M.A. Sociology - 1ˢᵗ Semester

SOCIOLOGY

COURSE : SOC-103

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

COURSE INTRODUCTION

In the domain of sociology, social stratification is an important area to be studied as the present day societies as you notice are highly class structured and complex. In the earliest period of mankind societies were simple in nature. As the time passed by such simple societies gradually disappeared or in other words were replaced by the class societies. Over the recent past these class societies became highly stratified and as such social stratification as an area of study gained importance within the broad framework of sociology. For your better understanding the Course is divided in to five Blocks.

Block-I : Introduces you with the meaning of social stratification with the history of the development of the thoughts on stratification over the ages. Further, you would be able to understand the difference that exists between the social and the natural inequalities, the concept of hierarchy and the nature of social stratification.

Block-2 : Introduces you with the theories of social stratification from conflict perspectives, multidimensional perspectives,

functionalist perspectives and evolutionary perspectives.

Block-3 : It would introduce you about the different forms of stratification that were found in the past and also of the forms of stratification which are presently seen in human societies.

Block-4 : It would introduce you about the bases of social stratification like social status, ethnicity, occupation and education.

Block-5 : It would give you a description about social mobility which is in existence in the present day human societies, different types of mobility and consequences of the same which are generally reflected in life styles and life chances of people of the present day societies.

BLOCK-1 APPROACHING SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

1.0. Objectives

1.1. Introduction

1.2 Meaning of Social Stratification

1.3 Thoughts on stratification appeared in the writings of Philosophers, Social and Political Thinkers through ages.

    1.3.1 Thoughts on stratification appeared in the writings of Greek Philosophers.

    1.3.2 Thoughts on stratification appeared in the writings of Roman Thinkers.

    1.3.3 Thoughts on stratification appeared in the writings of the thinkers of medieval Europe.

    1.3.4 Thoughts on stratication appeared in the writings of the political thinkers of 16th and 17th centuries of Europe.

    1.3.5 Thoughts on stratification appeared in the writings of Philosophers and Social thinkers of 18th-20th centuries of Europe.

1.4 Social Versus Natural Inequalities.

    1.4.1 Difference between inequality and social stratification.

    1.4.2 Major Dimensions of Social Stratification.

1.5 Hierarchy

1.6 Nature of Social Stratification

1.7 Let us Sum up

    Further Readings

    Key words

    Model Answers to check your progress

    Assignment (Model Questions)

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you would be able to
- understand and explain the concept of social stratification;
- describe how stratification as a concept appeared in the writings of different philosophers, social and political thinkers on society through ages;
- differentiate between inequality and social stratification,major dimensions of social stratification;
- describe the concept of hierarchy;
- explain the nature of social stratification.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we introduce you to what actually social stratification means in the domain of sociology and how the concept had appeared sporadically in the writings of the philosophers, social as well as political thinkers through different periods of history. This unit also introduces you about social inequality and natural inequality and help you to draw the differences between them along with major dimensions of social stratification. Further we explain what is hierarchy and how it is intimately tagged with caste and class. Further more this unit describes how social stratification by nature relates to the unequal distribution of power, privilege and prestige in the society.

1.2 MEANING OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification generally refers to the socially ordered hierarchical positions of men in the human society. It is man made. Right from antiquity to the present or in other words right from the dawn of human civilization i.e., starting from the simplest societies to the present day complex modern societies stratification is an inevitable phenomenon, and interestingly it is continuing through the ages. No human society is unstratified and hence it can be said that there is no society known to the

mankind at different phases of history that does not make some distinction between individuals by ranking them in higher and lower positions in the society or societies where they live. Human history never recorded any society which helped every individual to occupy same rank and the same privilege. Sorokin (Rp.1994 : 485-486) pointed out that " ...social stratification arises.... in any group of men living together... It is a close correlate of any human association, we do not know any single example where, in a group of men more or less permanently living together and having no war, social stratification did not exist." Stratification arises due to the gradation of functions e.g., in the exercise of power and control of the husband over wives and as fathers over children could be found even in the simplest societies. In the present day societies which are becoming more complex, these gradations are multiplying at an exponential rate and making the social stratification an inevitable phenomenon of the human society.

It is important to note that writings on stratification sporadically appeared in the works of the thinkers of different phases of the human history.

1.3 THOUGHTS ON STRATIFICATION APPEARED IN THE WRITINGS OF PHILOSOPHERS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THINKERS OF HUMAN SOCIETY THROUGH AGES.

Social stratification as a concept did not develop at one point of time in the history of human society. We find that starting with the Greek Philosophers mainly from Plato and Aristotle, followed by the Roman Philosophers, thinkers like Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Acquinas, thinkers of medieval Europe mainly Niccolo Machiavelli, thinkers of the period from 16th -17th Centuries Europe–Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau and finally the Philosophers and Social thinkers of 18th-20th centuries Europe viz, Edmund Burke, Jermy Bentham, Hegel and Marx sporadically wrote on the concept of stratification however from different angles.

1.3.1 Thought on stratification appeared in the writings of Greek Philosophers.

Plato who was one of the Greek Philosophers during 427-327 B.C. contributed his views on stratification in his *magnum opus 'The Republic'*. His theory of justice amply stated the connection of individual justice, the formation of human personality and equity between individual/ self and the conglomeration of individuals i.e. society. Plato pointed out that just like an individual who has got different aspects which are to be given due recognition or importance, where overlapping of giving importance to one aspect over other aspect does not arise at all, in the same way in society there must be three classes of people on the basis of functional stratification and no one would be allowed to dominate the others. It is interesting for you to note that while talking about justice specially of individual justice he pointed out that justice rests on quality of the soul. Soul is nothing but the inner conscience of man. These inner conscience of man helps to reflect one's personality in the society. However personality depends on three virtues–reason, spirit and appetite or in other words–knowledge, courage and self control. When there would be harmonious relation of all the virtues in the minds of an individual the justice would prevail.

Now you can observe that Plato interlinked the individual justice with social justice. As stated earlier just as an individual who contains three important elements/virtues, the society is also based on three important elements, viz., reason, spirit and appetite. On the basis of three above stated elements there would be three classes of men- the Guardians, the Auxiliaries and the Workers. The Guardian class would always be guided by reasoning power i.e. rational thinking or rationality. There would be Auxiliary class and they would always be guided by spirit. The Auxiliary class is commonly known as soldier class. The third class i.e.the Workers would always be guided by appetite. Appetite in social sense is taken as a base for defining a class that would always refer passions. This class of people would be controlled by other two classes. So on the basis of these above mentioned virtues, there would be three classes of individuals in the society. For these three classes of people different functions were assigned which were to be performed by the people belonging to the respective

classes. Thus Plato provided a three tier social stratification of the people in a society based on the functions to be performed. Now in this functional stratification Plato showed that the Guardians are the philosophers- who would be at the apex on the basis of hierarchy in the society followed by the Auxiliaries i.e., soldiers-who would be at the middle level in the ladder of hierarchy and the common people would be in the lowest rank of the ladder of hierarchy.

Though Plato pointed out that on the basis of functional hierarchy there would be three classes of people yet in his discussion on social justice he incorporated one important thing that the guardian class (Philosophers) would not be a hereditary one as they would not be having families for procreation. The guardian class would always be selected from other two classes; the soldiers and the workers. To make the guardian class more effective he said that they would also not inherit property except barest minimum. Plato proposed the abolition of private property and family of the guardians for the reason that as Tumin (1992RP,8-9) wrote

> They would not be tempted to institute policies interest and they would not be guided by the corrupting influence of family sentiments. This he wanted to make because the guardians would devote themselves solely on communal welfare.

From the stratification point of view Plato provided a very highly stratified society yet stratawise viz., in case of ruling class there would be total equality of opportunity, total elimination of individual property; which enable them single mindedly to work for common welfare. These were the distinguishing features of the ruling class as provided by Plato in his theory of Justice.

After Plato, his disciple Aristotle (324-322 B.C.) talked about social stratification specially in the form of social inequality in his book 'Politics'.

While mentioning about state in his book 'Politics' he mentioned that state is nothing but the conglomeration of individual families, villages with the aim to fulfil collective needs in a better way. The state is a natural institution and also a necessary one for human society. In Aristotlean 'politics' the thought of biological analogy was maintained while putting forward the concept of the state. To be precise we find that he

advocated organic theory of the state. As such in his book 'Politics' he advocated for social inequality. He wrote

> " Now in all states there are three elements; one class is very rich, another is very poor and a third is a mean. It is admitted that moderation and the mean are best and therefore it will clearly be best to possess the gifts of fortune in moderation **:** for in that condition of life men are most ready to follow rational principle. But he who greatly excels in beauty, strength, birth or wealth or on the otherhand is very poor or very weak or very much disgraced find it difficult to follow rational principle. Of these two the one sort grows into violent and great criminals, the other into rogues and petty rascals"........

Aristotle nevertheless realises that excessive inequalities of wealth are dangerous to balance and harmony of the state and for this reason he praises with deep feeling the advantages of a society in which the middle classes are strongest. By contrast where some possess much and the others nothing, constitutional government is impossible to maintain and the state will be ruled by one of the two extremes; either a Plutocratic regime (Oligarchy) for the exclusive benefit of the wealthy or a proletarian regime (democracy) for the benefit of the urban poor and tyranny may grow out of either extreme and two sorts of offences correspond to them, the one committed from violence, the other from roguery. Again the middle class is least likely to shrink from rule or to be over ambitious for it both of which are injurious to the state. Again those who have too much of goods of fortune, strength, wealth, friends and the like are neither willing nor able to submit to authority.

The evil begins at home; for when they are boys, by reason of luxury in which they are brought up, they never learn even at school the habit of obedience. On the otherhand, the very poor, who are in the opposite extreme are to be degraded. As such there are two classes, one class commands and rule despotically and does not know to obey any rule or abide by the laws in the society. Quite contrary to it there is another class who is only fit to be ruled like slaves. In this way Aristotle describes that a city thus arises where masters and slaves are there and negates the presence of men who are free from bondage. To Aristotle this is not an ideal situation for a city to thrive as there should be middle class

people who are considered as ideal political group and the city is administered better when a large chunk of people of the city belongs to the middle class. Further the middle class people balances the power as this class prevents the despots to rule and also protect from anarchical situation that may arise due to extreme democracy in a city. To be precise the middle class is the protector-group from oligarchy and democracy. However, Aristotle opines that democracy is safe in comparison to oligarchy because it contains a middle class who handles the power of the government of the city due to its numerical position-(the number of middle class in a democracy would always be large as contended by Aristotle).

So from the stratification point of view you may hold the view that Aristotle pointed out that in a city (or in a city state which was the order of the day during his time) there were three classes of people –rich, poor and the mean. He commented that mean class is always better than other classes.

Thus we find that in the writings of Greek Philosphers viz, Plato and Aristotle there were stratified societies filled with the people of different categories for the smooth functioning of the same.

Check your progress 1

1. Can stratification exist in the simplest societies ? Write about five lines.

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2. The interlinking of individual justice with social justice was a major work of (Mark the correct answer)
   - (a) Aristotle ☐
   - (b) Plato and Aristotle ☐
   - (c) Plato ☐
   - (d) Aristotle and Plato ☐

1.3.2 Thoughts on Stratification appeared in the writings of Roman Thinkers.

The concept of stratification appeared in the writings of Roman thinkers also. Most important among them were Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Acquinas. Both of them were giving equal importance on prescribing the proper mode of arranging men in order and also in understanding why human society everywhere was characterized by the distinct gradations of power, property and prestige.

Saint Augustine (354-430 A.D.)(hereinafter to be called St Augustine) wrote his *magnum opus* the 'City of God' as he was moved by the pagan attacks that had led to the fall of Rome and the consequent victory of Christianity. His work was indeed a rebuttal of Paganism. He started writing the 'City of God' *(De Civite Dei)* in 413 A.D. and finished the voluminous work consisting of twenty two volumes in the year 426 A.D. St. Augustine in his book primarily deals with the ways of life– which are diagonically opposite ways experienced in two cities in his exposition viz., the earthly city–the love of self and the lust of power predominate, whereas in the heavenly city the love of God 'even to the contempt of self' is the foundations of order'. St. Augustine therefore divides the human race into two groups, the one consisting of those who live like man and the other who live like God. These two groups live seperately in two cities. Out of them two groups one is predestined to reign eternally with the active association of God and the other is to suffer eternal punishment with the active help of devil. Thus we see that by depicting the two communities and their fate St. Augustine pointed out that the heavenly city is one where one can find the eternal kingdom of God and where *a priori* to the creation of men angles filled the same and the saintly elect; contrary to this the earthly city is the society of the impious which harbours stigmatised angels and also human beings who are hankering after flesh / earthly pleasure. Eternal reign is there in the heavenly city and the eternal punishment is the destiny in the earthly city. The people in the earthly city are the groups of miserables and the poor. Further the city is full of the community of the unrighteous and sinful members of the church. Whereas

in the heavenly city there are righteous men who nurture positive values and also wise men who always long for peace and tranquility in the society. It can aptly be stated that Greco-Roman background entails that the life of wiseman must be social and that there is no man who does not wish to have peace.St. Augustine insists that the state is in its own kind better than all other human good. Because it desires earthly peace for the sake of enjoying earthly goods.

In his writings St. Augustine christianizes the theory of state by imbibing the Platonic concept of justice and the Aristotlean notion of good life with the ideals of Christianity.

St. Thomas talked about stratification while mentioning about the necessity of government. He said man is naturally a social being and so in the state of innocence he would have led a social life and government emerges as the specific organ of looking after common good. Secondly, if one man surpasses others in knowledge and justice, it would be wrong to disregard such superiority for the benefit of all. St.Thomas thus argues the need for government on man's social nature and the organization of government on the superior wisdom and morality of the ruler and the ruled. There are four bases of Thomism through which the entire writings of St. Thomas can be understood viz., divine power, hierarchy, God and secular government. Among these bases the hierarchy as a base is important to understand his views on men who are graded in the society.

In his writings St. Thomas always looks on the world in hierarchical terms and his system of values is also hierarchical in nature. From the standpoint of human as well as practical needs the purposes of secular government are to get legitimate ends. There he talks about the good government and tries to synthesize between good government and Christianity in order to uphold the medieval intellectual ferment i.e. scholasticism. In his writings St. Thomas advocates for the necessity of good governance. Further he points out that man is naturally a social being and he leads a social life. There lies the necessity for a good government. The government to him emerges as the specific organ of looking after the common good. The need for

government is based on man's social nature and the organization of the government is based on superior wisdom and morality of the *ruler* for the benefit of the *ruled*. Thus in the writings of St. Thomas two distinct groups of people are projected with necessary gradations, viz., one group whose numbers surpass others in knowledge and justice; it would be wrong to disregard such superiority for the benefit of all while the other group whose members do not equip themselves with the knowledge required; cannot enjoy equal position in the society where they live.

Check your progress 2

1. Do you think that the work of Saint Augustine was a rebuttal to Paganism?

   Answer on the space given below (within five lines)

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2. Do you agree that St. Thomas Acquinas wanted to synthesize between good government and christianity in order to uphold the medieval scholasticism?

   Answer the question by using the space below containing five lines.

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1.3.3 Thoughts on stratification appeared in the writings of the thinkers of medieval Europe.

Among the medieval thinkers we find Niecolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) in Europe who specifically questioned who was fit to rule and what type of rule would bring order, peace, prosperity and strength to the state where the people live. Machiavelli could fathom that in an organized society i.e., in a state there would be always tension between two classes of people viz, the elite and the masses. However, as an advocator of democracy unlike his other predecessors he was of the view that the collective decisions of the people generally upheld wisdom than that of the decisions of the princes in which collective decisions and wisdom were shelved. In his famous treatise i.e., in 'Discourses' as quoted by Tumin he pointed out as follows :

> "As to the peoples capacity to judging things, it is exceedingly rare that when they hear two orators of equal talents advocate different measures, they do not decide in favour of the best of the two, which proves their ability to discern the truth of what they hear. And if occasionally they are misled in matters involving questions of courage or seeming utility, so is a prince also many times misled by his own passions which are much greater than those of the people."

In Machiavellian writings, though he stressed on collective decision on the people yet, he had doubts on the masses in exercising their rationality in ruling the state. He feared that in many cases the people would behave irrationally and as such he advocated for the need of giving sufficient training for a popular rule. In selecting the rulers Machiavelli stressed on those effective people who are naturally suited and they are to be discovered from the masses to make recruitment and then trained to become effective rulers. What is more important in the writings of Machiavelli is that he advocated for an open society

that brings on inequality. He justified inequality as desirable and also necessary "so long as there has been equality of opportunity to become unequal". Equality of oportunity is however necessary to discover naturally gifted talented people who would later emerge as ruler after getting proper training.

1.3.4. Thoughts on Stratification appeared in the writings of the political thinkers of 16th and 17th centuries of Europe.

