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إعداد

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# **Studies and readings in sociology**

## الفصل الأول

# Sociological Theories

In discourse we typically refer to sociological theory as an entity and to sociological theorizing as a recognizable activity . We write articles and books and teach courses on sociological theory , and some of us say that we specialize in theory . In one sense such statements are misleading . Every item of empirical research in the field , however narrowly defined and circumscribed , is rooted in general propositions about human beings and society and contains the seeds of abstract reasoning and normative evaluation . These elements are often implicit but never absent . For this reason , theory should be regarded as an integral aspect of sociological inquiry rather than something separate from it . In another sense , however , theory is distinguishable . It is legitimate to consider the relations among the general elements in their own right ; in doing so , we enter the realm of sociological theory.

## Formal Varieties of Theory

One important continuum in theory involves the degree of formality. Greater formality in turn implies the degree of attention paid to the scientific norm of theory formation. Some types of discourse that we call Every consist mainly of general perspectives or ways of thinking about human beings and society, with a somewhat imprecise, loose logical structure and few, if any, identifiable empirical propositions to say nothing of efforts to confirm or disconfirm them. Sometimes these perspectives inform, or are incorporated into, more or less formal models but much theoretical discourse involves argumentation about the analytical or normative importance of the perspective itself.

Other bodies of theory are formal verbal constructions of general assumptions and postulates, hypotheses, independent variables (or causes), dependent variables (or effects or outcomes), and evidence relating to empirical verification. For example, even though Robert Michels, in espousing his iron law of oligarchy, denied that he was creating a "new system" (1959 [1911]), his insights can be represented as a systematic account organized according to the

canons of scientific explanation Similarly , Durkheim's classic suicide Said contains all the ingredients of a formally constructed theoretical explanation A definition of formal theory of this sort , still satisfactory in many respects , was put forward by Parsons half a century ago : theory is " a body of logically interdependent generalized concepts of empirical reference As such , theory contains a series of interrelated assumptions or postulates that approach logical closure , a derivation of general propositions statable as empirical hypotheses that are , in principle , testable . As indicated , not everything we call " theory" contains all these elements , so the definition must be regarded as a desideratum rather than a description .

. The most formal expression of theory is a statement of relations , derivations , and hypotheses in mathematical language Such theories are most commonly found in economics , but in sociology they have been used to generate explanations and predictions relating to demographic processes , social mobility , diffusion of inventions , and organizational behavior

## **Uses and Value of Sociological Theory .**

While theory is widely accepted as a legitimate ingredient of the sociological enterprise , the reasons for this acceptance are not always made explicit . It will be helpful , therefore , to give a reminder of the uses and value of theory for sociology itself and for the societies in which it is embedded :

- Theory is the mechanism by which discrete results of empirical research activities offer conceived independently of one another and reported in different conceptual contexts , are codified and related to one another within a single framework .
- Codification implies a second use , generalization . Theory presses sociological findings and insights beyond the boundaries within which they are formulated and extends the limits of their application .
- Theoretical formulations also have a sensitizing function - to alert investigators of and commentators on social phenomena to issues and questions that may not be readily apparent if the phenomena are approached naively



- Theory has the potential for application to be made useful in policy . organizational and institutional design and reform , even revolutionary transformation This does not imply that such application is a literal and wholesale implantation of theoretical systems in social reality . Rather , application implies the provision of insights , perspectives and ways of looking at social phenomena that may make practical activities more relevant and effective .
- Sociological theory is useful insofar as it enters into general public discourse, as one of the voices supplying intelligence, debate, and controversy to that discourse. In this sense sociological theory has a definite ideological aspect. Critics of the field may regard this aspect negatively-whether as reinforcing the state quo or as undermining it-but the general

## **The Issue of Accumulation**

Sociology, including its theoretical aspects, is normally represented as a social science.

Historically, the social sciences grew up as an effort to adapt the models and methods of the natural sciences to society, and most practitioners comfortably describe themselves as social scientists. In this connection, it is often asked whether social-scientific knowledge grows in a cumulative sense .

The scientific model of accumulation usually held out for comparison is that scientific knowledge, including, theory, has validity only in temporary sense it is continually being displaced, absorbed, or replaced by the additive accumulation of new empirical discoveries and their theoretical interpretations. Accordingly, the history of science is of interest mainly as a matter of curiosity, not validity, because science is forever being rendered invalid by its own progress

The history of sociological theory, as well as the current state of sociological theory, is the precipitate of dozens, if not hundreds, of such intellectual episodes. It is a history of invention,

elaboration, synthetic combination and recombination, vitalization and revitalization, and occasional death of theoretical perspectives. This history is thus not one of additive accumulation-replacing the old by the new in light of more adequate or valid knowledge. It is, rather, a history of increase in numbers, complexity, and enrichment of more or less systematically expressed perspectives, frameworks, and theories about human society. It is also a history of continuous flux, as theoretical knowledge undergoes internal shifts through invention, controversy, and debate within the field and as it responds to the changing conditions in the societies in which it is generated. Finally, at any given moment, the map of sociological theory is a complicated mosaic, an aggregated product of that flux, rather than a rationally accumulated pattern. What coherence it possesses arises mainly from the interpretations of those scholars who subsequently discern patterns in its development.

## **Macro sociological Theories**

The most frequent contrast is between theories that stress social integration and those that stress social conflict .

**Integration theories** The main tradition falling under this heading is structural - functional theory , traceable through the works of Herbert Spencer Emile Durkheim Bronislaw Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown and culminating in the formulations of Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton. All these regard society as a structure of mutually interrelated parts which are sustained , in varying degree , by equilibrating mechanisms . The structural - functional perspective is also associated with the consolidation of modernization theory in the decades following the Second World War . This theory treats the developmental process as breaking through tradition - based obstacles (located mainly in religion , tribe and caste , community , and kinship ) and replacing them by the more " modern . " differentiated institutions (including democratic governments ) found in the developed countries One other theoretical

formulation- " the end of ideology " also falls roughly under heading of functional analysis . Exponents of this point of view , which appeared in the post - Second World War decades , argued that a new consensus had been achieved in Western societies , in that workers had achieved political citizenship , the bourgeoisie had accepted the welfare state , both had accepted the democratic process , and the ideological issues dividing the Left and the Right had been reduced to marginal differences in emphasis over governmental ownership and economic planning .

The structural - functional perspective came under assault in the turbulent years of the 1960s and is still the target of criticism from radical and critical sociologists and from many sociologists in developing countries . The full apparatus of structural - functional analysis ( including a systematic classification of functional prerequisites, the idea of societal survival, and stable equilibrium ) does not survive intact , but much research still relies on a number of central ideas associated with it , namely :

- Institutions serve a positive purpose in the ongoing societal effort to guarantee that its main goals are realized .
- Institutions manifest a " strain toward consistency " ; for example , the contours of higher education are shaped by the functional needs of a high - technology service - based economy
- Strains and contradictions in institutional life set up equilibrating processes that change these institutions in adaptive directions , for example , when both parents in families enter wage labor in large numbers , alternative systems of socialization ( extended kin , child - care institutions ) tend to materialize .
- A principal form of change in developing societies is structural differentiation , the development of more complex and specialized social structures

**Conflict theories** It is appropriate to begin with another statement bridging the integration and conflict perspectives . This is found in the thinking of Georg Simmel as consolidated by Coser (1956) Coser's starting point is a criticism of the functional view ( mainly Parsons's ) that conflict destabilizes , the social order . Coser argues that conflict often

constitutes the basis for community and unity among combatants and that conflict with an outside group ( as in war or civil strife ) is a solidifying force . In one sense this argument is an extension of the functional approach itself , because of its continued preoccupation with integration . In any event , Coser's aim is to incorporate various types of conflict within the functionalist perspective .

Most conflict theories in contemporary sociology derive from the formulations of Karl Marx : that all historical societies - and notably bourgeois capitalism - are based on an economic mode of production that produces a bipolar system of social classes , one exploiting , the other exploited . By virtue of that relationship , the classes stand in a relation of irreconcilable conflict with one another . This conflict , moreover , is the engine of historical change in Marx's theory , insofar as the ultimate victory of the exploited class ushers in a new type of society and a new phase of evolutionary history

It is evident that the Marxist perspective has been an enormous intellectual and political force . It spawned a vast array of Marxist - inspired theories in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries ; it became the informing ideology of Communist ,

Socialist , and other left parties in most advanced and developing countries ; and it was ( or is ) the legitimizing ideology for the former Soviet Union , the People's Republic of China , almost all Eastern European countries , and other countries such as Cuba and North Korea .

Most other contemporary conflict perspectives maintain one or more elements of Marxism , such as the idea of oppressing and oppressed classes or the idea of group conflict . These theories either abandon so many other elements of Marxism or combine them with so many non - Marxian ideas , however , that they can scarcely be said to be " Marxian " without overstretching that perspective . One example of this kind of theoretical formulation is that of Ralf Dahrendorf, who rejects the fundamental Marxian proposition that economic relations are the basis of inequality in modern society and criticizes the Marxian theory of classes derived there from . At the same time , Dahrendorf retains the idea of domination as an organizing principle , tracing that domination , however , to a differential position in a relationship of authority (thus giving his work a Weberian cast). He also retains ideas similar to those of Marx to the



effect that class groups based on authority relations gradually crystallize from latent interest groups into action groups as the interests become manifest through ideology , consciousness , leadership , and organization and that these groups are the main vehicles for conflict and change .

In a related statement , Habermas regards the main agency of domination in post - industrial capitalism not as class in the Marxian sense , but rather as the technical - administrative apparatus of the state , based on instrumental rationality . This apparatus intrudes on the life - world of individuals and groups and distorts it in an overly rational direction . The state involves itself in the organization and manipulation of the economy in its " steering performances . " In addition , the state enters the economy directly , providing education and training , supervising and maintaining the infrastructure of transportation and housing , and sustaining huge military forces .

The state secures the loyalty - often passive - of the populace by assuring a flow of consumer goods , providing welfare , and controlling the media . At the same time , Habermas viewed the technical

- administrative state as constantly facing crises such as inflation , financial instability , failures of planning , administrative paralysis , failure to deliver on its promises , and the erosion of cultural values such as the work ethic .

Two additional lines of theorizing are consistent with the renewed emphasis on the state . The first is the work of Skocpol and others ,who - under the rubric " bringing the state back in " -have reasserted that the state assumes an autonomy ( not recognized in Marxist theory ) and becomes a prime mover in the processes of bureaucratic growth , social domination , and the development of revolutions . The second is the European literature on the new social movements

Noting that " new " movements such as the women's , environmental and anti nuclear , anti - war , counter cultural , and racial - ethnic movements are not class - based in the Marxian sense , writers have attributed their rise largely to the bureaucratic state's intervention in the fabric of society and to cultural domination by the knowledge industry and the mass media

Two final conflict - based perspectives have arisen from a critique of theories of modernization

Both have an international flavor . The first is dependency theory , associated with Fernando Cardoso and other Latin American writers . Arguing that development is not rooted primarily in intra - societal forces such as entrepreneurship and the overcoming of traditional obstacles , these theorists stress that international capital , multinational corporations , and debt give direction to economic change and shape patterns of class domination and conflict in the developing countries Whereas early formulations stressed that international capital prevented or warped development , newer variants have analyzed cases ( e.g. , South Korea and Taiwan ) where robust and successful economic development has occurred within the context of dependency . The second perspective is world - systems theory , associated with Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein .It is based on the premise that both the modern and the contemporary organization of societies are based not on indigenous conditions but reflect the shifting system of economic relations among societies . In particular , any historical period is characterized by the presence of a core ( e.g. , Great Britain in the nineteenth century , the United

States in the post - Second World War decades ) , a periphery ( colonial countries , Third World countries ) , and a semi - periphery of involved but weaker countries ( e.g. , Mexico and Argentina at the present time ) . At its most extreme , world - systems theory would write the internal histories of societies as ramifications of the international economic forces impinging on them

### **Micro sociological Theories**

While social psychology and social interaction have long been parts of sociology , the 1970s witnessed a " microscopic revolution in which theories based on interpersonal interaction , were either revitalized or invented . These were brought forward as competitors to macro sociological theory , which , it was claimed , " reifies " social life as abstract organizations , structures , and cultures .

**Micro - conflict theories** The first illustration of this approach is found in the work of Collins His theory involves two or more actors in a situation of scarcity , oriented not to exchange but to gaining dominance over other actors However , he envisions interaction as more than a simple power struggle , because he acknowledges and develops possibilities for negotiation and compromise . The

existing distribution of power in the larger society is a kind of aggregated result of thousands of settled micro conflict situations . The second illustration was developed in one subfield of sociology , deviance and social control , and generally goes under the headings of labeling theory or stigma theory. Whereas functional theory treats deviance as originating in individual motivation and as in violation of some societal norm , labeling theorists regard deviants ( and deviance in general ) as produced by the exercise of power of agents in positions of social control ( doctors, judges, law enforcement officials ) who enforce their definitions upon " deviants . " The problem of deviance thus emerges as a kind of struggle over meanings indeed , a power struggle - with the more powerful usually able to impose their definitions , though those labeled " deviant " develop strategies to subvert or manipulate those meanings New social structures are created as authorities assign deviants to a kind of disadvantaged underclass .

**Phenomenological theories** Several microscopic approaches are based on the premise that the

study of social reality must be based on the meaning systems of individual actors . An illustration of this approach is symbolic interactionism , rooted in the pragmatic philosophies of John Dewey , Charles Cooley , and George Herbert Mead and given later expression in the work of Blumer . In one respect Blumer's starting point was a negative polemic that human behavior cannot be characterized as the product of internal or external forces such as instincts , drives , social roles , social structures , or culture . Instead , the notions of subjective meaning and the self are central . Meaning is found , moreover - as the name of the perspective implies - in the interactive process . Individuals communicate with one another , create and derive meanings , and act on them accordingly . In addition , an individual engages in meaningful communication with himself or herself , making the same kinds of indications as are found in interaction . These processes are complicated , involving the reading of others ' meanings , revising meanings on the basis of such reading , guessing others ' readings , and modifying one's anticipations and behavior in line with these processes . Enduring social arrangements are treated in large

part as joint actions and the " fitting together of meaningful activity in more or less stable ways .

**A** related perspective is ethno methodology , associated mainly with Garfinkel . Ethno methodologists likewise rejected social - structural accounts , in that they involve reification and lose sight of the realities of close interaction . The ethno methodological perspective envisions a free practical , improvising , negotiating actor who , in interacting with other has at his or her disposal a variety of action plans and " rationalities . " T task of the ethno methodologist is to investigate the lines of action take the accounts given for this action , and the ways that taken - for - grant understandings guide action . The structure of social reality is not given t is continuously constituted, reconstituted , reproduced , and accounted in interaction One line of research of ethno methodologists has beer discover - or create- situations in which interaction is broken by ignorin violating understandings of interaction and to track how existing mean are restored or new ones negotiated . For this reason ethnomethodol have been described as " micro functionalists " who study the equilibrium processes

of social interaction , just as macro functionalists focus on processes in the larger society.

