspects of human

Figure 2.1 Social Conflict

interaction and social structure, or as one of innumerable specific fights or struggles such as wars, revolutions, strikes and uprisings.

Conflict perspective

Stated at a necessarily high level of generality, analysts using the conflict approach (as opposed to. say, a functionalist, exchange, or systems approach) seek to: explain not only how social order is maintained despite great inequalities, but also how social structures; change. They view societies,

organizations, and other social systems as arenas for personal and group contests. (Complementary and common interests are not excluded, but the incompatible- character of interests are emphasized.) Coercion is viewed as a major way in which people seek to advance their interests. It is assumed that humans generally do not want to be dominated or coerced, and therefore resist attempts at coercion, and struggles ensue.

Conflict theory has a long tradition going back to the earliest historical accounts and counsel to rulers, as can be seen in the writings of Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbes. Marx and Engels stressed the material conditions underlying conflict, especially the class struggles based upon property relations. Other conflict theorists such as Gumplowitz, Ratzenhofer and Novice worked in the context of evolutionary thought and posited a group struggle for existence; they variously stressed military power in conflict, and interests for example, ethnic differences as bases for conquest. Simmel was another classical sociologist

concerned with the forms and consequences of conflict.

Interest in the conflict perspective revived, at least in English-speaking countries, in the 1960s. In preceding decades the dominant social-science theories portrayed societies as based on consensus and consent, but the political turmoil of the 1960s, both domestic and international, directed attention to social conflicts and to the conflict approach.

Conflict theorists have emphasize combinations of elements from the rich conflict tradition. Many contemporary social scientists draw from Marxism, but they differ a great deal in their interpretations of Marx and how they have developed elements of it. For example, Gramsci (1971) stresses the cultural hegemony of the ruling class as a mode of domination. Many conflict theorists stress their differences with Marxism, or otherwise emphasize authority, ethnicity, gender or other factors and processes which Marxists do not. For example, Dahrendorf (1959) argued that authority relations, not property relations, underlie social conflict. Collins (1975) considered coercion,

including violence, as important means of control, but he o also drew from the symbolic-interaction tradition to stress the importance of meanings in the organization of people for struggle-, both at the interpersonal and the social-structural levels.

The study of economic development exemplifies how the conflict perspective has become important for many topics of enquiry. The conflict approach in this context stresses the use of economic, political, and military power impose unequal exchanges which lead to a world-system marked by dependency; many analysts have sought to account for under development in the Third World using this perspective.

Types of social conflicts

Social scientists seek to understand specific conflicts in the context of interdependent relations and institutionalized means of changing relations. Many such kinds of conflicts have long bee-n studied, as testified by the literature- on wars, revolutions, labour strikes, communal riots and interpersonal

lights. Social scientists have sought to develop explanations for social conflicts in general, examining their sources, patterns of escalation, de-escalation, settlement and consequences. There are important similarities among all kinds of conflicts as adversaries mutually define each other, perceive ac incompatible goals, strive to attain them, and resolve the conflict through various combinations of imposition and implicit and explicit negotiations. To specify such ideas, types of conflicts need to be distinguished. Variations in type-s of social conflicts affect the way they emerge, escalate, and deescalate. Among the many variations are three particularly significant and interrelated factors: the character "I the parties, the nature of the goals, and the means used in the struggle.

First, conflicting parties differ in their degree of organization and boundedness. At one extreme are governments, trade unions and other entities with membership rules and generally recognized roles for forming and executing policy towards adversaries. At the other extreme are more nebulous entities such as

social classes and believers in a common ideology where boundaries of adherence may be disputed or in flux, and which generally lack recognized roles for contending with adversaries. Moreover, every social conflict is likely to include many adversaries: some overlapping and cross-cutting, or encompassing others. For example, a government head may claim to speak for a government, a state, a people, an ideology a political party faction, and a social class. Each such claim helps constitute a corresponding adversary. Herein lies one of the bases for the interlocking character of conflict.

Second, social conflicts are about incompatible goals, and the nature of these goals is another basis for distinguishing different kinds of conflicts. Adversaries may contest control over land, money, or other resources which the-y all value: such disputes are consensual conflicts, Alternatively, they may come into conflict about differently held values. These are dissension conflicts. Of course, in specific conflicts both consensual and dissension components are usually present. In addition, goals differ in their

significance for the adversaries, e.g. whether they pertain to peripheral interests or to basic human needs.

Third, conflicts are waged in a variety of ways. Conflict analysts are usually interested in struggles involving violence or other forms of coercion, whether employed or threatened, and which are relatively non-institutionalized. But an adversary often uses persuasion and even the promise of rewards to influence the other side to agree to what is being sought. In many conflicts, the adversaries adhere to well-developed and highly institutionalized rules; indeed, these are often not regarded as social conflicts at all. This may be the case, for instance-, ill electoral campaigns, where different parties seek to control the government. Certain kinds of conflicts may become increasingly * institutionalized and regulated over time, and that transformation is matter of paramount a significance. We can recognize such a change in labour-management conflicts in many countries during the nineteenth century (Dahrendorf 1959).

Aside from the theoretical issues, the value orientations of the investigators are also crucial in the study of conflicts. Some tend to approach social conflict from a partisan perspective, trying to learn how to advance the goals of their side. This is the case for military strategists and many advocates of national liberation. Others want to minimize violence and look for alternative ways of defending or attaining their goals. Still others are primarily interested in attaining new social order, justified terms of universal claims for justice equity; they may see conflicts the natural towards this end. Finally, intellectually curious adopt relativistic view social conflicts.

Such judgments of social conflicts affected variety of social conditions, intellectual and the course major paradigm-shifting conflicts. For example, the USA during the 1950s, conflicts were often viewed unrealistic and disruptive as instigated by socially marginal individuals; during the late and 1970s, were often viewed realistic efforts to redress injustices; in 1980s, all contenders some legitimacy.

Chapter 3
Poverty
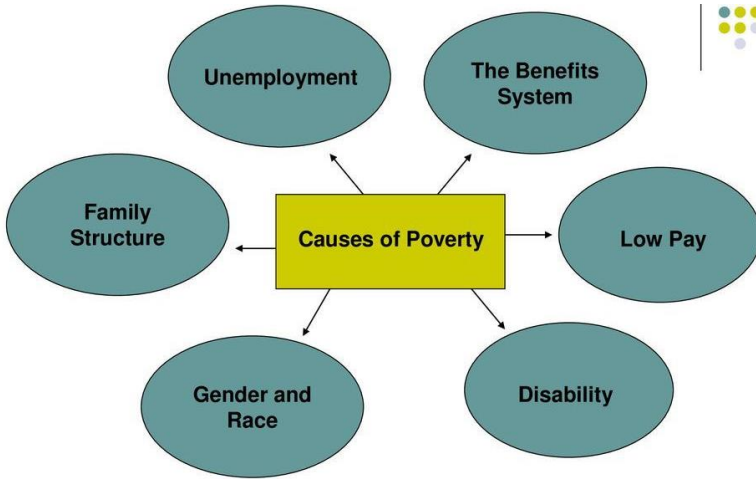
Causes of Poverty

Figure 3.1 Causes of Poverty

Absolute Poverty

Absolute Poverty, sometimes called subsistence poverty, is the idea that being in poverty is being without the minimum necessary requirements for life or subsistence within life. if we do not eat, we starve, therefore those without the resources to acquire food fall below the absolute standard for life, and, unless they can escape this state, by theft or begging, they will starve Absolute Poverty is the most unacceptable face of any social order, and with the development of

capitalist prosperity in nineteenth century Britain there was a widespread assumption amongst those in power that it had largely been removed from the country by the end of the century.

The Feminization of Poverty

The economic vulnerability of women is part of a trend known as "the feminization of poverty" several factors contribute to the increasing proportion of women among the world's poor: the need to care for physically dependent family members; the wage gap, and rising the rates of separation, divorce, and single motherhood. Old women are vulnerable, and the rates of poverty are particularly consistently higher among elderly women than among men among whites over 65 almost 13 percent of the women and 7 percent of the men are below the poverty level. The rates of Hispanic women and men are 31 and 23 percent, and for blacks, 40 and 25 percent.

There is a widespread myth that women do not need to work because they will be supported by men throughout their lives. The belief is obviously

irrelevant to women who never marry and to many others who are divorced or widowed. But it is also an inaccurate description of large numbers of married women whose husband do not earn enough to support their families.

The Myth of the Male Breadwinner

Although employed women have much lower average incomes than men, women often make vital contribution to family income). Employed wives, earnings contribute, on average almost 30 percent of family income, and women in full-time employment supply about 40 percent of family income. Families living below or just above the poverty line often depend on the wife's paycheck to make ends meet Several trends are increasing the number of women who bring in all or most of the family income. Thus, women's depressed earnings make them financially dependent, but they are increasingly required to support themselves and their families. An economic burden has shifted to those who are last able to carry it namely, women with low earning power

The Poorest of the Poor

 "The poorest of the poor" are women in Third World countries where development has disrupted traditional societies and economic in ways that deprive women of autonomy and undermine traditional relations of interdependence between women and men. Although women are major food producers, development aid programs rarely recognize their contribution to subsistence, and assistance is usually directed only to men "Women are often dispossessed of traditional rights to land, barred from the new technologies and skills, and displaced from earlier occupations or reabsorbed as laborers." and tobacco unpaid family Emphasis on cash crops such as coffee removes men's labor from food production and leaves an even greater burden on women. The shift to cash crops often transforms self-sufficient economies into net importers of food because aid is geared to the world economy instead of to subsistence. It is a bitter irony that the same romantic beliefs that foster female poverty in the West are exported to the Third World, where they

contribute to poverty among entire populations, especially women and children.

Becoming Men and Women

The foundation of gender difference is laid in earliest childhood, but during adolescence these differences are elaborated and emphasized. Young people are in the process of becoming men and women. They are anticipating and being prepared for every different futures, and the outlines of those futures are foreshadowed in the teen years.