Like the predecessors of medieval Europe more particularly before and after the Rennaissance we find the references on the concept of stratified societies however differently. Prior to the age of Rennaissance we find the political thinkers who advocated the concept of social contract. Notable among them were the English political thinkers viz, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke of England and Jean Jacques Rousseau also from France. They were commonly known as social contract theorists. Their basic premise was the state of nature where people lived before entering into a contract. The description of the state of nature was different in the hands of above stated political thinkers. In the state of nature the people were not stratified. But as the time passed by they became constrained to live as per their desire in the state of nature and entered into a contract to form a stratified society.

Hobbes (1588-1679) started with the state of nature. It was a state where people enjoyed all sorts of power and privilege. This ultimately led to a chaotic situation as the people living in the state of nature were having insatiable desire to acquire more powers and privileges and there was no set of rules for them to abide by. As such people of the state of nature entered in to a contract after which they (the people of the state of nature) vested their sovereign powers to one man who embodied their collective desires and will and also the consent to govern. Thus two strata were created i.e., ruler and the ruled as a result of the contract. Because the people of the state of nature unanimously and willingly had given between the right to rule to one man over them. Hobbes thus conceived an ideal society of a ruler and the

persons to be ruled. But in this ideal society Tumin (1992 :10) pointed out that no privileged class was formed for that would become corrupt and exploit the common people. Here the ruler/ sovereign might be removed if he would fail to govern as to protect the interests of the governed in an equal manner. Hobbesian idea of social contract appeared in his book *Leviathan* through which he supported the Stuart despositism in England.
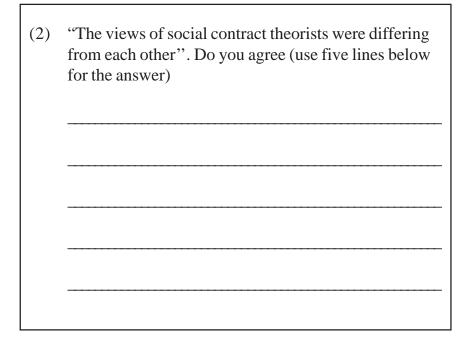
After Hobbes we find John Locke (1632-1704) a philosopher of English origin. Locke also wrote about state of nature in his book 'Treatise on Civil Government' to justify the cause of limited monarchy. Unlike that of Hobbes, Locke depicted the state of nature as a state of peace, reason and goodwill. But as there was no man made laws and no impartial authority to adjudicate upon the disputes in the state of nature, this warranted the people to enter into a contract and to form a civil society. When a civil society was formed they made another contract with the king i.e. mornachy. Thus according to Locke there were two contracts, the one formed a civil society, the other instituted a particular form of government i.e. mornarchy. The monarch was a party to the contract and in case he violated the terms of the contract, the people retained the power with them to depose him. The surrender of rights by the people according to Locke was partial. People were equal and above them there would be good government headed by the limited monarchy.

Rousseau (1712-1778) was another social contract theorist from France who published his book 'Social Contract' in 1762. He in his writing was trying to reconcile the ideas of Hobbes with those of Locke to strike a mean between authority of the state and liberty of the individual. Rousseau also started with the state of nature; where men were born free, lived freely, healthy, honest and happy at first. But with the gradual progression of human civilization the lives of men became more and more artificial and degradation set in. So men entered into a contract; each of them put his own person and all his powers in common under the supreme direction of the 'general will' and in their

corporate capacity they became indivisible part of the whole. The authority thus was created and placed not in the hands of the ruler as was done by Hobbes and Locke but it remained with the community- the whole people who assembled in the community to express the general will. The general will is vested with unlimited power according to Rousseau.

Thus the social contract theory was used for different purposes by three writers. In the hands of Hobbes the contract was an act of surrender on the part of the many to one or a number and consequently became a weapon of royal absolutism, in the hands of Locke it became an instrument of individual liberty. With Rousseau the contract was an act of association among equals, so from the stratification point of view all the three social contract theorists viewed a stratified society i.e., in the upper stratum there would be ruler and in lower stratum there would be the masses who would be ruled.

Check your Progress 3

(1) Give justification as to why Machiavelli advocated for a open society based on inequality (use five lines below for the answer)

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(2) "The views of social contract theorists were differing from each other''. Do you agree (use five lines below for the answer)

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1.3.5 Thoughts on Stratification appeared in the writings of philosophers and social thinkers of 18th-20th centuries of Europe

During 18th-20th centuries due to social as well as political upheavals the age old social structures underwent radical transformation and that transformation facilitated in the offing of stratified societies however of a different nature by breaking the tradition. This situation could find its reflection in the writings of English and German political thinkers viz., Edmund Burke, Jermy Bentham, Hegel and Marx.

In the field of stratification Edmund Burke (1729-1797) wrote about the veneration of aristocracy and there he showed profound conviction that aristocracy was a part of divinely ordained scheme of governing society and he accepted social inferiority with all humility. He criticized French revolution and termed it as a revolution of doctrine and theoretic dogma and he attacked it as a college of "Armed Fanatics" for the propagation of the principles of assassination, robbery, brand, faction, oppression and impiety. In the French Revolution Burke saw a

tyranny of the multitude which is nothing but a multiplied tyranny.

Burke propounded the organic theory of the state and in his theory he pointed out that society is indeed a contract.

Burke rejected the central doctrine of democracy that only governed have the right to determine who is to govern them. He advocated one hierarchically stratified society viz., Monarchy, Lords and Commons; the established church rather than in terms of individual citizens. Burke adhered to the medieval idea that man would be politically significant not as an individual citizen, but solely as a member of a group to which he belonged socially or economically. In reality it was nothing but a corporate representation which was supported by German Philosopher Hegel.

Burke further saw society not in terms of equal individuals but of unequal groups and historically recongnized interest. To him property is such an interest found on prescription rather than natural law or abstract reasoning. Aristocracy, monarchy are also institutions based on prescription. There are upper most stratum as well as lower most stratum in the society. Every society has various description of citizens and attempt to level inequality never ends in equality. So in his writings he envisaged the inequality in the human society.

After Burke we find another English political thinker viz, Jermy Bentham (1748-1842) who also in his writings dealt on the stratification that is found in the human societies. However, as an advocator of utilitarianism or philosophical radicalism, he in his work specially focussed on international liberalism and held the view that there should be equal opportunity for all. Bentham was famous for his widely known book "Principles of Morals and Legislation" in which he pointed out that nature has placed mankind under the governance of two soverign masters, pain and pleasure. The principle of utility on which he gave importance because it helped to focus the concept of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In turn it referred that quality in an act or

object would produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good or happiness or prevent mischief, pain, evil or unhappiness. Through this utilitarian doctrine he advocated for discarding of individual selfishness and the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In turn it refered the quality in an act or object would produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good, or happiness or prevent mischief, pain, evil or unhappiness. Through this utilitarian doctrine he advocated for discarding of individual selfishness and the greatest happiness of the greatest number was the creation of an institutional environment in which man's selfish impulses could be channelled into socially useful purposes, so that it would be contrary to his self interest to harm others.

Bentham (1748-1842) had the typical faith on the reform that man's behaviour would not be static and set forever but could be changed through positive act of legislation. Rejecting the fictions of natural law and inalienable rights he advocated for popular sovereignty and also for one chamber of legislature. He also dismissed the doctrine of checks and balances or of separation of powers as concepts designed to prevent the full working of democracy. He by discarding the organic theory of the state which stressed on individual interdependence in a state like living organism and also giving importance of sustaining system through the government, advocated for classless society and more particularly democracy i.e., government of the people, by the people and for the people. He further pleaded for universal suffrage and pure democracy and cited the example of the type of democracy prevailed in U.S.A of his times and which one is still continuing there.

But if we see his writings we find he advocated for the existence of two groups specially in the sphere of politics - one group elected to govern and the other group formed the masses. However, as an advocator of utilitarianism he was upholding the idea that there should be greatest happiness of the greatest number.
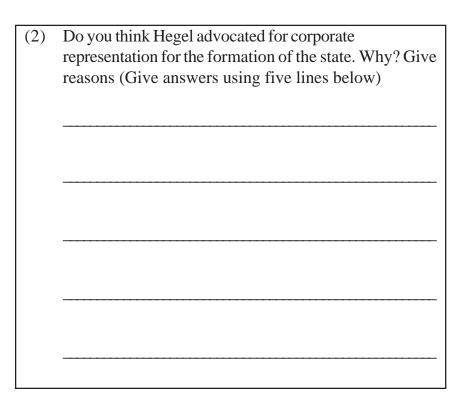
German philosopher Hegel (1772-1831) in his writings on political spheres pointed out that the individual singularly would not be identified but solely as a member of group–may be social or economic. Thus Hegel advocated for corporate representation. Hegel defined the state as the "realization of freedom" and the individual could realize morality, spirituality and subsequently to nurture all those in his behaviour he should be subordinate to the state. State in Hegelian writing was devoid of Jewish-Christian tradition. To him state would be the centre of actualized reason and only those who would obey laws of the state would remain free because by abiding laws one would lead him within certain well defined boundaries of human social activities. There by Hegel rejected the liberal notion of freedom as absence of constraint and advocated for sustenance of the limits as well as controls on human freedom in their corporate capacities as such compulsion/controlling forces would help men to adjust them to the higher reason of the state. To Hegel a man's real freedom lies through the submission of his (man's) self to the state and identify himself as a member in the corporate group which is governed with full sense of rationality of the state and law.

Thus we find from Hegelian writings the emergence of two distinct strata of the group of persons from the stratification point of view – one group which is responsible for executing the laws of the state and the other group in their corporate capacity obeys law. Hegelian writings manifested in the later effort to emerge corporate state of Nazi and Fascist type.

After Hegel we find Karl Marx(1818-1883) who propounded his theory of class determinism from economic point of view. He wrote that class struggle would occur due to the emergence of two classes of people in the society specially in the economic sector – viz., Bourgeoisie and Prolitariate. In the agricultural sphere two groups were identified by Marx–the Barons and the Serfs. Similarly in the industrial sector another two groups were identified viz., capitalists (who were owning the means of production) and the masses (labour/working class, who

did not own the means of production). They could thrive in that social condition only by selling their physical labour in the process of production where they were exploited by the capitalist through the payment of low wages. Thus in the Marxian writings he showed two distinct classes of people viz., *haves and have-nots*. From stratification point of view his views are considered important as later on these views fuelled the offing of some important social revolutions in the world specially in eastern hemisphere to oust capitalism and to establish communism in the social and the political structures of the countries like erstwhile U.S.S.R. and present China.

Check your progress 4

(1) Why Edmund Burke advocated for continuing Aristocracy for governing society while Jermy Bentham advocated for democracy on the basis of universal adult suffrage. (Give answers using five lines below)

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(2) Do you think Hegel advocated for corporate representation for the formation of the state. Why? Give reasons (Give answers using five lines below)

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1.4. SOCIAL VERSUS NATURAL INEQUALITIES

Social inequality breeds in human society which has wider dimension than social stratification. It includes all human societies within its fold-even most primitive and communal ones (Smelser 1991 Rp:164). Social inequality is however more complex in larger and more importantly in the present day societies of the world and it rests on the society due to the unequal access to money, power and prestige etc. of the people living in the society.

Natural inequality refers to the inequality that exists between the sexes i.e. male and female human beings that are living in the society. This natural inequality to be precise is biologically constructed between male and female of all the living organisms in general and human society in particular and this is in the broad framework of natural inequality. This inequality which is a natural one is of utmost importance for procreation,

proliferation and continuance of the living beings including the human society.

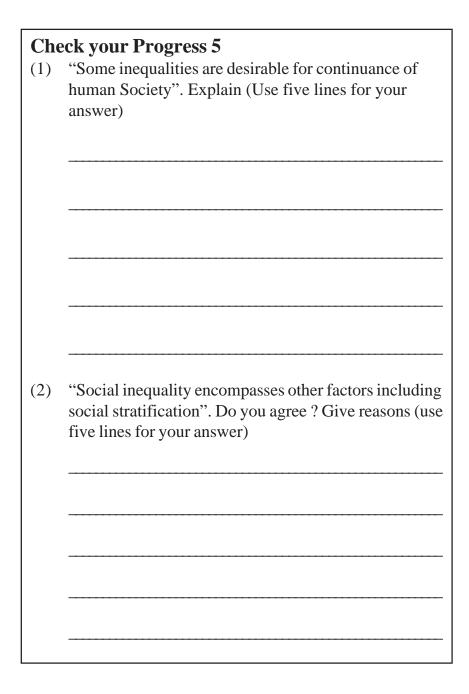## 1.4.1 Difference between inequality and social stratification

Social stratification is however different from inequaly. There may be varied types of inequality that are found in the human societies of the world as stated in the immediate anterior paragraphs under heading viz., Social Versus Natural Inequalities. To be precise the inequality can broadly be divided into two types viz., physical and social. In case of physical inequality generally we have to take into consideration biological inequality. Biological inequality refers here to sexual differentiation that is in existence between man and woman and this is necessary and considered important for the survival of human being in the world. In the sphere of biological inequality man and woman are biologically differentiated by taking sex as one point of differentiation. Sex is biologically constructed right in the dawn of the evolution of mankind and still it is continuing for the very existence of human being. This is continuing through the process of procreation and would remain in future also.

In the preceeding paragraph a description was made about physical inequality between man and woman by taking sex as foci of discussion. On the other hand when we talk of social inequality it must first be agreed by all that social inequality is socially constructed in the human societies of the world however differently in different human societies. Social inequality is encompassing wide ranges of inequality of the human society where men and women perform their functions socially in an unequal manner.

Social inequality under its broad fold includes deprivation (relative as well as absolute) and unequal distribution of income and wealth, and inequality in the field of justice. On the other hand stratification (social) is one dimension of social inequality.

Many examples can be cited of social inequality e.g., socially constructed racial inequality (Pre-Mandela regime of South Africa is a glaring example in this regard), practised by white minority Govt. of South Africa before President Nelson Mendela came into power. Rich and poverty striken people that are found in the human societies on the basis of income and wealth and denial of justice recorded in the pages of history from antiquity to the present in the human societies of the world are also the citations of social inequality.

Social stratification is a socially ordered hierarchy and by this we mean that social stratification refers to the division of the population into different strata which are vertically arranged from top to bottom or *vice-versa* on the basis of possession of certain definite characteristics, like imborn qualities, possession of material goods, work performances etc. On the basis of these considerations society becomes hierarchical or graded in nature however vertically like the strata of the sedimentary rocks that are found in the crust of the earth. But it is to be noted that the grading of persons from top to bottom or from higher to lower position is a very complex phenomenon than the naturally arranged layers of the sedimentary rocks of the crust of earth as these gradations of arrangement are not visible to the naked eye in the way the strata of sedimentary rocks are.

So stratification in societal sphere generally refers to the unequal positions occupied by men in the society. But we should draw a line of differentiation between all kinds of inequality and stratification. Social inequality refers to every kinds of inequality in the social structure, on the other hand social stratification refers inequality/inequalities between groups or categories of persons with a definite yardstick or recognizable identity. The recognizable identity or identities are generally based on some major dimensions of stratification.

Check your Progress 5

(1) "Some inequalities are desirable for continuance of human Society". Explain (Use five lines for your answer)

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(2) "Social inequality encompasses other factors including social stratification". Do you agree ? Give reasons (use five lines for your answer)

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1.4.2. Major Dimensions of Social Stratification

Social stratification is an inevitable phenomenon of the human society and more so in the complex societies of the present day world. Different authors put forwarded their view points regarding the functional as well as dysfunctional aspects of social stratification. Sociologists like Kingslay Davis and Wilbert E.

Moore (1945) maintain that social stratification is positively functional in the human society and it is a universal feature of the human society of the world. While putting forward the functional theory of stratification they stressed on the point of rewarding the best people more than others to make the society functionally active. On the other hand, certain other writers maintain that in the past human societies were having stratification of rudimentary type and they hold the opinion that in future, time would come when the human society as a whole would experience a situation of stratification free or classless society. However, looking at the stratification infested modern(class oriented) societies of the world it is difficult to foresee a classless society in future of the history of mankind.

In the society or societies of the world ranking of the persons/individuals are not made in a similar way by using single criterion. Different societies use different criteria to rank the same person. Further, it is an accepted fact that in different societies different criteria are gaining prominence in ranking the individual and as such no society uses single uniform criterion to rank individuals. Furthermore one criterion may be considered important in one society for ranking individual or individuals, but the same criterion may not be considered important in case of another society for ranking individual/individuals. So we find scenarios of non-conformity in ranking the individuals that are different in different societies.

One of the important dimensions of stratification is the economy. Economy in the strict sense of stratification refers to wealth or income or occupation. On the basis of wealth owned by an individual wealth may be gathered in one's own lifetime- the ranking is made however subjectively. Because wealth belonging to a person does not remain constant; it is however dovetailed with continuous increase of income that resulted differentiation again in

ranking and vice-versa. In the early history of mankind and even up to the offing of industrial revolution land was considered as an important wealth and more the possession of land by a person was considered occupying higher rank in the society. This was more true in the medieval societies of Europe and even in oriental societies like India. However, with the growth of international trade during the mercantilist period and subsequently with the development of capitalist economy – where monetary transactions gained salience – people amassed vast amount of wealth in the form of money and other durable artifacts and thereby possession of land as one of the forms of wealth relegated to the background. But surprisingly it did not lose its significance. Still land is considered as wealth along with other forms irrespective of the societies where the economy is of capitalist or of socialist type.