**A** final theoretical statement by Berger and Luckmann is both phenomenological and micro sociological in its origins but also journeys to the macro sociological level and back to the micro sociological . According to this view , in the interactive process people stabilize what is an inherently complex and unstable - if not chaotic - world through a process of typification and objectification of social situations . The medium for this process is language . By a further process , objectifications are reified and given the stamp of legitimacy as they are forged into institutional and cultural expectations . Specialists in the definition and maintenance of " social reality " also arise . The circle is completed when this constructed reality of society becomes the basis for socialization and social control processes carried out " as if the constructed social reality were objective and real



## الفصل الثاني

# THE PLANNING PROCESS : APPROACHES , CONCEPTS AND DEFINITION

### Introduction

Many practitioners , in their introduction to planning begin with the impression that there is or should be a series of activities called planning " which each individual can learn and implement in a similar fashion . The task of this discussion , then becomes one of identifying these activities and demonstrating how they are to be carried out . That is not the purpose of this specific presentation . This discussion is not to give you specific skills for you to apply . There is more than one way to carry out services planning . There is no one planning model , no one planning process that should be adhered to religiously . Each organization must modify or shape a planning process to fit its distinct social , political and economic environment . Beginning with this assumption , an approach that approximates the rational planning model for social services will be presented . It will be as practical as

possible , but it becomes the reader's responsibility to relate these concepts and frameworks to actual practice and identify where there should be some modification this presentation will lay a foundation for services planning.

One of the most productive planning eras in Western history occurred in the 1930's . While it was not designated as planning as such , a series of impressive social policies and programs were , developed and implemented . During - the 1960's the term planning became acceptable . A resurgence of a national interest in planning produced the stimulus for comprehensive planning for mental health , poverty in the U.S. and Europe.

Planning as an activity has a fairly long history . While it may be new for the social welfare field , it is not a new professional discipline , One thing that needs emphasizing . however , is that the impetus for planning often comes from sources who are not necessarily empathetic to social welfare policies and agencies . As responsible administrators we should be efficient and effective in service delivery . Planning , however , is not a panacea for periods of economic retrenchment . Planning may be useful in determining priorities for scarce resources , but this

has negative connotations . Planers react to problems . When planning as an activity attempts to bring rationality to decision making , it should also have a positive contribution in poeriods of economci expansion

## **Definitions of Planning**

While there is considerable disagreement as to what planning actually is, there is general consensus around essential themes. Planning addresses two kinds of While there is considerable disagreement as to what questions. First, what are the purposes of the organization, what is it trying to accomplish? The second follows: What is the best way to achieve these objectives? Planning is not a single, discrete activity but rather a process that attempts to prepare a set of decisions for action in the future, directed at achieving goals by optimal means. definition includes a number of elements

1. Planning is a process, i.e., a continuous activity taking place, within a unit and requiring some input of resources and energy in order to be sustaied. Planning as a process must be distinguished from a plan.

2. Of preparing a set of decisions to be approved and implemented by some other unit
3. A set of decisions in so far as there will be sequential series of systematically related decisions.
4. Planning is directed at action and not at other objectives, such as knowledge, the development of staff etc
5. In the future. This is perhaps the most important characteristic of planning, introducing the elements of predictions this suggests placing a limit upon the time period over which projections into the future can be made and establishes the necessity of continuing planning analysis and assessment throughout the planning period and the constant re evaluation and adjustment of means to ends
6. Directed at achieving goals The planning process cannot operate unless it has more or less defined goals and objectives to be achieved through the recommended action.
7. By optimal means. The very nature of planning, a process for rational shaping of the future depends on the means-ends relationship. The planning process is directed at suggesting the

optimal means for achieving goals and objectives, i.e., at selecting on the basis of rational processes, including the collection of information, utilization of knowledge, systematic and integrative data processing - in other words, the optimal strategy.

**Management planning is** the process by which planners assure that the resources once obtained are efficiently and effectively to reach organization's objectives. In the context of services Planning it is Concerned with:

1. The develop intent of operating rules for public agencies the regulations dealing with service eligibility, receipt and use of funds, etc;
2. The development of guidelines to assist public and private agencies in the formulation of projects and evaluation of the impact of these programs; end.
3. The design and implementation of service delivery systems - the actual programs.

As stated earlier, these are distinct but interdependent processes. The former is concerned with objective setting.

establishing priorities, and resource acquisition and deployment; the latter with the management of these resources. Traditionally, however, these processes have been separated in the area of social services. This pattern can best be understood by examining historical intergovernmental relationships. For almost forty years the National government has set the objectives and established priorities in the social services. Strategic planning is carried out at this level of government and controlled through categorical funding. The Governorates, then, are required to accept these objectives and priorities and establish a machinery to carry them out. There is a powerful rationale for this practice. There are national priorities and there is a need to establish baseline standards of service. If a particular Governorate objected, it has little recourse but to provide these services - services that probably benefited the recipients. Categorical funding and national guidelines are positive in this sense. However, they tend to stifle local initiative.

## **The Focus of Planning: Services or social Need**

In the context of planning for social services a distinction between two different foci can be made: planning for services and planning to meet social need. Planning for services has been the traditional focus. The emphasis is on the existing network of social services, e.g. , social workers, case aides. homemakers, therapists, day care centers. nursing home beds, foster homes, etc. These services generate their own dynamism and tend to reduce efforts to initiate change through flexible experimentation.

The planning emphasis is in organizational survival Administrators who are responsible for the management of programs structure their agency in such a way that the purpose of the organization may become the sum total of the services, Staff tend to view a potential client in terms of what services they (staff) are in a position to offer. The elderly, for example, are hjomemaker services, meals" delivered to their homes or institutional care. The mentally retarded "require institutional care, special education, training Whatever the system, this labeling begins at intake and continues throughout contact with the agency. Needs are

invariably translated into what a particular agency has to offer. While this is an over-statement, as a pattern it is found all too often. For any number of reasons, services that were initially introduced as possible mechanisms to assist people with need, quickly became the way to do things. Services that were seen as potentially of benefit become solutions whose benefit is rarely questioned. There is a universal tendency, when planning for services, to emphasize on the management aspect of planning - the efficiency of our system. Planners step back and examine the purposes of these services or question their value.

The current focus is clearly on the needs of individuals, families and groups and the difference is more than semantic. The emphasis is now on potential target populations. "populations at risk", populations who are eligible for some form of Support. From this beginning, the task becomes one of translating their need into services rather than fitting their need into existing services. If agencies are able to do this, they will be forced to question the services and the way they are organized. It is likely to force decision makers into new ways of thinking about services with the



potential for redesign. This approach is quite compatible with the idea of strategic planning that builds on statements of purpose - objectives.

## **The Planning Process**

There are basically five phases which evolve within the Planning Process

- (1) Problem analysis and needs assessment:
- (2) The formulation of a policy framework (goals and objectives):
- (3) The generation of alternative strategies and criteria for choice
- (4) Selection and implementation of a particular intervention (program) ; and,
- (5) Monitoring, evaluation and feedback.

There are the elements of the rational planning model and these are the activities that planners are required to undertake. While they will be discussed as separate elements or activities, they are not independent of each others

### **1. Problem Analysis and Need-Assessment**

A rational planning approach, begins by asking what the problem is we are attempting to solve.

While this statement may appear on the surface to be a universally agreed upon logical position, practice would suggest otherwise. We tend to respond two ways. The first assumes we know what the problem is and what the solutions are. The problem is stated in terms of needing more social workers, physicians, therapists, day care places, etc. The problem is seen as a lack of resources to expand our efforts. The second response tends to focus on symptoms and give little attention to the causes of problems. One piece of evidence to support this charge is the amount of time we give to this phase of the planning process. We usually rush through it and concentrate our efforts on / program design. Another is the relatively high failure rate we have in solving social problems.

A problem that is not adequately defined is not likely , to be solved. The converse of this is that a problem defined well may be successfully dealt with, assuming adequate resources and appropriate delivery mechanisms are generated.

Problem analysis should be viewed as an art and not a science. If it were a science there would be

only one approach to it, and no matter how many different planners were involved in this phase, collectively or singly, the analysis would always result in the same conclusion. While it is an art, it still has its foundation in a scientific approach. Different planners can assess the same situation and produce quite different analyses in so far as each shapes the problem in terms of his background, training, experience and values. This is not a criticism of the way planners function; it is recognizing reality.

Beyond this, two conceptual frameworks can be useful. While there is some overlap both are included. The first is proposed by R. Morris and F. Zweig:

1. What is the nature of the situation confronting the planner? (Facts and impressions).
2. What social values are being threatened by the presence of the situation? (How will the community respond to it?).
3. How widely is the situation recognized? (This provides some idea of potential community support).

4. The scale (numbers affected and geographical location).
5. Causation.

The second is by N. Cohen and includes:

1. Definition of terms.
2. Who has the problem?
3. What defined it as a problem?
4. Who does not see it as a problem?
5. Causation.

The most critical part of these frameworks is their emphasis on the need to identify the causes of the problem. The epidemiological method is quite relevant for planners. Epidemiology is the study of the distribution and determinants of specific phenomenon. It has proven to be of value in the area of communicable disease and more and more it is being applied to social problem. It is attractive in that it posits the existence of causal chains and assumes that if a link in that chain is altered or broken, the problem can be successfully dealt with,

Needs assessment follows from problem analysis. What is need? As a concept it is difficult to define and even if defined, is difficult to measure.

Furthermore, need is not absolute but relative; it is not static but elastic.

Conceptually, four distinct categories of need can be identified:

1. Normative need. Desirable standards are proposed (usually by experts), e.g., the number of nursing home beds, home services, meals served in homes and social service manpower per 1000 population. These standards are then compared to the existing standards and if an area falls short of the proposed standard, it is said to be in need.
2. Perceived need, Based on what people feel their need to be what they want. In dealing with perceived need, two issues are important to remember. Perceived need, itself, is influenced by community factors, e.g. knowledge and awareness of existing services, attitudes towards service providers and by the scale of provision. A second is that in attempting to identify what people perceive to be their need, the process itself often raises expectations and creates demand. If the planners and administrators do not make services available, they can create frustration on the part of those interviewed.

3. Expressed need or perceived need translated into client demand. Need is defined as the number of people who seek a service and unmet need is that proportion who are unsuccessful because of inadequate resources. While these statistics are useful, they cannot be viewed as measuring community need. There is ample evidence to show that expressed need deals only with- the tip of the need iceberg.
4. Comparative or Relative need. A measure of need is identified by analyzing the characteristics of those in receipt of a service. If people with similar characteristics are not in receipt of a service, then they are in need. This category can be used to assess needs of population subgroups and geographic areas. Need is the gap between what services exist in one area and what services exist in another, weighted to take account of the difference in population characteristics.

While these are four distinct ways of addressing need, they are not exclusive but interdependent. Each measures a facet of need, each contributes relevant information to the planner.

## الفصل الثالث

# Technology, Production, Consumption, and the Environment

### Historical Considerations

Looking back to the origins of human society, we recognize that two of the most fundamental defining characteristics of the rise of human association are language and technology. Gehlen, the anthropologist, has gone so far as to designate human beings as "animals with tools". And tools are inseparable from production and consumption. If work is the interrelation between man and nature, as Karl Marx argued, work is equally well conceived as the contrived activities of socially associated humans (society) using their natural setting (environment) to survive and prosper. These relations go back to the beginning of history, and an account of them would include the remarkable technologies of Sumerian, Egyptian, and Chinese civilizations.

For purposes of this chapter, however, we will limit consideration to modern developments, which are essential to the understanding of the development of sociology itself. In this discussion we follow the main lines of analysis laid down in the works of Mumford, Giedion, and Bernal.

Among the most common terms used to designate the formation and character of modern societies are "industrial," "capitalist," and "bourgeois." They are overlapping, but each suggests a somewhat different facet of those societies. At the same time, it must be recognized that these terms are themselves products of those very kinds of societies. A kind of dialectic is at work: as new economic, political, social, and cultural structures have emerged, actors within them and thinkers about them have had to invent new terms and concepts to describe them and, perhaps, to overcome or destroy the older structures, "Revolution" is one such term, but consider also "class," "interest," "political party", "industry," "liberty", "equality", "fraternity." "solidarity," "wage." "machine," and "cooperative" (noun) all of which are simultaneously descriptive and directive in implication.



The social sciences-and sociology in particular-are part of this dialectic between structural change and conceptualization The end of a cyclical Vision of human nature and human activities was closely associated with the end of religious ideologies linked to feudal and aristocratic systems of dominance New ideologies with a "religious" character-democracy, nationalism, socialism, anarchism-gradually evolved as ways of understanding and shaping the world The development of sociology. which typically advertised itself as science, not ideology, was part and parcel of this process Although these changes in world view evolved over long periods of time. Their rise was also punctuated by dramatic and revolutionary events. of which the French Revolution was the most conspicuous

To narrow it down to the theme of this chapter the eighteenth-century Physiocrats (notably Quesnay and von Thunen) were the first to develop a theory that linked economic activities to the preservation of nature The source of the wealth of nations was to be found not in labor but in nature This theme reappears in contemporary ecological debates, in which it is asserted that nature is the only value

producing source. But the main drift of the Enlightenment went in another direction. It followed the Kantian dictum that enlightenment frees humanity from self-inflated coercion. Most of that impulse was directed toward the obliteration of coercive religious, political, and class institutions inherited from earlier ages. With respect to the economy, however, enlightenment meant liberation from natural, economic, and social constraints. Nature was something to be overcome and controlled. Landes captured the spirit in the title of his history of technological change and industrial development from 1750 *The Unbound Prometheus*. The modern Japanese mode of production has been advertised as "The Machine that Changed the World", but the latter is an equally apt designation for the technological revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, which ushered in the spinning jenny, the steam engine and the railway. Technology also revolutionized warfare and colonialism; improvements in navigation, arms, vessels, weapons, and vehicles were a necessary condition for European imperialism. For national societies the new system of technology and production was simultaneously an economic

engine for exercising internal (class) and external (world) dominance. In his critique of capitalism, Marx recognized this truth by building in distinctions among the "production process," the "mode of production," and the "social relations of production" to designate the technological, the historical relations, and the relations among groups, respectively. That multi-sided complex, furthermore, contained, in Marx's work, a dynamic for fundamental, irreversible change

Henry Ford, the inventor of the assembly line, took some of Taylor's ideas even further. Under this system, management could control the pace and output of work by increasing or decreasing the speed of the line. Ford doubled the average wages of his workers and thus achieved a double revolution. First, he reduced turnover in his work force. Second, he made it possible for workers to buy their own products, particularly in light of the fact that the price of cars was reduced by half; that is to say, his methods led not only to a revolution in productivity but also to a revolution in consumption. The influence of Taylorism and Fordism was enormous appearing even in Lenin's socialist ideas about production , and these

methods are still vital in many industrial settings, although they are perhaps being eclipsed by a second industrial divide ("flexible specialization"), according to Piore and Sabel.

With the new system of mass production, however, came new forms of opposition, even sabotage, and new ways to deal with this began to appear in the literature on management and the social sciences. Mayo described the informal group in the work process, noted how it sometimes took control of the pace of production, and proposed a kind of "human relations" approach to deal with issues of morale and worker cooperation. New forms of presumably less alienating work organization have appeared since the 1950s: job rotation, job enlargement, job enrichment and semi-autonomous work groups.

Opposition to the increased intensification of work continued, however, partly expressed in the refusal of young educated workers in the 1950s to take positions having a "three-D" (dirty, dangerous, and difficult) component. The quality of working life, the humanization of work, and the identity of the workplace have also become salient issues in industrial relations. Scholars in England and

Norway have developed the notion of socio-technical systems, which takes into account the social side of the production process systems of this sort have been implemented by some Scandinavian companies, notably in the Swedish Volvo factory at Kalmar.

The most recent innovations in the efficient control of production have been developed in Japan. Traditional Western production rested on several operations: development of a product through research and development (R & D) design of the appropriate technology, production of the item at a workplace, and marketing of the product through a marketing organization. The Japanese have scrapped this traditional approach to production by developing what has been called "lean production" also known as Toyotism or Ohnism (after the name of its chief exponent, Taiichi Ohno). On close examination, the slimming of production turns out to be not primarily a matter of machines but rather a matter of the organization of human effort. The watchwords of the system-quality circles, total quality control, just-in-time, zero-defect group, and corporate identity-indicate its human dimension. It

has been suggested further that Japanese culture, with its stress on benign hierarchy and informal social controls, is a particularly fruitful breeding ground for this kind of system. At the same time, these principles have been adopted successfully as transplants in some American and European industries: and there is no reason to believe that this new principle of organization cannot migrate from Japan, much as Western technology and industrial organization migrated to that country in an earlier era.