Appearance and Interests

The physical changes of puberty that alter the appearance of the sexes are exaggerated by customary behavior and fashion Girls' makeup, clothing, jewelry and hairstyles stress femininity, and boys draw attention to their masculinity with body building and distinctive clothes. Gender distinctions in appearance are important to both sexes, but appearance has special significance for teenage girls and young women Compared with a boy's

appearance, the way a girl looks occupies a much more central place in life, and it influences her social standing, self-esteem, and personal acceptance.

Girls spend more time than boys on such matter; they spend money on cosmetics and clothes to display their femininity and may even pay for formal instruction in grooming, posture, movement and creating an appropriate feminine appearance.

The emphasis on looking good can be taken to dangerous extremes when young women become so dissatisfied with their bodies that they go on un healthy diets or strive themselves in an effort to achieve fashion-model slimness disorders can be life-threatening:

Anorexia nervosa is characterized by severe weight loss; anorexics also have delusions about their body image thinking of themselves as fat when they are, in actuality dangerously thin. They typically do not recognize signs of nutritional need and may, literally, strive themselves to death context of a whole array of practices designed to reduce women's body size, such

as stomach stapling diet fads, breast reduction, surgery, and other extreme procedures, anorexia is even to be expected in a culture so obsessed with thinness Bulimia, the syndrome in which women (typically) binge on huge amounts of food and then purge themselves by vomiting, use of laxative, or extreme fasting, seems to be rapidly increasing, especially among the young and college students.

Chapter 4
Urbanization

What is The Meaning of "Urban" in Urban Studies?

Readers of this new Quarterly may well wonder what "urban affairs" are, or more pointedly, what they are not. In a society mostly urban, aren't most affairs urban? Though the use of the term "urban" may present an unresolved problem of definition, this has not prevented it from becoming one of the more widely used terms in the current American scene. During the past several years, for example, the following events have taken place;

(1) A proliferation of social science literature with the term "urban" (sometimes inappropriately) in the title.

(2) The first message on "urban affairs" to the Congress by a President of the United States.

(3) The establishment of this Urban Affairs Quarterly, representing the consummation of ten or more years of discussion about the need for such a new journal.

(4) The establishment of a "Library of Urban Affairs" which provides new books in the field at discount to its members.

(5) Further progress toward the imminent establishment of a cabinet level Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, and the actual establishing in a number of states of agencies concerned primarily with urban affairs.

(6) The creation and growth of "urban" units within various national and local organizations (such as "Departments of Urban Life" within church bodies)

(7) The development of a number of new "urban studies" programs of many sizes and shapes within universities and colleges.

Each of these is focused, more or less, on the same phenomena. Urban Problems. But the term "urban problems" is no less ambiguous (but possibly more specific) than "urban affairs." We shall leave the resolution of a great bulk of this ambiguity to this Quarterly and its readers. The purpose of this article, however, is briefly to describe and hopefully to clarify

the use of the term "urban" in connection with the seventh event listed above- "urban studies," which, as the reader might infer from the word "studies," is the academic aspect of the urban affairs syndrome. A basic question in urban studies (indeed a very basic question) is the meaning of the term "urban" which, because it is asked under academic auspices, takes the form, "What is the focus of the field of urban studies and what are its boundaries (or which phenomena are inside, which outside, the field's purview, and of those which are inside, which are most central)"? This, of course, is not too dissimilar to the question, "Which articles should be published by this Quarterly, and which left for other journals"?

Several years ago this author, together with his colleague Robert Gutman, edited a special issue of The American Behavioral Scientist on the theme: "Urban Studies: Present Trends and Future Prospects in an Emerging Academic Field." We stated at that time that urban studies had become an academic enterprise at numerous universities across the nation (and in many other parts of the world) which seemed to have many

of the characteristics of a new and distinct academic field. We further noted that the emerging field had somewhat different characteristics depending upon whether the main thrust was research education, or extension (direct university service to the urban community), or some combination of these. This article represents, to some degree, a continuation of the same theme, but specifically concerned with urban studies as a field of research. Within that concern, we shall consent rate primarily on the conceptual problems of establishing definitions and boundaries.

To put the field in perspective, several general comments might be made about it at the outset. While the study of urban phenomena and urban areas is almost as old as cities themselves, it has emerged within the past few decades as a major aspect of the university scene. Because it is so new, its precise definitions and boundaries have yet to be fully agreed upon- and it could even be stated that its future as an organized academic field is somewhat in doubt. The field first developed in its modern academic from as

the outcome of the research and professional interests of city planners, social scientists, and others who felt the need for an interdisciplinary approach to phenomena which each discipline or field had previously been studying in a piecemeal fashion. City planners, who most consciously felt the need for better organized and integrated knowledge of urban areas arising from the demands of their work activities, played perhaps a major role in bringing together the academic pursuits around a common focus.

The field has come to be rooted primarily in the social science disciplines, particularly economics, political science, geography, and sociology, and in certain allied professional fields, most notably city planning (together with architecture and "environmental design") and public administration, and, to a lesser engineering, education, social work, law, and public health. It is also sometimes closely allied with certain hybrid disciplines or fields such as regional science, operations research transportation. Each urban studies program has been developed with

some unique combination of these various interests, usually dictated by preexisting academic strengths within the university, the major discipline of the program's director, or the discipline or field which served as the initiator of the program. Certain academic areas seem to fit together more easily than others; thus it is common to find city planning with economics, but without much sociology, and educational and social work with sociology, but without much economics. Political science seems to get along better with all the other areas for various reasons, than does any other discipline or field, and this explains, in part, why political scientists predominate as program directors (and possibly that's why, incidentally, this Urban Affairs Quarterly is based in a political science department.

The field of urban studies is thus quite interdisciplinary in character, but each program has developed a somewhat distinct specialization depending upon the particular disciplines which are involved. In addition it is, like most other academic fields, markedly policy-oriented rather than being

motivated primarily or entirely in terms of pure research and the advancement of basic knowledge.

When we speak of the characteristics of this field, we are speaking primarily of the characteristics of the activities and thinking in the variety of academic programs around the nation which are designated "urban studies," or some term closely akin to it. Among the major programs of this type at the present time, most of which are organized as separate centers or institutes, are the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard-M.I.T., The Center for Metropolitan Studies at Northwestern, the Institute for Urban Studies at Pennsylvania, the Center for Urban and Regional Studies at North Carolina, the Division of Urban Affairs at Delaware, the Division of Urban Studies at Cornell, the Center for Metropolitan Studies in Washington, D. C., the Institute of Urban and Regional Development at the University of California-Berkeley, the Center for Urban Studies at Chicago, the Urban Program at Wisconsin, the Institute for Urban Studies at Columbia Teachers College, and the Urban Studies Center at Rutgers. Experiences at Rutgers will be relied on most

heavily in this discussion, of course, since we know most about them. (As a matter of fact, the communication among these various programs is not great - one mark of a new field.)

That the Rutgers program is unique in several respects should be noted, since this will undoubtedly affect the orientation of this article. First, the program specializes in the social aspects of urban studies, and is rooted most firmly in the discipline of sociology. Second, it has tried to combine, in roughly equal amounts, research and extension. Third, it does not conduct any academic education programs in the urban studies field. Fourth, it is set up independently at the Provost level and does not have formal ties to any other existing department or division within the University, except through joint-appointments.

To the degree that urban studies can be academically classified it must be considered an academic field (not a disciplines, and probably not a potential discipline). The primary task of a discipline is to analyze a variety of concrete phenomena by abstracting certain aspects from them (thus

economics is theoretically concerned with the "allocation of scarce resources" aspect of all concrete phenomena, whether a firm, a city, or the world; sociology is theoretically concerned with the "normative" aspect of all phenomena - a family, a city, or society). The primary task of a field, on the other hand, is to focus a variety of such analytic disciplines on one set of concrete on phenomena (thus medicine is concerned with the human body, education with the institution of education, international relations with the relations among national states-and each of these fields consists, essentially, of a variety of the basic disciplines working together). The field of urban studies, therefore, can be considered as analogous to the fields just mentioned plus business and a number of others, including agriculture, in that it is an interdisciplinary focus on a set of concrete phenomena to which has been given the label "urban." There is an increasing agreement in the field on this point. The principal issue, therefore, is the definition of the term "urban."

The term "urban" may not have to be carefully defined in connection with a variety of activities, but these do not include urban studies. academic establishment, In the organized intellectual pursuits must be defined with a great degree of rigor and they must tread to a minimum on other organized pursuits. A common notion has it that "urban studies are studies of the city as an entity in all its aspects." While this is a quite alluring notion, it fails to define "the city," it does not take cognizance of the fact that almost every discipline and field is studying some aspect of the city, many in a very major way, and it assumes a degree of integration in the organized pursuit of knowledge that is far beyond the capabilities of a single field, to say nothing of a single research center. Some might suggest that this lack of the capacity to be integrative is a major failing of contemporary academic institutions. But from such reasoning one would probably have to conclude that entire universities should become centers for urban studies -an intriguing idea, but one which takes us somewhat afield from the major concerns of this article.

Chapter 5
Sociological Theories

Critical Theory

Critical theory is the name given to that school of thought that emerged from the writings of the members of the Frankfurt school, among them T.W.Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, and Friedrich Pollock. They were among a group of German intellectuals at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt who continued their association from the 1930s through the period of the Second World War and on into the postwar era. They were drawn together by a common inter- est in Marxism and its relevance to a world dominated by Stalinism in the East and by emerging Fascism in Europe. Critical theory was distinguished from traditional, i.e., scientific social theory, by its commitment to a moral concept of progress and emancipation that would form the foundation for all its studies. It was multidisciplinary in its approach, drawing upon psychology, sociology, economics, and politics to develop its unique standpoint, and it was committed, finally, to the idea that knowledge should

be put to use to achieve a just and democratic social order.