In modern societies of the world occupation becomes one of the important dimensions of stratification. Presently in the complex societies of the world with the growth of primary, secondary and tertiary occupational spheres numerous types of occupation are emerging and these require varied types of different trained people to man the same. Now differently trained personnels engaged in different occupations are ranked differently and this process helps to bring stratification in the present day societies of the world.

Present day complex industrial societies which are mainly dominated by capitalist economy occupational structure follows certain definite patterns. As the occupations are varied in nature, the occupational roles of the persons engaged are different in nature.This is the moot point for ranking the individuals/persons as per their occupations ranging from high to low. More importantly these occupational rankings determine the persons' social ranking also. For example a general manager of a

manufacturing industry commands not only respect in his occupational sphere but due to his occupational position he also commands respect in social sphere also. This happens because in the present day complex societies of the world as the major part of one's life is engaged in performing roles in his assigned occupation. Therefore the person or individual is better known socially through his occupational ranking. Thus the role performances by the individuals in their occupational spheres which are of varied importance determine their ranking in the society and this process itself augments the social stratification to emerge and spread to every nook and corner of the present day societies of the world.

Further, it is an accepted fact that the structure of occupation is not one and static in the modern societies contrary to the traditional societies viz., medieval societies of Europe or close caste infested societies of India. The important characteristic of modern society is the availability of numerous and varied types of occupations and all are however not equally esteemed. Because of this variation different occupations are ranked differently and carry different rewards in the form of wages, perks etc. But ranking of occupations pose serious problems in different societies of the world as all occupations are not alike in different societies and also not equally given importance and thereby carry diffential rewards. Further, occupational ranking process is becoming a difficult task due to frequent changes in occupational categories.

It has been noticed by the sociologists that occupation and income are closely linked in the process of ranking the individuals in a society. But on critical examination it could be found that the relation between income and occupation does not always remain same. In the present day societies white collar workers of different grades are esteemed high in comparison to the blue collar workers, no matter, if they get

more wages and other perks than white collar workers.

In the present day societies education is another dimension that helps for generation of stratification mainly in the occupational spheres. In certain occupations there are the necessities of highly educated persons. To man the same and due to the educational attainment and subsequent gaining competence to fit themselves to enter into those occupations and in turn help them to get more rewards in terms of income and other facilities. Functionalist like Davis and Moore (1945) boldly pointed out that reward should be given to the best people. By best here they mean those people who spent much of their early age in acquiring education to make themselves competent to enter into specialized jobs in this present age of specialization followed by in service training for which they have to forego their leisure, family life etc. Thus stratification emerges in the work/occupational sphere because of the aforesaid situations.

Further as we have seen in the immediate anterior paragraph that education and occupation are closely linked and due to this reason in modern societies differentially trained people are required to man the specialized jobs. Now differentially trained people refer mainly the people who get different types of education – general to the specialized ones in the most part of their youth. The specialized persons are acquiring education in frontier areas and they are scarce in supply. It is because of scarcity and their much valued education when they enter into specified jobs they should be ranked high and amply rewarded. Thus rewarding them differently inturn help them to command respect socially also.

So we find that occupation, income and education are the major dimensions that generate stratification in the society. Corollary to these dimensions another dimension i.e. styles of life is also important for entering stratification. The styles of life covers material and non-material aspects of the life of

a person or persons. The use of language, dress pattern, food pattern and the houses where the persons live indicate their styles of life. This dimension helps someone to attain ranked status within a particular group of people in a society.

Ethnicity and racial differentiation are the two other dimensions that generate stratification in the society however differently. The people are differentially ranked or stratified on the basis of their racial origin and their ethnic groups. Example may be cited in this case about racially black and white people in U.S.A. and earlier apartheid South Africa.

In the oriental society like India which was a closed society in the past due to the prevalence of caste system generated rigid stratified societies. Castewise occupations were ascriptive in nature which resulted restriction in commensality, in case of social intercourse like taking food etc. and more importantly in case of marriage, strict endogamy was followed. Writers like J.H. Hutton (1963), E.R. Leach (1960) pointed out that caste was a rigid form of stratification system keeping the Brahmins at the top of the ladder of social hierarchy.

Sociologist like Max Weber stressed on focussing power alongwith status and class as the dimensions of stratification. Much have already been projected about class and status (its determinant is the styles of life). Power is another dimension that generates stratification. Exercising of power by some people and denying the same to others continued in various forms through the pages of the history of human civilizations. Exercising of power is also becoming more important in modern class infested complex societies. No doubt power is necessary as one of the important factors in maintaining order in a society, but it is also extending its long arms in maintaining new world order by the economically powerful countries i.e. G-8 nations over others.

Check your progress 6

(1)   From functional stand point whether social stratification is dysfunctional or functional. Justify
(Use five lines below for your answer).

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(2)   What are the major dimensions of social stratification ? Are they linked with each other? Comment.
(Use five lines below for your answer)

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1.5   HIERARCHY

Hierarchy is an arrangement of the people generally in grades or ranks on the basis of power, authority or prestige in a society. Louis Dumont (1988) however pointed out that there are certain elements in the society like height, weight, income and even power can be arranged in a hierarchy. The concept of hierarchy had its origin in the religious societies of Europe of the middle ages. A.H. Halsey (RP 1989) points out the etymological meaning of hierarchy as ecclesiastic one. It refers to priestly government –clergy at the top and the commoners at the bottom (Johnson Rp, 1991). Clergy was followed by the nobles and the rest were commoners. But the ranking of above stated groups were relative in nature. Johnson (1991 Rp) specifically pointed out that the clergy was called the first Estate and the state was subordinate to Church which however changed overtime as the rank and the power of Church and State varied at different points of time in the pages of history.

This religiously related hierarchy is however has not created any interest to the sociologists or social scientists as earthly hierarchy is a part of the very complex history of human organizations. In modern times the word hierarchy has lost its importance or obliterated with its religious flavour as was distinct in medieval ages.

In the broader framework of sociology "hierarchy is but one form of social stratification and it certainly does not constitute the essence of social stratification" (Gupta, 1997, Fourth Impression). Louis Dumont (2004, Fourth Impression) commented that hierarchy is a ladder of command in which the lower ranges are encompassed in the higher ones in regular succession. His finest work on hierarchy was the comprehensive analysis of the caste system as a hierarchical order.

Caste systems to be more precise is a system of ascriptive statuses and is hierarchical in nature. With the development of social stratification as a sub-branch of sociology the sociologists detached hierarchy from religious context and started using to

describe systems of rank where the elements or strata are judged in relation to whole. "To be precise hierarchy… as a special form of what is treated in modern sociology and anthropology under the heading of social stratification (Halsey, 1989)". Now in the caste system hierarchy is more pronounced than other things. Leach (1960) had also adopted J.H. Hutton's classic statement of caste in which he emphasized the concept of endogamy, pollution, occupational differentiation and hierarchy with the Brahmins at the top of the system.

Under the broad framework of caste system keeping the Brahmins at the top hierarchy is lonely emphasized (Gupta 1977 4th Imp), while Bougle (1971) has also included the concept of repulsion with hierarchy while discussing the caste system. To Bougle repulsion is manifested in characteristics like endogamy, restriction on commensality and also even contact. Interestingly he also like others talked of hierarchy of the Brahmins. But this hierarchy of Brahmins at the top of the caste system does not always hold good as in Hindu India we find the references of Kshatriya, Rajput, Maratha, Lingayats who are at the top of the caste system/model. Gupta (1997 4th Imp.) while discussing about the hierarchy it is agreed that Dumont (1988) only could give a technical understanding of the concept of hierarchy as according to him 'true hierarchy' are ranked in relation to the whole (Dumont, 1988:76). As such hierarchies in the caste system could be understood as overall unity of the differentiated strata within the system itself.

Hierarchy as a concept is also discussed within the broad framework of class system. Class is a form of stratification (social) and in this form of stratification hierarchical ordering of people is generally mentioned to understand the form operationally. Because under class system mention is made regarding the existence of hierarchically graded class order–upper, middle and lower classes etc. The hierarchy is manifested in the class. In the class system on the basis of its characteristics like life styles, life chances. etc. which are also better known as consequences of social stratification. Hierarchical placement of

the class system discourages the conflict situation which is important to maintain the class system somewhat in an ordered way. Hierarchy always rests on unity and conformity.

1.6   NATURE OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

To understand social stratification it is necessary to examine the underlying process of social allocation. Generally allocation occurs when the social power is generated through the process of social organization and then used by the organization to acquire resources and attain collective goals. In one way or another the benefits of organizational functioning – power, privilege and prestige become allocated among the individual members of an organization(social). The individual members of the organization will exercise the power within the organization itself that is created, enjoy the privileges gained through collective activities and granted prestige by others. The specific manner in which this distributive process is accomplished – whether through coercion, bargaining, gifts or other ways – depends on the particular organization in question. In general, though, social allocation is the process in which the benefits of organizational activities are distributed throughout that organization. However, it occurs in some form in all social organizations.

Theoretically, these benefits could be distributed equally among all the parts and members of the organization so that no stratification would occur there. However, this is a misnomer and almost invariably some subunits or individual members of an organization acquire more power, privileges and prestige than others, so that the resulting distribution is unequal. The polar opposite of total equality would be the complete concentration of all power, privileges and prestige in the hands of one (despot) or a very few elites (creamy layers). Within most organizations, however, the patterns of distribution fall somewhere between these two extremes of total equality and complete inequality. The various service holders within the organization normally hold differing amounts of power, privilege and prestige and hence can

be ranked vertically with numerous intermediate gradations. As these differentations among the service holders become continuous through time, social stratification emerges. To put in other words, the process of social stratification involves continuous inequality through time in the allocation of power, privilege and prestige within an organization.

Now power in the framework of the present discussion – i.e. social power always refers to the ability of the individual or the groups of individual to affect social life. On the other hand social privilege is access to desired goods, services, activities, or positions that is granted to a person by others. Privileges can take unlimited specific forms, according to what is necessary in a given situation – which is in turn largely shaped by cultural values. The most obvious privilege in contemporary societies is money, which in turn allows the holder to acquire a wide variety of other benefits. In addition, privileges often include restricted admission/ permission to certain social events or organizations, prerogatives to act in distinctive ways or to get services from other and special right to perform specific roles or participate in certain social activities.

Social prestige is favourable evaluation that a person receives from others. Whereas social privileges are relatively tangible benefits or rewards, prestige is always an intangible evaluation. Social prestige may take numerous forms like recognition, esteem, honour and also fame. Prestige is generally expressed through difference on the part of others, ranging from casual remarks (such as compliments and praises) to symbolic gestures (differential mode of speech) to overt actions (saluting or remaining standing) to formal awards and honours (citations/ medals etc.)

Power, privilege and prestige are distinct social phenomena, but usually they become highly interrelated, so that the study of social stratification must include all of them. In fact, it is often possible for a person/service holder to transform one of these phenomena into another, as when a person uses his 'good name' to acquire special privileges or to influence a decision or when membership on the executive committee of an organization

brings a person both honour and control over organizational policy. Money also can serve to person as prestige symbol(like how many credit cards one is having from different banks), as a means of gaining privileges (when the money is spent in goods and services) and as a resource for power (when it is used to influence actions or decisions).

Privilege and prestige, like power are created through the process of social organization and can be expressed only within social relationships. Stratification is always a social phenomenon. It cannot be explained with single person and with group of persons only or at large in a society this could be analyzed and explained – covering three aspects social power, privileges or prestige. Privilege and prestige however differ from power in one important respect as both must be given to a person by others. But social power can often be acquired by one person negating the wishes of the others. Further, privilege and prestige are normally sought as ends in themselves, because of the benefits or satisfactions they give to their recipients. On the other hand, power is sometimes sought as a goal for its own sake, but more commonly it is used as a means for shaping social organization or for acquiring privilege and prestige.

The basic units of social stratification, like all social organization are social roles. Primarily, it is the various roles within an organization that commands differential amounts of power, privilege and prestige. However, most roles are rather closely associated with the individuals who performs them at any given time, so that studies of social stratification have usually taken individuals rather than roles as their units of analysis. However, it may be mentioned here that there is no theoretical reason why even larger social bodies could not be taken as units of analysis under social stratification. Another important thing may be mentioned here that the organizational setting helps for offing of stratification. Social stratification always occurs within some encompassing organization, due to unequal allocation of power, privilege and prestige among the component units of that organization. Thus there would be a pattern of stratification within a small committee which might or might not resemble the

stratification structure of a larger parent organization, which might or might not correspond to the distribution of power, privilege and prestige in the entire community, which in turn might or might not resemble the national stratification pattern. The various stratification patterns existing within different organizations commonly exhibit considerable similarity but these are rarely identical because of the existence of different social units and the relevant organizational settings change the patterns of social stratification.

In a larger and more complex a given social organization, the more extensive will be its allocation process and the greater the possibility that its patterns of stratification will be multidimensional rather than unidimensional. To put in other words, an organization can contain a number of different stratification hierarchies. Although these various hierarchies might in fact be highly interrelated, the task of the sociologist is to distinguish these analytically in order to determine the degree of similarity among them. In a given stratification system certain empirically tested factors are present – which may be partially correlated and these are one's occupation, educational attainment, income, public influence, reputation ethnicity and styles of life. The phenomena of power, privilege and prestige cut across all of these and probably enter into each of the above mentioned tested factors however differently. For example some of the factors give more weight to power, others give stress on privileges and still others are primarily on prestige. Each of the stratification hierarchies within an organization normally consists of numerous gradations or statuses. That is social status is a specific position or level on stratification system, the number of identifiable statuses contained within a given hierarchy depends partially upon complexity of the organization but also on the concerns and sophistications of the observer who designates them. Generally the distance from the top to the bottom statuses of a stratification hierarchy is sometimes referred as range and in popular parlance however the status very often means only the top level of a stratification hierarchy but technically these positions should be referred to as high social status.

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Normally under the broad fold of stratification system most of the persons hold several statuses, according to the number of separate stratification hierarchies on which they are located and the number of different social settings in which they act. A given social status in other words is specific to particular variable and to a particular organization. Again some amount of status similarity normally exists among persons enjoying various social statuses since power, privilege and prestige gained by one person can be traced sometimes to other related activities. But considerable disparity can develop among various statuses enjoyed by a person at least in a short run in a society. For example a person with high income does not automatically gain public esteem or intellectual sophistication. A s such the terms status inconsistency or status crystallization are generally used by the sociologists to describe the degrees of the diverse statuses of a given person in the framework of social stratification.

In general the more complex the stratification process within an organization dovetailed with the faster rate of social change, the more likely it is that many persons in the organization will experience status inconsistency. As a result status inconsistency becomes *sine qua non* in modern industrialized societies than the primitive agricultural societies of yester years. Several field studies conducted in this regard could focus that marked inconsistency among a person's various statuses which may cause him to favour certain forms of social change more importantly as a means of redressing his disparate social conditions.

Patterns of inequality in power, privilege and prestige vary widely in their stability through time. If one is to observe and describe social stratification, ordered inequality must persist for some minimum period as random fluctuations in the allocation process are not usually taken for social stratification.
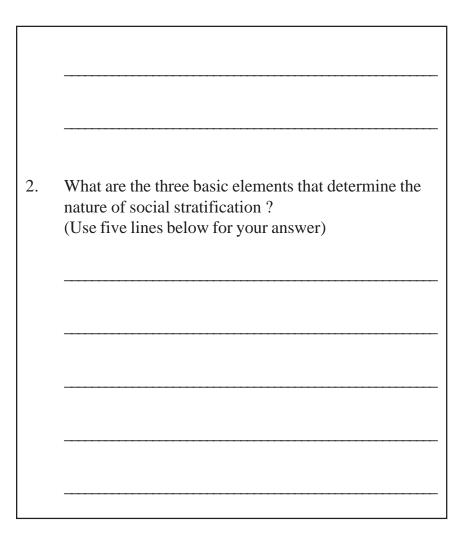
From historical stand point, broad societal patterns of social stratification have commonly persisted through at least several generations, changing only slowly and gradually. Children have tended to assume approximately

the same statuses in the society and the community as their parents and in turn to pass on these same statuses to their offsprings. This generalization holds equally good for elites, "middle-status" artisans and merchants and "lower status" for workers and peasants. To the extent that social roles and their accompanying social statuses are ascribed rather than achieved, an existing pattern of stratification is specially likely to continue with only minor changes for a long time like the caste system of earlier Hindu India.