### **The Environmental Dimension**

So much for a sketch of some of the dynamics that have led to unprecedented advances in technology, production, and consumption in the past two centuries. Taken together, these advances have revolutionized the human condition. Carried out under the ideological umbrellas of science and progress, this revolution has been regarded mainly in positive terms—that is, in terms of the increase in the material welfare of humanity. The darker sides of that development have been portrayed up to the present mainly in terms of social injustice, the

exploitation of one class of human beings by another, and the alienation of those who work from the means of production, the products of their labor, and themselves. More recently, another dark side has become apparent: this might be called the alienation of humanity from nature. It could even be argued that this growing divergence between the logic of the technological-economic aspect of human existence and the logic of survival in the human environment will become the major contradiction of the twenty-first century, replacing others in terms of urgency.

**Environmental** crises have always occurred in human history \_ natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes, storms, famines, and plagues, as well as man-made disasters, such as the destruction of forests, diversion of rivers, burning of plains, and exhaustion of lands. All these shrink by comparison with the contemporary threats to the environment, however. because the latter are so much greater in both scope and systematic organization of the exploitative process

**If** one considers predictions that have appeared over the past several decades, one can find ample cause for gloom. In the early 1970s the Club of

Rome predicted the exhaustion of critical resources by the next century. The World Watch Institute in Washington, DC., is most pessimistic about the impending effects of global warming, the ozone hole and acid rain. Goodland and colleagues project the end of civilization in several decades, because of the choking effects of humanity's waste and rubbish. The German economist, Leipert, estimates that three-quarters of the growth in national product is now devoted to compensating for environmentally related threats, rather than improving the quality of life; within five to ten years we will be standing still, destroying as much of our livelihood as we sustain, instead of creating new value. The late Norbert Muller foresaw the destruction of our global economic, social, political, and cultural system around the year 2030 or 2040, unless we change our production, consumption, and life-style patterns radically.

**Discounting** elements of carelessness, inexactness, hysteria, and drama in some of the predictions, it is nevertheless clear that the prospect of global ruination is upon us, and it is essential to pinpoint the reasons. The OECD report traced the crisis to two basic causes: inefficiency of



environmental policies and the interdependency between the state of the economy and the state of the environment. This diagnosis is fair enough as far as it goes, but especially in relation to the latter cause, the relations between the economy and the environment are not linear, and appreciation of the "economy" side of the equation must take into account that direct economic factors are multiple and stand in systematic relation to one another. Furthermore, "behind" the immediate economic causes are a whole range of social, political, and cultural factors that condition those causes. Among these are the organization of much of the world's economic life according to a capitalist economic system that thrives only with growth; patterns of intra-national and international inequality, which promote economic exploitation as well as differential patterns of waste and pollution; and materialist attitudes that pervade the whole culture of modernity, in both developed and developing countries. This interconnectedness can be represented graphically, as in table .

**Technology** As indicated earlier, technology-or the application of scientific principles to production-is probably the greatest single engine of economic

reorganization and advance, and, thereby, among the chief villains with respect to environmental damage. But technological impacts are highly variable. Consider only the production of energy; its generation by solar, thermal, wind, and water sources is relatively clean, whereas the use of coal and petroleum is polluting, and that of nuclear power is productive of enormous radioactive risk and poisonous waste. Two of the great technological bases of the Industrial Revolution-the replacement of human energy by energy derived from internal combustion and fossil fuels and the chemical decomposition and recombination of natural substances-seem to be the most destructive of the natural environment .

**Because** of the variable effects of technology on the environment, it is possible to regard it as either a foe or a friend of environmental efforts. On the one hand, fossil fuel, chemical, and nuclear technologies share a large part of the blame for the world's current environmental problems. On the other hand, it is via the technological route that the much pollution, toxicity, and radioactive risk can be minimized. That route includes the invention of new technologies that can counteract their effects (e.g.

smog control devices) and the development of new, more benign technologies that will replace the offending ones (e.g. solar-powered automobiles).

**Economic growth** Closely linked with wealth, the rate and volume of economic growth multiplies the effects of technology. It may be the case that world economic growth is such that it will simply reach the limits that are possible given- the finite supply of the world's resources. Those who are less apprehensive about this outcome point out that the limits themselves are variable, and are less likely to be reached if substitution, new technologies, and changes in cultural attitudes can be realized. But whereas the nature of the ultimate limits is uncertain, the known rate of growth and the probable rate of near-future growth are more clearly known. The rates of growth of Western economies and Japan were higher between 1950 and 1973 than at any previous period in history, By the 1970s, the rates of growth of socialist and developing countries had passed those of the West, but by the 1980s the Western countries had taken the lead again.

**Population** in 1650 the population of the earth was about 500 million; by 1850 this figure had passed the one billion mark. At present the world's population is about 5.3 billion and is growing by about 100 million per year. The World Bank (1992) estimates that between 1990 and 2030 the world's population will grow by about another 3.7 billion to a total of 8 billion, a rate of growth that is greater than in any previous generation. More than nine-tenths of this growth will occur in the developing countries, which in all likelihood will continue to be the poorest. The European experience suggests that increased economic growth leads to lower rates of population growth, whereas the continuing rate of population increase in the developing countries suggests the continuing relevance of the Malthusian principle. It is difficult to pass judgment on the current population debate as between these two principles; but from the standpoint of the environment, it is clear that every person that is born and survives in the world is a consumer of resources, products, and energy and, for that reason, that his or her presence on the earth is directly relevant to the environmental question.

**Consumption** The economic growth (the production of wealth) and the growth of human population, taken together, make it inevitable that consumption will rise. Consumption, moreover, is directly linked to the exhaustion of the world's resources and to environmental damage. Even if consumption patterns are shifting more toward services in the aggregate, the absolute consumption of polluting products (automobiles, certain types of plastics) continues to increase as well. In the last analysis, whatever the relative contribution of producers and consumers to environmental damage, it remains the case that those countries that are high on both counts are also high on environmental damage. "OECD countries represent only 16 percent of the world's population account for about 72 percent of world gross product, 78 percent of all road vehicles and 50 percent of global energy use," Europe and North America account for 80 percent of the world's emissions of sculpture dioxide, nitrogen oxides, carbon monoxide, and hydrocarbons which are the causes of acid rain and oxidant smog. One is not cheered, moreover, by the knowledge that the developed countries aspire to continue to improve

their standards of living and that the developing countries aspire (at least) to reach the levels of the West.

**The** impacts of technology, economic growth, population, and consumption are distinguishable in their effects, but, taken together, they reveal the interrelatedness of even those four factors. They are all part of an economic system, each part of which has depended in complex ways on the others. A second systemic feature is that economies-the most direct links with the environment-are embedded systematically in societies, which give them the stamp of cultural legitimacy and provide their institutional infrastructure. By virtue of those connections, society is as heavily implicated in the problems of the environment as the economy, even though the social implications are often more indirect. We now turn to a number of questions that are central to the sociology of the environment.

### **Sociological Dimensions of Environmentalism**

The first observation to be made is one ventured at the outset of this chapter: namely, that sociology of the environment is a field groping for its own

identity. There are some subfields of sociology that are rooted in humanity's environmental realities - demography, social geography, social ecology, urban sociology but many of these have existed outside "mainstream" sociology, and, in any event, they provide few guides for understanding the contemporary nature and magnitude of the environmental problems facing the world.

Part of the explanation for the neglect of environmental problems in sociology is historical. One of the major themes in the rise and consolidation of sociology has been its negative dialogue with individualistic, utilitarian economics. Sociology has represented the reassertion of the collective dimension of social life and, more particularly, has been critical of unregulated economic activity with regard to its social injustices (inequality, oppression, poverty). The social problems generated in an unregulated industrial-urban society, and the impoverishment of cultural values in a society based on individualistic materialism. In a word, sociology has been concerned with the social rather than the natural costs of capitalist industrial society. The concern of economists with environmentally damaging

externalities is of relatively recent vintage , and the focus of sociologists on waste and environmental damage has been late in developing as well. Both have been captives-even when critical-of the individualistic and material world view that engulfed Western society as a whole in the late eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries .

With regard to the research on the sociology of the environment that has developed. what have been the foci? In a 1989 survey covering 359 European projects and 13 country reports, Gabrovskaja and colleague reported the following areas of research:

In assessing this survey, Széll noted that it revealed a number of core topics and a certain continuity, but at the same time "a lack of imagination" . condition of being a field seeking its bearings. Under such conditions, a field often displays a strong preoccupation with ethics, methodology, and practical applications. All of this is a sign, moreover, that concern with the relations between environment and society as a scholarly exercise is still undifferentiated, in large part, from the environmental "movement" itself. But despite the analytic nebulosity of the study of



environment and society, we may note a number of emerging sociological foci.

## **Stratification and Environmental Issues**

The first challenge for a sociology of stratification is to draw insights from the analysis of rank and class in society that relate to the environment. And within that assignment, the first task is to analyze the class dimensions of consumption. It is clear that in the upper reaches of the stratification systems of Western societies-and probably all societies-consumption of energy is unusually high, as manifested in the use of large automobiles, multiple automobiles, summer homes and retreats, and international leisure travel. Naturally enough, consumption drops off as decreases. largely because of the inability to afford it, but the environmentally fatal factor is that individuals and groups lower down the income scale aspire, through the dynamics of fashion and striving for status, to participate in those forms of expenditure that are relatively wasteful and polluting. The environmental dimensions of products other than energy also merit close study and analysis.

The stratification system also yields interesting differences with respect to environmental consciousness. Though environmental concern is found in all strata of societies, it tends to be more concentrated in the upper and middle classes. This regularity has been noted by students of the "new social movements", which include the anti-nuclear, animal rights, and environmental protection movements. Hostility to environmental concerns clusters in lower income and rural groups.

The reasons for this differential distribution are not clear, but class analysis might suggest at least one line of explanation. Environmental protection, involves, above all, the imposition of cleanup costs (often in the form of taxes) and increased costs for industrial production (most often passed on in the form of higher prices on products). Environmental concern thus might be regarded as a kind of luxury affordable (like George Bernard Shaw's middle-class morality) only by the better-off classes in the society.

Stratification is a relevant dimension at the international level as well. It was highlighted dramatically at the Earth Summit, an international meeting of heads of governments held in Rio de

Janeiro in the summer of 1992 While important as a consciousness-raising event for the entire world, the summit was a failure in at least one respect: it was characterized by international wrangling the expression of national interests, and mutual pointing of fingers (mainly in a northward and southward direction Then President George Bush of the United States reflected the problem most dramatically, with his near-refusal to attend and his public assertion of the interests of American workers, but the entire aura of the meeting was somewhat acrimonious. In effect, the sense of global seriousness of the environmental situation was a victim, in part at least, the parochial interests of nations

The kind of class analysis mentioned in connection with environmental efforts within countries might be applied at the international level as well. The international economic arena is the site, above all, of a struggle, with the developed nations interested in maintaining their economic hegemony and the less developed nations struggling for short-term survival and long-term parity. Given this competitive struggle, neither class of nations is interested in assuming the additional

costs involved in environmental protection and cleanup. But Western societies, simultaneously the worst environmental offenders and the richest, are better able to afford the more enlightened policies that are found in those societies

## الفصل الرابع

# Nations, Nationalisms, and Citizens

Many contemporary political scientists-but only some sociology continue to struggle with the classic questions about nationhood: is a nation? Do nations have a right to self-determination? If so, do they imply that the national identity of citizens is best guaranteed by a democratic system of government? What is nationalism? Does it flow from national identity? If not, can its growth be controlled so that democracy can survive and grow? If anything, these questions loom! than ever before at the end of the twentieth century, when some<sup>1</sup> argue that the great era of nation building threatens to give way to a s of nation crumbling. This chapter will focus on the European experience but the principles invoked will be at a level of generality to be relevant to other regions of the world.

From the fifteenth century onward, "nation" came to have an increasingly political cast. According to Diderot's classic definition, a nation is "une quantité

considérable de peuple qui habite une certaine  
tendue de pays, renfermée dans de certaines  
limites, et qui obéit au même gouvernement"  
that is, people in a given territory who shared  
common laws and political institutions. This  
conception included the idea of *societas civilis*-  
those citizens entitled to participate in politics and  
share in sovereignty. This component profoundly  
shaped the process of state-building, because it  
became linked with the struggles between  
privileged classes and monarchs for participation in  
state affairs The former designated themselves  
advocates of "the nation." They insisted that they,  
not only the monarch, were the representatives and  
defenders of national liberties" and "national rights"  
If the sovereign monarch was from a different  
nation-as in the Netherlands during the war against  
Habsburg Spain-then such struggles were fused  
with movements for national emancipation from a  
foreign tyrant .

By the eighteenth century, claims for national  
identity and inclusion in "the nation" were  
broadened to include the no privileged classes-the  
self- educated middle classes, artisans, rural and  
urban laborers, and others. Henceforth "the nation"

included everybody, not only the privileged classes; "the people" and "the nation" became the same. Paine's Rights of Man symbolized the democratization of national identity. His statement generated bitter public controversies about the legitimacy of monarchies and republics, forced Paine into permanent exile from England, and led to a crackdown on "Painites" who argued for a system of representative government.

Paine's fusion of nation and democracy proved to have great staying power. The emergence of Germany and Italy as nations in the nineteenth century was based on the principle of national self-determination. So were the partition of Austria-Hungary after the compromise of 1867, the revolts of Poles in support of their reconstitution as a nation-state, and the formal recognition of a number of lesser states, including Luxembourg, Belgium, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Rumania. After the First World War the principle of "the right to national self-determination" became a virtual slogan among international lawyers and political philosophers, as well as among both national governments and their challengers. Under this principle, the claim that people should govern

themselves became identified with the claim that nations should determine their own destiny. By this logic, furthermore, "state" and "nation" came to mean the same and to be used interchangeably, as in official expressions such as "League of Nations," the "law of nations," and "nation-state." "National" has come to mean anything run or regulated by the state-as in "national health insurance" or "national debt." So strong was this fusion that Deutsch could define "nation" simply as "a people who have hold of a state" .

## **National Identity and Citizenship**

The "collapse of the Soviet empire under pressure for national self- determination is only the latest chapter in the overwhelming historical demonstration of the proposition that a shared sense of national identity is precondition for creating and strengthening citizenship and democracy. Viewed as an ideal type, national identity implies that a people share a common language or dialect, inhabit pr are familiar with territory which they regard with loyalty and affection, share customs and memories linked to



the history of their nation, and experience pride in the nation's achievements and shame in its failures

National identity also provides an organizing basis for cognitive and affective experiences. As nationals, people experience purpose, confidence, and dignity. They experience the comforts of common membership. They understand and develop affection for items in the everyday world that are associated with the nation—food, clothes, products, songs, jokes, gestures, and adages. Correspondingly, that which falls outside that world tends to be regarded as strange and suspect. The borders between national identities and "neighboring" identities of class, gender, religion, and race are often vague, and the "border guards" between them are unreliable and tolerant. Within a nation there is room for disagreement about the meaning and extent of nationhood. Common membership in a nation permits people to say "we" and "you" without sensing that their own "I," or sense of self, is thereby threatened.-

The idea of national identity implies further that if citizens experience a denial of access to a felt sense of nationhood, they react with feelings of alienation from an unfriendly world. After all,

democratic regimes, while free, are most encompassing and demanding. They are built on the expectation of the fullest and best participation of their interested peoples. At the minimum, democracy implies equal and universal adult suffrage; majority rule and guarantee of minority rights, freedom from arbitrary arrest and respect for the rule of law among citizens and their representatives, constitutional guarantees of civil freedoms and political liberties, and, more recently, entitlement to the fruits of social policies in the areas of health, education, child care, and basic income provision. Put differently, democracy involves an institutional division between a certain form of state and civil society. It is an openly structured system of institutions that facilitates the control of the exercise of power. It is a system in which political decision-makers at the local, regional, national, and supranational levels are expected to serve the res public Citizens, within their civil society, are obliged to be vigilant preventing one another and their rulers from abusing their powers and violating the spirit of the commonwealth.