Jürgen Habermas, who studied with Jürgen Habermas, T.W.Adorno, one of the major figures of the Frankfurt School, is considered the foremost contemporary exponent of critical theory. Generally regarded as the leading German social theorist of our time, and quite possibly the most important since Max Weber, Habermas has written extensively in the areas of philosophy and sociology. Born in 1929, Habermas studied in Germany and has taught philosophy and sociology at the Universities of Heidelberg and Frankfurt. Among his writings are the follow-ing Towards a Rational Society (1970),Knowledge and Human Interests (1971), Legitimation Crisis (1976), Communication and the Evolution of Society (1979), Reason and the Rationalization of society (1984).

The major focus of Habermas' work is the survival of democracy in a world that is increasingly transformed by science and technology. Habermas engages the great thinkers of the classical tradition in a reconstructive dialogue in which he develops and

creates new formulations. He is faithful to the emancipatory project of Marx yet mindful of the rationalization thesis developed by Weber, and his Project is to demonstrate how and why the "iron cage" need not be our destiny in spite of the fact that the rationalization process continues. Moreover, it is his intention to demonstrate how effective social change in the direction of a substantively just democratic order is possible in the absence of the proletariat as a revolutionary force.

These questions had focused the work of the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School, particularly Adorno, Horkheimer, and Marcuse. In Dialectic of Enlightenment (1972), Horkheimer and Adorno had reached their most pessimistic conclusions about the prospects of achieving the progressive goals of the Enlightenment. Similarly, Herbert Marcuse had argued in One- Dimensional Man (1964) that all sources of critical negation had been effectively absorbed into the established framework of values and power.

Rather than succumb to this pessimism, Habermas has challenged the formulations of his erstwhile teachers

and colleagues on the grounds that they have too readily accepted Marx's deterministic view of the relationship between substructure and superstructure, or in Weber's terms, between state and society. In both instances the autonomous potential of the life - world, with its indigenous forms of symbolic and communicative action, has been undermined or unappreciated, resulting in the view of the totally administered society, directed by technocratic elites and legitimated by an ideology that emerges from the widespread acceptance of science and instrumental rationality.

In Habermas' view the integrative needs of the social system do not entail the absorption and direction of the life world. The mode of communication in the life- world preserves conceptions of justice and freedom, even as these value are leached from the vocabulary of technocratic elites whose language is wholly couched in the instrumental terms of cost- benefit analysis. As the social system evolves in its political and economic institutions in the direction of greater efficiency,

predictability, coordination, and control, the life world evolves in the direction of greater reflexivity and more understanding of the common fate of all peoples. The life- world is thus characterized as having a logic of its own that does not auto-matically succumb to the influences of money and power as these emanate from the economic and political sub systems of the social system.

Habermas is well aware of the pressures to absorb the life- world of communicative action into the amoral system of instrumental or purposive action. The dangers are extensively developed in much of his work. However, Habermas does more than his predecessors when he opens up options for action that were foreclosed to them because of the limitations of their conceptual analyses. The consequences of these reconstructive dialogues with past and present thinkers in which Habermas is engaged are to be found in his formulation of alternatives that more accurately portray the historical moment that we occupy. In simple terms, Habermas sees two possible directions that confront

our society in the future: a technocratic solution, called the colonization of the life- world, or a democratic solution, envisioning a revitalization of democratic public life.

This is the new cultural politics that is expressive of life-world concerns and engages moral discourse that cannot readily be absorbed into the framework of instrumental politics. For Habermas, the new social movements are the harbingers of a new moral consensus, that will provide the basis for a revitalized democratic order.

In rejecting the necessity of the technocratic solution, Habermas resurrects the ideals of the Enlightenment and reminds us that this is a project that has yet to be completed. It is in this sense that Habermas is deemed a "modernist" namely as one who continues with the Enlightenment vision of the modern world as one in which progress, reason, truth, and justice even- tally triumph."

Exchange Theories

Exchange theory, which has its roots in utilitarianism and psychological behaviorism, emerged in the 1960 s as yet another paradigm of social theory to challenge functionalism. The rudimentary ideas of exchange theory are also to be found in certain notions developed by Georg Simmel as he sought to capture the fundamental nature of human life as an interactive process involving reciprocal relations, or exchange, within social associations. However, the work of George Homans is most strongly tied to the psychological behaviorism of the Harvard psychologist b.F. Skinner, while peter Blau has been more heavily influenced by the work of Simmel.

Both Homans and Blau express serious reservations about functionalism's reliance on values and norms in the explanation of social behavior. For Homans, in particular, the work of Durkheim and later of Parsons ascribed too much to the play of external social forces that impinge on behavior and too little on the individual. When Homans speaks these

sociological theories, there is a sense in which of he views them as ideological, a betrayal of western ideals. For Homans, Durkheim's theory of society is an attack on the liberal ideal of individual autonomy and on the idea that individuals are unique entities who ultimately give meaning to society.

Homans' sociology is therefore individualistic and attempts to build a theory about social life from the basic behavioristic propositions derived from B.F. Skinner's psychology of operant conditioning. What this means is that, extrapolating from the study of pigeons, Skinner and Homans formulate propositions about human behavior. In everyday social interaction, Homans maintains that individuals will act to secure rewards and avoid punishment. Social relationships are seen as exchange relationships in the sense that rewards such as approval or recognition are attendant on certain behaviors when these behaviors are rewarded an individual is likely to repeat them in similar situations If those behaviors elicit negative reactions then they are not likely to be repeated this leads to a view of human behavior in terms of costs

and benefits and of rational individuals who can calculate the consequences of their actions before taking them However it is highly problematic whether these formulations lead Homans to a theory of society or to an adequate explanation of social structures and social institutions as well as of social behavior beyond the face to face interaction.

In response to Homans' theories, peter Blau further developed exchange theory by extending his analysis to more complex social structures, exploring the development of social structures and the reciprocal relationship between these larger structures and social interaction on the individual level.

Blau defines a four-step sequence, which leads from interpersonal exchange to determination of status and power to legitimation and organization, and culminates in opposition and social change. He believes that the main force which draws and ties people together is social attraction. A person or institution which can offer rewards to individuals is highly attractive socially. Rewards granted serve to

strengthen social ties. Inadequate rewards lead to a deterioration of social ties. Two types of rewards are described by Blau: extrinsic rewards, which are tangible things, such as money, and intrinsic rewards which are intangible, such as love or respect.

In his attempt to understand exchange in complex social formations, Blau turns to a study of social groups. He believes that social interaction develops initially in social groups, which attract individuals by the rewards they offer. Blau discusses problems of power and legitimation as they impact on face-to-face relations and macro-structures or large scale social organizations. Social integration results from commonly shared values.

Blau establishes two categories of social groups: emergent social groups, which evolve according to the above principles, and established groups, which exist to achieve a specific goal, such as selling a product.

It is important to differentiate between small groups and large collective structures. In a small group, face-to-face exchange occurs between most

members, whereas in large groups, direct contact between all members is rare. There is therefore a need for some mediating force to tie members together. Blau argues that this demonstrates the inability of social behaviorism, based as it is on studies of face-to-face interaction, to explain social exchange in large structures. Although the behaviorists might argue that the same principles which apply to exchange on an individual scale apply on a larger scale, Blau asserts that these micro- interactions do not occur in the macro sphere. He argues that values and norms serve as mediators in large collectivities, since they facilitate indirect social exchange and determine social differentiation and integration. The reward for conformity to social values and norms is acceptance and approval as well as the maintenance of structures.

Blau's departure from the earlier views espoused by Homans should be evident, as is his attempt to integrate face-to-face interaction with the large-scale social structures and to account for their

existence. Whether Blau has succeeded where Homans failed is still open to question."

Feminist Theory :

Despite a substantial history of protest literature, feminism was not a strong or widespread movement until the 1960s, although a few periods of mobilization for the feminist cause existed, primarily around issues of suffrage and employment. Ideas of importance to women can be found in classical social theory (in Marx, Durkheim, weber, and Simmel), but the issue of gender as a variable in the analyses of social phenomena came into its own with the advent of the contemporary women's movement.

Feminism draws on the work of early sociological and psychological theorists, most particularly Marx, Engels, and Freud. Reworking the ideas of these writers, contemporary feminists analyze gender differences, inequality, and oppression The' discussion of gender explores the ways in which men and women construct and perceive reality and social relations differently. Social psychological theories

discuss gender differences in two ways. The phenomenological view, sees the everyday experiences of the individual as defined by typifications which are maintained by the collective action of individuals and which ultimately shape the psyches of the actors. Socialization theory examines how sex roles and expectations of men and women are transmitted and internalized. In each instance, the argument is that one's embodiment affects how one comes to know the world.

Theories of gender inequality go beyond the definition of differences between men and women to explore economic and social inequalities. These theories assert that inequality is the result of social organization, not of biology. They reject biological differences as a significant cause of gender inequality and maintain that the way in which gender is esteemed or regarded as well as changes in women's disadvantaged situation are a political project to be realized by a social movement.

Liberal feminism finds sexism to be the fundamental attitude that causes gender inequality. Sexism, the prejudice and discrimination against women, legitimates the belief in biological predetermination of women's roles. Liberal feminists

e.g., Sylvia Hewlett and Cynthia Fuchs Epstein) believe that sexist attitudes disadvantage women through socialization into submissive gender roles. They argue that the role that women are forced to play- that of the emotional, sexual, and household servant- renders them mindless, dependent, and sub consciously depressed. Liberal feminists argue that this oppressive situation for women is not easily changed because of women's isolation in private households and exclusion from the public sphere.

Liberal feminism is popular in the United States and serves as a fundamental philosophy for the National Organization of Women (NOW). The goal for which the liberal feminists are striving is a society in which all individuals have the opportunity to realize their potential. To this end, liberal feminists seek changes in the social position of women through legal

and political channels, an equalization of economic opportunities for women, changes in family structure, and an increase in individual awareness of and action against sexism.