One of the most striking characteristics of modern societies, however, is the opening of more and more roles to competition. There are many reasons for this trend, including the existence of more wealth to be distributed among all the members of the society, rapidly expanding universal education facilities and slowly emerging norms of rational efficiency and social equality. No existing society even approaches the ideal of the total role achievement and completely open role competition – if that were ever possible – so that considerable grounds for the perpetuations of patterned stratification still exist everywhere. Nevertheless, social stratification in many contemporary societies are becoming considerably more fluid than ever before.

Check your progress 7

(1)   Hierarchy does not consider as the core point of social stratification. Discuss.
      (Use five lines below for your answer)

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2.	What are the three basic elements that determine the nature of social stratification ?
	(Use five lines below for your answer)

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1.7 LET US SUM UP

This unit has explained some important concepts of social stratification. It is discussed that, thoughts on stratification emerged through the ages in the writings of philosophers and social thinkers. They could also understand the differences between the social inequalities and natural inequalities. Hierarchy is also another concept discussed in this unit and how it is used in the caste and class ridden societies. Finally, attempt has been made to describe the nature of social stratification which mainly hovers around power, privilege and prestige in the society.

"Further Readings"

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Key words

Dawn – The beginning of something e.g. the beginning of human civilization.

Magnum Opus – Great work, like Platos Republic, Aristotle Politics etc. (Latin origin).

A priori – from what is before (Latin origin).

Sine – qua – non – inevitable phenomenon (Latin orgin).

Yardstick – a standard used for comparison.

Model Answers to check your Progress

Check your progress 1

(1)   Stratification arises in the human societies be it modern or even in pre-literate simplest societies. In Pre-literate/ simplest societies stratification arises even in the family here as the exercise of power and control over wives and as fathers over children could be found in the simplest socities.

Check your progress 2

(1)   The work of St. Augustine was a rebuttal to paganism. That is why he wrote the 'City of God' (De civite Dei) in 413 AD. In this voluminous work he dealt with the ways of life that were experienced in two cities–heavenly city and earthly city.

(2)   St. Thomas talked about good government and christianity and wanted to uphold the medieval scholasticism. He advocated for good governance as man is a social being and he leads a social life and the government should do common good to the people.

Check your progress 3

(1)   Machiavelli though advocated for open society but it should be based on inequality. In doing so he gave importance to those effective people who are naturally capable and the same one to be recruited to train so that later on they become rulers. Thus Machiavelli portrayed an open society based on inequality.

(2)   The social contract theorist were Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and J.J. Rousseau. The views of these theorists were different. For Hobbes the contract was one which helped for offing of single despotic ruler. For Locke there were two contracts which helped for establishment of Limited Monarchy. Last Rousseau talked about free will i.e. popular sovereignty–where all people can participate i.e. democracy.

Check your progress 4

(1)   Edmund Burke glorified the Aristocratic government and he pointed out there are inferior people which are to be governed. Hence he advocated hierarchially stratified society.

On the other hand, Jermy Bentham was an advocator of utilitarianism and hold the view that there should be equal opportunity for all.

(2)   Hegel advocated for corporate representation. To him state was nothing but realization of freedom. According to him within the state people would enjoy limited freedom and in their corporate capacities with full sense of rationality of the state and law.

Check your progress 5

(1)   Some inequalities are desirable for continuance of not only the human society but the human race itself. Biological inequality is the most important among them. Otherwise including human being all other living beings –flora fauna would also perish.

(2)   Social inequality encompasses inequal distribution of income, wealth inequality in the field of Justice and also socially constructed racial as well as rich and poor people.

Check your Progress 6

(1)   From functional standpoint social stratification is clearly functional. Occupation, income and education are germinating factors for offing of social stratification.

(2)   Economy is one of the important dimension of stratification.Wealth is also another one. Occupation and income are the other dimensions of stratification. Further Ethnieity and racial differentiations are the other two dimensions of social stratification.

Check your Progress 7

(1)   Hierarchy is no doubt one form of stratification but it is not the foci of stratification. The meaning of hierachy is sometimes ecclesiastie and sometimes refer to a situation that it is a ladder of command in which higher group rules the lower group in regular succession.

(2)   Power, privilege and prestige are the three basic elements of social stratification horering around which the social stratification exists and enfends its long arms in every sphere of human society.

Assignment (Model Questions) Each question carries 20 marks

1. Social Stratification is a socially ordered hierarchy. Explain with sufficient examples.
2. Do you think that social stratification as a concept emerged in a specific historical period of mankind ? Explain.
3. According to Plato how many classes of people should be there in a society and what qualities each people of different classes should posses.
4. 'Mean' is the best class of people according to Aristotle to rule, Explain critically.
5. Discuss the contribution of Roman thinkers relating to stratification elaborately.
6. Who was the medieval thinker advocated the broad concept like – who is fit to rule' ? Discuss his viewpoints elaborately and give your own comments about the viability of this concept.
7. "Social Contract theorist contributed differently relating to the concept of stratification", Examine critically the above statement.
8. Critically assess the writings of the philosophers and social thinkers relating to social stratification.
9. "Hierarchy as a concept should be understood differently is caste as well as class dominated societies".
10. Differentiate between social inequality and natural equality. Do you think that certain type of inequality is necessary for continuance of human society. Give your own explanation in this regard.
11. What are the major dimensions of social stratification.
12. Can ethnicity and racial differentiation generate stratification in the human society? Discuss.
13. What are the important factors which were included by Max Weber in explaining stratification? Provide a critical explanation.
14. "There are certain distinct phenomena (social) that are highly interrelated and helpful to explain the nature of social stratification". Discuss.
15. "Modern societies are experiencing multi dimensional patterns of social stratification" Explain critically the above statement.

BLOCK– 2 THEORIES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Structure

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After having read this unit you would be able to

- understand and explain how conflict becomes a source for the formation of strata with different interest in the society.

- understand and explain as to how different dimensions are helping for generation of stratification in general and of different classes in particular that emerge in the society.

- explain how Stratification is a functional necessity in the society.
- describe how the concept of evolution is intimately associated for generation of stratification.

2.1 UNIT-1 CONFLICT PERSPECTIVE

According to the conflict theorists social stratification is a divisive structure in the society. The main proponent of this conflict perspective was Karl Marx followed by Ralf Dahrendrof (who became famous as a critique of Marxian theory). The conflict theorists hold the view that it is a mechanism whereby one group exploits others for its own benefit instead of looking after fulfilling collective goals of the community as a whole. This process of exploitation helps for the formation of social strata where members of the different strata are having different interests.

Among the conflict theorists mention may first be made of Karl Marx followed by Ralf Dahrendrof. Now let us discuss the views of the conflict theorists in greater details. Do you know that Karl Marx was the forerunner in propounding the conflict perspective for explaining social stratification. According to him history of human society can be divided into phases and in each period classes of different types controlled the society. For example in feudal era farming (agriculture) was the main mode of production. The society was divided into two distinct strata – nobles and serfs. Nobles however included the groups of the aristocrates, gentry or slave holders. This group owned land and the serfs (serfs, slaves and free peasantry) cultivated it. The relationship between the above mentioned two strata as stated earlier was based on exploitation. Because the crops raised by serfs in the field of lords were virtually owned by the latter and

not by the former groups. Hence, it was nothing but a system of transfer of product from peasantry to aristocracy. In the modern societies two distinct classes have again emerged; one who owns the means of production commonly known as capitalists or bourgeoisie and the other – the working class commonly known as proletariates and they earn their livelihood by selling their labour to the former class (i.e. to capitalists or bourgeoisie who owns the means of production) and in turn they get salaries or wages. The workers thus survive by using these wages/salaries – paid to them in terms of money to buy their necessary provisions. Thus you could very well see that to Marx relationship that develops in the sphere of the process/ or mode of production itself germinates stratification. He further pointed out that in any economic organization there is a class known as bourgeoisie who owns and controls the means of production – industries, raw materials and more importantly capital(money). Due to this, bourgeoisie class controls the proletariates (the salaried/wage earning workers). Hence from Marxian perspective dominant and subordinate classes would be there in the society during different phases of the history of mankind and the ruling class would be there to exploit the working class. In modern capitalist society the workers produce more surplus than their wages.That surplus products produced by the workers when sold in the market, the capitalists make profit because the selling price of the product is higher than the cost of production. To Marx this difference between the prices at which the products are sold and actual production cost of these products are the profits and Marx coined these profits as surplus values.

The concept of class put forwarded by Marx led us to see that there are structured societies based on inequality and class thus you can now very well understand that it denotes not only one's position but the objective realties which help some groups to have greater share of rewards than others.

As a critique of Marxian theory of stratification and more particularly of Marxian class concept Ralf Dahrendrof pointed

out that social structure is always infested with conflict between classes which at times may lead to radical changes in the social structure itself. In the social structure according to Dahrendorf authority structure is always there and this authority structure always involves relations between superordination and subordination. Superordinate authority in a society is to control the subordinates by issuing orders, putting demands, giving warnings and imposing prohibition. To Dahrendorf this class distinction is there in the modern society. The modern society is characterized by the distribution of authority and this distribution itself paves the way for the formation of two groups antagonistic to each other. These two groups occupy distinct positions viz., ruler and the ruled. The rulers give orders and ruled obey orders. To Dahrendorf thus society however it may be modern, these two classes are apparently found, who germain conflict because of pursuing different interests.

Check your progress 1

1. Who was the first advocator of Conflict Perspective in the field of social stratification ?

2. Who coined the concepts like superordination or subordination

(Tick in the right box)

(a) Marx ☐

(b) Ralf Dahrendorf and Marx ☐

(c) Ralf Dahrendorf ☐

2.2.UNIT 2 MULTIDIMENSIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Max Weber was the forerunner in propounding a theory of social stratification by modifying the theory of social stratification Marx under the broad banner of multidimensional approach. He was followed by W. Llyod Warner and P.S. Lunt by taking status of dimension categorized the people into classes.

A posteriori to Marx, Max Weber modified the views of Marx on stratification and thus could made a remarkable contribution in this regard.

Weber started with Marxian theory of class in which Marx contended that social stratification is the scenario of unequal distribution of power among the people living in the society in general. As Weber studied the capitalist societies in particular(though he later studied oriental societies like India and China in a different context) he could identify three dimensions that generate stratification in the society more so in the modern industrialized/capitalist society viz., class, status and party. While discussing about class by Weber, his premises were economy, polity and society.

In economic sphere Weber rejected – the notion of Marx that there are only two classes only one class: which owns the means of production and the other class which does not own the same. Rather he specifically pointed out the means which help for gaining economic power by a class of people over others. For example if an industrialist is the sole producer and seller of a particular good that is needed by the people of the society he may be branded as monopoly in the economic sphere. This monopoly position can be translated as economic power which is being enjoyed by the industrialist. Moreover, ownership of the means of production is proved to be an ideal situation for accumulation of property. Further, ownership can help someone to have better accessibility to acquire training to improve the skills in the production process and also of education. These

duo – i.e., process of acquiring skills and education help some one to identify himself in different class structures in a society and help him to exercise power differently. For example the managers in an industry because of their training (in service) and education (technical as well as formal) may help them to attain an upper stratum in the class structured society with more money as salaries and have the better working facilities than a person working simply in blue collar environment without having the good levels of education and in-service training.

Status in Weberian theory of stratification referred to the differences between social groups on the basis of social honour or prestige given to them in the society. A group of persons who are given same estimations of honour or prestige and live in a certain standard in their living sphere, they to Weber belong to the same status group. Status group in a society may be positively privileged or negatively privileged. Positively privileged status groups in a society command more prestige than others. Mention may be made in this case about various professional people like medical practitioners, engineers, top ranking bureaucrats (like I.A.S. officers in Indian situation) who enjoy high prestige in the society. On the other hand negatively privileged status groups were found in the human history at different points of time. Slaves, serfs etc. in mediaeval Europe, untouchables of caste infested Indian society and blacks of U.S.A. of Pre-Kennedy era and also of apartheid South Africa were negatively privileged people.

According to Weber possession of wealth (inherited or acquired) by persons enjoy high status in a society as it is the objective indicator for one's status in a given social order, be it occidental or oriental society of the world. However, it is to be noted that status of a person is subjectively determined and hence vary from society to society and in the present day context one's status is reflected in his style of life.

Another dimension of stratification according to Weber is party. Party formation helps for generation of power to be enjoyed by the people. This party can influence stratification in

the society singly without even class and status. Party binds a group of individuals to express their solidarity and to pursue a common goal. The group of individuals may be having common background. And perhaps have much more appeals to the concerned individuals cutting across their class and status differences in nurturing the political or other ideas. In the present day societies of the world parties of individuals are offing due to various ideologies – political in most cases and these in turn steer major decisions in the political as well as administrative spheres. Mention may be made in this context about the party influence in democratic govts. of U.S.A. and India at present times. From the stratification point of view party formation process itself concomitantly germinates strata in the societies.

Max Weber's view on stratification are important as because all the three dimensions affect the lives of the people. Recent sociologists hold the view that Weberian theory on stratification is more effective in analyzing stratification that are in existence in present day societies of the world.

After Max Weber, W. Lloyd Warner an American sociologist along with his friend P.S. Lunt by taking the status dimension of Weber empirically tried to categorize the people into classes – ranging from higher to lower. Warner studied a community in U.S.A. i.e. Yankee City describing class, based on the comments of the people of the city made upon one another about their social status. Their comments were based on income, occupational prestige and attainment of education etc. Status for Warner was nothing but the summation of the above stated yardsticks that fitted in making evaluation made by his respondents i.e., the people of the Yankee city and put them into different class positions.

Warner of course was more concerned with status than class. Class to him is meant as two or more orders of people who are believed to be and are accordingly ranked by the member of the community in socially superior or inferior positions. In Yankee city Warner could categorize the people into six different classes based on peoples' perceptions viz., upper – upper, upper

– lower, upper – middle, lower – middle, lower – upper and lower – lower. Upper – upper class included only those people who were intergenerationally rich and had aristocratic background. The upper – lower class of people no doubt had money and they were rich but devoid of aristocratic background. This class included the neo– rich people who became rich during his own life time and could gather vast fortunes like mansions, cars, gold jewellery, costly dress etc. The upper– middle class was consisting of well educated and well to do professionals with high income – businessman, doctors, lawyers etc. The lower middle class composed of members earning less income in tertiary occupations and mostly in low paid white collar jobs like clerks in an office. The lower – upper class of people were generally low paid blue – collar workers and the lower – lower class of people were the poor and out casted people of the community.

Warner through classifying these six classes of people in the society thus showed to us that social stratification is not a simple social placement of a person but it is an intervening variable which could be applied to categorize of all people of a community. However the emphasis that was given on Warner's classification of people into six different classes was based on personal observation of the people of community and also dovetailed with subjective elements.

Check your progress 2

1) What are the major dimensions according to Weber that generate stratification?

2) By studying of Yankee city how many classes of people W.L Loyd Warner could categorize ? Put the same in descending order.

2.3. UNIT-3 FUNCTIONALITS PERSPECTIVE

Like the conflict theorists the functionalists contended that stratification is a social necessity and they also hold the view that stratification is found in all societies. To functionalists stratification serves some important functions in the society which are also important for some social organizations to maintain social order. The very basis of stratification according to the functionalists is the division of labour which is developed in any societies of the world – be it primitive or modern for smooth functioning of the society and hence the division of labour is a recognizable fact in the human societies of the world – be it primitive or modern for smooth functioning of the society and hence the division of labour is a recognizable fact in the human societies of the world. Through the process of division of labour different work of the society are ranked from important to less important and accordingly the people are doing the work. The ranking of work and manning the same germinates stratification. The functionalist tried to explain that the people are ranked as per the work they perform.

Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore of U.S.A. well back in the year 1945 put forwarded a theory of stratification from functional perspective. They hold the view that stratification exists in each and every human societies of the world and also it is a functional necessity. To them in any social order/ or social system stratification is required for smooth functioning of the same and from functional standpoint it is one of the functional prerequisites for the efficient operation of a social system. For any social system the role allocation and accordingly role performance in the allocated role, as Davis and Moore contended, is one of the functional prerequisites. The role allocated and role performance are the duo that generate stratification. Because if the roles are allocated then these must be filled and as Davis and Moore hold the view that filling of the same should be done by the best people so that they perform

the assigned roles effectively and efficiently. Further training should be imparted to the best people in their in– service period so that they perform their roles conscientiously. Now the best people for their role performance should be rewarded which to Davis and Moore should be unequal as the role allocation to them are different. The system of giving unequal rewards to the people in terms of salaries and other privileges for holding different positions generate stratification in the society and to Davis and Moore it is a functional necessity.