Finally, national identity constitutes a mechanism whereby citizens can confront and resist that which is feared politically-especially illegitimate domination and corruption. This strength is derived from a sense of belonging to a collectivity called "the nation" and sharing in a common language, a common place, a common sense of history, and a common culture. The experience of Poland is instructive in this regard. The century after the partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1794 witnessed a period in which Poland was carved up by the Russian empire, the Habsburg monarchy, and the kingdom of Prussia. A by-product of this was the nurturance of a distinctive national consciousness among the nobility (szlachta) of the country. During that century the Poles defined themselves-and were defined by others-as a nation martyred in the cause of democratic liberty. They refused, consistently and gracefully, to be bullied by power. The leader of the revolt of 1794, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, a friend of Paine, became a hero to democrats in Europe, America, and as far away as Australia. The Polish legions organized by Henryk Dabrowski took "For our liberty and yours" as their slogan, and Polish patriots played a role in the 1848

revolutions in Hungary, Germany, and Italy. And while strands of anarchism and messianic visions of a "Catholic State of the Polish State" still survive, the main thread of contemporary Polish national identity is its embrace of the language of democratic freedom. As Michnik remarked, the Polish struggle for freedom against military dictatorship and Communist empire was simultaneously a struggle for the freedom of humanity.

## **The Rise of Nationalism**

The preceding account suggests that Paine and others were correct in thinking that the defense of the nation and struggles against political despotism and for democracy are identical. When national feelings materialize, so do strivings for independence and democracy. Yet history has demonstrated that this simple equation is too simple. The French Revolution, the watershed for many movements of its sort the world over, itself demonstrates its over-simplicity. That revolution destroyed faith in the unchallengeable right of

monarchs to govern, and it solidified the struggle against the privileged classes in the name of free and equal individualism. At the same time, it bred a species of nationalism, which appeared in some respects to be a kind of substitute for the old absolutism. Those acting in the name of the nation now stressed faith in *la patrie*, which included citizens' obligations to their state, which in turn was the guarantor of the "one and indivisible" nation. The motto of the *ancien régime*, "Une roi, une foi, une loi" (One king, one faith, one law), was replaced by "La Nation, la loi, le roi" (The nation, the law, the king). The nation was to make the law which the king was responsible for implementing. And when the monarchy was abolished in 1792, the nation became the fountainhead of sovereignty. The battle cry of French soldiers at Valmy in the same year was "Vive la Nation." What had been royal now became national. The tricolor replaced the white flag of the house of Bourbon. This was nationalism proper, and in the end it overwhelmed the democratic potential of the revolution by establishing, in France under Louis Napoléon, the first nationalist dictatorship of the modern world.

In a working democratic system, by contrast, the rule is motion, not stasis. Under conditions of liberty, citizens live in a state of perpetual unease about the distribution and exercise of power. The stress is on difference, openness, and constant competition among plurality of power groups to produce and control the definition of reality. Outcries about public scandals erupt when publics learn about events kept secret. Democracy institutionalizes a condition of political uncertainty about who does and who should govern. Relations of power are understood as contingent and transient and as lacking transcendental guarantees of absolute certainty and hierarchical order.

Yet it could be argued that this very open-self-questioning, self-destabilizing-quality of democracy may increase the magnetism of ideologies such as extreme nationalism, which may be tuned in an anti-democratic direction. Democratic conditions and processes may test citizens' shared sense of the unreality and instability of their political life, to the point where they may engage in some kind of "quest for certainty." Such a quest increases citizens' tolerance for suppression of the diversity, complexity, and openness of civil society.

Democracies are never in a state of static equilibrium; they are process, not product. They are constantly in disagreement about public ends and means and constantly experience uncertainties, confusions, gaps in policy and programs, and overt and covert conflicts. As such, they tax citizens' tolerance for ambiguity and may generate that search for certainty that suppresses pluralism and imposes unity and order.

This, then, is a risk of democracy: it may be seduced by the language and- power fantasies contained in nationalist ideologies. The French Revolution revealed this dynamic for the first time and revealed the fundamental difference-if not opposition-between national identity and nationalism. Nationalism is the child of democratic pluralism both in the special sense that the existence of open institutions and civil liberties enables nationalists to organize and propagate their, nationalism and in the more general sense that democracy breeds uncertainty, insecurity, fear, and perhaps paranoia about political life and the corresponding yearning for refuge in more sealed forms of life.

If democracy involves a continuous struggle against the simplification of the world, nationalism and related ideologies can be regarded as struggles against complexity. Such struggles are perforce intolerant. They continuously invoke symbols of unity—a unity carrying a conviction of unconditional pride that permits no national shame. Nationalism invents ancestors, heroes, and martyrs. It also carries with it a conviction of invincibility associated with intolerance, and that conviction leads easily and almost necessarily to a portrayal of a world that is easily divisible into friends and enemies.

The omnipotence of the ideologue manifests itself in an arrogant rejection of everything about the outsider as worthless and disgusting. Practically any supposed trait can be chosen to symbolize the enemy's unworthiness for respect and recognition: strange food, smelly breath, unhygienic habits, loud offbeat music, laziness, or an incomprehensible, ugly language. On account of this imputed sense of unworthiness, it follows that outsiders are unworthy of entitlements, even when they constitute a significant proportion of the population in or near the Nation.



Of course, nationalism varies in its manifestations. Lenin once observed that the nationalism of a conquering nation should be distinguished from the nationalism of those whom they conquer and that a conquering nationalism always seems uglier and more culpable. Nationalism can also be more or less extreme or militant. Its substantive themes are highly variable and may include material attachment to dietary patterns and a "truly national" form of currency, cultural attachment to language or myths of national origin, or geographical advocacy of political separate-ness. Despite all the variations, there is a common theme of omnipotent arrogance and scapegoating. Outsiders are taunted, labeled as wogs, Scheiss, and tapis, and discriminated against institutionally and informally. Use of their language may be discouraged or prohibited ("linguicide"). And in the most dire cases the rabidity of nationalism presses for the expulsion or even mass murder of outsiders for the purpose of creating a homogeneous territorial and cultural nation

The most recent manifestations of bloody nationalism have been the armed defense of "Serbian autonomous republics" and Serbia's

military occupation of Kosovo in the former Yugoslavia. The Kosovo region has proved to be an arena for the classic expression of the excesses of nationalism. Serbian nationalist spokesmen, expressing that invariable mix of fear, rage, and arrogance, have attacked Albanian Kosovans as dirty, backward Muslims who are not a genuine Yugoslav nation (nacija) but an unimportant nationality (nacionalnost) of non-Slavs. At the same time they view this group as fanatical conquerors and call for "the severing of the right hand of all those who carry the green flag of Islam" (Vuk Draskovic) in the historic cradle of the Serbian nation, where King Lazar and his army were slaughtered while defending Christendom against the crescent and scimitar of Islam. These national and racial hatreds have torn Bosnia- Herzegovina to shreds. The European Muslims in the region have become something like late twentieth-century Jews in their persecution, incarceration, and mass murder.

## Democracy

The above account should suffice to demonstrate that rampant nationalism is both serious and ignoble, a modern manifestation of the excesses that Erik Erikson has associated with the illegitimate elevation of a "pseudo- species" to the basis for defining all reality. Its manifestations have torn apart the Indian subcontinent, the Russian empire, and southeastern Europe and have resulted in millions of dislocations and deaths. The great question, however, is: How can movements of this kind be explained?

It is well understood that nationalism has a kind of primordialism about it-an atavistic and emotional projection of the community and the self according to an encompassing, undifferentiated principle such as Blut und Boden. To acknowledge this, however, should not lead us to make of this feature an explanation, because to point to the primordial characteristics of nationalism does not explain its variable character or when and where it emerges. Furthermore, the emergence of contemporary nationalism- whether in Serbia, France, England, or Georgia-cannot be well understood in neo-

Marxian terms as the political response either of a beleaguered or expansionist bourgeoisie (Austro-Marxism) or of classes exploited by capitalist imperialism (Tom Nairn) or by the reckless destruction of the global capitalist economy (Slavoj Žižek). To structure economies by commodity production and exchange does generate class domination, deindustrialization, unemployment, and the formation of a new underclass, but such forces do not automatically generate a growth of nationalism. For that to happen, there has to be a distinctively psycho-political process: some preexisting, shared sense of nationhood that is, in its turn, capable of manipulation by power groups that take advantage of the openness and deracinement cultivated by the political mechanisms of democracy

Since the "velvet revolutions" of 1989-92, the nationalist card has been played not only by Communist organizations struggling to retain their power—witness Milošević in Serbia, Karavchuk in the Ukraine, and Iliescu in Rumania. It has also been used by anti-Communist opponents of the ancien régime—Gamsakhurdia in Georgia, Tudjman in Croatia, and Yeltsin in Russia. Both Communists

and anti-Communists appear to have learned that in the early stages of democratization, when anti-Communists lack money and Communists' convictions are outworn, nationalism can change minds and win votes, give hope, and protect against the ongoing disequilibrium and disorientation produced by the uncertainty of the early transition from totalitarianism to democracy.

### **National Self-Determination?**

The confusions surrounding the complex relations among national identity, democracy, and nationalism are not dissolved in over-general and speculative arguments between those who assert that "nationalism is the ideology of the twenty-first century" (Conor Cruise O'Brien) and their opponents who suggest, hopefully, that "the Owl of Minerva is now hovering over nations and nationalism" . Such generalizations underestimate the variability and uneven distribution of European nationalism, oversimplify its causes, and provide little guidance on how to defuse nationalist forces. A more promising approach is to focus on democracy itself, which is simultaneously both a fruitful setting for the development of nationalism

(in the circumscribed sense indicated) and the source of possibilities for containing its pathologies. **Decentralization of the nation-state** This occurs mainly through developing interlocking networks of democratically accountable sub-national and supranational institutions, thereby creating a system of crisscrossing lines of political power which would reduce the room for maneuvering by national state governments and diffuse nationalist fantasies of securing and aggrandizing national power by launching war on neighbors or crushing domestic opponents in the name of national preservation or salvation.

This kind of strategy would both renew and democratize the more complex patterns of political power typical of the late medieval and early modern periods. The process of European state-building eclipsed numerous alternative units of power-free cities, principalities, provinces, estates, manors, and deliberative assemblies-such that the some 500 political units that dotted the region around 1500 were reduced to about 25 in 1900. Some contemporary developments point to a reversal of the chess of building centralized state institutions. One of these is the renewed interest in local

government as a flexible forum for politics and policy implementation, partly in response to the declining effectiveness economic macro-management and the apparent retreat of the national welfare state in western Europe .

Finally, the trend towards a Europe des regions has been supplemented by the accelerating growth of supranational institutions like the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, and the European Court Justice. An earlier phase of experiments with intergovernmental negotiations and economic cooperation has been complemented by a process of treaty-making and legal unification which, while still undemocratic, may shape the European political scene as radically as the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15, the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, or the Yalta summit of 1945. Community-wide decision making is moving from decision by consensus towards decision by majority vote; and member states are increasingly required to accept the treaties, laws, and directives enacted. These measures are growing in number, too-from 345 regulations, decisions, and directives in 1970 to 623 in 1987. The concerns of these measures reach to standards of central heating and

housing, the purity of beer and wine, the cleanliness of beaches, and the conditions of women's employment. Some may see an international bureaucratization in this process; but from another stand- point it serves to hasten the decline of nation-state sovereignty and looks toward a post-national Europe. Derivatively, it adds to the pressure on nationalist movements, parties, governments, and leaders to recognize the fact and legitimacy of a countervailing supranational power that touches even "national economic policy" and the resolution of "national conflicts."

### **International legal guarantees of national identity**

These also tend to break down the nation-state's sovereignty. Foreshadowed by the work of four Geneva conventions beginning in 1929, these guarantees received formal expression in the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man of the United Nations in 1948: "Everyone is entitled to the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind such as race, color, sex. language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status" (emphasis added).

The Badinter proposal for resolving the Yugoslav crisis extended and refined this principle of



guaranteeing citizens' entitlement to national identity by means of international supervision, thus breaking with Paine's maxim that sovereignty and the territorially bounded nation are one. The proposal, contained in a European Community report in 1992, called for applications for EC recognition of the statehood of several Yugoslav republics and subsequently recommended the recognition of Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia, subject to their governments' guaranteeing civil and political freedoms to their national minorities, accepting international arms-control agreements, and renouncing force as a means of redrawing existing nation-state boundaries.

**The development of a pluralist mosaic of identities within civil society** This arrangement provides places for citizens to act upon multiple chosen or inherited identities, thus limiting the force of specific national identities in the civil society. The historical parallel is that of religious tolerance: the practice of a particular religion in a multi-religious society presupposes the principle of freedom of religious worship and recognizes the value of other religions and the right to have or practice no religion. The same principle can be extended to groups based on national identity, and in so doing, force can be

generated that fosters a pluralism that operates against differential privileging of one group over another and the pretense that one national identity can become the basis for a one-dimensional nationalism

Slavenka Drakulic has described the straitjacketing effect of nation-centered politics in Croatia: "Nationalism has been forced on people like an ill-fitting shirt. You may feel that the sleeves are too short and the collar too tight. You might not like the color, and the cloth may itch. But you wear because there is no other. No one is allowed not to be Croatian" . The point can be made conversely: in an open, self-governing civil society room is made for the cultivation of spaces where citizens can protect themselves against "uprootedness" by cultivating roots, memories of a national past, and identity-based orientations toward the present and future.

**International civil society** This is a final, important antidote to nationalism but is probably the most difficult to foster. That kind of society would involve an arena in which citizens of various nationalities could interminglé, display at least a minimal sense

of mutual understanding and respect, and generate a sense of solidarity, especially in times of crisis.

In the second half of the eighteenth century this kind of friendship among citizens of various nations was called "cosmopolitanism" It manifested itself in a diversity of ways young men were sent abroad to study; foreigners were invited and welcomed as teachers wars took "nationals" elsewhere in Europe; "respectable" classes traveled, courts maintained diplomatic relations; commerce expanded: and the circulation of fashions in philosophy. letters, instruction, and dress accelerated Thinkers as diverse as Kant, Paine, and Pietro Verri viewed the "loyal patriot" and the "true cosmopolite" as one and the same. involving no contradictions of membership. But with the French Revolution the era of cosmopolitan-ism declined, and into its place moved nationalism, nation-state-building and nation-state rivalry. "Internationalism" of various sorts continued to be stressed, for example, in Marx and Engels's conviction that "in proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." By and large, however, the word "patriot"

became infused with all the emotions of modern nationalism, and the word "cosmopolite" became at best the fleeting symbol of an ideal political unity that was beyond reach .

A pressing theoretical and political question for contemporary Europe is whether a new form of cosmopolitanism is developing with the process of supranational integration in the West and the struggle to dismantle the totalitarian regimes in the East. Is the growth of an international civil society in Europe possible? Two decades ago Raymond Aron said not

Aron's conclusion has proved arguable on both theoretical and historical grounds. It was based on the premise that individuals are citizens by virtue of belonging to a sovereign state that is the sole guarantor of citizenship rights and duties. It did not take account of the future growth multinational states and societies and the definition of the rights European citizenship. Europe may be witnessing the slow, painful growth of a new species of political animal, the European citizen, whose institutional linkages are simultaneously local, regional, and state-national and whose meaningful political and cultural contacts reach through all them.