Marxist feminists (e.g., Clare burton and Nancy Hartsock) draw their inspiration from Marxist social theory and particularly from Engels' The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State, where it is argued that the status of women is not biologically determined but results from the economic system of ownership and private property. Contemporary Marxist feminist theory concentrates on gender relations within the class system in capitalist society. Women within the bourgeois and working classes serve indispensable functions in maintaining the capitalist system. Bourgeois women are not propertied but are kept by propertied men as possessions to perform services that perpetuate the class interests of the bourgeosie They produce the heirs to property and provide the emotional support, the nurturing family and he sexual gratification for the men at property.

Working class women maybe hired more cheaply than their male counterparts and provide recruits to the reserve army of labor. they are reproducers of the work force needed to sustain production in capitalist society and, in their roles as mothers, inculcate their children with the appropriate values that sustain class relation, Only a revolutionary restructuring of property relations would eliminate this conditions and allow women to make their place as equals in a democratic and communal system .

Efforts to unite women across class lines are counterproductive in that they divide the working class and undermine its revolutionary potential in the destruction of capitalist property-relations.

Radical feminists (e.g., Mary Daly and Catherine Mackinnon) view social institutions as tools of male domination which support patriarchy and the oppression of women, All associations of social groups are characterized by domination and submission, and this is especially apparent in gender associations. The system of patriarchy teaches women how to sub-jugate themselves and teaches men how to dominate,

and this knowledge of sexist domination is carried over into other spheres. Radical feminists believe that patriarchy is all- pervasive in our culture and in our social institutions and that violence, such as rape and domestic abuse, and more subtle means of control, such as beauty standards and emotional harassment, are symptoms of the ills of patriarchy. The solution to this subordination offered by the radical feminists is women's recognition of their strength and value, the unification of women regardless of differences, and the empowerment of women through organized efforts within institutions where patriarchal values prevail.

Socialist feminists (e.g., Alison Jaggier and Nancy Fraser) combine Marxian and radical feminism in an attempt at theoretical synthesis breadth, and precision, and an explicit method for social analysis and change among these who call themselves socialist feminists, there are those who focus on capitalist patriarchy and those who wish to study domination in a wide range of contexts, including race, class, and gender, as well as forms of domination among nations

in the world system. Although both types of socialist feminist theory have been greatly influenced by Marx, they depart from emphasis on a linkage between materialism and production and seek to include consciousness and knowledge as important factors that shape and sustain structures of domination. Change can be achieved through increased consciousness of these structures and how they impact on social and individual levels and through the appropriate action to achieve the goals of the movement. Dorothy smith, who's latest work the conceptual practices of power:

A Feminist sociology of knowledge (1990), is excerpted below, was born in Great Britain in 1926. Received her degree from the University of London and went on to complete a PhD in sociology at the University of California at Berkeley in 1963. Since then Smith has published several important works relating to questions the feminist social theory.

Smith asks the question how sociology would look from a woman's standpoint. In doing so, she wishes to raise questions about the claims to objective knowledge that characterize mainstream sociology. What Smith argues is that all knowledge is knowledge from a particular standpoint and that what has been claimed as objective knowledge of society conceals a male bias. Moreover, as a discipline sociology functions within a larger social system with structures of economic and political power Smith contends that this framework of power, whose domain assumptions are widely accepted within mainstream sociology. Make it a discipline that shares a standpoint consonant with that prevailing network of power. In short, sociology is situated within a context and is not an objective discipline.

A central theme in Dorothy Smith's work is her theory of bifurcation. What she means to convey by hat term is a conceptual distinction between the world as we experience it and the world as we come to know it through the conceptual frameworks that science invents. In formulating the problem in these

terms, Smith is adopting the phenomenological perspective articulated by Alfred Schutz in his distinction between the scientific the commonsense ways of knowing the world. Smith argues for a restructuring of the sociological method of inquiry so that the direct experience of women's reality, hitherto repressed, becomes an active and critical voice. In reading the excerpt reprinted below, the reader may wish to ask about the meaning of the concept of "stand-point" and "bifurcation" If all knowledge is situated, then is all knowledge biased? Which women's voices are to be heard? Will they speak of their of their experiences with or voice or many, and with what consequences for a political movement.

Chapter 6
Globalization

The Globalizing of Social Life

Take a close look at the array of products on offer the next time you walk into the local shop or supermarket. The diversity of goods which we in the West have come to take for granted as available, for anyone with the money to buy them, depends on amazingly complex economic connections stretching across the world. The products on display have been made in or use ingredients or parts from, a hundred different countries. All these have to be regularly transported across the globe, and constant flows of information are necessary to co-ordinate the millions of daily transactions involved.

Figure 6.1 Globalization

Until our day', the anthropologist peter Worsley has written, human society has never existed" (Worsley, 1984) meaning that it is only in quite recent times that we can speak of forms of social association which span the earth. The world has become in important respects a single social system, as a result of growing ties of interdependence

Which now affect virtually everyone the global system is not just an environment within which particular societies- like Britain- develop and change? The social, political, and economic connections which cross-cut borders between countries decisively connation the fate of those living within each of them. The general term for the increasing interdependence of world society is globalization.

It would be a mistake to think of globalization simply as a process of the growth of world unity. The globalizing of social relations should be understood primarily as the reordering of time and distance in our lives. Our lives, in other words, are increasingly influenced by activities and events happening well away from the social contexts in which we carry on

our day-to-day activities. Although rapidly developing today, globalization is by no means completely new, dating from the time at which Western influence started to expand across the world some two or three centuries ago.

Our main concern in this chapter will be analyzing the uneven, or fragmented, nature of the processes which have drawn different parts of the globe into interrelation with one another. The globalizing of social relations has not proceeded evenly from the beginning it has been associated with inequalities between different regions in the world.

Especially important are the processes that created the Third World societies. Large disparities of wealth and living standards separate the industrialized (First and Second World) countries from those in the Third World- in which most of the planet's population live. We shall begin by looking at how the Third World societies have developed, and their relationship to the industrialized nations today. We shall then discuss some of the most important theories of world

development, before moving on to analyses international organizations and the media.

Chapter 7
Socialization

Socialization

The process of learning to become a member of society, including both formal education and the informal induction into social roles. In us anthropology the term enculturation has been proposed as preferable to 'socialization'. In accordance with the predominant us emphasis on the concept of culture rather than that of society. Studies of child rearing in cross-cultural perspective, and studies of the correlation between socialization practices and sociocultural patterns, have been an important element in culture and personality theory and in psychological anthropology. It should be emphasized that socialization or enculturation (which actually refer to two aspects of a single process of learning to participate in a sociocultural system) are not processes which are confined only to childhood, but continue throughout adult life as we learn to adopt new roles and strategies in accordance with our changing position and circumstances in society.

The nature of socialization processes have sometimes been invoked by anthropologists in order to explain phenomena such as the sexual division of laborer there features of sociocultural organization including kinship terminology and aspects of ritual and symbolic systems. However, these interpretations should be treated with caution. since they do not constitute true explanations of the phenomenon under study. A child's process of learning of a system already in existence cannot be held to explain the origin or functions of that system.

The life course

The various transitions through which individuals pass during their lives seem at first sight to be biologically fixed from childhood to adulthood and eventually to death. Things are much more complicated than this, however. The stages of the by human life course are social as well as biological in nature. They are influenced by cultural differences, and also by the material circumstances in which people live in given types of society. For example, in the modern West death is usually thought of in

relation to old age, because most people enjoy a life-span of seventy years or more. In traditional societies, however, more people died in younger age-groups than survived to old age.

Childhood

To those living in modern societies, childhood is a clear and distinct stage of life. Children' are distinct from 'babies' or 'toddlers'. Childhood intervenes between infancy and the onset of adolescence. Yet the concept of childhood, like so many other aspects of our social life today, haste only come into being over the past two or three centuries. In traditional societies, the young moved directly from a lengthy infancy into working roles within the community. The French historian, Philippe Aries, has argued that 'childhood', as a separate phase of development, did not exist in mediaeval times (Aries, 1973).

IN the paintings of mediaeval Europe, children were portrayed as little adults', having mature faces and the same style of dress as their elders. Children took part in the same work and play activities as

adults and did not have the distinct toys or games that we now take for granted.

Right up to the start of the twentieth century, in Britain and most other Western counties, children were put to work at what now seems a very early age. There are many countries in the world today, in fact, in which young children are engaged in full-time work, often in physically demanding circumstances (coal-mines for example) (UNICEF, 1987). The idea that children have distinctive rights, and the notion that the use of child labour is morally developments. Repugnant, are quite recent developments.

Some historians, developing the view suggested by Aries, have suggested that in mediaeval Europe most people were indifferent, or even hostile, to their children. This view has been rejected by others, however, and is not borne out by what we know of traditional cultures still existing today. Most parents, particularly mothers, almost certainly formed the same kinds of attachments to their children as are usual now. However, because of the long period of 'childhood' which we recognize today, societies are in

some respects more 'child-centered' than traditional ones. Both parenting and childhood have become more clearly distinct from other stages than was true of traditional communities.

It seems possible that, as a result of changes currently occurring in modern societies, 'childhood' is again becoming recoded as a distinct status. Some observers have suggested that children now grow up so fast' that the separate character of childhood is diminishing once more (Suransky, 1982; Winn, 1983). For example, even quite small children might watch the same television programs that adults do, becoming much more familiar early on with the adult world' than preceding generations.

Adolescence

The existence of 'teenagers' is a concept specific to modern societies. The biological changes involved in puberty (the point at which a person becomes capable of adult sexual activity and reproduction) are universal. Yet in many cultures these do not produce the degree of turmoil and uncertainty often found

among young people in the modern West. When there is an age-grade system, for example, coupled with distinct rites that signal the person's transition to adulthood, the process of psycho-sexual development generally seems easier to accomplish. Adolescents in traditional societies have less to 'unlearn' than their counterparts in modern ones, since the pace of change is slower. There is a time at which our children are required to be children no longer: to put away their toys and break with childish pursuits. IN traditional cultures, where children are already working alongside adults, this process of 'unlearning' is normally much less severe.