In a society where different positions are not there then to man the same differentially qualified people are also not needed and hence in that society stratification would not generate. But the existence of such a society is mere an utopia. For continuance of the society and also for its proper functioning different positions are there in the society. Among those positions certain positions as Davis and Moore contended are functionally important than others and these functionally important positions in the society are scarce and as such if they are brought to man those important positions in the society then they should be rewarded however differently. The important function of stratification at this point is to bring and match the people who are talented, skilled and competent with the functionally important positions. The persons who are having innate abilities and talents are generally lured by these unequal rewards carried with the positions. Further when they enter into such positions at times they are to undergo certain trainings for which they are to sacrifice personal pleasure, family, attachment, leisure etc. To compensate these sacrifices *a posteriori* they are to be rewarded with high salaries and other privileges. That way as Davis and Moore pointed out that social stratification is a process through which societies ensure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons.

However, Davis and Moore appreciated one difficulty in determining the functionally important positions in the society. Even some high rewarding positions may not be functionally important. Hence according to them the functionally important

positions can be determined by two yard sticks – degree to which a position is functionally more important and there being no other position that can perform the same function satisfactorily.

Secondly, the degree of dependency of other positions into one position is the yard stick to determine the functionally important positions.

By propounding this theory of stratification Davis and Moore showed that social stratification is a functional necessity for all the societies of the world. They also contended that different rewards attached to difficult positions are necessary to make the society functioning.

However, the views expressed by Davis and Moore were criticized by Melvin M. Tumin as under.

First, Tumin questions the adequacy of measurement of the functionally important positions in the society. According to Davis and Moore highly rewarded positions are functionally important. But Tumin points out that highly rewarded positions are not always functionally important. On the other hand, at times Tumin argues, some labour force of unskilled workman are equally important like that of engineers. So according to Tumin the contention of Davis and Moore regarding high reward vis – a – vis functionally important positions is ambiguous and not clear.

Tumin also points out that Davis and Moore have not given any importance on power as a major determining factor for unequal distribution of rewards. Through the process of collective bargaining one labour group may get more wages than other. Here collective bargaining of the labour groups is nothing but the unified power on their side to compel the authority to pay them high/more wages.

Davis and Moore further opined that talented people in the society are scarce and when these people handle the functionally important positions they should be amply rewarded. But Tumin argues that it is also ambiguous and questionable. Talent of a person cannot be objectively judged and this is the foci of the problem. Tumin further questions on giving rewards

for the sacrifices made by persons in their in – service training periods. Of course for sometime these compensations may be given but not for one's whole service period.

To Davis and Moore unequal rewards would motivate the talented people to occupy the functionally important positions. Tumin discarded this view. He points out that in a closed society like the caste society or racially prejudiced society this would not be possible.

To Tumin stratification cannot adequately be functional in a society as Davis and Moore contended. He rather points out that the offsprings of lower strata may not get same opportunity for realizing their talents than the offsprings of higher strata. Tumin however contended that it is only when there is a genuinely equal access to recruitment and training for all potentially talented persons that differential rewards can conceivably be justified as functional and stratification system are apparently inherently antagonistic to the development of such full equality of opportunity.

Finally Tumin rejects the views of Davis and Moore that stratification integrates a social system. Tumin rather takes a different stand by saying that differential rewards can encourage hostility, suspicion and distrust among the various segments of a society. So he strongly feels stratification is a key element for making divisions in the society rather than integrating.

Davis and Moor's theory on social stratification from functional perspective in reality opened a floodgate of criticisms as is evident from the criticisms of Tumin that are stated above. Many of the criticisms of the theory provided by Davis and Moore are based on the evidence which points out no stratification operates as their theory argues. Even in the open industrial societies of western hemisphere different evidences suggest that large numbers of able and talented individuals remain in the lower strata. Different studies have also indicated that many of the people are occupying the upper strata despite of their mediocre career as because they have been born in the upper strata and later this inherited status could become helpful

for them to occupy the upper strata. Michael Young as a functionalist appeared on this scene and in his book 'The Rise of the Meritocracy' he projected the case of the future British society in which talent and roles to be played by a person would be perfectly matched and he holds the view that the most able individuals would fill the functionally important positions. Social status would be obtained on the basis of merit in a society where all members have an equal opportunity to realize their talent. This situation in reality has become the order of the day at present times not only in the developed West but also gradually in the developing countries. That is the concept of meritocracy put forwarded by Michael Young became important and as such following Michael Young usage of the term such a system of role allocation has come to be known as meritocracy.

While removing the criticism of Davis Moore's content – rewarding the best people – by advocating meritocracy Michael Young however questions the advocacy of his own that the stratification system based on meritocratic principles would be functional for society. He carefully notes the following dysfunctional possibilities.

First, the members of the lower strata may become totally demoralized. In all the earlier stratification systems the members of the lower strata could divert the blame from themselves for their low status by providing reasons for their failure. As stated in the anterior paragraph, the members of the lower strata were always blaming the members of the upper strata for not getting any opportunity to raise their job position – if all they are employed – as the members of the upper strata filled the top jobs because of the help provided by the relatives, friends and the advantages of birth. But Michel Young advocated that in a meritocracy those at the bottom are clearly inferior and as a result they may become demoralized and in this context he clearly states that "Men who have lost their self respect are liable to lose their inner vitality"(1961). Since all members of a meritocracy are socialized to complete for the top jobs and inculcated with high ambition, not obtaining of the same could

be frustrating. Young categorically stated that 'when ambition is crossed with stupidity it may do nothing besides foster frustration' (1961). In a meritocracy talent and ability are efficiently coming out of the moorings of the lower strata. Due to this situation the members of the lower strata are always in vulnerable position because they have no able members to represent their interests.

Young contended that the members of the upper strata in a meritocracy deserve their position; their privileges are based on merit. In the past they had a degree of self doubt because many realized that they owed their position to factors other than merit. Since they could be recognized intelligence, wit and wisdom in members of the lower strata, they appreciated that their social inferiors were at least their equal in certain respects. As a result they used to give some respect to the people of lower strata and the arrogance of higher strata is generally manifested with all humility. But all these may change in a meritocracy. Social inferiors are really inferior and those who occupy the top positions are undoubtedly superior. To Young, this may result in an upper stratum free from self doubt and restraining influence of humility. In a meritocracy the members may rule with arrogance and haughty self assurance. They may despise the lower strata whose members may well find such behaviour offensive. This may result in conflict between the ruling minority and the rest of society.

It may be pointed out that Young's picture of meritocracy is fictional and it points out many of the possible dysfunctional elements of such a system. Society based on meritocracy may not be well integrated. It indicates that a stratification system if at all operates in this way would tend to become dysfunctional.

However to conclude, the ideas provided by Young are essential in order to assess the liberal views of a just society where opportunities for all is the *suo moto* factor, but even in such a society equal opportunity generally becomes unequal.

The rosy picture of meritocracy, even if it is fully operational suggests that the liberal dream of fair and just society may produce a situation which is far from reality.

2.4   UNIT4 EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE (GERHARD LENSKI)

In the sixties of the 20th century debate between the conflict and functionalist theorists became very heated as far as the theoretical perspective on stratification is concerned. During that period several writers like Ralf Dahrendorf (1958); Van Den Berghe(1963) pointed out that these two perspectives are compatible to each other. In this context a promising attempt was made by Gerhard Lenski to make a synthesis of the two perspectives (1966) by taking elements from both perspectives and thus he provided the social stratification theory from the evolutionary perspectives.

According to Lenski the people generally feel satisfied in fulfilling their own wants and ambitions to which they longed for. But from social point of view this above stated attitude is not at all congenial for maintaining a social/group life or broadly hinders the process of socialization. Ironically Lenski points out that fulfilling one's own wants and ambitions is an universal feature of all the human societies of the world. The reason for this is that most of the things that people want are scarce in supply than that of the demand. This results conflict over the distribution of these scarce things in all the societies. Lenski further points out that since all people are unequally equipped for the competitive struggle, social inequality will inevitably result. Sometimes these inequalities would be functional for society, but forms of stratification would "tend to persist long after they have ceased to be useful"(Robertson,1980:231). Thus a certain amount of inequality become inevitable and also necessary for stratifying the societies. But it is interesting to note that most societies are much more stratified than they need

to be.

Thereafter Lenski traces the evolution of stratification, showing how the form it takes is related to the society's means of economic production. In hunting and food gathering societies people experienced no stratification. Populations were small and intimate and the numbers were essentially equal. No surplus of wealth was there in the above societies. When pastoral and horticultural societies came in to being surplus of the produce occurred and then the chieftainships emerged as powerful families to gain control over the surplus. These societies were not stratified as because inequalities existed only among specific individuals and there were no distinct castes or classes. With the offing of agricultural societies there was a radical change in the reason that agriculture allowed people to produce a considerable surplus and a dominant elite section of people emerged in that society who claimed this surplus which was considered as wealth during that period. The society became divided into strata according to their access to wealth and other rewards. Monarchy appeared on the scene and power became concentrated in the hands of a monarch who typically had almost absolute control over the common people.

These rigid divisions became gradually flexible when the agricultural society was transformed to industrial society. Industrial production required a skilled and highly mobile labour force. The efficiency of the labour force was depended on how the talent of the force was utilized. It was noted that the efficiency of the force was impaired if not used fully. Lenski pointed out that in the early stages of industrialism there was a vast gap between rich and poor as rural peasants constituted the work force to work in industries which were established in the urban areas. This situation is still continuing in the developing nations and the third world. In the more developed industrial societies it is observed that the lower class shrinks in the size and the middle class expands rapidly as the entire society unequally shares the great wealth that industrialism produces. Governments become more democratic and welfare measures are taken

extensively. On the other hand taxes on income are levied in order to limit the excessive inequalities in wealth. New and varied job opportunities also helped for an increasing rate of social mobility – mainly upward as well as spatial ones.

The evolutionary perspective on which the theory of social stratification put forwarded by Lenski is not confined within certain identified parameters. He contended that there may be some exception to the general trend he outlines. He also notes that independent factors like external threats, role of particular leaders, may have an impact on the way stratification systems evolve. In general, however, he believes that the long term trend in all industrial societies would be towards less social inequality. Lenski's theory explains why inequalities are so often far more extreme than could ever be necessary from a functional point of view; once stratification is built in a society, privileged groups use their advantages to gain even more advantages. While he acknowledges the importance of conflict in stratification systems, he does not reduce all explanations to this one factor alone. He accepts that some inequalities may be unavoidable and even useful.

Check your Progress 3

1) Why Davis and Moore put forwarded the concept that social stratification is a functional necessity. Explain. Write briefly in the space given below (5 lines)

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—————————————————————————————

—————————————————————————————

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2. Evolutionary perspective of social stratification is the synthesis between conflict and functional perspectives. Do you agree ? (Write in the space given below)

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_____

2.5 LET US SUM UP

This unit has explained the four different theoretical perspectives of social stratification viz., conflict, multidimensional, functional and evolutionary ones. The conflict, multidimensional and functional perspectives are explaining stratification from three different premises. Karl Marx and Ralph Dahrendorf explained the emergence of two classes in the society due to conflict and in that context Marx traced the historicity of the stratification system and finally explained that control over production by one group helped for the emergence of classes mainly two – haves and have-nots-in the society. Dahrendorf in a refined way talked about superordination and subordination.

Weber and Warner explained stratification from multidimensional perspective. Weber stressed on three

dimensions – class status and party while Warner gave importance on status dimension in explaining stratification.

Functionalists viz., Davis and Moore stressed on rewarding the best people if at all the society should function in a coherent manner. On the other hand Michael Young talked about meritocracy is the main criterion to keep the society functionally operative.

Gerhard Lenski by taking evolutionary premise provided the theory on stratification in which he synthesized both conflict and functional perspectives and traced the historicity of the stratification system.

Key words

Nobles– men belonged to upper class in the class order of the middle age

Serf - the agricultural labourers who were   tied   to working on a particular estate in the agricultural societies of he middle ages.

Superordinate authority   –the controlling authority.

Subordinate class – the class which is controlled by others who are superior in any respect.

Role allocation – function in a particular situation is assigned.

Role performance – function in a particular situation is to be carried out.

Collective bargaining – negotiation of wages and other conditions of employment by an organized body of employee.

Suo moto factor –   main/prime factor

Model Answers to Check your progress

Check your progress 1

1) Karl Marx was the first advocator of Conflict Perspective in the field of stratification. Marx saw the early phase of Capitalism in which two distinct classes were there– Capitalists and Bourgeosie. The Bourgeosie were always exploited by the capitalist class by giving them low wages for the products they produce. It resulted conflict and bourgeosie formed the lower strata while the capitalist formed the upper strata. 2) (d)

Check your progress 2

1) According to Max Weber there are three major dimensions which generates stratification and these are class, status and party. Contrary to Marx class was explained by Max Weber in a different way by taking economic power as a base of analysis.

2) W. Lhoyd Warner by studying Yankee city could categorise six classes of people. These are
　　　(a) Upper-upper class
　　　(b) Upper-lower class
　　　(c) Upper-middle class
　　　(d) Lower– middle class
　　　(e) Lower–upper class
　　　(f) Lower–Lower class

Check your progress 3

1) For efficient operation of a social system/ social order social stratification is a functional necessity as Davis and Moore contended. In the social system role performances are made as per allocated roles. The allocated roles are differentially

made in the society. Thus allocated roles generates functionally effective stratification.

2. Evolutionary perspective put forwarded by Gerhard Lenski was a synthesis of the conflict and functional perspectives.To him in the human society conflict arises due to the more demand for goods which are scarce in supply. In a social structure / social system all people are not able to compete for getting the scarce goods. So inequality arises. This way inequality started from the evolution of the human society.

Assignment (model questions)

1)If collective goals are fulfilled in a community can stratification arise? Explain.

2) In different phases of human history what are the different classes of people emerged and controlled the society ? Critically examine.

3) How many classes of the society are examined under conflict perspective? Did classes arise due to antagonistic attitude? Explain elaborately with suitable examples.

4) What are the basic premises upon which the Weberian theory stratification is based? Explain critically.

5) Explain the theory of stratification put forwarded by Warner.

6) 'Warner's theory on stratification was based on field work'. Examine the statement and elaborate the classes with suitable examples as categorized by Warner in this theory.

7) 'Rewarding the best people'. Explain critically the statement from functional view point of stratification.

8) 'Can functionally important positions be judged'. Examine the statement in the light of Tumin's criticism on functional theory of stratification.

9) Write an essay on Michael Young's view on stratification. Provide suitable example.

10) "Evolutionary theory of stratification of Gerhard Lenski is a synthesis between conflict and functional approaches". Do you agree explain critically.

Further readings

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BLOCK- 3 FORMS OF STRATIFICATION

STRUCTURE

Key Words

UNIT 3.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you would be able to

  * understand and explain how slavery as a form of stratification is defined as a form of property in which one person has the ownership right over the others. Further how a slave was compared to a thing like any other means of production and also the emergence and continuance of the form over different historical periods.

  * understand and explain how estate as a form of stratification was established and which was considered as the precursor of higher civilization. Further you should be able to understand and

explain the growth and continuance of the estate system.

* explain caste as a form of stratification based on ascriptive status rather than achieved one which could be obtained during the course of one's life.

* explain class as a form of stratification based on achieved status which one could achieve in economic as well as in social spheres.

UNIT 3.1 SLAVERY

Slavery is a form of social stratification within which some people are treated as items of property belonging to other individuals or social groups. Or in other words slavery is defined as a form of property which gives to one person the right of ownership over another. Like any other means of production the slave is considered as a material object or a thing which could be sold or purchased.

Slavery as a form of stratification existed in different historical periods of human civilizations, however in different forms, depending in part on the particular economic use to which slaves have been put. Even in extreme cases slaves were working till death, as in Greek mining camps of the 5th - 4th century B.C. In a lesser degree slaves were also used as servants in the households. Ancient history, specially Greek history had recorded that in the above stated centuries in Greece for example slaves were acquired through conquest and trade and thereby considered as an investment by the well-to-do citizens. In a slight deviation from the work the slaves usually used to do, they were often responsible members of the wealthy households, given responsibility to keep accounts of masters' income and to protect the family when the master was going to military invasions. Further to maintain the continuity of the slavery — intelligence, initiative and skill of the slaves were used on the above purposes rather than using them in physical work as a means of persuading

them to work under the masters and thereby to accept the inferior status i.e. as slaves. As such though deviations were there but every slave had his own master to whom he was subject and this subjection was of peculiar in nature because the power of master over slave was unlimited. As stated earlier slave was treated as a thing or possessor or property. The position of the slaves in the society was lower than the freeman and also without any political rights. Socially he was always looked down even by a freeman as the freeman or a free labour had the privilege to take leave of working at his own will which was denied to slave; he was meant for work only.

Bottomore (1975 : 186) pointed out that the basis of slavery was always economic in nature. Slavery helped for emergence of aristocratic class who in turn thrived on slaves. Later on slave trade had flourished dating back from Greek societies, and passed through middle ages and finally in the colonies of plantations of southern states of America.

It is generally acknowledged that Greek and Roman societies were mostly based on slave labour. The Aristocratic classes of these societies were bringing wealth from the countryside for which slaves were considered indispensible for the purpose. Due to this reason the slaves were even acquired through conquest for economic production. They were further considered as the highly movable commodities.