## الفصل الخامس

# Gender inequality, Theoretical Debates, and Empirical Trends

In the mid-1980s Stacey and Thorne (1985) argued that feminist theory has had only a weak impact on the central theoretical perspectives in sociology. A gendered paradigm, they argued, would lead to an improved understanding of sex segregation in labor markets, male domination in the family, and sexual violence, as well as class structure, the state, social revolution, and feminism. A fully feminist paradigm would give women and gender a central place in all social relations. It would, moreover, pose new and radical questions about women and gender and give a more complex and adequate account of capitalist industrial societies.

Several years later Acker (1989) took up the same theme and sought to explain why sociology had not experienced a feminist revolution and a corresponding paradigm shift. The answer, she argued, lay both in the politics of the organization of the discipline and in the underdevelopment of feminist theory.

processes alter class structure We know a great deal more about how such things affect women, but are only beginning to know How gender is fundamentally involved in the process

She also criticized the focus of gender analysis on women alone, which "(Takes) the theorizing from the general to the specific " and " appears to undermine the theorizing about the abstract and the general Consequently, talking about gender and women can be seen as trivializing serious theoretical questions, or it can be seen as beside the point"

To correct these misdirections, Acker suggested that the Marxist framework was a useful theoretical starting point, mainly because of its focus on oppression, which leads directly to questions of class, capitalism politics, and the state. This recommendation has merit in that it challenges feminist sociologists to theorize the gendered nature of those macro structures and thus supplements the body of literature dealing with micro processes and subjective experiences of women in specific social institutions such as the family, the legal system, and the workplace For example, sociology needs a theory that

incorporates both class and gender- in keeping with Mann's declaration that "stratification is gendered and gender is stratified"-whereas in practice many feminists write as if class and gender are separate, thus deflecting general analysis .

This said, it should also be pointed out that sociology has been more receptive to feminist theory than some other disciplines, notably economics. The field of stratification generally acknowledges gender as source of inequality, and gender consistently enters as a dimension in the analysis of segmented labor markets There has been less success at the macroscopic level, however What is evidently needed is a synthetic framework-borrowing from many strands of sociology, including stratification gender analysis, Marxist sociology, and global sociology that would bridge the general and the specific, the macro and the micro the objective and the subjective, the comparative and the intra-societal The ingredients of such a framework are laid out later in the chapter

## **Regional Trends**

The United Nations (1991) used a similar framework to assess and compare the status of women around the world. It included women, families, and households (including domestic violence); public life and leadership; education and training; health and childbearing housing. human settlements, and the environment; women's work and the economy. The following trends in women's status and social positions are drawn from its recent report :

Latin America and the Caribbean Women in urban areas made significant gains according to indicators of health, childbearing, and education, as well as in economic, social, and political participation. However, little changed in rural areas, and the deterioration of many Latin American countries in the 1980s undercut gains in the urban areas.

Sub-Saharan Africa Women's health and education improved somewhat, but they remained far below the minimal acceptable levels in most countries. Fertility remained high, and serious economic decline was undermining even the modest gains



that had been achieved. Women's economic and social participation was high in sub-Saharan countries. But, given the great differences between men and most women by most measures at the beginning of the 1970s, their limited progress and the general economic decline resulted in a situation that must be described as grave.

Northern Africa and western Asia Gains for women were recorded in health and education. Fertility declined slightly but remained high-5.5 children per woman in northern Africa, 5.3 in western Asia.

Women lagged far behind in economic and social participation and decision making. Some fundamentalist movements, by insisting on domesticity for women, have stunted the progress of the past two decades. Other movements are more variable and flexible. In Iran, Turkey, and Egypt. for instance, Islamic movements are supported by many educated women

Southern Asia Women's health and education improved somewhat but were still below minimally acceptable levels elsewhere and far below men's levels. Even economic growth has not appeared to improve women's status, apparently because of

their low social, political, and economic participation in both urban and rural areas.

**Eastern and southeastern Asia** In much of this part of the world, women's standard of living improved steadily in the 1970s and 1980s. Gender inequalities in health, education, and employment were reduced in both urban and rural areas, and fertility declined. However, considerable political and economic inequality persists, largely because women occupy the lowest paid and lowest-status jobs and are excluded from decision making.

**Developed Regions** Throughout these regions, women's health is generally good and their fertility low. In other respects, however, the picture is mixed. Women's economic participation is high in northern Europe, North America, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union, though privatization in the last two makes for uncertainty. Their participation is lower in Australia, Japan, New Zealand, and southern Europe. In all countries occupational segregation and discrimination in wages and training contribute to the advantages of men. Only in northern Europe are women well

represented in political participation and decision making. Several questions arise in the interpretation of these trends. What factors explain them? Do they actually constitute an improvement in political, economic, and social status? Or has gender inequality changed only in form, with patriarchy and institutional disadvantage still in evidence? We turn now to some responses to those questions

Blumberg's work also provides some empirical evidence from developing countries on the micro-level consequences for women when they control income. For one thing, control of incomes enhances women's self-esteem and power within the family. Other research points in the same direction. Chant (1987) found that women in a Mexican industrial town value earning money highly and that extra-domestic work is a source of power and prestige for them. In a subsequent study, she found that many women in Querétaro expressed enjoyment of their new-found freedom to secure a job and gain some economic independence. Safa, in a study of women in the export-processing zones of the Dominican Republic, found that, despite adverse work conditions, women who worked experienced

an increase in bargaining power within the household and more control over their own fertility. Finlay found that samples of Dominican factory women and housewives differed significantly in levels of consciousness, aspirations, control over decision making, distribution of household tasks, and fertility. Moghadam found that women in a pharmaceutical plant in Casablanca, Morocco, enjoyed their jobs and would not quit even if the family no longer needed the additional income they earned.

As a rule, the public sector is a more sympathetic employer of women than the private sector.

Educated women often choose the public sector because it offers them ;white-collar conditions, employment security, benefits, and more opportunities for advancement than jobs in- the private sector, Public sectors are taking the lead in employing women in many of the developed and developing countries-among them, Finland, Denmark, Mexico, the Philippines, and Sweden. In the United States, the "glass ceiling"-the lid on women's advancement-is lower in the private than the public sector.

With respect to fertility in particular, it is now the case the world over that women in gainful employment marry later, begin childbearing later, and have fewer children than do women outside the labor force. Education also plays a role, in that women with more education enter the paid labor force with greater frequency. Conversely, poor, rural, nonliterate, uneducated women manifest higher fertility rates, and these in turn are associated with high rates of infant mortality, maternal mortality, and reproductive health problems. Some studies have suggested that an adverse sex ratio—that is, fewer women than men—may be related to low female labor force participation. The mechanism is that when women are economically inactive as "wives and mothers," their diminished access to resources also diminishes their chances for survival. Skewed population ratios are found in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Iran, countries which show low female labor participation and have official and unofficial ideologies associating women with marriage and motherhood. In a word, economic activity and literacy appear to be positively related to women's control over their fertility, as well as to

their health and life expectancy. Furthermore, considering worldwide developments, the disadvantages of women in terms of access to stable high-income and high-status occupations, while persisting, have decreased over the course of the century. As this has happened, so women have gained greater control over their fertility and health.

## **Women and Political Activity**

Some feminist social scientists apply the term "patriarchal" to all states and use the terms "public patriarchy" or "social patriarchy" to describe welfare states and the former socialist states. According to these social scientists, welfare states have merely changed the form of patriarchy from individual men in institutional positions to the state as father figure. Is this the case? Or do some countries redistribute political power away from concentration among men? And what would be the appropriate indicators of such a change?

The United States compares poorly with many other countries in terms of women's political participation. Though granted the suffrage in 1920, by 1987 they held only 5.3 percent of positions in

representative government-about the same as Tunisia, Malaysia, Brazil, and Peru United Nations 1991). However, relatively more women are appointed to government decision-making positions in the United States-though at the cabinet level only in the administrations of Roosevelt and Clinton. Also, the United States is the only industrialized country without a national social insurance program, which in other countries includes policies targeted for women and families. Participation in the community and social movements has a long history. In the past 20 years, however, there has been a burgeoning of groups headed by, or composed primarily of, women. Throughout the world groups have formed to oppose discriminatory practices, increases in poverty, violence against women, environmental threats, armaments, and the negative effects of economic programs. Many such groups have been formalized as nongovernmental organizations (NGOS) or community-based organizations (CBOS).

Women's mobilization is one salient indicator of change in the status of women. In recent decades this has increased throughout the world,

dramatically so in the developing countries. The Indian women's movement is among the most active, having organized campaigns around bride burning, ritual widow immolation, a uniform civil code for all religious communities, and development issues. Many independent women's organizations appeared in the 1980s in the Middle East and North Africa. In Algeria, feminist groups first formed to oppose the government's attempt to institute a conservative family law and later organized against *intégrisme*. In Egypt the Arab Women's Solidarity Association tied the question of women to political, social, economic, and cultural issues. Its opposition to the Gulf War of 1991 led to its banishment

In Turkey, the women's movement gained strength in the 1980s, protesting against practices such as the treatment of women prisoners, male harassment of women in public places, and wife battering. It has also applied pressure on the government to implement fully the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women . According to Jaquette, Latin America is experiencing "a new era of women's mobilization, comparable in many ways to the



women's emancipation movement of the early twentieth century, but much broader in scope" . In Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, and Chile women have mobilized into women's human rights groups, feminist groups, and organizations of poor urban women .

In the longer run, this kind of mobilization will no doubt eventuate in greater representation in formal political institutions. For the moment, Norway and Finland are the countries where women have made most inroads on this score. But Skjeie (1991) has argued that even this progress may not represent greater gender equality, because women are being integrated into "shrinking institutions"-that is, once powerful organizations that have gradually lost their efficacy-and that only limited progress has been made in powerful institutions such as the state bureaucracy, universities, and especially business corporations. At the same time, Skjeie has provided data showing that the proportion of women on public boards, councils, and committees-state bodies that legislate and maintain social policies that benefit women-has grown from 7 percent in 1967 to 35 percent in 1989. More generally, it should be observed that while all states manifest

gender inequalities, the differences between the extremes are dramatic. In Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, women do not vote, and political power is held exclusively by elite men, whereas in Norway, Finland, and Barbados, women have gained significant access to political institutions and decision-making bodies.

## **The World Economy and Female Labor**

One version of the world economy is that of world-systems theory. Its basic premise is that there exists a capitalist world economy which integrates the societies of the world into a single economic system of core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral nations. According to Wallerstein, over a period of 400 years, successive expansions have transformed the capitalist world economy from a system located primarily in Europe to one that covers the entire globe. In the modern world system, social relationships develop in part along class lines. As Chase-Dunn put it, The world class structure is composed of capitalists...and property less workers. This class system also includes small commodity producers who control their own means

of production but who do not employ the labor of others, and a growing middle class of skilled and/or professionally certified workers" .

Women on the semi-periphery and at the core engaged in industrial labor and service jobs have been affected by recent changes of the kind described as global restructuring in different ways. The term "global restructuring" refers to the emergence of what is in effect a global assembly line, in which research and management are centered in developed countries, while assembly-line and processing work is relegated to less developed countries. Restructuring also involves control over increasingly dispersed production sites and decentralized organizations through subcontracting and product differentiation. As Ward suggested:

The global assembly line approach to production is attractive to transnational corporations ... and to employers seeking greater access to markets, diffusion of political and economic costs, improved competitive abilities, and product diversity. Within developing countries, restructuring is marked by

growth of the service sector and specialization in export industries such as electronics, garments, and pharmaceuticals as a development strategy. Restructuring is also marked by increasing use of female workers in the informal sector.

Global restructuring entails, above all, a growth in the number of informal-sector workers and women workers. This sector provides an alternative, cheap source of labor that is largely unregulated by labor legislation. Employers can minimize wages, the threat of unionization, and competitive risks and maximize flexibility in hiring, overhead costs, and production processes. In the United States global restructuring has meant relying on immigrant labor, especially Hispanic women in the garment and electronics industries of New York and California. The main advantages for employers in hiring women are low wages, temporary hiring, and reduced membership in unions.

During the 1970s and 1980s, global restructuring has involved several shifts: from import-substitution industrialization to export-led growth, from state ownership to privatization, from government price-

and trade- regulation to liberalization, from a stable, organized work force to "flexible labor," from formal employment to the proliferation and expansion of informal sectors. The worldwide economic crises of the 1980s accelerated these shifts. In the United States and the United Kingdom, international declining profits drove capital to accelerate the process of informalization. In the latter, the number of "flexible workers" increased by 16 percent between 1981 and 1985, while permanent jobs decreased by 6 percent. Over a similar period nearly one-third of newly created jobs were "temporary" in character . Women are those mainly affected by such developments:

Not only do the new labor market structures make it much easier to exploit the labor power of women on a part-time basis, and so to substitute lower- paid female labor for that of more highly paid and less laid-off core male workers, but the revival of sub-contracting and domestic and family labor systems permits a resurgence of patriarchal practices and homeworking.

By 1990 economic restructuring had also spread to the former socialist countries. This process, too, has a gender dimension. At one time this region of the world had the highest rates of female labor-force participation and the largest female share of paid employment. At present women face unemployment, marginalization from the productive process, and loss of social security benefits such as maternity leaves and child-care facilities. Prior to unification and restructuring, more than 90 percent of women had a secure job by age 23 . Under privatization female employees are frequently let go before male employees, and in unprofitable companies child care is one of the first benefits to be cut. In the former Soviet Union, "unemployment has already become a particularly severe prospect for women workers and for ethnic minorities in the various parts of the country" . In 1992 it was estimated that 80 percent of unemployed people in Moscow were women .

romanticized, was of a different order from the "cheap and expendable female labor" of the industrializing Third World countries. Whatever one's judgment on that score, it is apparent that privatization in that unstable part of the world is

creating differential economic hardship for women and may work to strengthen patriarchal notions about men's and women's roles.

## **Gender and Processes of Social Change**

Like the concept of class, the concept of gender refers to a structured relationship of inequality. With respect to economic class, the relationship derives from differential control of the means of production (Marx) or unequal market opportunities (Weber). With respect, to gender, the asymmetry stems originally from women's childbearing function and is expressed in the sexual division of labor. As Papanek puts it, "Gender differences based on the social construction of biological sex distinctions are one of, the great fault lines' of societies-those marks of difference among categories of persons that govern the allocation of power, authority and resources . As such, gender pervades the general organization of social inequality

Gender asymmetry is universal, but its specific structuring and the resulting degree of inequality are variable. It is connected, furthermore, with economic and other institutional structures, including the state. For this reason gender

hierarchies are constructed differently in kinship-ordered, agrarian, developing, and advanced industrial settings. The gender system is further influenced by the type of regime and state ideology. States which are Marxist (e.g., the former German Democratic Republic), theocratic (Saudi Arabia), individualistic democratic (the United States), or social democratic (the Nordic countries) manifest different legal arrangements affecting women and different family policies. In addition, gender hierarchies are sustained by processes of socialization and reinforced through distinct institutions, including the labor market, of which occupational sex segregation is an invariable accompaniment.