The distinctiveness of being a 'teenager' in Western societies is related both to the general extension of child rights and to the process of formal education. Teenagers often try to follow adult ways, but are treated in law as children. They may wish to be in work, but are constrained to stay in school. Teenagers are in between' childhood and adulthood, growing up in a society subject to continuous change (Elkind, 1984).

Adulthood

Most young adults in the West today can look forward to a life stretching right through to old age. In pre-modern times, few could expect such a future with much confidence. Death through sickness, plague or injury was much more frequent among all age-groups than it is today, and women in particular were at great risk because of the high rate of mortality in childbirth.

On the other hand, some of the strains we experience were less pronounced in previous times. People usually maintained a closer connection with their parents and other kin than in today's more mobile populations, and the routines of work they followed were the same as those of their forebears. In current times, major uncertainties have to be resolved in marriage, family life and other social contexts. We have to 'make our own lives more than people did in the past. The creation of sexual and marital ties, for instance, now depends upon individual initiative and selection, rather than being fixed by parents. This

represents greater freedom for the individual, but the responsibility can also impose strains and difficulties.

Keeping a forward-looking outlook' in middle age has a particular importance in modern societies. Most people do not expect to be doing the same thing all their lives' - as was usually the case for the majority of the population in traditional cultures. Men or women who have spent their lives in one career might find the level they have reached in middle age unsatisfying and further opportunities blocked. Women who spent their early adulthood raising a family, and whose children have lift home, may feel themselves to be without useful social value. The phenomenon of a 'mid-life crisis' is very real for many middle aged people. A person may feel he or she has thrown away the opportunities that life had to offer, or will never attain goals cherished since childhood. Yet there is no reason why the transitions involved should lead to resignation or bleak despair; a release from childhood dreams can be liberating.

Old Age

In traditional societies, older people were normally accorded a great deal of respect. Among cultures which had age-grades, the 'elders' usually had a major, often the final, say, over matters of importance to the community as a whole. Within families, the authority of both men and women often increased with age. In industrialized societies, by contrast, older people tend to lack authority within either the family or the wider social community. Having retired from the labor-force, they may be poorer than ever before in their lives. At the same time, there has been a great increase in the proportion of the population aged over sixty-five. Only one in thirty people in Britain in 1900 was over sixty-five; the proportion today is one in five. The same sort of change is found in all the industrially advanced countries.

Transition to the age-grade of elder in a traditional culture often marked the pinnacle of the status an individual - at least a male - could achieve. In the industrialized societies, retirement tends to bring

the very opposite consequences. No longer living with their children and ejected from the economic arena, it is not easy for older people to make the final period of their life rewarding. It used to be thought that those who successfully cope with old age do so by turning to their inner resources, becoming less interested in the external rewards social life has to offer. While this may no doubt often be true, it seems likely that, in a society in which many are physically healthy in old age, an 'outward- looking' view will come more and more to the fore. Those in retirement might find renewal in what has been called the Third Age' (following childhood and adulthood), in which a new phase of education begins.

Death and The Succession of The Generations

In mediaeval Europe, death was much more visible than it is today. IN the modern world most people die in the enclosed environments of hospitals, removed from contact with their relatives or friends. Death is seen by many people in the West today as the end of an individual life, not as part of the process of the renewal of the generations. The weakening of

religious beliefs has also altered our attitudes towards death. For us death tends to be a subject that goes un discussed. It is taken for granted that people are frightened of dying, and thus doctors or relatives quite commonly hide from a mortally ill person the news that they will shortly die.

According Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, the process adjusting to imminence of death is compressed process socialization that involves several stages (Kubler-Ross, the process of adjusting to imminence of death is compressed process socialization that involves several (Kubler-Ross, 1975). The first denial-individual refuses accept what happening.

The second stage anger, particularly among those dying relatively young, who resentful at robbed of full span of life. This followed by stage bargaining. Individual concludes dual with fate, with the deity, to peacefully allow to live see some particular event significance, such as family marriage birthday. Subsequently, the individual frequently depression. Finally, can overcome, might move towards a phase

acceptance, which an attitude of peace achieved face of approaching death.

Kubler-Ross notes that when she asks her lecture audiences what they fear most about dying, the majority of people say they are afraid of the unknown, pain, separation from loved ones or unfinished projects. According to her, these things are really only the tip of the iceberg. Most of what we associate with death is unconscious, and this has to be brought to light if we are to be able to die in an accepting way. Unconsciously, people cannot conceive of their own death except as a malicious entity come to punish them - which is how they also unconsciously think of serious illness. If they can see that this association is an irrational one-that, for example, being terminally ill is not a punishment for wrongdoing - the process is eased (Kubler -Ross, 1987).

In traditional cultures, in which children, parents and grandparents often live in the same household, there is usually a clear awareness of the

connection of death with the succession of the generations.

In traditional cultures, in which children, parents and grandparents often live in the same household, there is usually a clear awareness of the connection of death with the succession of the generations. Individuals feel themselves to be part of a family, and a community, which endures indefinitely, regardless of the transience of personal existence. In such circumstances, death may perhaps be looked upon with less anxiety than in the more rapidly changing, individualistic social circumstances of the industrialized world.

How society makes boys and girls into men and women?

Before a newborn baby leaves the delivery room in some maternity hospitals, a bracelet with its family name is put around its wrist. If the baby is a girl, the bracelet is pink; if a boy, the bracelet is blue. These different colored bracelets symbolize the importance our society places on sex differences, and this branding is the first act in a sex role socialization process that will result in adult men and women being almost as different as we think they 'naturally' are.

Socialization and society

Every society has a set of ideas about what people are supposed to believe and how they should act - about what is natural and right in beliefs and behavior. Children are taught norms, values, and expectations by parental instruction, in school, and by example. This social learning process is called socialization.

While the extent to which this socialization takes' will vary, most children will grow up to act pretty much as they are expected to. The child has internalized society's standards he or she has come to believe that certain types of behavior s are natural and right. Furthermore, behavior at odds with society's standards is costly - at best one is considered deviant; at worst, thrown in jail.

While all societies have expectations about how people are to behave, few expect all their members to behave in the same way. What is considered proper, natural behavior will depend on certain attributes of the person-such as class, age, occupation, or sex. Perhaps-because sex is such as obvious differentiating characteristic, one finds sex roles in almost all societies. Women are expected to think and behave differently from men, although the extent varies between different societies.

The societal expectation and belief that women and men are very different tends to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. The socialization process ensures that so long as such beliefs are widely held, girls and boys will

grow up to be different from each other in just the ways expected.

Early Childhood

The baby is often taken home wrapped in a blanket of the proper' color, either pink or blue, to a nursery decorated in the same color. While this doesn't make any difference to the baby, it shows the importance the parents attach to its sex. One study of parents' reactions to their newborn infants found that girl-babies were described as significantly softer, finer featured, smaller and more inattentive than boy babies even though there actually were no sex differences in size or weight. Students' descriptions of a baby were also found to depend upon which sex they were told the child was. If told the baby was a girl, the students described it as 'littler', 'weaker' or 'cuddlier'. These studies indicate that, to a considerable extent, people see what they expect to see. Sex role socialization has led us to expect sex differences even in newborns.

These expectations do result in parents treating their male and female children differently. Sex linked differences in maternal behavior have been observed towards 6-month-old infants. Not Mothers were found to touch, talk to, and handle their daughters more than their sons. Surprisingly, at 13 months the girls were more dependent on their mothers. They tended to stay closer to their mothers, to talk to them and touch them more than boys did. Boys tended to show more independence and exploratory behavior, to be more vigorous, and to run and make more noise in their play. The authors of a study of early childhood behavior hypothesize that 'in the first year or two, the parents reinforce those behaviors they consider sex-role appropriate and the child learns these sex-role behaviors independent of any internal motives.

The overprotection most little girls receive seems to result in one of the few early intellectual differences between boys and girls. Boys tend to be better at spatial perception, the ability to visualize objects out of context. This is important because it seems to be related to the sort of analytic thinking

required in the sciences. Early independence training, that is, allowing a child to explore and solve problems on its own, is conducive to the development of this ability. Girls are much less likely to receive such training. 'Overprotected' boys also tend to do less well on spatial perception tests.

Reinforcement of sex-role appropriate behavior takes place in a variety of subtle and not so subtle ways. Boys and girls are given different toys from a very young age. Boys' toys are more varied, more likely to encourage activities outside the house and have a higher competency eliciting value. In nursery school, children are strongly encouraged to play with the 'appropriate' toys. Girls are more severely reprimanded for noisy balanced boisterous behavior. Boys are allowed and often encouraged to be aggressive. One study found that a father often takes pride in his son's of being a 'holy terror' but is worried if his daughter en is 'bossy', 'Fathers expect their daughters to be resilience, sweet, pretty, affectionate and well-liked'.

These middle-class fathers were, however, much concerned about behavior than that their daughters. They worried about lack responsibility inadequate performance school, insufficiently aggressive or excessively passive athletic inadequacies, over conformity, excitability, excessive fearfulness and 'childish' behavior.

Such behavior is considered inappropriate when a male child and, presumably, penalized. When it appears in girls, it is not source of worry and is not discouraged, at least not to same extent.

Another study of nursery school children found very much the same patterns. Parents valued malleability, cooperativeness, and willingness to take directions, but disapproved of assertiveness and quarrelsomeness in girls. In boys, independence, assertiveness, and inquisitiveness were valued; timidity and fearfulness disapproved. The teachers' attitudes were similar those of the parents. They encouraged boys to be daring and aggressive, but discouraged girls. Their behavior towards child having trouble climbing the top a climbing frame, for

example, varied with the sex of the child. A girl would be told, 'Take easy, dear we'll help you down'; Boy, 'that's the boy! You can make it if you want to!"

Thus, from birth, male and female children are treated differently and are rewarded punished for displaying differing type's behavior.