Later the slavery also flourished in the plantation system of the southern states of North America specially during the period of 16-19 centuries. It has been pointed out by different writers that approximately 20 (twenty) million healthy young Africans were forcibly transported to North America during that period and the process of enslavement of Africans and their descendants continued even upto the last part of the 19th century. This type of exploitation of Africans was even justified by beliefs about racial inferiority and this belief was further bolstered by a Christian preaching which acted in the mindsets of African slaves to accept inferior status and submission. The slaves were treated very badly and same was even backed by legal system. The slaves

were having few property rights. Their behaviours were regulated by the strict laws and punishment for breaking laws was often meted with the beating to death. In reality they were regarded as the property of the owners, who were even could be bought and sold at the whims of the owners. Thus with all sorts of social discrmination the slavery as a form of stratification continued in the southern states of North America where cotton plantation flourished with the slave labour and finally this led to the development of agrarian capitalism followed by industrial capitalism in North America as a whole. By 20th century however slave system was abolished from there with the passing of various reform bills by the respective governments of the country.from time to time.

Check Your Progress 1

1.   Define Slavery in our life

      _____

2.   What according to Bottomore is the basis of Slavery ? Why Slavery flourished in southern states of North America. Write your answer in five lines below.

      _____

      _____

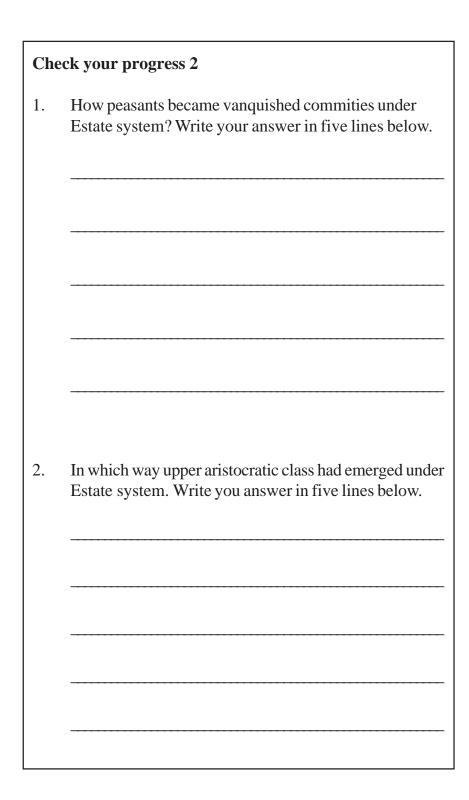   _____

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      _____

UNIT 3.2 ESTATE

The history of human civilization recorded that a social unit which represented a somewhat higher civilization had its beginning with an estate system. E.E. Bergel contended that many societies established the estate system first before reaching a higher level of civilization. The term estate was officially used in France in the pre-revolutionary (i.e. before 1789) period to identify/denote upper strata. Again to identify the similar situation that prevailed in the then European societies contemporary to France other terms were used. Even in England upto the end of eighteenth century writers used to describe estate type situation in the then societies as 'Order.'

The early history of human society was full of the stories of conquests by one group of people over others. The conquering by one group over others started right from neolithic stage of human civilization when people by domesticating the cereals and animals and also by inventing plough started settled cultivation. With the settled cultivation the peasant societies emerged and organised themselves on the basis of the principle of equality. But in the neolithic stage all the people did not turn peasants; many of them remained as hunters; others by domesticating the animals turned pastoralists. These pastoralists with the passage of time by taming horses and with weapons like axe attacked the peace loving peasants and conquered them. With the victory over peasants the pastoralists became the masters of the peasants as they took away all land which the peasants earlier owned. The peasants thus reduced to vanquished farming communities with no land. The land which were taken by the new masters (Pastoralists) divided the same amongst their own group members and the chief of each group received a large share. Thus in the earlier equalitarian peasant society two strata had emerged - victor and venquished. The peasants (the vanquished group) were allowed to work in the farms of the new masters. Meanwhile the need was felt among the victors to

form a political machinery / organisation to control these vanquished peasants. So federal type of governments with capital and some permanent employees were established and with the passsage of time these types of government became hierarchical in nature and crystallised structure emerged with the king at the top followed by aristocrates, lower nobles, generals, priests and commoners. At the bottom were the defeated peasants. That way first estate system had a modest beginning followed by the integration of the system itself. With the political rights, appropriation of land enjoying privileges and by exercising discrimination over the vanquished peasants the conquerors could try to maintain the system but due to unbalanced sex distribution they could find it difficult. This forced the conquerers to raise family to have their offsprings. They took women from the defeated peasants first, raised legitimate children and in subsequent generations by practising endogamy within the aristocratic groups they helped for the emergence of the upper aristocratic class. These bonds among the people became strong and aristocratic class as a whole was integrated. With the estate system fully developed and organised got identity as one nation where hierarchical gradings, were there and these were hereditary in nature

The estates were based on broad division of labour as Bottomore (1975, 3rd Impression :187)contended. Each group of people as per hierarchical position had definite functions. The nobles were having the responsibility to protect all the subjects, the clergy to pray for all and the commons to provide food for all.

The estate thus harboured socially stratified groups of people and it was more or less European social order till onset of French revolution in 1789. With this revolution the estates were demolished, so also the rigid hierarchical social divisions and the long continued economic order that commons to provide food for all.

Check your progress 2

1.   How peasants became vanquished commities under
      Estate system? Write your answer in five lines below.

      _____

      _____

      _____

      _____

      _____

2.   In which way upper aristocratic class had emerged under
      Estate system. Write you answer in five lines below.

      _____

      _____

      _____

      _____

      _____

UNIT 3.3 CASTE

In general caste is a form of social stratification in which quite a large number of the caste groups have been hierarchically organized and separated from each other on the basis of ritual purity and pollution. The lowest stratum of the caste system has been referred to as 'untouchables' because they are excluded from the performances of rituals which conferred religious purity. The caste system is a close form of social stratification or in other words it is an illustration of social closure in which access to wealth and prestige is closed to social groups which are excluded from the performance of purifying rituals.

However, as Leach (Rd. 1969) pointed out that in various writings of the anthropologists and sociologists the very word 'Caste' is being used to signify two different meanings. From anthropological domain the caste is an ethnographic category refers exclusively to a system of social organization peculiar to Hindu India. However from sociological domain it is a kind of rigid class structure. Some writers even opined that caste is the fundamental institution of Hinduism. Max Weber pointed out that caste is a cultural concept and can best be understood in Hindu society. But his views regarding caste is ambiguous in the sense that there are castes among the Muslims of India and North West of Pakistan; among the Kandyan Buddhists of Sri Lanka and these are reported by well known ethnographers like, Nur Yalman, Fredrik Berth etc. So this variation of caste leads to an enquiry into the nature of caste and on closure examination we find that caste as a form of stratification extends its long arms not to include only Hindu India but the Pan Indian sub-continent as well which harbours other religious groups and also of other countries.

Leaving aside the viewpoint of Weber, same type of criticism is levelled against the diffusionists who provide us with the examples of the existence of caste type behaviours from antiquity to the present i.e. , Ancient Egypt and Modern Fiji. They hold the view that caste is definable as a list of ethnographic

category as Leach commented 'characteristics of Hindu India and then slide imperceptibly into assumption that caste refers to certain features of social structure.

When we define Indian caste system as a form of social stratification then we are to take note that certain minimal primary characteristics are inherent in it and these help caste to emerge as a close form of social stratification, Hutton points out that caste is having following criteria;

1. A caste is endogamous.

2. There are restrictions on commonsality between members of different castes.

3. There is hierarchical grading of castes, the best recognized being the Brahmins at the top.

4. In various kinds of context, especially those concerned with food, sex and ritual a member of a 'high' caste is liable to be polluted by either direct or indirect contact with a member of a low caste.

5. Castes are very commonly associated with traditional occupations.

6. A man's caste status is finally determined by the circumstances of his birth, unless he comes to be expelled from his caste for some ritual offences.

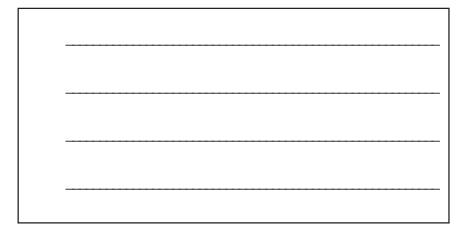7. The system as a whole is always focussed around the prestige accorded to the Brahmins.

Now the most important point is that although the above characteristics have facilitated the caste group to emerge as closed status group but the individual caste group and its status cannot be considered in isolation. A caste can only be recognized in contrast to other castes with which its members are closely involved in a network of economic, political and ritual relationships. All these relations are helpful to discuss caste as a social phenomenon in which hierarchically stratified ascriptive relationship are more pronounced. A caste infested society in Durkheimian formulation is an organic system where each and every caste and sub caste have distinct functional role. Again it is the functional role which is the core for germination of

stratification/hierarchical grading. Caste is also to be understood as a system of division of labour in which however the element of competition among the workers has been largely excluded. The more conventional sociological analysis which draws always an anology between castes, status groups and economic classes and puts the stress upon hierarchy and upon the exclusiveness of caste separation. Infact, caste represent a particular species of structural organization which is based on strict segmented hierarchy disallowing vertical mobility. As such in the caste system status is polarized. People of different caste groups are allowed to enjoy different social status within the broader societal framework and where kinship ties among the different caste groups are considered important for carrying their ascriptive occupations.

Three caste characteristics help to maintain an ideal caste structure viz., endogamy, hierarchy and occupational specialization based on heredity. All relations among different caste groups are external and restrict to only in the sphere of discharging duties which are specified intergenerationally.

So the caste as a form of stratification is endogamous and hereditary sub-division of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other sub-divisions.

Check your progress 3

1. What was the view of May Weber on Caste system? Write in one line.

    _____

2. What are the main characteristics for maintaining the ideal caste structure. Answer the question in five lines below.

    _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

UNIT 3.4 CLASS

Class is one of the forms of social stratification alongwith slavery; estate and caste. Comparing to the other forms of stratification class as a form of stratification was crystallized chronologically posterior to the other forms discussed under different sub anterior paragraphs of this sub-unit. The work of Karl Marx and Max Weber showed how classes have emerged in the nineteenth century capitalist societies of Europe specially when industrial capitalism became prominent. Classes are defined in the work of Marx as economic classes and the determinants of the same are also economic in nature. However, recent sociologists have commented that classes are not only based on economic dimensions, there are other dimensions which helped for offing of the classes in the modern societies of the world.

In Marxian analysis we find class emerged because of two distinct factors – ownership of the capital and means of production and on the basis of these two Marx divided the population into two classes – propertied class and property less class and in Marxian formulation these are known as the

bourgeoisie and proletariat. He however identified another two classes in conjunction with the above stated two classes and the existence of which were transitory viz., petty bourgeoisie and lumpenprolitariat. To Marx these two classes were the residues of the pre-capitalist economy and would fade into oblivion when the capitalist society would mature. Marx gave more importance to the proletariat class because it is composed of large collectivities and has the power to change society. Marx commented that due to unsatiable desire to make profit by the capitalist led to the exploitation of the proletariat in working sphere which ultimately would develop class consciousness among the working class and would become a class for itself to pursue the conflict against capitalist to overthrow and establish a class based on communist principles.

Max Weber on the other hand divided the population into classes according to economic differences more specially on the basis of life chances. To him class is a group of persons having the same 'life chances' or social opportunities. Weber divided class into four distinct class categories – propertied class; intellectual, administrative and managerial class; traditional petty bourgeosie class of small businessman and shopkeepers and finally working class. He also pointed out that there would be class conflict for pursuing opposed interest among them. Weber however constrasted class with status. By status Weber meant social honour of social esteem and in this context he said status 'normally stands in sharp opposition to the pretensions of sheer property'.

Taking the clue of status from Marx Weber the modern sociologists have developed a multidimensional approach wherein social status along with prestige are treated as independent factors to replace earlier determined economic classes. To them individuals in the modern society are not ranked simply on the basis of economic well being but a whole variety of factors are involved in ranking them, such as, prestige of an occupation, education, religion and ethnicity.

Anthony Giddens a noted sociologist of present times

could draw sharp distinction between class and other forms of stratification viz., estate and class first and then identified four major classes that are found available in the present day societies of the world more specially in the societies of the western world.
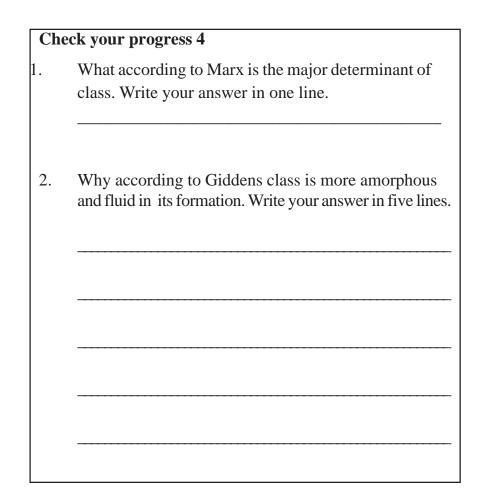
According to Giddens the base of establishing classes are not legal or religious one or not on hereditary principles. It is more amorphous and fluid in its formation. with no specific boundaries in social closure. There are no formal restriction on intermarriage between people from different classes.

In the domain of class the individuals position is an achieved one and not ascriptive through birth. Here individual mobility is flexible – upward and downward trends are much more common than in other types of stratification.

Classes in the modern times depend on economic differences and also on the degree of accessibility to the material resources that are needed to maintain life styles and increase opportunity for life chances.

Other forms of stratification were based on personal relationship or individual – lord, barons, serfs, members of different caste groups contrary to this class system rests on impersonal relationship and class differences were based in "inequalities of pay and working conditions, these affect all the people in specific occupational categories as a result of economic circumstances pertaining in the economy as a whole' (Giddens, 1997:243).

As Giddens pointed out in the present day occidental societies there are four classes – "Upper class (the wealthy, employers and industrialists, plus top executive – those who own directly control productive resources); middle class (which include most white collar workers and professionals); and a working class (those in blue collar or manual job). In some industrialized countries, such as France or Japan a fourth class – peasents (people engaged in traditional types of agricultural production) has also untill recently been important. In Third world countries peasants are usually still by far the largest class" (Giddens,1997:243)

Check your progress 4

1.   What according to Marx is the major determinant of class. Write your answer in one line.

_____

2.   Why according to Giddens class is more amorphous and fluid in its formation. Write your answer in five lines.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

UNIT 3.5 LET US SUM UP

This unit has explained four different forms of social stratification viz., slavery, estate, caste and class.

In slavery, the right of ownership of one person over another person was there. In this form of stratification the slaves were considered as material objects or things and who could be bought and sold. The slaves were having few property rights.

The estate as a form of stratification had a long continuity – right from Neolithic age to the onset of French revolution in

1789. Under estate system, passing through different historical periods the estate system had been crystallized as nobles, lesser nobles, generals, priests and commoners. Estate was more or less considered as a social order till the onset of the aforesaid revolution in France.

The caste as a form of stratification was more prominent in Hindu India. The caste groups have been divided on the basis of purity and pollution and in the hierarchical structure of caste as a form of stratification. Brahmins were at the top and untouchables were at the bottom and in between the two many intermediate positions were there which were graded on the basis of ascriptive nature of occupation. Three important caste characteristics are helping for its continuance in an ascriptive and closed society viz., endogamy, hierarchy and occupational specialization based on heredity.

The class as a form of social stratification is some what new while comparing to the other forms of stratification. Classes emerged basically with the onset of industrial revolution and which finally led to industrial capitalism. Later on classes were proliferated and presently all the societies of the modern world became class infested societies that harbour numerous classes and the basis of forming classes in the society at present times are the economic, social as well as political. Marx and Max Weber contributed immensely for the offing of classes in the period of industrial capitalism. Much later Anthony Giddens categorized classes in to four – viz., upper class, middle class, working class and peasants. Class as a form of stratification is a much discussed concept in the present day of societies of the world.

Model Answers to Check your progress

Check your progress 1

1. Slavery is considered as a property which gives one person the right of ownership over another person.

2. According to Bottomore the very basis of Slavery is economic. Slavery flourished in southern states of North America because of plantation systems. Around 20 million young healthy Africans were brought to these state to work in the plantation systems by the plantation owner and kept them as slaves. Slavery was there in those states of North America up to the last of 19th century.

Check your progress 2

1. The peasants started cultivation by domesticating animals and also cereals. They started living as peasant societies. But the Pastoralist by domesticating animals specially by taming horses and taking axe like weapons arracked peace loving peasant and defeated them. They also took away all the land of the peasants and thus peasants became vanquised communities.

2. The Estate System became integrated through exercising political rights, acquiring land of vanquished by the victors. However at one point of time due to serious sex imbalances the victors took the women of the vanquished, had ligitimate children. Then they started prnetized endogamy within victor (aristocratic groups). This at a later stage helped for emergenie of upper aristocratic class.