Generalized theories of patriarchy, which often posit a stable system of subordination of all women by all men, tend to oversimplify differences between the North and the South, between developed and less developed countries, and between different classes and status groups within societies. In fact, the degree of gender disadvantage is strongly conditioned by class. This appears most obviously in the realm of reproduction; educated middle-class



and upper-class women tend to have fewer children than peasant or poor women. Upper and upper-middle-class urban women have more choices than lower-middle-class, working-class, urban poor, and peasant women, and thus have greater possibilities for "emancipation." In 1971 Safilios-Rothschild wrote that in developing countries professional and marital roles become compatible for the wealthier classes because of the availability of cheap domestic labor and the extended family network. More generally, class operates to determine what kind of child-care assistance women can secure—cheap immigrant labor, paid day care (both certified and uncertified), adolescent baby-sitters, relatives, or none.

### **The State and Gender**

In all countries the state plays a central role in creating social policies, development strategies, and legislation that determine women's opportunities. Examples are family law, affirmative action, provisions for restrictions on working mothers, education policy, health policy, and population policy. State policies may reinforce customary patriarchal structures and discriminatory practices, undermine them, or have mixed effects. As Pyle

(1990) observed, state policy in Ireland appears to rest on a contradictory set of goals the development of the economy and the expansion of services and the maintenance of the "traditional family." Such policies may intensify both role conflicts for women and social conflicts in society. Individual women, for example, may find themselves torn between the economic need or desire to work and a gender ideology that stresses their family roles. With respect to social conflict, a state policy of development, state-sponsored education, and inclusionary policies for women in the state sector may create a "new class" of professionally employed, politically active, articulate women whose presence may constitute a threat to conservative groups. Modern Egypt provides a ready example of the direct and largely positive effect that state policies can have on women's economic social status. Under the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser of the 1950s, the public sector of that country expanded significantly through a series of "Egyptianization" decrees which secured government control of foreign-owned assets, including the Suez Canal. In the early 1960s the government adopted a centralized development

policy which included a wave of nationalization of Egyptian-owned enterprises in industry, banking, trade, and transport. It simultaneously initiated an employment

drive whereby state owners were forced to create significant numbers of new jobs: The administrative apparatus of the state was also expanded rapidly at the central and local government level. At the same time, the government adopted an objective of spreading health and education services in urban and rural areas, with a corresponding growth in these services as well. The state's guarantee of a job to all high school and university graduates, moreover, encouraged women-including working-class and lower-middle class women-to take advantage of the government's free education policy.

The Nasserist state thus offered political support for the education of women and for their integration into national development. A labor law of 1954 guaranteed equal rights and equal wages and made special provisions for married women and mothers. Later, under Anwar Sadat, these provisions were expanded to facilitate women's participation in the labor market. This law was

applied primarily in the public and government sectors, which made jobs in these areas particularly attractive to women. As a result, the state became the most important employer of women .

### **Social Movements and Women's Empowerment**

Social movements, which are vehicles through which people organize to try to influence social life, both appear with great frequency in times of rapid social change and foster further social change.

While the study of social movements has burgeoned in recent decades, their gender aspects have not always been considered explicitly. With few exceptions , the gender dynamics of revolutions have not been explicated, even though feminist scholars have documented the importance of the "woman question" in revolutionary discourse, as well as the significant participation of women in social movements. The gender dynamics of women's movements themselves, whether in their nineteenth- and early twentieth-century manifestations or as "new social movements" in the late twentieth century, have been the subject of more research. For example, Jayewardene's study shows a link between feminism and nationalism in parts of Asia : Rowbotham and Weeks (1977) have

established a link between feminism and socialism, and Simon and Danziger (1991) have assessed the impact of women's movements in the United States on both attitudes and institutional change in politics, the workplace, and the family.

The worldwide movement has had the effect of highlighting gender oppression, encouraging activists, bringing pressure to bear on elites and governments, fostering changes in legislation and social policy, and consolidating women as new political constituencies in many countries.

Explanation of the unprecedented historical rise of the women's movement is far from complete, but at least two major components have been identified. Chafetz and Dworkin explain it in terms of macro-level changes such as urbanization, expanding education and employment for women, and the size of the middle class Piven (1985) explains it in terms of the convergence of "a moral economy of domesticity" (women's traditional ideas derived from their maternal and domestic roles) and "change in the objective circumstances of women" which has necessitated political activism for greater rights as women, as mothers, as workers, and as citizens.

الفصل السادس

**Terms and concepts  
In  
Sociology**

**Industry, sociology** of A loosely defined, but well- established sub-specialism within Sociology, which can trace its origins back to the discipline's founders. Its expansion in the twentieth century was encouraged by the hope of certain company "managements, notably in the United States, that sociological and, psychological research might yield a set of management and supervisory techniques which, could, be used to prevent workplace conflict and raise "productivity. Though its potential applications still impinge on the subject, later practitioners fought hard to establish the area as an independent field of academic study, which (from a variety of theoretical perspectives) accepts the inevitability of a so-called pluralism of interests in industrial work situations, and concerns itself with the consequences.

The explanatory emphasis on technology and methods of work organization has provided an important rationale for describing studies of non-factory work as (typically male) manual factory workers, the idea that factors within the workplace have an identifiable and independent causal influence on people's actions has industrial

sociology. But, with the shift of research from been questioned.

In recent years, the need for industrial sociologists to begin their inquiries outside the factory gates has been emphasized by a disparate range of studies which suggest that the effect of technology, work organization and other workplace variables, is itself culturally and socially specific. For example, comparative surveys have examined factories with identical technologies, in different national and cultural milieu. The findings show that it is these factors (especially politics and the industrial relations system) rather than technology or organization, which exert the primary influence on behaviour, even within the plants themselves. Other comparative research has suggested that labour-management practices, job structures, training, skills, and supervision are all profoundly affected by the complex of political, legal, and educational regulation in a society, even to the extent of shaping overall national economic performance. Again, industrial sociology as such tends to be absorbed, this time into historical and comparative research on patterns of industrial culture.



Arguably, then, industrial sociology is a rather old-fashioned term. Nevertheless, courses and texts on the subject, especially in conjunction with management or trade-union education, continue to offer a welcome and interesting introduction to the sociological perspective for many who might otherwise not encounter it. Conventionally, such courses treat areas which these days, for reasons given above, and because of the expansion of the literature, have tended to become sub-specialism in their own right, and for which separate entries will be found in this dictionary.

**Institution, social institution** The use of the term institution in sociology, meaning established aspects of society, is close to that in common English usage. However, there have been some changes over time in the exact conceptualization of the term, and there are differences in the analytical precision with which it is used.

The current concept of institution is more fluid, seeing the family or church, for instance, as comprising changing patterns of behaviour based on relatively more stable "value systems, This

allows sociologists to consider the moral ambivalence of human behaviour as well as its creative effects on social \*change.

In addition to these more global and theoretical concerns, there is also a tradition of the "ethnographic study of institutions that constrain, or from some points of view determine, the behaviour of specific social groups. Chief among these are Erving \*Goffman's studies of "total institutions-for example the mental hospital .

**Kinship** kinship is one of the main organizing principles of human society, and kinship systems have been extensively studied by \*social anthropologists, for whom they are of particular importance because of their primacy in non-state societies. Kinship systems established relationships between individuals and groups on the model of biological relationships between parents and children, between siblings, and between marital partners. Relationships established by "marriage, which form alliances between groups of persons related by blood (or consanguineous ties), are usually referred to as affinal relationships. Some social scientists make a distinction between the study of kinship and the study of affinity. All such

studies depend on the assumption that these relationships are systematic, entailing the observation of "norms relating to behaviour between those related by kin or affinity. The relationships between parents and children (and by extension between grandparents and grandchildren) determine modes of inheritance as well as the overall political relationships between generations. Like links between siblings, the parent and child dyad can be crucial in establishing "incest rules, which determine not only sexual relationships but also the rules underlying affinity, by denoting prohibited or prescribed marital partners. As the social relationships between husband and wife set up relationships between their respective consanguineous groups, the entire complex of kinship and affinal relationships can be seen to be fundamental to the analysis of political, economic, and social relations in non- state societies.

Inheritance apart, kinship and affinity rules may also affect residence, relationships between individuals, modes of address, and various other economic and political behaviours. The rules themselves have been investigated through the study of genealogy, kinship terminology, marriage

preferences and cycles of social reproduction. Within social anthropology, kinship theories tend to be grouped according to the relative emphasis they place on rules of descent or rules of affinity. In other words, they concentrate on either parent and child relationship rules or the bonds between groups established through on marriage.

\*Alliance theory is more theoretical, being interested in how the rules setting up links between groups through marriage are generated. Marriage and incest rules are therefore central. This means that, for alliance theorists, kinship systems exist in order to generate marriage possibilities or impossibilities. Much of this perspective is derived from the work of Claude Levi-Strauss, Who designated kinship systems as being either "elementary or "complex". In the former case, a spouse is selected according to social rules, whereas in the latter the marriage partner is not determined by structural rules but rather by individual choice. However, these are abstract principles rather than descriptions of empirical reality: in practice, all societies have incest rules that define marriage partners according to elementary structures, and all have complex

aspects that allow for a measure of situational choice.

In the 1960s and 1970s, controversy between alliance and descent theorists was heated, being part of the debate between functionalist and structuralist schools in social anthropology. Since then the discussion has cooled, and it is now generally acknowledged that the difference lies more in the level of theory applied, than in either any fundamental difference in concrete kinship systems or necessary adherence to a particular theoretical perspective.

**Knowledge, sociology** of The sociology of knowledge is not a clear subdivision of sociology. Its concern is the relationship of knowledge to a social base- although what is meant by knowledge and social base is likely to vary from author to author. All the major sociological theorists have something to say about this topic, but as an integral part of their theory, not as a separate area of study/Emile \*Durkheim for example, in his sociology of religion, suggested that the basic mental categories by means of which we order the world are rooted in the way we organize society. Max \*Weber, in his sociology of religion, gave

considerable weight to material conditions influencing the formation of religious beliefs

Karl "Mannheim, in particular in *ideology and Utopia* (1936). developed the standard non-Marxist interpretation, arguing that a range of other social positions (not merely social class) determine forms of knowledge; and, moreover, that it is not possible to grant one point of view greater truth-value than another. However, by virtue of their "free-floating" social status, intellectuals can mediate between different positions and produce a more complete view.

Since the 1980s there has been a determined effort to revitalize the field, by sociologists interested in culture, science, religion, and ideology. The development of "cultural studies as a separate discipline has also contributed to this initiative. The so-called "new sociology of knowledge concentrates not on the differing social locations and interests of individuals or groups, but rather on how particular kinds of social organization make whole orderings of knowledge possible. It also expands the field of study from an examination of the contents of knowledge to the investigation of "forms and practices of knowing"- and so,

inevitably, to the structuring of political, cultural, and organizational.

**Law, sociology** of Law-rules of action or statutes established by authorities such as \*states- was a central object of theoretical and substantive concern to each of the founding figures of sociology.

Although Karl \*Marx did not write a systematic treatise on law, he nevertheless had much to say about it ,including two points which were particularly influential in subsequent studies. The first was that, because the legal system is part of the "bourgeois state, it was an instrument of class oppression The second was that, because "the ruling ideas of a period are the ideas of the ruling class', even the most basic of legal concepts (most famously "rights") are part of the system of bourgeois domination.

Emile "Durkheim likewise did not write a treatise that was specifically devoted to law, although he came closer than Marx in that much of the argument of his *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893) was devoted explaining, why the legal systems of so-called mechanically solidaristic societies are "retributive" whilst those of organically

solidaristic societies should be "restitutive" In addition, his Professional Ethics and Civic Morals (1950) contains a sustained and significant account of the development of contract and property law during the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, despite the fact that Talocott Parsons periodically returned to the law in the course of his general theorizing, law lost its position as a major focus of macro-sociological work after the death of the discipline's modern founders. Perhaps for this reason, and certainly because of the rise of "empiricism and the existence of a high level of official interest in the results of research related to the operation of the legal system, theoretical issues virtually disappeared from the interests of sociologists of law until the 1970s. In their absence there appeared numberless studies of the police, lawyers, judges, and the court and other regulatory systems, plus many purporting to report on the social impact of various laws.



## Cross-Tabulation, Cross-Classification

تبويب مزدوج. تصنيف مزدوج

Crowding	تزاخم
Crowds	حشود
Crude Birth Rate	معدل المواليد الخام
Crude Death Rate	معدل الوفيات الخام
Crude Divorce	معدل الطلاق الخام
Cult	عباده, طائفة دينية
Cultural Anthropology	الاثروبولوجيا الثقافي
Cultural Assimilation	تمثيل ثقافي
Cultural Capital	رأس المال ثقافي
Cultural Diffusion	انتشار ثقافي
Cultural Integration	تكامل ثقافي
Cultural Lag	تخلف ثقافي
Cultural Materialism	المادية الثقافية
Cultural Pluralism	تعدديه ثقافيه
Cultural Relativism	نسبيه ثقافيه

Cultural Studies	الدراسات الثقافية
Cultural Theory	النظرية الثقافية
Cultural Transmission Theory	نظرية النقل الثقافية
Culture	ثقافة
Culture, Adaptive and Material	ثقافة تكيفيه وماديه
Culture and Personality School	مدرسه الثقافة و الشخصية
Culture Area	منطقه ثقافية
Culture of Poverty	ثقافة الفقر
Culture Shock	صدمه ثقافية
Curriculum	منهج ثقافي
Curvilinear Correlation	ارتباط غير مستقيم
Deprivation Satiation Proposition	فرض الحرمان و الإشباع
Derivations	مشتقات
Descent Theory	نظريه النسب (أو الانحدار القرابة )
Descent, Parallel	أصل أو نسب متواز

Descent Groups	جماعات النسب (الأصل )
Deschooling	نقد التعليم المدرسي
Descriptive Statistics	إحصاء وصفي
De-Senitization	إفقاد الحساسية
Desert	مثوبة أو عقوبة مستحقه
Desires	رغبات
Desjointed Instrumentalism	التزايد المفكك
De-Skilling	إفقاد المهارة
Desocialization	إفقاد التنشئة الاجتماعية
Despotism	استبداد , حكم مطلق
Determinism	حتمية
Deterrence	منع , تعويق
Development, Sociology of	علم اجتماع التنمية
Development, Uneven	التنمية المتفاوتة
Development Banks	بنوك التنمية
Deviance	انحراف
Deviance Amplification	تضخيم الانحراف

Deviance Career	سلك الانحراف
Deviance disavowal	إنكار الانحراف أو التنصل منه
Deviant Subculture	ثقافة الانحراف فرعيه
Diachrony	تتابع (تسلسل تاريخي )
Dialect, Dialectical Materialism	جدل , ماديه جدليه
Dinspora	الشتات
Drives, Innate and Acquired	الدوافع ( المورثة المكتسبة )
Drug Addiction	إدمان المخدرات
DSM II	الدليل التشخيصي و الإحصائي للأمراض العقلية
Dual Career Marriage	زواج السلك المهني المزدوج
Dual Consciousness	وعي مزدوج
Dual- Earner Families. Dual-Earner Marriages	أسر (أو زيجات) الزوجين العاملين
Dual Economy	اقتصاد ثنائي
Dual Labour-Market	سوق العمل الثنائي
Dualism	ثنائيه , ازدواجية

Duopoly	احتكار أو توزيع ثنائي
Dummy Variables	متغيرات صماء
Dyad	ثنائي
Dynamic Density	كثافة دينامية ( متغيره )
Dysfunction, Dysfunctional	اختلال وظيفي
Ecological Competition	منافسه بيئية
Ecological Fallacy	الوهم البيئي
Ecological Invasion	غزو بيئي
Ecological Succession	تتابع بيئي
Ecology	ايكولوجيا , علم البيئة
Econometrics	القياس الاقتصادي أو الاقتصاد القياسي
Economic Activity	نشاط اقتصادي
Economic Determinism	حتمية اقتصاديه
Economic Development	تنمية اقتصاديه
Economic Dualism	ثنائية اقتصاديه
Economic Growth	نمو اقتصادي
Evangelical	إنجيلي ( احيالي )