By the age of 3, children can label themselves correctly as boy or girl, although they are not clear about the genital differences underlying that distinction. They do know which jobs are performed by men and which by women, and what they report is the traditional, sex stereotyped division of labor. By the age of 5 or 6, children are not only clear that there is a distinction between the male and female role but are also aware that the male role is the more highly valued. "Fathers are perceived as more powerful, punitive, aggressive, fearless, instrumentally competent and less nurturing than females.. Thus power and prestige appear as one major attribute of children's sex-role stereotypes. By the age of 6, children consistently attribute more social power to

the father; they consider him cleverer than the mother and the head of the family.

All small children seem to think their own sex is best and to express preferences for others of the same sex. Psychologists explain these findings on the basis of the child's egotism - 'what's like me is best. For boys, the same sex preferences continue throughout childhood. With girls a decline sets in at the time they learn the greater prestige attributed to the male role. Girls, as they get older, become less and less likely than boys to say their own sex is better. Their opinion of boys and boys' abilities grows better with age, while the boys' opinions of girls grow worse. Girls, then, begin to develop a negative self-image at an early age.

In the child's early years the family is the most important socializing agency, but it is not the only one. Children's books and television programs also influence the child's perceptions of what is normal and appropriate. Until very recently both presented a rigidly sex-stereotyped view. Most books for young children are about boys; when girls or women appear,

they are restricted to traditional feminine pursuits. One mother reports that when she started reading to her daughter at age 2, the little girl would ask questions like 'Why aren't the girls fixing their own bikes?' and 'Why isn't the little girl riding the horse?' After a few years of such books, the woman found that her daughter was constantly making derogatory remarks about girls 'Girls can't do anything'; 'Girls can only do dumb things.'

Children's television programs further reinforce the notion that girls are less important and capable than boys. On the highly acclaimed Sesame Street, females appear less than half as often as males and about one-third as often when the appearance involves any dialogue. The women who do appear are almost always wives and mothers virtually all [the programs] emphasized that there is men's work and then there is women's work that the men's work is outside the home and the women's work in the home. Of course children are quite aware of which type of work is valued by society.

Primary education

Primary education continues the sex-role socialization process. One study found that more than half of the teachers questioned admitted that they consciously behave differently toward boys and girls. Several studies have found that boys receive more attention from the teacher than girls. While teachers tended to direct more supportive remarks to girls and more critical ones to boys, they were much more likely to reward creative behavior in boys than in girls. The message to girls is that one does best by being good and being conformist; creativity is reserved for boys.

Having themselves grown up in a society where sex roles are strongly defined, most teachers, female as well as male, have internalized 'sexist' attitudes, and such attitudes affect their behavior towards their students. Most teachers probably never say girls are inferior to boys; yet they convey their feelings through their behavior. An occasional teacher is more blatant. A young woman recalls a discussion of a story concerning a male chef when she was in an American

primary school. One pupil commented that only a 'sissy' would cook because that's a woman's job.

The teacher's response surprised us all. She informed us calmly that men make the best cooks, just as they make the best dress designers, singers, and laundry workers. 'Yes'- she said 'anything a woman can do a man can do better."

The attitudes of parents, teachers, and peers affect the child's view of what is natural and right. So, also, do the schoolbooks from which he or she learns to read. These provide one of the child's first views of the wider world outside his or her neighborhood. What, then, is 'reality' as portrayed by elementary schoolbooks?

An excellent American study entitled Dick and Fane as Victims answers this question. Because the answer is so revealing, the study's results will be presented in detail. A content analysis of 134 school reading books for primary-school children ('elementary readers') was carried out. These books are used throughout the USA.

IN the world of elementary readers, there are a lot more boys than girls. There are many more stories about boys. Boys also appear more frequently in illustrations; when girls are shown, they are often just scenery. The ratios speak for themselves.

Boy-centered stories to girl-centered stories 5:2

Adult male main character to adult female main character 3:1

Male biographies to female biographies 6:1

Male animal stories to female animal stories2:1

Male folk or fantasy stories to female folk or fantasy stories.4:1

In terms of sheer numbers these books portray a male-dominated world. The numbers by themselves convey to the child the notion that males are more important and more interesting. The content of the stories leaves no doubt about it.

In stories emphasizing perseverance and initiative, boys outnumber girls by 169 to 47. At what

sort of obstacles do girls overcome? In one story a girl wins a tennis match despite a dirty tennis dress.

Bravery and heroism are male traits - 143 to 36. Typically boys rescue whole towns and save planes and spaceships; the occasional brave girl rescues younger siblings or small animals.

The acquisition of skills and coming of age themes are again found predominantly in stories about boys (151 to 53). In one story a boy kills a grizzly while taking care of the ranch in his father's absence. Any grown-up skills a girl learns tend to be domestic ones.

Not only are boys more frequently involved in exploration and adventure stories (216 to 68); their adventures are a lot more adventuresome. Boys explore in China and meet bears; girls watch their first snowstorm from inside the house.

When discussing stories on the theme of autonomy and normal assertiveness, the authors comment, Stories about girls behaving as complete and independent persons are so rare they seem odd.

The traits that are considered desirable in our society are depicted in these books as male traits.

When one looks more carefully at how girls are portrayed in these stories, it might be better if there were no stories about girls at all. The traits of passivity, docility, and dependence are displayed by 119 girls and only 19 boys. Girls cry a lot; they depend on boys to help them with things they should be quite capable of doing themselves; they are shown as spectators of life. In both stories and illustrations, girls spend a large part of their lives watching and admiring boys.

A good part of the rest of their lives is spent doing domestic work scrubbing floors, washing dishes, baking- and usually enjoying it: 'A girl's inborn aptitude for drudgery is presented in the same spirit as a black person's "natural rhythm". A girl who succeeds at anything non-domestic is seen as exceptional. One biographical story insists, 'Amelia Earhart was different from the beginning from other girls.

If the image of girls is bad, the portrayal of their mothers is even worse. Mother is not really human at all. She is the perfect servant. 'a limited, colorless, mindless creature'. When a boy is stuck in a tree, he has to wait for his father to come home to rescue him. Mother is evidently incapable of thinking of bringing the ladder. Not only does mother never do anything un domestic; even in this sphere tasks are strictly sex segregated. Father does all the garden work and is the 'fixer'; mother does all the inside work. The notion that tasks might be alternated or even shared appears to be considered heresy. Basically mother is dull.

Another study, one of California elementary school texts, found a woman scientist. She was the only working woman in a series of descriptions of present day professionals, and the text says twice that she is working on an idea not her own. The men scientists are shown as doing work that requires originality.

According to these books, then, the normal girl is dependent, fearful, and incompetent. Girls are not even shown as-excelling in schoolwork, as they

actually do in primary-level education in most countries.

Although this data referred to above, deals with American school reading books, similar analyses have been made of the school literature of other countries. Despite clear cultural differences, the same types of distinctions between men and women appear in British, Italian, French, German, Spanish and Greek books, etc.

The image of males, while much more positive, does contain some disturbing elements. Ingenuity, independence, creativity, and bravery are presented as admirable male traits, but excessive aggression and even dishonesty are not clearly condemned. Even when the fantasy and animal stories were excluded, almost 100 stories condoning meanness and cruelty as part of the story line were found. The study concludes that 'boys are being given permission to vent a twisted type of aggression and sadism. As far as dishonesty goes, the authors comment, 'there is a blurry line drawn between praiseworthy enterprise and rather

shady accomplishment in which a bright lad with a head on his shoulders bends the rules to his needs.

Boys are being taught that overt aggressiveness is at least normal, if not praiseworthy, male behavior and that winning is more important than playing by the rules. They are also taught that displaying emotion is masculine. Showing emotions is a feminine trait and one that attests to the female's weakness and foolishness. Under the most extreme circumstances boys must keep calm; in contrast, girls become terrified and cry on the slightest provocation. Only on the pages of a reader does a girl weep non-stop from morning to night over a broken doll. Only on the pages of a reader does a boy remain impassive while his canoe proceeds out of control through the rapids.

The images the texts present for children to model themselves upon are almost completely negative in the case of girls and contain destructive elements in the case of boys. But do these books really have an effect? They might not have much if these were the only forces pushing children into sex stereotyped attitudes and behavior. But in fact the

texts present and reinforce society's attitudes toward men and women.

This is well illustrated by looking at the content of TV programs. An American study covering 1973 is of interest in this respect, as so many of the peak viewing (prime-time) programs are shown in many Western countries as well as the USA. In any case, studies like that of Himmelweit et al and Noble have indicated that the differences in stereotyping of sex roles, and children's responses to them, do not differ greatly between the USA and the UK. However, the data seem to indicate that girls are much less likely than boys to identify with heroes/heroines although as there are fewer female heroines this may not be so significant as it appears.

Television carries much the same message as the children's readers. A study of the most frequently watched American prime-time shows during the 1973 viewing 'season' found that 61 percent of the major characters were male. On the adventure shows, 85 percent were male. Thus TV, which takes up so many hours of most children's time, portrays a

predominantly male world. The women that do appear tend to be stereotyped el occupationally they are housewives, teachers, secretaries and waitresses. Only rarely does a a professional woman appear. On the adventure shows particularly, women are often depicted as incompetent. Forty-six percent of male behavior but only 14 percent of female behavior was classified as displaying competence; in contrast, 3 percent of male but 31 percent of female behavior displayed incompetence.

Sex-role stereotyping thus begins at birth and is conveyed by most of the institutions in our society. Family, school, and the media teach children to think and act in sex-appropriate ways.

In many ways, until adolescence, the pressures are greater on the boy. Girls are allowed and encouraged to be dependent, but this is normal behavior for a small child. Boys, from a very young age, are told not to cry, not to run to mother but to fight back, to 'be a man', not to 'act like a girl'.

While allowing a child independence is important for intellectual development, pressing little boy to be physically aggressive and emotionally impassive is likely to leave scars. The child often knows that he is not really the person his parents expect him to be, even if he outwardly displays the expected behavior. Not surprisingly, many boys grow up with doubts about their masculinity, and many compensate for their doubts through overly 'masculine' behavior. A man who values physical strength and aggressiveness above all else, who is convinced that any display of emotion or sensitivity to others' feelings is a feminine characteristic, is likely to find life very difficult. In a complex, industrial society there are actually very few comfortable niches for the 'John Waynes' of the world.