> **Check your progress 3**
>
> 1. According to Max Weber Caste is a cultural concept and could best be comprehend in Hindu Indian.
>
> 2. It is clearly visible that among the characteristies of caste there of them are considered important in maintaing the caste structure. These characteristies are –endogamy, hierarchy and ascriptive nature of occupation.
>
> **Check your progress 4**
> 1. The major determinat of class according to Marx is the economy.
>
> 2. To Giddens class is more amorphous and fluid because it has no specific boundaries in social setup. In the class system there is no restriction on inter class marriage. Occupations are achieved ones which makes one mobile in the occupational sphere. Further individual mobility is a class dominated society is also flexible. Further individual mobility in a class dominated society is also flexible. Further more in class system life styles and life chances are more pronounced than in other types of social stratification.

Key words

Inferior Status	- Lower status in the society
Masters	- Owners of the slaves
Freemen	- People who were not slaves
Thrived on	- Depended on
Aristocratic class	- Rich class in the society
Social Discrimination	- Differentiation on the basis of certain factors like

	owning civil and property rights in the context of slaves.
Pastoralists	- Group of people who were rearing the animals
Untouchables	- Lowest caste in Hindu caste society.
Endogamy	- Forbidding marriage outside of one's own group in a society.
Propertied Class	- The class of people who are having properties, mainly immovable properties.
Social Closure	- Brodly refers to a society.
Peasants	- The group of people stick to land for raising agricultural produce or farm labour.

Assignment (Model questions)

1) Why under slavery system slaves were considered as a commodity or thing? Discuss with suitable examples.

2) Trace the historicity of the slavery as a form of stratification from antiquity to the last part of the 19th century.

3) Discuss critically as to why slavery as a system of stratification is not found available at present times. Support your answer with suitable examples.

4) Estate as a form of stratification how and when emerged in the history of mankind? Discuss critically.

5) What are the factors that led to the development of the estate system and its continuance?

6) Discuss the salient features of the estate as a form of stratification.

7) Do you agree the caste system is exclusively as a form of stratification is available in Hindu India. Discuss critically.

8) Discuss in detail the caste system as a form of stratification available among the Muslims and Buddhists, as discuss by E.R. Leach.

9) Why class is differed from other forms of stratification? Explain with examples.

10) What are the different factors on which class as a form of stratification is bested in the present day societies of the world ?

Further Readings

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BLOCK – 4 BASES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Structure

Key Words

Assignments (Model questions)

Further Readings

UNIT 4.0 OBJECTIVES

After having read this unit you should be able to explain
   ❖ how social status acts as a base of social stratifica-
   tion and in broad
jargon of analysis how it is considered as a ranked position
in ascriptive as well as achieved society.
   ❖   how ethnicity, which encompasses the customs,
cultural behaviours,

traditions of a particular group of people and draw the difference with other communities living in other ecological settimgs and also acting a base of stratification.

❖ how occupation, which in present day world mostly based on prestige, class position and style of life acts as base of stratification.

❖ how formal and universal education broadly termed as education in modern

times acts as a base of stratification.

UNIT 4.1 SOCIAL STATUS (ASCRIPTIVE AND ACHIEVED) AS A BASE OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

In the domain of sociology, social status refers to a position of person or a group of persons in a society or in a social structure. However, in the sub – domain of sociology i.e., in social stratification, social status has a slightly more specialized meaning: a ranked position in a social hierarchy or in a stratification system. Each status holder entitles the status holder to an alloted share of society's desirables – wealth, power and prestige, be it in an aescriptive society like caste infested societies of Hindu India or modern class infested societies.

Social status was ascriptive (i.e. on the basis of birth of a person in a caste, the position of that caste was already determined) in the caste dominated/infested and closed society like earlier society of Hindu India. Agrarian economy, economic interdependence, fixity of social institutions had helped the ascriptive status for offing and continuance of the same for thousands of years in the caste society of Hindu India and in which the Brahmins were at the top followed by many intermediate castes and untouchables were at the bottom. In this society highest prestige was accorded to the Brahmins and that was why they enjoyed the highest status in the hierarchically graded societies of Hindu India. Other desirables viz., wealth

and power were or lesser significance in the ascriptive nature of occupationally dominated Hindu Society.

Unlike the ascriptive society in the achieved society with the allotted share of society's desirables – wealth, power and prestige – the status of an individual is determined. Individual status used to refer the social standing of a person in society. Again the usage is the same as the common meaning of the term social class as and when someone refers that a person is of high social class level or has high status. Now the problem is whether one can recognize an individual's social status in a modern achieved society.

In modern societies specially since so much of life is based on social ranking, the accurate recognition of another individual's social status could be very much important. Because in urban setting status reorganization could specially be made on the basis of social action. In fact to be more precise status recognition in the stratified (modern) society is dependent on two conditions which are stated as follows.

> a) there must be general agreement about the system of status ranking and
>
> b) there must be some common signals that identify the correct status level
>
>   of an unknown individual

However, it is to be noted that in advanced societies regarding the relative ranking of most social positions, there is no single, societywise ranking system which could be followed consistently, ranking differs from place to place and from individual to individual e.g. Doctors.

Personal bias also affects ranking. A practitioner of shamanism and a believer of the same who holds the view that one's ailments could be cured through magico – religious practices is looked down by the people of modern advanced science and technology oriented society. Similarly a research scientist working in a highly sophisticated jet propulsion laboratory and in frontier areas of thermodynamics might feel that a simple mechanical engineer is not a man of science at all

but a mere technician who should be ranked only a few steps above a good auto mechanic. Now, how to identify one's status in a modern society ? Here the sociologists dealing with social stratification contend that status symbols help some one to identify status in a society.

According to sociologists a status symbol can be anything viz., a conspicuous material possession, a style of dress, a manner of speech etc. These represent to others a certain level of status. In a manufacturing organization workers working in the production sector by wearing blue collar shirts and pants can immediately be branded as the workers who use their physical forces in the said production process. On the other hand the same manufacturing organization specially in the offices of the executives those who work as clerks, superintendents etc., are considered as white-collar workers as they do not use their physical forces in the process of production, instead they engage in paper work in running the organization.

In the modern societies people of the lowest status levels obviously would not generally want to put effort for constructing symbols of their low status. On the other hand persons in higher status level do make effort to present their high status to the world and to protect that status from being under valuated; rather they would try to raise the status in the status ladder by using more status symbols.

Numerous items are generally being used to symbolize status viz., a home,a neighborhood (e.g. posh area locality), a choice of words, a breed of dog, a car, a picture on the wall etc. These items often symbolize social position to those who know how to read the signs. Infact in modern societies all of us are having skills to read the signs of status or in other words we are all skilled enough in reading and interpreting at least the symbols belonging to our own status level, though it may be done so unconsciously to escape our attention.

Sociologists however have been less interested in individual social status ranking than in the ranking of the social positions themselves. It is not mere co-incidence that many of

the examples of the status in the society are given so far pertaining to occupations as in the modern societies occupational positions are the most important social positions that the individuals hold. In present day societies of the world one's occupation is considered as the important factor in determining his overall social standing and if he is a married man then the social standing of his wife and children is also determined taking congnigence of his occupation.

Ranking of social status was first made in U.S.A. by W.Lloyd Warner and P.S. Lunt (1942) by studying a new England town called Yankee City and thus six classes were made on the basis of social status.

1)Upper-upper class – people who had inherited family wealth and high status.

2)Upper-lower class – people who had income comparable to that of upper class but who had acquired wealth recently and lacked a distinguished family background.

3)Upper-middle class – Moderately successful business and professional people.

4)Lower-middle class – People who were respectable, who lived in nice homes and worked as low ranking white-collar workers; foremen or craftsmen.

5) Lower-upper- class – People who were factory and service workers; some low ranking white collar workers.

6) Lower-lower class – Intermittent workers, families on welfare and transients. Ranking of social status is however becoming difficult due to status inconsistency and determination of master status of individuals.

As sociologists have pointed out that although each individual holds many different statuses, most people exhibit a marked degree of status inconsistency, i.e., they are at a similar rank in its status hierarchy. A person with high occupational rank usually has a high income rank as well because of the close association between wealth and prestige. And typically, high status in education, colour and parentage is needed to achive high occupational rank. Although the various ranks or status

levels may not show an exact correspondence, people in any given quarter of one status hierarchy generally will be in the same quarter or the other status hierarchies.

Status inconsistency may arise because of social mobility perhaps education and personal ability helped someone to rise above colour or parentage to achieve a high status. In this context mention may be made of church ministers who have low income but enjoy high status in the society.

However, in order to resolve the dispute of status inconsistency sociologists have talked about master status. According to them dilemmas, contradiction of status or status inconsistency could be resolved by entering into a general agreement that certain hierarchies are more important than others and these are master statuses. For example, if there is great inconsistency between wealth and occupation, the master status is typically wealth. When a young man from Kennedy or Rockefeller family of U.S.A. becomes a teacher in school he still carries the high master status of a rich man.

Now the question arises that why the inequality of statuses of men in the present day societies are debated? To provide a suitable answer to this question the functionalists are giving emphasis on three basic factors as stated below :

The personal characteristics and skills are required to adequately fill a given occupation. For example, to become a university professor one requires necessary degree and talent, whereas to enter in to assembly line worker of a car factory one does not require that much of education and talent. As such functionalists argue that the status of a university professor is higher than that of an assembly line worker.

The second factor in occupational ranking on the basis of inequality is the amount of training or preparation required for oneself to enter into an occupation; those with highest ranking; they require more and meticulous preparation.
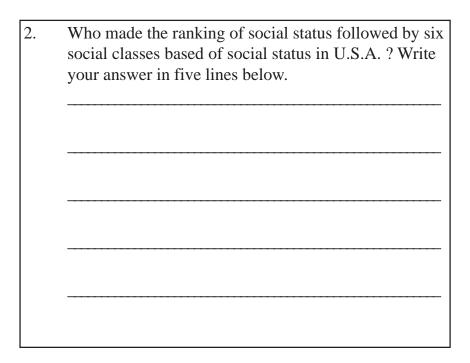
The third factor is the social function of occupation which is considered important for the society as a whole. This factor is the one reason for which a Supreme Court judge holds a higher

status and makes more money than a court official assistant. Similarly as gender is culturally constructed and hence man and woman enjoy different statuses in the society.

Critics consider the functionalists explanations of occupational rankings as a rationalization of status quo. Melvin M. Tumin in his article 'Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Review' (1970) points out that the central question the functionalists raise is some people acquire large amounts of wealth, privilege and power as they occupy important positions and to enter into those occupations they gather required skills (special) or because they could manipulate to gain monopoly over the scarce resources.

Contrary to the functionalists, conflict theorists refer to the struggle that occurs between *haves* and *have-nots*. The *haves* (affluent) always siphoned out the best resources of the society to utilize for their own benefit and to maintain a different life style by depriving the *have-nots*. Hence conflict theorists emphasize that power and coercion and dominance over some groups by others results the offing of status inequality in the society.

Check Your Progress 1

1. What do you mean by aseriptive social status ? Write your answers in five lines below .

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. Who made the ranking of social status followed by six social classes based of social status in U.S.A. ? Write your answer in five lines below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4.2 ETHNICITY AS A BASE OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.

Ethnicity generally refers the customs, traditions and cultural behaviour patterns of particular community or people who generally distinguish them from others though they live among others in a particular geophysical setting. The very word ethnic is the mere derivation from the Greek word *'Ethnikos'*. The word came to be widely used sometimes covering the nationalities of different countries of Europe, West Asia, South Africa, South East Asia and Far East, when the people of these countries migrated to U.S.A. during the 19th and early part of 20th centuries. Today, however the world ethnicity covers a broader area and may be used to identify a group of people(large of small) based on regions of a country, religion, language or dialects. In Indian context the broader definition of ethnicity can be applied fruitfully.

Ethnicity is generally based on cultural traits that reflect

to which a nation, a group of people belongs. Moreover as stated in the anterior paragraph religion and language (which includes dialects as well) are the indicators of an ethnic group. But the sociologists are giving more importance on cultural traits which could be visible and understandable in the manner of dress, speech patterns and modes of emotional expression. Cultural traits not only includes the above stated factors but also includes one group's heritage i.e., ethical and moral values, their loves, conventions (unwritten) and also literary writings of any person belonging to the group and the same is widely acclaimed within the group and outside the group.

Some authors want to define ethnicity as a sense of people hood or 'conscious of kind'. If ethnicity is defined in this way than it encompasses both biological and cultural traits of the groups of people. Orlando Patterson (1975) defined ethnicity as a condition in a society in which certain members choose and emphasize a cultural, racial or national tie as their primary identity outside their family. Milton M.Gordon (1964) again focused on the sense of people hood and accordingly he defined an ethnic group as "…any group which is defined or set off by race, religion or national origin or some combination of these categories…. All these categories have a common social psychological referent, in that all of them serve to create, through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood" (1964:27).

Anthony Giddens (1997 Rp:210) pointed out that ethnicity generally relates to the cultural traits/practices and outlooks of a given community of people that set them apart from others. The members of the ethnic groups generally identify themselves as culturally distinct from other groups in the society and in the same way other groups also identify them.

Thus from the above discussion it is now clear that there may be different ethnic groups based on above discussed criteria. Now considering from the stratification point of view it is generally seen that whenever different ethnic groups come in contact there seems to be a tendency for one of them to establish dominance over others. Infact when the question of ethnic groups

comes, the distinction between dominant and subordinate groups is probably becoming more important sociologically than the distinction between majority and minority. While referring to ethnic groups there are many sociologists who prefer to use the term *'minority'* to mean subordinate group without necessarily implying that the subordinate group is numerically lesser than the dominant one.

The subordination of some ethnic groups by others is a world wide phenomenon, however with varied intensity. In some countries of the world ethnic group prejudice is much more visible than others. Earlier colononial societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the good examples in this regard. Many writers commented that ethnic prejudice in India is absent; but a careful observation however shows that the present Indian society is the outcome of the process of assimilation that continued for a long period and in the anterior years the domination over certain ethnic groups by others could not be negated totally. In India as Johnson (1991, Rp:495) commented that many tribes that have a low position because of religion are in effect separate ethnic groups in the process of assimilation. Further quoting references of other writers he further pointed out that there was no ethnic prejudice; however on a careful scrutiny showed that it was there as in the cases of Latin American countries, Jamaica, Haiti and Hawaii.

To be precise in the pages of the history of human civilization from past to the present there were number of records of giving unfair treatment to ethnic minorities though alongwith the passage of time assimilation process continued with varying intensity of ethnic prejudice. In many cases ethnic group prejudice occur due to number of factors and these factors in many times are erratic. Always it is seen when the question of ethnic prejudice comes the dominant groups generally give unequal treatment to subordinate groups though from cultural standpoint both the groups could be ranked equal.

There are however variations e.g. Japanese, Chinese are trained in their culture area to respect learning, endure relative

privation and work hard for distant goal/reward. Similarly, Jews are excelling in many fields in various countries and in Israel though they are numerically less than others.
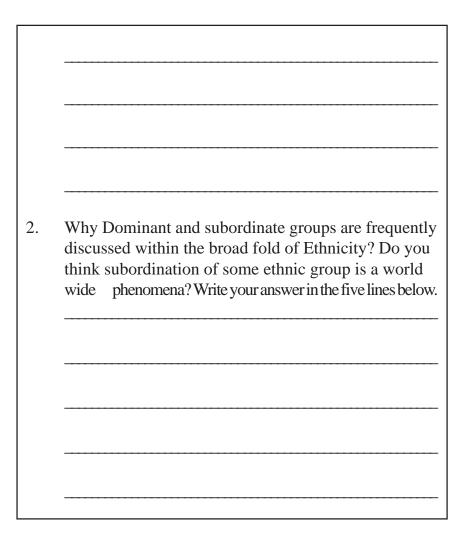
The tendency for ethnic groups as such to be roughly ranked was shown in the Yankee city research conducted by W.L. Warner and P.S. Lunt. The dominant ethnic group in Yankee City was the Yankees. They were whites of anglo-saxon ancestry and protestants by religious sect. Warner and Lunt identified nine ethnic groups and six social classes. In his words:

"From the view point of the ethnic composition of each class *it is found* (emphasis added) that the upper-upper class is the only one which is homogenous comprising only natives [Yankees: Some members of the other ethnic groups were also native Americans]. The lower-upper on the other hand, includes a few Irish [but no other member of minorities]. In the upper middle class, all ethnic groups save the two most recent ones and the Negroes have a representation. The lower-middle class and the upper-lower include members of every ethnic group except the Negroes. In complete contrast to the top class in the society, the lower-lower contains members of every ethnic group to be found in the Yankee *City* (emphasis added)'(as quoted by Johnson; 1991:224)

From the above it can very well be seen that due to the presence of ethnic prejudice the different ethnic groups are ranked or being ranked and the process generates a stratified society. This is not only hold good in Yankee city but in other cities of U.S.A., and in different regions of the different countries of the world.