Event-History Analysis	تحليل تاريخ الحدث
Everyday Life, Sociologies of	الدراسات الاجتماعية الحياة اليومية
Evolutionary Universals	العموميات التطورية
Evolutionism, Evolutionary Theory	مذهب التطور , النظرية التطورية
Exchange	تبادل
Exchange Mobility	حرك تبادل
Exchange Theory	نظريه التبادل
Exchange Value	قيمه التبادلية
Exclusion, Social	استبعاد اجتماعي
Existential Sociology	علم الاجتماع الوجودي
Existentialism	المذهب الوجودي / الوجودية
Exogamy	زواج اغترابي ( من خارج الجماعة )
Exogenous Variables	متغيرات خارجية
Experiment	تجربه

Experimental Control	ضبط تجريبي
Experimentai Design	تصميم تجريبي
Experimental Method	المنهج التجريبي
Experimenter Effects	أثيرات الباحث القائم بالتجربة
Explanadum and Explanans	المشروح و الشارح
Explanation	تفسير
Explanatory Dualism	ثنائية التفسير
Explanatory Reduction	الاختزال التفسيري
Exploitation	استغلال
Exponential Growth	نمو أسي
Expressive Crowd	حشد تعبيرى
Expressive Ties and Instrumental Ties	روابط تعبيريه و روابط نفعيه
Fascism	الفاشية
Fatalism	الجبرية , القدرية
Fatherhood	الأبوة
Featherman-Jones-Hauser Hypothesis	

فرض فيذرمان و جونز و هاوزر

Fecundity

الخصوبة البيولوجية

Federalism

الفيدرالية ( الاتحادية )

Feedback

التغذية ( المرتردة )

Feeling Rules

القوانين الإحساس و الشعور

Femininity

الأنوثة

Feminism

الحركة النسوية ( النسائية )

Feminist Criminology

علم الإجرام النسائي

Feminist Methodology

المنهجه النسوية

Fertility

الخصوبة

Fertility Rate

معدلات الخصوبة

Feudalism

الإقطاعية ( النظام )

الإقطاعي

Field Experiment

تجربه ميدانيه

Field Theory

نظريه المجال

Fieldwork

العمل الميداني

Figurational Sociology



علم الاجتماع التشكيلي ( المعتمد علي فكره التشكيل )

Figure-Ground Contrast      التناقض بين الصورة و الواقع

Financial Capitalism      الرأسمالية المالية

First-Order Constructs

تصورات ( مفاهيم ) المستوي الأول

First World      العالم الأول

Fiscal Crisis (of The State)      ألامه المالية ( ألامه )

Fixed Capital      رأس المال الثابت

Fixed Choice Question

السؤال ذو الاختبارات الثابتة (المحددة )

Flexible Employment      التشغيل المرن

Flexible Employment      الإنتاج المرن

Flexible Specialization      التخصص المرن

Flexible Work      العمل المرن

Focus Groups      جماعات عينه دائمة

Focused Crowd      حشد مركز

Focused Interaction      تفاعل مركز

Folk Devils	الشياطين الشعبية
Folk Society	المجتمع الشعبي
Folk-Urban continuum	المتصل الشعبي الحضري
Folkways	العادات الشعبية
Food, Sociological Studies of	الدراسة الاجتماعية للطعام
Forces of Production	قوى الإنتاج
Fordism	الفوردية (نظام الإنتاج الرأسمالية المتقدم)
Foreign Aid	معمونة أجنبيه
Formal Justice	العدالة الصورية
Formal Operations Stage	مرحلة العمليات الشكلية
Formal Organization	التنظيم الرسمي
Formal Rationality	الرشد الشكلي
Formal Structure	البناء الرسمي
Formalism, Formal Sociology	الصورية , علم الاجتماع الصوري
Frame, Framing, Frame Analysis	

إطار, وضع الإطار, تحليل الإطار

Frnkfurt School (of Social Theory (في النظرية

مدرسه فرانكفورت

Fraternal Polyandry

زواج الإخوة من أمراه واحده

Fre Association

التداعي الحر

Free Market

سوق حر

Free Rider

المنتفع دون حق

Glossing

تمويه

Goal

هدف

Goal Differntiation

تنوع الأهداف

Gonl Displacement

استبدال الأهداف

Goal Generalization

تعميم الأهداف

Goldthorpe Class Scheme

مخطط جولد ثورب الطبقي

Goodness of Fit

حسن المطابقة

Grand Theory

نظريه كبري

Graph Theory

نظريه بيانيه

Green Revolution

ثوره خضراء

## Gross National Product

الناتج القومي الإجمالي , إجمالي الناتج القومي

Grounded Theory نظريه موثقه ( مؤكده )

Group جماعه

Group, Primary جماعه أوليه

Group, Status جماعه ألكانه

Group Dynamics ديناميات الجماعة

Group Marriage زواج الجماعة

Group Therapy علاج الجماعي

Group work خدمه الجماعة

Guerrilla حرب العصابات

Guilds طوائف حرفيه

Guttman Scale مقياس جوتمان

Habitus الطابع الاجتماعي الثقافي ( بورديو )

Halevy Thesis قضيه ( اطرحوه ) هاليفي

Halo effect خطا الهاله ( اثر الانبهار )

Hate Crimes جرائم الكراهية

Historiography	تاريخ
Holism	كليه
Homework, Home working	العمل في المنزل
Homophobia	الخوف من الجنسية المثلية
Homosexuality	الجنسية المثلية
Hooligan, Hooliganism (	عصابات الشباب (الإجرامية
Horizontal Integration	تكامل أفقي
Horticulture	فلاحة البساتين
Hospice	مؤسسات رعاية المتحضرين
Household	عائله , أسرہ معيشية
Household Allocative System	نظام توزيع الموارد داخل الأسرة
Household Dynamics	الديناميات المنزلية
Household Work Strategy	توزيع العمل المنزلي
Housework, Sociology of	الدراسة الاجتماعية للعمل المنزلي

Housing, Sociology of

الدراسة الاجتماعية للإسكان , سوسيولوجي للإسكان

Housing Class

مستوي الإسكان

Human - Capital Theory

نظريه رأس المال البشري

Human Ecology

الايكولوجيا البشرية

Human Geography

الجغرافيا البشرية

Human Nature

الطبيعة البشرية

Human Relations Movement

حركه العلاقات الإنسانية

Human Rights

حقوق الإنسان

Humanism

المذهب الإنساني

Humanistic Sociology

الاتجاهات الإنسانية في علم الاجتماع

Hunting and Gathering Societies

مجتمعات الصيد و الالتقاط

Hybrid Identities

الهويات الهجين

Hydraulic Hypthesis

النظرية الهيدروليكية

Laclusion	احتواء , تضمين
Income Distribution	توزيع الدخل
Incommensurability	اللاقياسية
Incorporation	اندماج
Independence	استقلال ( أخصائي )
Independent Variable	متغير مستقل
Index	مؤشر , دليل تجمعي
Index Crime	أنواع الجرائم الأساسية
Indexicality	أمكانية التأشير ( الدلالة )
Indicator	مؤشر
Indirect Causal Effects	الآثار ( العلية ) غير المباشرة
Indirect Difference, Method of	طريقه الاختلاف غير المباشرة
Individualism	الفردية ( مذهب )
Induction	استقراء
Industrial Action	العمل ( النقابي ) الصناعي
Industrial Capitalism	الرأسمالية الصناعية

Industrial Conflict	الصراع الصناعي
Industrial Democracy	الديمقراطية الصناعية
Industrial Integration	التكامل الصناعي
Industrial Relations	العلاقات الصناعية
Industrial Reserve Army	الجيش الاحتياطي الصناعي
Industrial Revolution	الثورة الصناعية
Industrial Sector	القطاع الصناعي
Industrial Society	المجتمع الصناعي
Industrial Sociology	علم الاجتماع الصناعي
Industrialism, Industrialization	الصناعية , التصنيع
Industry, Sociology of	علم الاجتماع الصناعي
Instrumental Orientation to Work	التوجه الهادف للعمل
Instrumental Reason	التفكير الذرائعي
Instrumental Tie	رابطة نفعيه
Instrumentalism	الذرائعية
Integration	تكامل ( اجتماعي )



Intellectuals	المثقفون
Intelligence	ذكاء
Intelligentsia	انتلجنسيا ( طليعة المثقفين )
Intensive Power	قوه مركزه
Interaction	تفاعل
Interaction Effects (Statistical)	أثار التفاعل ( الإحصائية )
Interactional Field Theories	نظريات المجال التفاعلي
Interactionism,	التفاعلية , المنظور التفاعلي
Interactionist Perspective	
Interest Group	جماعات المصلحة
Interests	مصالح
Intergenerational Mobility	حراك جيلي
Interlocking Directorate	الإدارة المشتركة
Intermediate Technology	تكنولوجيا وسيطة
Internal (or Domestic) Colonialism	الاستعمار الداخلي

Internal Labour Market

سوق العمل الداخلي

Internal Migration

هجره داخليه

International Division of Labour

تقسيم العمل الدولي

Internet

الانترنت

Interpellation

الاستدراج

Interpersonal Comparisons

مقارنه بين الأشخاص

## تضامن Social Solidarity

### اجتماعي

يهتم أحد الموضوعات الأساسية في أعمال إميل دور كايم بمصادر النظام الأخلاقي ، ومن ثم أساس النظام الاجتماعي . وقد كان دور كايم مهتما بصفة خاصة بالدراسة الدقيقة للصلة بين الفرد والمجتمع في وقت كانت تنمو فيه روح الفردية والاضطراب الاجتماعي والتشتت الأخلاقي . وفي دراسته الشهيرة عن تقسيم العمل في المجتمع ، الصادر عام ١٨٩٣ ، طرح دور كايم ثنائيته الشهيرة : التضامن الذي يقوم على التشابه المميز للمجتمعات الانقسامية البسيطة والذي أسماه التضامن الآلي ، والتضامن القائم على الاعتماد المهني المتبادل في المجتمعات ذات التنظيم الأخلاقي الكثيف ، والذي أسماه التضامن العضوي . والتحول من أحد شكلي التضامن هذين إلى الشكل الآخر ليس واضحاً ولا محتوماً ، كما اعترف دور كايم نفسه في خاتمته عن الأشكال الشاذة لتقسيم العمل

وقد سعى دور كايم في كتابات لاحقة إلى تقديم مقترحات تتعلق بالحلول المؤسسية لمشكلات التنظيم الأخلاقي والتكامل الاجتماعي في المجتمعات المعاصرة . وقد أكد بصفة خاصة على أهمية الاتحادات المهنية ( معادل معاصر للروابط الحرفية التي كانت موجودة في العصور الوسطى ) كوسيط بين الفرد والمجتمع . ونجد في كتابه الصور الأولية للحياة الدينية ، الذي صدر عام ١٩١٢ ، أن التضامن الاجتماعي- أو المجتمع " هو الموضوع الحقيقي لأشكال العبادة الجماعية

## تنشئة Socialization

### اجتماعية

التنشئة الاجتماعية هي العملية التي من خلالها نتعلم كيف نصبح أعضاء في المجتمع ، من خلال استدماج معايير وقيم المجتمع من ناحية ، أو تعلم كيفية أداء أدوارنا الاجتماعية (دور العامل ، والصديق ، والمواطن .... الخ ) من ناحية أخرى

وهناك جدل مستمر حول الأهمية النسبية للطبيعة Nature في مقابل التنشئة Nurture ( أو الوراثة في مقابل البيئة ) في نمو الإنسان .

وهناك جدل آخر قريب من هذا يتعلق بمدى المبالغة في أهمية التنشئة الاجتماعية لبنى البشر . أي هل يخضع البشر للعادات الاجتماعية ومهارات أداء الدور إلى الحد الذي يقضى على الغرائز الأساسية للإنسان ؟ ويثير هذا الجدل المنظور السيكولوجي عند فرويد الذي يرى أن التنشئة تعمل ضد دوافعنا ونزعاتنا الطبيعية في مقابل المنظور الوظيفي الذي يرى أن التنشئة الاجتماعية تعد أساسية في تحقيق التكامل في المجتمع . وقد ركزت الدراسات الحديثة على اثر الاختلافات الطبقيّة في التنشئة الاجتماعية . وبعضها يتعلق باللغة انظر كتاب برنستين الطبقة والقوانين والضبط ، الصادر عام ١٩٧١ ، بينما اهتمت دراسات أخرى بالاختلافات في التوجهات القيمية ولم يعد يتم النظر إلى التنشئة الاجتماعية باعتبارها الحافظ لمرحلة الطفولة ، وتتم من خلال الأسرة والمدرسة . ولكنه أصبح من الأمور المسلم بها الآن أن التنشئة عملية مستمرة مدى الحياة . كما اتضح أيضاً أن التنشئة ليست مجرد عملية ذات خط واحد ، يتعلم من خلالها الأفراد كيف يتكيفون مع المجتمع ذلك أن الناس يعيدون تحديد أدوارهم وواجباتهم الاجتماعية . ومن هنا ، فإن أي فهم للتنشئة الاجتماعية يجب

أن يأخذ في اعتباره كيف ترتبط تلك العملية بالتغير الاجتماعي . وفي ضوء هذا المعنى تشير بعض المدارس النظرية في علم الاجتماع إلى افتراض وجود تصور عن التنشئة الزائدة للفرد في المجتمع بطريقة تجعلهم يبالغون في التأكيد على المدى الذي نستمدج به القيم ويصبح الفعل ذا توجه معياري ، وهو اتهام يوجه غالباً ضد الوظيفة المعيارية على سبيل المثال

## ثقافة جماهيرية ( ثقافة شعبية ) Popular culturt

الثقافة هي المفهوم المركزي في علم الأنثروبولوجيا ، وهي تشير إلى كل المعرفة ، والأساليب التكنولوجية ، والقيم ، والمعتقدات ، والعادات ، وأساليب السلوك الشائعة بين الناس . ونجد أن المجتمعات البسيطة قد لا يكون لديها سوى ثقافة واحدة متكاملة يشارك فيها كل فرد من أفراد المجتمع ، على حين تستطيع المجتمعات المركبة أن تستوعب راقات ومستويات عديدة من الثقافات والثقافات الفرعية . ومن الفروق الهامة ذلك الفرق بين الثقافة الجماهيرية ، وما يطلق عليه عادة الثقافة الراقية . حيث تضم الثقافة الراقية أشياء من قبيل الموسيقى الكلاسيكية ، والروايات الأدبية الجادة ، والشعر ، والرقص ، والفن الراقى ، وغيرها من المنتجات الثقافية التي لا يتذوقها إلا شريحة قليلة العدد نسبيا من المتعلمين أما الثقافة الجماهيرية ، أو الثقافة الشعبية ، فهي أوسع انتشارا من ذلك بكثير وأقرب لكل فرد . ويتركز الاهتمام الرئيسي للثقافة الجماهيرية على التسلية وتسيطر عليها في أوروبا والولايات المتحدة -على سبيل المثال- الألعاب الرياضية ، والتلفزيون ، والأفلام السينمائية ، والموسيقى الشعبية المسجلة .