For little boys the male role is frequently defined as the opposite of the female role. Father and mothers often tell a boy, when he's doing something of which they disapprove, that he is acting like a girl. This clearly contributes to the virulent anti girl feelings expressed by many little boys.

The idea that males are naturally brave, independent, and resourceful while females are timid and dependent tends to be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Parents base their child rearing practices on this idea. Thus boys are given more independence at an earlier age than girls. They are allowed to play away from home, to walk to school alone, to pick their own activities, movies and books earlier than their sisters. Boys are also given more personal privacy - to pick friends and girlfriends and to come and go as they please without parental consent being required.

Those males are physically strong and females weak are another self-fulfilling prophecy. Boys are strongly encouraged and sometimes forced to participate in athletics from a very early age. Being good at sports is an important element of masculinity' in our society. A boy who doesn't love football or games is often considered a sissy, if not an incipient homosexual.

Delicacy and even physical weakness are still components of our notion of femininity. Girls are not

encouraged in some societies to participate in athletics.

In some cases, there may be a segregation of sports into more 'masculine' and more 'feminine' rugby and football, for example, falling into the former category, and netball into the latte

Chapter 8
Third World societies

The formation of nations

The large majority of Third World societies are in areas that underwent colonial rule-in Asia, Africa and South America. One or two are still colonies (Hong Kong, for example, is a British colony. although control is due to pass to China in 1997). A few colonized areas gained independence early, like Haiti, which became the first autonomous black republic in January 1804. The Spanish colonies in South America acquired their freedom in 1810, while Brazil broke away from Portuguese rule in 1822. In most early examples of the formation of independent states, European settlers were usually instrumental in the separation from the original colonizing country (Haiti was an exception). This was the case, of course, with the founding of the United States.

Some countries which were never ruled from Europe were none the less strongly influenced by colonial relationships, the most notable example being China. By force of arms China was compelled to enter into trading agreements with European powers, by

which the Europeans were allocated the government of certain areas, including a number of major sea-ports. Hong Kong is the last remnant of these. Most Third World nations have only become independent states since the Second world War often following bloody anti-colonial struggles a Examples include India, which very shortly after achieving self-rule split into India and Pakistan; range of other Asian countries (like Burma, Malaysia or Singapore); and many states in Africa (including, for example, Kenya, Nigeria, Zaire, Tanzania and Algeria).

Many Third World countries were no distinct societies before colonization. Their boundaries derive from imposition of European rule, the colonists usually having forced together many different cultures under a single administration, or split cultures where territorial boundaries between two European powers were established. Although substantial colonial expansion occurred from the sixteenth century onwards, most of the regions that have now become Third World states were only colonized in the nineteenth century. India did not come fully under

British rule until 1860s, around the same period as the consolidation of British administration in Malay, Singapore, and Burma Africa was the Dark Continent to Europeans and was largely unexplored until the mid-nineteenth century. In 1870s and 1880s, the leading European countries competed with one another to acquire different parts of Africa, and effective systems of colonial government were established there somewhat later. the period of colonial rule was thus in some cases very short, not long enough to integrate a diversity of indigenous groups under an effective administration. This explains why many Third World states today are internally so diverse and fragmented. At the time of Kenyan independence in 1963, for instance, some people could remember personally the period before the establishment of white rule

The economic consequences of colonialism

The European powers acquired colonies for a number of reasons.

1- Colonial possessions added to political influenced and power of the parent country and provided sites for military bases.

2- Most Westerners also saw colonialism as a civilizing enterprise, helping upgrade native peoples from their 'primitive conditions Missionaries wished to bring Christianity to the heathen.

3- There was an important economic motive from the early years of Western expansion, food, raw materials and other goods were taken from the colonized areas to fuel Western economic development.

Even where colonies were not acquired primarily for economic gain, the colonizing country nevertheless almost always strove to achieve sufficient economic return to cover the costs of its administration of the area.

Chapter 9
Max Weber

Max Weber (1864-1920)

The son of a member of the Reichstag and an activist Protestant mother, grew up in Berlin in an intellectually lively home.

Frequently visited by the Bismarckian era's leading politicians and intellectuals After receiving an outstanding

Figure 9.1 Max Weber

secondary education in languages, history and the classics, he studied law economics, history and philosophy at the universities of Heidelberg, Strasbourg, Gottingen and Berlin Although his first appointments, at the universities of Freiburg (1894) and Heidelberg (1897), were in the faculty of economics, he is best known as one of the major founders of modern sociology and as one of the intellectual giants of interdisciplinary scholarship. As

strange as it may sound, he ranged freely across the entire palette of written history, from the ancient Greeks to the early Hindus, from the Old Testament prophets to the Confucian literati, from the economic organization of early Near Eastern civilizations to the trading companies of the medieval west, and from the origins of continental law (o comparative analyses of the rise of the modern state.

The diversity of these themes only a small sampling should not lead us to view Weber as a scholar of unlimited energies frantically leaping about for its own sake. Rather, when looked al closely, a grand design becomes visible in his writings, yet one the remained incomplete and whose inner coherence can be plotted only against the inner torments of their author. Weber and others of his generation in Germany viewed the dawning of rapid industrialization and the modern age itself with profound ambivalence rather than as a first step towards a new era of progress. While welcoming the possibilities it offered for a burgeoning of individualism and an escape from the feudal chains of

the past, he saw few firm guidelines in reference to which modern people might be able to establish a comprehensive meaning for their lives or even their everyday actions (Weber 1946). Moreover, the overpowering bureaucracies indispensable to the organization of industrial societies were endowed with the capacity to render people politically powerless as well as to replace creative potential with stifling routine and merely functional relationships. These developments threatened to individualism. Curtail the flowering of individualism.

Just such quandaries stood behind all of Weber's sociological writings, particularly those undertaken after 1903. In these studies he wished to define precisely the uniqueness of western civilization and to understand on a universal scale the manner in which people, influenced by social constellations, formulate meaning for their lives that guides action. A curiosity founded in such questions instilled in him an amazing capacity to place himself, once he had constructed a 'mental image of another era and civilization, into the minds of those quite unlike

himself. This aim to understand how values, traditions and actions made sense to their beholders, however foreign they were to the social scientist investigating them, formed the foundation for Weber's verstehende sociology.

Perhaps it was this sensitivity, as well as a sheer respect (or meanings formulated over centuries that prompted Weber to construct one of his most famous axioms, one debated heatedly to this day. To him, all scientific judgments must be value-free: once researchers have selected (heir themes of enquiry, then personal values, preferences and prejudices must not be allowed to interfere with the collection and evaluation of empirical data (Weber 1949). All people involved in scientific work should avoid an inadvertent intermixture of their values with those of the actors being studied. To Weber, even scientists who happened to be Calvinists were duty-bound as long as they wished to pursue science to describe, for example, tribal sexual practices accurately and to interpret them in reference to their indigenous cultural significance, however repugnant they seemed

personally. This axiom also implied a strict division between that which exists (the question for scientific analysis) and that which should be (the realm of personal values).

In explicitly circumscribing the legitimate domain of science and denying it the right to produce ideals and values, Weber had a larger purpose in mind. He hoped to establish an inviolable realm within which individuals would be forced to confront themselves and autonomously formulate a set of personal values capable of guiding their actions and endowing them with meaning. Nothing less was required as a counterforce in an age in which bureaucratization and the scientific world-view threatened to encroach upon decision making, thus threatening viable individualism. Weber's own adherence to a value-free science, particularly in his studies of pre-modern and nonwestern societies, the penetration of his insight into the diverse ways in which meaning could be formed and patterned action ensued, and the universal-historical scope of his investigations, enabled him to write however

fragmented, incomplete and poorly organized a comparative-historical sociology of civilizations unique in the history of sociology.

Even though his interest focused upon comparisons between civilizations and causal analyses of differences. Weber's emphasis upon individual meaning and patterned action prevented him from taking the Hegelian absolute spirit, the Marxian organization of production and class struggle, or the social facts of Durkheim as his point of departure. Nor was he inclined, due to his continuous accentuation of the conflicts between diverse spheres of life (religious, political, economic, legal, and aesthetic) and the centrality of power and domination, to view societies, like Parsons, as basically integrated wholes. In fact, Weber's orientation to individuals and the meaning they attach to their action would seem to carry him dangerously close to a radical subjectivism. Two procedures guarded against this possibility.

First, in his substantive studies, it was the patterned actions of individuals in groups, and not individuals acting alone, that captured his attention. It

was only this regular action that, according to Weber, proved to be culturally significant and historically powerful. Individuals tended to become knit together into collectivities primarily in six ways: acknowledgement of common material interests (as occurred when classes were formed), recognition of common' ideal interests' (as took place when status groups arose), adherence to a single world-view (as occurred in religious groups), acknowledgement of effectual feelings (as found in person-oriented groups, such as the household, the clan and the neighborhood), awareness of relationships of legitimate domination (as look place in the charismatic, patriarchal, feudal, patrimonial and bureaucratic forms of domination), and recognition of traditions. However massive and enduring an institution might appear, it must not, according to Weber, be understood as more than the orientations of individuals acting in common.

The second means employed by Weber to avoid lapsing into a radical subjectivism involves his major methodological tool: the 'ideal type' (Weber 1949).

Indeed, this heuristic construct so effectively guarded against this possibility that a number of commentators have accused Weber - particularly in his later work -of moving away from a verstehende sociology and of reifying the social phenomena he studies. In pan, Weber himself is to blame Instead of discussing, for example, bureaucratically-oriented action, he uses the term bureaucracy, and rather than using class-oriented action, he speaks of classes.

Perhaps the ideal type can be best understood against the backdrop of Weber's view of social reality. For him, when examined at its basic level, social reality presents a ceaseless flow of occurrences and events, very few of which, although repeatedly interwoven, see to fall together coherently. Due to its infinite complexity, no investigator can expect to capture reality exhaustively, nor accurately all its contours. Even to render accurately all its contours.