وقد عاب دعاة التراث ، منذ وردزورث Wordsworth وحتى الآن على الثقافة الجماهيرية فقرها وانخفاض مستواها . أما النقاد الليبراليون والراديكاليون فكانوا أكثر ميلاً إلى دعم الثقافة الجماهيرية بوصفها تعبيراً صادقاً وأصيلاً عن الذوق الجماهيري ، وإلى النفور من منتجات الثقافة الراقية بوصفها أبعد عن الجماهير وأقرب إلى ذوق الصفاة . وقد اهتم علماء الاجتماع مؤخراً بتحليل الثقافة الجماهيرية لأنها بمثابة نافذة على الوعي العام ، ولأنها تمثل عنصراً مهماً من عناصر التضامن داخل الطبقات الاجتماعية ، وكذلك من عوامل الفصل بينها . ويركز أصحاب نظرية الصراع على عمليات إنتاج الثقافة الجماهيرية في مجموعها ، والمؤسسات الرأسمالية ، وترى أن هذا الإنتاج ليس أصيلاً وصادقاً فحسب ، ولكنه يمثل في نفس الوقت أداة من أدوات السيطرة الإيديولوجية .

وتتداخل دراسات الثقافة الجماهيرية مع دراسات الثقافات الفرعية ، وثقافات الشباب ، والإيديولوجيا ، والدراسة الاجتماعية لوقت الفراغ ، وسوسيولوجيا وسائل الاتصال . ويقدم لنا مؤلفا إيان تشيمبرز : الثقافة الجماهيرية ، الصادر عام ١٩٨٦ ، وتوني بينيت وزملاؤه : الثقافة الجماهيرية والعلاقات الاجتماعية ، الصادر عام ١٩٨٦ يقدمان عرضاً للموضوعات التي تدرج تحت هذا الموضوع العام .

## Pressurte groups

## جماعات الضغط

جماعات من الأفراد ، أو المستخدمين ، أو غيرها من الفئات المنظمة الذين يرتبطون معاً للدفاع عن مصالح جماعة قطاعية معينة في مواجهة الحكومات ، أو الجمهور العام ، أو غيرها من جماعات المصلحة . وتختلف جماعات الضغط واللوبي وجماعات المصلحة عن

غيرها من المنتديات أو المنابر أو الجماعات الاجتماعية ، من حيث أن هدفها المعلن هو تعبئة الرأي العام لتأييد أهدافها والضغط على هيئات صنع القرار للموافقة على مطالبهم أو لتأييدها ، وذلك في الوقت الذي يؤمنون فيه باستمرار الوضع القائم في المجتمع أو تغييره بعض الشيء أو إدخال بعض التجديد عليه . ويلاحظ أن جماعات الضغط تتعايش مع الأشكال الأخرى لجماعات المصالح ، كالأحزاب السياسية ، وينحصر هدفها في ممارسة التأثير وليس في الوصول إلى الحكم . ولكن من الممكن أن تتحول بعض جماعات الضغط إلى أحزاب سياسية ، وذلك من خلال تبني برنامج أكثر انفتاحا وأقل تحديدا . كما أن هناك بعض جماعات الضغط التي ترتبط بعلاقات خاصة مع أحد الأحزاب السياسية ، على نحو ما نرى من ارتباط النقابات العمالية في بريطانيا بحزب العمال . ويميز الدارسون أحيانا بين جماعات الضغط التي تضطلع بمهمة الحماية ، وتلك التي تمارس الدعوة ، حيث تكون الأولى مشغولة بحماية قطاع معين من المجتمع ، والأخرى حريصة على الدعوة إلى قضية معينة والدفاع عنها . ومن النوع الأول : النقابات العمالية ، والاتحادات المهنية ، ومنظمات المستخدمين في مجال معين ، و نوادي السيارات التي تدافع عن مصالح أصحاب السيارات . أما النوع الثاني فيشمل – من بين ما يشمل – تلك الجمعيات التي تسعى إلى حماية الحيوانات أو الأطفال من القسوة التي يتعرضون لها والجمعيات التي تدعو إلى فرض الرقابة أو تنادى برقع الرقابة ، والحملات الداعية إلى نزع الأسلحة النووية . ومن الجلي أن هذا التمييز بين نوع جماعات المصالح ليس صارما أو كاملا . من هذا مثلاً أن النقابات العمالية كثيرا ما تدعو إلى سن تشريعات تحدد حدا أدنى للأجور على المستوى القومي ، وذلك كوسيلة للدفاع عن مصالح أعضائها من العمال ، وإن كانت الفكرة تطرح في العلة بوصفها خدمة للمصلحة العامة ، وليست خدمة لفئة بعينها .

يشير مفهوم الحضرية إلى أنماط الحياة الاجتماعية التي يعتقد أنها مميزة لسكان المناطق الحضرية . وهي تتضمن : مستوى عالي التخصص من تقسيم العمل ، ونمر الذرائعية في العلاقات الاجتماعية ، وضعف العلاقات القرابية ، ونمو المنظمات الطوعية ، والتعددية في المعايير ، والتحول العلماني ، وزيادة الصراع الاجتماعي ، وتعظم أهمية وسائل الاتصال الجماهيري . وقد حاول لويس ويرث في مقال مهم نشر عام ١٩٣٨ ( عنوانه : " الحضرية كأسلوب حياة ، في المجلة الأمريكية لعلم الاجتماع ) أن يرجع تلك النماذج الاجتماعية إلى ثلاث سمات عامة مميزة للمدينة هي : الحجم ، والكثافة ، وعدم التجانس الاجتماعي . وإن كانت البحوث التي أجريت بعد ذلك قد أوضحت فساد محاولات ربط السمات الاجتماعية والثقافية ربطا حتميا بالظروف الفيزيائية ( الطبيعية )

المقصود هنا " الخط " الذي يعين الحدود بين الفقراء وغير الفقراء ، وعلى أساس ذلك يتسنى تحديد أعداد الفقراء . وهناك خلافات كثيرة حول كيفية تحديد هذا الخط أو تعيينه . وفي بريطانيا يقوم أشهر تعريف للفقير على تعيين هذا الخط على أساس تلقى الشخص ( أو الأسرة ) معونات لدعم دخلها ( أو ما يعرف بمساعدات " الضمان الاجتماعي " ) ، والتي كانت تتمثل في الماضي في تقديم مساعدات نقدية لدعم حياة الأسرة . وعلى هذا الأساس يعد الأفراد والأسر الذين يتلقون تلك المساعدات ممن يعانون من الفقر .



## Sociology of Consumption **الدراسة الاجتماعية** للاستهلاك

أحد فروع علم الاجتماع الذي ما يزال غير محدد النطاق ، وعلى درجة عالية من التنوع ، وإن كان قد شهد خلال ثمانينيات القرن العشرين تطورا كبيرا متلاحقا . ومحور الاهتمام الأساسي في الدراسة (الاجتماعية للاستهلاك هو الثقافة المادية ) خاصة الثقافة الجماهيرية في المجتمعات الرأسمالية المتقدمة . وتقدم لنا المقالات التي جمعها بير أوتنس في كتابه : الدراسة الاجتماعية للاستهلاك ، الصادر عام ١٩٨٨ نموذجاً واضحاً للتنوع في هذا الفرع .

يذهب المشتغلون بالدراسة الاجتماعية للاستهلاك إلى أن هذا الفرع من المعرفة يطرح مجالا بديلا للبحث يمكن أن يحل محل كثير من البحوث المعروفة في تراث علم الاجتماع الحضري ، كما أنه يمدنا بمدخل جديد لدراسة وتحليل اللامساواة الاجتماعية ، والانتماءات السياسية كما يمثل ( أحيانا ) أساسا ثورا شاملة في الفكر الاجتماعي ، وكانت شكواهم العامة في هذا الصدد أن علم الاجتماع سيطرت عليه اهتمامات علماء النظرية الكلاسيكية الموروثة من القرن التاسع عشر والمتمثلة في موضوعات الاغتراب ، والبيروقراطية ، والطبقة الاجتماعية ، وتقسيم العمل ، وبعض الملامح والعناصر الأخرى للرأسمالية الصناعية المبكرة ، وجميعها تركز اهتمامها على الإنتاج كمصدر للمعنى الاجتماعي ، وكأساس للنظام الاجتماعي ، أو الصراع . وفي المقابل يرى أنصار الدراسة الاجتماعية للاستهلاك ، أنه عندما نأخذ بصورة جدية ظاهرة الاستهلاك الجماهيري التي عرفتها الرأسمالية المتأخرة ، فسوف نتبين ( وننقل فيما يلي من النقد الذي وجهه مورهاوس ) أنه لن يصبح بوسع الباحثين العمل باستخدام مقولة الاغتراب القائمة على العمل المدفوع الأجر السائد في كافة مناحي الحياة

المعاصرة ، كما لن يمكنهم تمييز المصنع ، أو المكتب ، أو المحل ، أو المنجم ، باعتبار كل منها المحل الأساسي الحاسم في الخبرة الإنسانية ، وفهم الذات ، بالرغم من أن ذلك هو ما يحدث دائما في كثير من عمليات التنظير السوسولوجي وفي أغلب الفكر النظري الماركسي . وباختصار يمكن القول أن علماء الاجتماع قد قدموا دراسات أكثر مما ينبغي عن معنى العمل في شركة فورد ، ودراسات أقل مما ينبغي عن معنى ملكية أو قيادة أو اقتناء سيارة فورد بمواصفات خاصة . وقد شجعت محاولة الوعي الذاتي هذه تحدى بعض الافتراضات الأساسية في علم الاجتماع ، شجعت على إجراء دراسات عن موضوعات متنوعة كتلك التي تناولت : وقت الفراغ ، والموضة ، والتسويق المتميز ، والسياحة ، والصناعات التقليدية ، ويلاحظ أن كثيرا من هذه الدراسات جاءت أقل أصالة مما كانت تدعى ، لأنها كانت بمثابة صدى واستجابة لمقولات مثل تقديس السلع ، والمادية ، والتفاوت البنائي ، واللامساواة ، والميل إلى الشأن الخاص والفردية ، وجميعها مما كان مألوفاً لعلماء النظرية الكلاسيكيين أنفسهم . ويميل تفسير الدلالة الرمزية للمنتجات الثقافية ( مثل السيارات ) إلى الاعتماد بقوة على كتابات الاتجاه البنيوي ، وما بعد البنيوية ، مثل رولان بارت وكلود ليفي شتراوس ، وجان بودريار .

وتتمثل النواة الأساسية التي توحد ذلك التراث المتنوع في الاقتناع العام بأن الاستهلاك يسهم في تشكيل العلاقات الاجتماعية والمعاني الاجتماعية على لا يقل أصالة عن الإنتاج . أو كما عبر عن ذلك دانييل ميللر عندما قال : أن الدراسة الاجتماعية للاستهلاك تحول الموضوع من كونه رمزا للتغريب ، وقبحة سعريه إلى منتج مشحون ببعض الدلالات الخاصة التي تلازمه "

وقد اتجهت المناقشات في بريطانيا – وبصورة أقل في بعض البلاد الأوروبية الأخرى - إلى التركيز على زعم معين مؤداه أن هناك هوة واضحة وجديدة في الاستهلاك في المجتمعات الرأسمالية المتقدمة ، بين أغلبية الناس الذين يحصلون على احتياجاتهم الاستهلاكية بشرائها من السوق ، وبين الأقلية ظلت معتمدة ( ولكنها قاصرة بشكل متزايد ) ، على إعانة الدولة ويعتقد أن التي هذه الهوة قد تكون بنفس درجة أهمية ( وربما أكثر أهمية ) من التقسيمات السابقة مثل الطبقة الاجتماعية ، ويقال كذلك أنها تؤثر على الاتجاهات السياسية ، وفرص الحياة المادية ، والهويات الثقافية بنفس الطريقة . وقد رد النقاد على ذلك بالتأكيد على أن وضع الفرد في دنيا الاستهلاك مازال يتأثر تأثراً حاسماً بوضعه في سوق العمل ، ومن ثم يمكن اختزاله إلى التقسيمات التقليدية المرتبطة بالإنتاج وقد أثار هذا بدوره إدعاء مضادا بأن تدخل الدولة في توفير بعض السلع والخدمات كالإسكان ، والتعليم ، والصحة ، والنقل يطرح بعدا من أبعاد اللامساواة يتأثر بصورة مباشرة بعلاقات الإنتاج . ومع ذلك يمكن القول أنه حتى لو كان الأمر كذلك ، فإن الاعتماد على مساعدات الدولة يمثل – في حد ذاته – مظهرا من مظاهر ضعف سوق العمل . كما ذهب النقاد أيضا إلى أن عالم الاستهلاك بعد فصله عن علاقات الإنتاج ، لا يؤدي بذاته إلى توليد اللامساواة الاجتماعية وتبدو الحجة المضادة أقوى ما تكون في مجال الإسكان ، حيث أن نمو العمل الحر ، والارتفاع على المدى الطويل في قيمة الملكية قد شجع على إدراك القيمة الحقيقية لرأس المال ، وخاصة من خلال بيع المساكن الموروثة من الجيل السابق . ومع ذلك فإن هذا الزعم لا يمكن تعميمه على سائر مجالات الاستهلاك الأخرى .

## الدراسة الاجتماعية للعمل المنزلي Sociology of Housework

كان علماء الاجتماع حتى وقت قريب نسبياً يدرسون المرأة كمستخدم يعمل بأجر خارج المنزل ، أو كأم وزوجة ، ولكنهم لم يأخذوا في اعتبارهم . العمل المنزلي ( والذي يضم أنشطة متنوعة كالتنظيف والطهي وما شابه ذلك ، ورعاية الأطفال والمحافظة على العائلة ) كعمل يتشابه مع أي نوع آخر من العمل . ولم يحدث إلا بدءاً من الستينيات والسبعينيات أن أجريت بحوث علمية منضبطة طبقت على العمل المنزلي الأدوات التحليلية لعلم الاجتماع الصناعي والعمل ومن الأمثلة على الدراسات المبكرة في هذا المجال كتاب هيلين لوباتا بعنوان العمل المنزلي كمهنة ، الصادر عام ١٩٧١ .

ومنذ ذلك الحين أثارت دراسات مثل دراسة أن أوكلي بعنوان : علم اجتماع العمل المنزلي ، الصادرة عام ١٩٧٤ ، موضوعات تتصل بمدى رضا أو عدم رضا الزوجات عن المهام المنزلية المختلفة ، والأعمال الروتينية للمحافظة على مستويات من النظافة والنظام ، ونظرة المرأة التي تؤدي مثل هذه الأعمال إلى ذاتها ، ورتابة وتجزؤ وإيقاع الأنشطة التي تؤدي على امتداد اليوم ( ظروف العمل ) ، والتفاعل الاجتماعي بين الزوجات ، والإثابة الذاتية ( الإشباع الوظيفي ) بالنسبة للعمل المنزلي ، وأوجه الشبه والاختلاف بين الطبقات فيما يتصل بكل ذلك .

ولقد عبرت غالبية النساء اللاتي تناولتهن هذه الدراسات عن عدم رضائهن عن عمل المنزل ، خاصة عندما يمثل جانباً من جوانب كون المرأة تعمل كربة بيت ، وهو عمل يبغضنه أشد البغض . فالزوجات ربات البيوت يكون أسبوع عملهن طويلاً ، وهن يدركن أدوارهن على أنها ذات هوية اجتماعية منخفضة ؛ ولا يرضين عنها عندما يكن قد عرفن تجربة الرضا عن العمل المأجور من قبل . ومن الناحية الأخرى ، فإن هذه المشاعر السلبية حول العمل المنزلي ( انخفاض مستوى الإشباع الوظيفي ) - على الأقل طبقاً لما ذهبت إليه أوكلي - تتناقض

مع توجه إيجابي ( أو درجة عالية من التوحد ) مع دور ربة المنزل ذاته . وترجع هذه المفارقة الظاهرة إلى أن النساء يضعن توجههن نحو دور ربة المنزل داخل سياق نظرة عامة للأدوار النسوية والرجولية ، يتحدد داخلها مكان كل نوع منهما بوضوح وعلى نحو مختلف عن الآخر ، والتي تصبح بمقتضاها الأنوثة مناظرة للعمل كربة منزل .

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