Weber propounded the use of the ideal type to confront this conundrum. This purely analytic tool enables a purchase upon reality through its simplification. Far from arbitrary, however, the

procedures for doing so involve a deliberate exaggeration of the essence of the phenomenon under study and its reconstruction in a form with greater internal unity than ever appeared in empirical reality. Thus, Weber's conceptualization, for example, of the bureaucracy or the Calvinist does not aim to portray accurately all bureaucracies or Calvinists, but to call attention only to essential aspects. As an artificial construct, the ideal type abstracts from reality and fails to define any particular phenomenon. None the less, it serves crucial purposes: it allows us, once an entire series of ideal types appropriate for a theme under investigation have been formed, to undertake comparisons; and, when used as a heuristic yard stick in comparison to which a specific bureaucracy or Calvinist church can be defined and its deviation assessed, it enables an isolation and clear conceptualization of distinctive attributes. Only after a number of ideal-typical 'experiments' have been conducted can we move on to questions regarding the purely empirical causes for the uniqueness of the particular case. For Weber, causal questions remained central rather than ones of definition alone.

Chapter 10
Auguste Comte

Auguste Comte (1798-1857)

Philosopher of science and social visionary, is perhaps best known for giving a name to a subject he outlined rather than practiced: sociology. As the comtist motto ' Order and Progress thought is his search, in chaotic times, for suggests, the keynote of this

Figure 10.1 Auguste Comte

principles of cultural and political order that were consistent with the forward march of society. Born at Montpellier in southern France of a conservative, middle-class family, Comte received a good scientific education at the Ecole Polytechinque in Paris, a center of advance. Liberal thought. From 1817 to 1824 he was closely associated with the radical prophet of new industrial order, Henri de Saint-Simon, whom he owed a considerable (and large malvitiano disavowed) intellectual dept. at the same time on to abortive despite the loss of his catholic faith, he was drawn to

some of the ideas of the conservative think Joseph de Maistre, and eventually based much the "religion of humanity "on medieval catholic models.

Comte's writings fall into two main phases, which express different aspects of single, unified vision of knowledge and society rather than a change in fundamental emphasis of the first, the major work is the six-volume course de philosophie positive (1830-42). (the positive philosophy of august Comte, 1896) which sets forth a developmental epistemology of science. In his later writings, especially the Discourse sur l'esprit positif, (1844) (Discourse on the positive spirit), the system de politique positive (1848-54) (system of positive polity, 1875-77), and the catechism of positive Religion (1858), comte gives the blueprint of a new social order, including the 'religion of humanity' which was to provide its ethical underpinning for comte, 'positivism' was not merely the doctrine that the methods of the natural sciences provide the only route to a knowledge of human nature and society (as it has latterly come to mean), but also a source of value for social reorganization,

'sociology' is, in fact, the specific the knowledge requisite to this task.

In the course comte sets forth the famous 'law of the three stages'. In its origins human thought is 'theological' making use of an idiom of spiritual forces; later, in a phase which culminates in the enlightenment, it moves to a 'metaphysical' stage, which is conjectural and largely negative; finally, when it is able to grasp real causal relations between phenomena, it achieves the scientific or 'positive' stage. To these stages there also correspond characteristic social and political institutions individual sciences develop in the same manner, emerging at the positive stage in the order of their complexity: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology and, finally, sociology. Comte's view of sociology is highly programmatic: he argues for an analytic distinction between social 'statics' and 'dynamics'. And for society to be analysed as a system of interdependent parts, based upon a consensus.

Despite his religious eccentricities, Comte exercised an immediate influence on his

contemporaries. J. S. Mill introduced his work to the English-speaking world, where the positive philosophy appealed as a check to the extremes of liberal individualism, and even Spencer adopted the name 'sociology'. Though he is little read today, the functionalist and natural scientific paradigms which comte advocated remained in sociology's mainstream.

Chapter 11
Emile Durkheim

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917)

He was the founding father of academic sociology in France and the most influential early theoretician of archaic or primitive societies. A Jew from north-east France, Durkheim followed the educational and ideological path of the positivist generation of great Republican academics. He was educated at the Ecole Normal Superieure, taking a

Figure 11.1 Emile Durkheim

teacher's degree in philosophy and a doctorate (1893). After a short period as a lycee teacher, he spent a year in German universities studying social theory: On his return, he was appointed the first ever lecturer in 'social science and pedagogy' in a French university, at Bordeaux (1887). In 1902 he transferred to the Sorbonne, where he held a chair for the rest of his life.
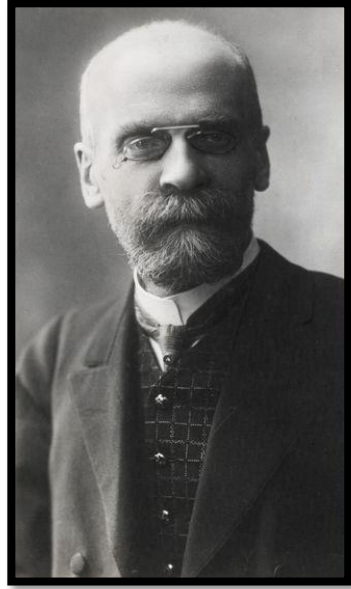
Durkheim's seminal teaching and publications included De la division du travail social (1893) (the Division of labor in society 1933). Les Regales de la method sociologique (1894) (the Rules of sociological) Method 1938,le suicide (1897) (suicide 1952), and work socialism, family organization, scope development German social theories. Attracted cluster gifted young scholars mostly philosophers but also historians, economists and jurists (including Mauss, Hubert, Simiand, Fauconnet, Richard and Bougle) - whom founded the Annee Sociologique (1898). This was essentially critical journal intended cover whole range emerging social disciplines (social geography, demography, collective psychology, social and economic history, history religion, ethnology and sociology proper). Was become instrumental developing and promoting synthetic theory social facts which overrode earlier disciplinary divisions.

Durkheim's later work included studies and lecture courses on the sociology of education, morality and moral science, pragmatism, family sociology, history of the social sciences, vital statistics

and several other topics, but after the birth of the Annee he was primarily concerned with the study archaic societies, and especially with primitive religion and social organization. The problem of social cohesion in so-called poly segmentary societies which, according to Durkheim, were based on mechanical solidarity (as against the organic solidarity of modern societies, based on a division of labor) had been a major theme in his doctoral thesis (1893), but there it lacked any significant ethnological underpinning. Durkheim developed an intense interest in primitive society much later, after reading contemporary British 'religious' anthropologists', above all, Robertson smith and Frazer. This resulted in a reorientation of his work towards the study of 'collective representations' and, more specifically, of religion, from 1896 onwards.

There were two sets of reasons, theoretical and methodological, for this shift. First, religion was considered to serve an essential social function, creating a strong community of beliefs and providing a basis for social cohesion. The sacred and the profane became the two essential categories in Durkheim's

sociology, which ordered the system of social facts. Second, primitive religion, either because it was believed to be more simple and consequently easier to study, or because it appeared to be functionally interconnected with most other 'social facts (like economy, law, technology and so on, which had gained a measure of functional autonomy in the course of later development) seemed to provide the key to a theory of social order. The religious system of archaic societies thus became a privileged topic of research for Durkheim and some of the most gifted scholars of his cluster, notably Mauss, Hubert and Hertz. One out of four review articles published in the Annee was dedicated to social anthropology, and primitive societies now supplied, for the first time in French intellectual history, a central topic in public philosophical debate, which soon engaged other leading academics (like Bergson and levy Bruhl) as well.

In his anthropological work, Durkheim never surmounted the basic ambiguity of his approach to 'primitives', who were regarded either as prototypes,

or as exemplifying the simplest imaginable occurrences of observable social types, or both at the same time. Moreover, he was initially sceptical about the heuristic utility of ethnographic data, and believed that preference should be given to historical documents over ethnographic information. His attitude changed, however, especially with the publication of more professional ethnographics, like Spencer and Gillen (on the Australian aborigines), Boas (on the Kwakiutl Indians) and the Cambridge scholars of the expedition to Torres Straits. He discussed all these new studies in painstakingly detailed critical reviews. They also supplied the data for his own contributions in the contemporary international debate concerning archaic societies. These fall broadly under two thematic headings: social organization and belief systems (and various combinations of the two.

The essay on 'la prohibition de l'inceste at sets origins' (1898) (Incest: The Nature and Origin of the Taboo, 1963) obeyed to the letter his own prescription, 'explain the social fact by other social

facts'. Social institutions could not be explained by invoking instinctive behavior. They must be accounted for purely in terms of social causes. Incest and exogamy derived from the elementary, that is uterine, clan. Respect for the clan's totem manifested itself by a religious aversion to the blood of fellow clans people and, by extension, to sexual contact with the clan's. Women. The prohibition of incest was accompanied by prescriptions concerning interclan marriage. Some modern writers on kinship (for example, Levi-Strauss 1949) recognize their debt to Durkheim, though they have submitted his theory to substantial criticism. Similarly, in his essays on totemism (1902) and Australian Kinship (1905a). Durkheim seemed clearly to anticipate much later structuralism approaches. He identified, beyond the social categories of kinship truly logical categories which, he suggested, could be understood as 'mathematical problems' Durkheim 1905a). He went further in the exploration of such logical categories in a famous study written together with Mauss, 'De quelques forms primitives de classification: contribution a l'etude des representations collectives'(1903) (primitive

classification 1963). This essay related ideas about space among some Australian and North American tribesmen to their social organizations. Durkheim and Mauss argued that men 'classified things because they were divided into clans'. The model of all classification (especially of spatial orientation) is the society, because it is the unique whole (or totality) to which everything is related, so that the classification of things reproduces the classification of men'. Primitive classifications generated the first concepts or categories, enabling men to unify their knowledge. They constituted the first 'philosophy of nature. Durkheim and Mauss suggested that in these classifications could be discerned 'the origins of logical procedure which is the basis of scientific classifications'. Durkheim would systematize these intimations in his last great work which focused on the social functions of religion proper.

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