CheckYour Progress 2

1.   What are the major factors on which Ethnicity as a concept has its groundings ? writes the answer in the following five lines.

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2.   Why Dominant and subordinate groups are frequently discussed within the broad fold of Ethnicity? Do you think subordination of some ethnic group is a world wide   phenomena? Write your answer in the five lines below.

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UNIT 4.3. OCCUPATION AS A BASE OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

In sociological domain occupation refers to a set of activities which get centred on an economic role and usually associated with the earning for livelihood e.g. business or a profession. An occupation is nothing but a social role to be performed by an individual and that is also determined by the general division of labour in a society. Occupational specialization of an individual is the main determinant factor for

his prestige, class position in the society and style of life. These three facets that emanate from occupational position are considered most important from social stratification point of view.

There are generally three types of occupation that are found in the modern societies.They are primary, secondary and tertiary occupations,

Primary occupation means an occupation which is concerned with the production in the field of agriculture and also with the process of extraction of raw materials from natural resources. As such primary occupations include agriculture, fishing, mining etc. In the third world countries still majority of the people are engaged in the primary occupations.

Secondary occupation refers to an occupation which is concerned with the production of goods by man in the processing/manufacturing industries through utilization of raw materials.

Tertiary occupation is concerned with the provision of services. As such this occupation is also commonly known as service sector occupation. The tertiary occupation includes those in the government, management, medicine, religion, transportation, communication, personal services etc. A number of occupations are included in this category viz., lawyers, doctors, newspaper reporters, clerks in the private as well as public sector organizations.

From stratification point of view occupational categories are important as many different sets of occupational categories have been devised for sociological studies and the different sets are : business excuetives, professionals, small business men, white collar workers, skilled manual workers and unskilled manual workers.

Apart from these categories of occupation, occupational distance is also another factor which is to be considered from the parlance of social stratification. The term is used for the distance between the occupational categories into which any two

occupations fall i.e., prestige (occupational prestige). The term occupational distance is the root for germination of stratification in the sphere of occupation specially in the present day societies of the world where occupations are varied and numerous.

Similarly occupational hierarchy is also an important factor in studying stratification. It means the ranking of occupations are made on the basis of prestige, income and many other criteria, generally occupations are classified into different categories and the same are ranked in a hierarchy. Such occupational hierarchies are considered important in studying social class which again refer to a large category of people within a system of social stratification who are having similar socio-economic status in relation to other segments of their community in a society.

Thus ranking of occupation is considered as main factor for studying stratification. Because in every society whether it is industrial, modern developing etc. there some degrees of differentiations are noticed. As such taking occupations as a base attempts are made to describe the class structure in a society. Exercise on ranking of occupation was made under the stewardship of Paul K. Hatt and Cecil C. North at National Opinion Research Centre in U.S.A. in the year 1947, where by asking a cross section of people North and Hatt gave each occupation a score in a list of ninety occupations, the highest score obtained for the occupation was supreme court judge and the lowest was shoe shiner. The ranking order of occupations made by Paul K. Hatt and Cecil C. North was taken as a reference for conducting similar studies in five other developed countries viz., U.K., earlier West Germany, earlier U.S.S.R., Japan and New Zealand (Inkles and Rossi, 1956:61, 329-339). Despite some differences this study provided rough index of various occupations in one or more countries. Now the question arises what factors affect the prestige of an occupation. The answer is, the functional importance of an occupation in a social system where it is rated and second the scarcity of personnel for maning

that occupation.

But the functional importance and scarcity of personnel are still not easy to access. In a small society/social system functional importance is usually easier to appreciate but not in large societies of different countries. It seems that whole variations are noticed in ranking occupations taking all societies of the nations together. Moreover it is also seen that relative functional importance of an activity varies from time to time – e.g. the growing tendency on the part of the union govt. of India to put political leaders as governors in different states of India; which were earlier decorated with well known academicians, bureaucrates of I.C.S. cadre etc.

The other criterion is not a simple one because there are many reasons for this scarcity of personnel. Presumably to the fact in some occupational spheres personnel's with unusual innate capacities dovetailed with unusual timings are required. There are certain secondary factors which effect the prestige of occupations, the average income, the prestige and the publicity to those who are engaged in it.

It is contended by the sociologists that to some extent the prestige of an occupation is effected by the average income of those who pursue it. Because it is expected that high income is earned by functionally important persons and who are scarce also. As such income is an independent factor in determining prestige – independent of functional importance and scarcity of personnel.

Another secondary factor effecting the prestige of an occupation is the prestige on other grounds of those who choose it – i.e., the man of high prestige (for example men born into upper class families) choose certain occupations because these have high prestige. The very nature of certain occupations on the other hand requires that the people engaged in them be given unusual publicity e.g. politicians are widely known as bureaucrats.

CheckYour Progress 3

1.   In modern societies what are the different main types of occupation are found? Write your answer within five lines below

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2.   In the brond field of occupation what is the root for offing of stratification. Write your answer only in one line.

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UNIT 4.4 EDUCATION AS A BASE OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.

The later part of the 20th century and these ten initial years of 21st century witnessed a specific trend towards universal education which includes computer education also. This education

is not non-formal but formal education and is completely detached from the earlier traditional education which was the privilege of the elite. This view was prevalent until quite recently in European countries such as England and France and in the oriental societies like Indian society where education was for a particular high caste group. But now the formal education became a world wide phenomenon and for excelling better in different occupational positions and also to make entry in to different occupations there is need for one self to educate himself in the various specialized formal education when situation demands.

Now from the stratification point of view education and occupation are closely interlinked. Because it is the education by attaining a certain level of which (here education means formal education) in the modern complex societies of the world one get an occupation. It is observed as such there is close relationship between educational background and occupational status. In advanced countries like U.S.A. the occupations that ranked highest, such as supreme court judge and physician are required first to attain at least a bachelor degree in their respective subjects – law and medicine. However there are some occupations in modern diversified industrial societies which do not require more degree in formal education – e.g. , Shoe Shiners. So when occupational ranking or status can be tagged with the attainment of education then it can very well be pointed out that education is another base of stratification as it is the educational attainment level of which give oneself an occupation. In modern societies the persons are getting occupations on the basis of their educational level and the occupations are socially ranked high and low. In general, those persons with more education will have occupations of the highest status. Now the question arises whether this situation holds true in all cases of occupational ranking taking education as a base. In the developed countries like U.S.A. some researches were done in this regard which showed that occupational status is more closely related to educational attainment than any other social factor.

A close link is generally observed between education and income. The more the education, the more amount of income is likely to be. Highly educated people will get occupation of high position and category and income wise they will get more income in the form of salary, whether they would work in white-collar or blue-collar environment. When a person has higher education, high occupation and more money in terms of salary naturally he enjoys high prestige and power in modern society – which is an achieved society. Thus it could be seen that the amount of education the people receive is associated with their social class standing in terms of both occupation and income.

There is another secondary factor for attaining high status in the society through obtaining required formal education. Here the factor is family background. If the family is of high repute it would be able to provide better educational facility to their children in reputed educational institutions.

In reality the nature of whole environment which is greatly affected by the families, economic status, influential in nurturing the cognitive skills of the children that are considered valuable in schools. It has been established by recent findings in developed countries that student from culturally and economically advantaged families tend to be more academically oriented than the lower class. The attitude of the family towards education could also be a factor in determining the extent of a student's education. It has been noticed in developed West and developing countries like India, that specially the middle class family always aspire that their children should fare better in higher education even up to post graduate level with a hope that they could get occupation of high rank. As such they rather give mental pressure to their children for educating themselves to a desired level. On the other hand children of the lower class group are not pressurized by their parents for attaining higher education. Their immediate consideration is to acquire job by their children even in the early years of their childhood.

Finally, availability of economic support from home is also a factor for student's chances of getting high education like

providing tution fees, hostel dues and required money for buying text books.
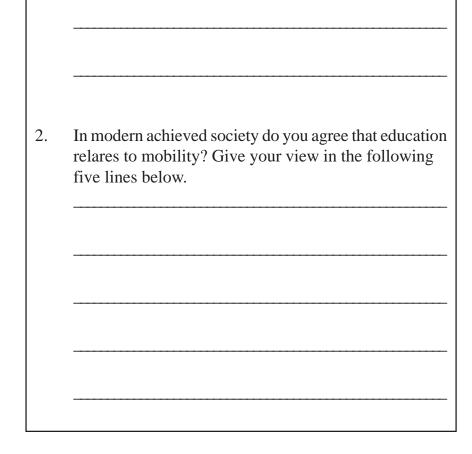
In modern achieving society by educating oneself to a desired level a mobility would definitely be noticed which is however vertical in one's occupational sphere. In modern society the concept of racism has gradually faded away but it had been noticed in the early part of the 20th century and more recently up to the period of apartheid South-Africa–before President Nelson Mandala came in to power – people belonging to white group were given segregated treatment for obtaining educational qualifications. Mention may be made in this context–high standard schools and colleges were there and these were exclusively meant for while people or white students. Doors of these institutions were closed for the blacks. This type of situation was also very much there in apartheid South Africa.

Various recent studies also showed that the children of high class people are spending more years in college, schools, universities and institutions of higher learning than that of the middle or lower class people's children.

Lastly, the cost of obtaining education is also becoming an yardstick for creating base of stratification among upper middle and lower classes of people in modern societies. Because life styles, life expectations are more with the education obtained by a person in an institution of high repute and where cost of education is very high, which cannot be afforded by the people of the middle or lower class groups.

CheckYour Progress 4

1. "Education as a base stratification is intimately connected with occupation in modern times" Do you agree. Give   your view in the following five lines below.

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2.   In modern achieved society do you agree that education relares to mobility? Give your view in the following five lines below.

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UNIT 4.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit four bases of social stratification which are responsible for offing of stratification in the society are explained.

Social status as a base of social stratification generally refers the ranked position of a person in a society and accordingly his share is allotted to society's desirables. Social status may be of two types, ascriptive and achieved. Ascriptive status is determined on the basis of birth of person. This was there in caste societies of Hindu India. Achieved status is however determined on the basis of one's own ability, achievement and through which he gets his allotted society's desirables. Social status determines social ranking in the society.

Ethinicity generally refers the customs, traditions cultural

behaviour patterns of a community and these things distinguish oneself from another community. Ethical and moral values are also important from the ethnicity point of view. Ethnicity generally refers to a sense or peoplehood in a society in which certain persons choose and emphasise cultural racial and family patterns to others. In the parlance of stratification, superordination and subordination – these two terms are intimately tagged with ethnicity. As on the basis of ethnicity some people are considered lower in the hierarchy than others even in class infested society.

Occupation in general are divided in to three types, primary, secondary and tertiary. These types of occupation help for proliferation of numerous occupation with the contours of each occupation. Finally these numerous occupations are ranked and that way stratification appears in occupational spheres mainly through the basis of occupational ranking.

Education is considered as an important base of social stratification because in the present day society differentially qualified people are getting different occupations and thus ranking of people is done on the basis of educational attainment and occupation which is nothing but a stratified society.

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Model Answers to Check your progress

Check your progress 1

(1) Aseriptive social status refers to the status of the person on the basis of his birth. This ascriptive status was intimately tagged with caste syatem of Hindu India. Under this system economic inter dependence, rigid social institutions functioned flowlessly in Hindu for thousand of years. Hierachy was aseritive in nature. Highes aseriptive status was given to the Brahmins.

(2)   In united States of America of Social Status was made by W. L Loyd warner and P.S. Lunt. They studied a new England town called Yankee city and divided the people of the city into six classes on the basis of social

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status. These are upper–upper class, upper lower class, Upper middle class, Lower -middle class, Lower-upper class and lower -lower class.

Check your Progress 2

(1) The major factors upon which the concept of ethnicity rests are the group of people having different cultural traits, religion, language dialects, ethical and moral values, lores and conventions. In many cases the ethnic groups have their own literary wrtitings.

(2) When ethnicity as a base of social stratification is taken for discussion on the dominant and subordinate groups are to be discussed because at a time when various ethnic groups come in contact with one another a tendency generally grows among some of them to establish dominance over others. The process continues and finally dominant and subordinate groups emerage. Subordination of ethnic groups is a world wide phenomenon. Mention may be made about blachs of south Africa in modern times who accepted subordinate role during white minority rule in Africa till the last decade of the last century.

Check your Progress 3

(1) In modern times there are three types of occupations which are found in the modern society. These occupations are :
(a) Primarry Occupation which is concerned with the Production of agriculture, minining, extraction of raw materials and resources.
(b) Secondary occupation relates to processing or manufacturing of goods by utilizing raw materials.
(c) Tertiorry occupation is a service sector occupation which eneompasses whole () of things like transportation and communication etc.

(2) Different categories of occupation and occupational

distance are the roots for germination of stratification. Later ranking of occupation from high to low come in to picture.

Check your progress 4

(1) Yes, education as a base of stratification is intimately connected with occupation. Because if one attains higher education of education upto a desired level the person can get good occupation in modern times.

(2) In modern achieved society education is intimately related to mainly occupational mobility. The highly educated people are highly upwardly mobile in the occupational sphers in modern times.

Key words

Social ranking	- people living in the society are graded socially from high to low positions.
Status symbol	- The symbol that identifies one's status.
Status inconsistency	- not determining one's status accurately.
Cultural traits	- Distinguishing characteristics of a culture.
Assimilation	- absorb and incorporate people and their ideas into a wider society or culture.
Prejudice	- an opinion about someone or something that is not based on reason.
Occupational ranking	- Occupational ranking refers the gradation of occupations from high to low positions.
Functional importance	- refers to people who are in important occupations.
Formal education	- the education that is important through a well laid down procedure and which is universal.

Family background	- it refers to the historicity of a family.
Achieved society	- A society which is composed of people who gained position in the society because of the educational abilities to perform task that are socially needed.

Assignment (Model questions)

1) Elaborately discuss the ascriptive social status with suitable examples.

2) What do you mean by achieved social status? Elaborately discuss achieved social status with examples.

3) 'There is flexibility in ranking social status'. Examine the statement.

4) Describe how ethnicity can be taken as base of social stratification.

5) Define how ethnicity can be considered as a "sense of people hood".

6) In explaining ethnicity as a base of social stratification why the concept of subordination or minority comes in to being? Explain.

7) Discuss occupation as a base of social stratification.

8) How class position is determined on the basis of occupation in a society? Discuss.

9) Discuss education as a base of social stratification.

10) Discuss critically how education and occupation are interlinked for obtaining a status in society.

Further readings

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Glazer, N and Moynihan D.(ed) (1975), Ethnicity, Cambridge, Harvard University press.

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BLOCK-5 SOCIAL MOBILITY, TYPES AND CONSEQUENCES

Structure

Keywords

After reading this unit you would be able to

* understand the intergenerational mobility which generally refers the changes in occupant's position from father's generation to son's generation. You will also understand the intergenerational mobility which refers to the changes in the occupations during one's own occupational period and one's own life time or in his working career.

* understand the structural mobility which is sometimes called forced mobility due to the changes or movement in occupational categories. While circulation of mobility

generally refers to true mobility as it opens up new opportunities in the system two kinds of people who did not have such opportunities earlier to enter in to new occupations which were barred to their earlier generation emerge in the process.

* understand that in modern societies different people are categorized in to different social class and each class has its own style of life – like facial and body decoration, postures, gestures etc.These ingrained styles help people in a society and grade them as high or low accordingly.

* understand that life chances are the chances of surviving oneself covering both physical as well as mental health. Furthermore getting a good education to steer the life of oneself better durable and enjoyable which is one vital aspect of life chances.

UNIT 5.1 INTERGENERATIONAL VERSUS INTRAGENERATION MOBILITY

Sociologists of present times are more interested in studying social mobility as the opportunities of life are varying in nature and mainly the occupations became numerous. Entering into one such occupation and moving to another because of one's competence helps the people to be mobile in his worksspheres as well as in his life. Social mobility has the direct bearing on class solidarity and class cohesion. Some individual would remain in their class of origin and this will provide for the reproduction of common life expenriences over generations. Secondly, a study of social mobility can provide an indication of the life chances of members of society. For example it can show the degree to which a person's class of origin influences his chances obtaining high status occupation. Thirdly, it is important to know how people

respond to the social mobility when someone is upwardly or downwardly mobile.

Under the fold of social mobility intergenerational and intragenerational mobility are mainly included and the sociologists have stressed on these two main types of social mobility.

A distinction between intergenerational and intragenerational mobility is generally seen.

Intergenerational mobility refers to changes in the positions of occupants from father's generation to son's generation or remain same. In this case we may cite the examples of the present president of U.S.A. George W. Bush whose father was also an earlier president of U.S.A. In such situation intergenerationally even at son's time the Bush family – both old and young are enjoying common life experiences over two generations. Apart from the above example we can also cite that how many professional fathers have sons who become professionals as against sons who become managers, sales clerks, manual workers and so forth and/or how many sons who are now professionals had fathers who were professionals, as against who were managers, sales clerks, manual workers and the like.
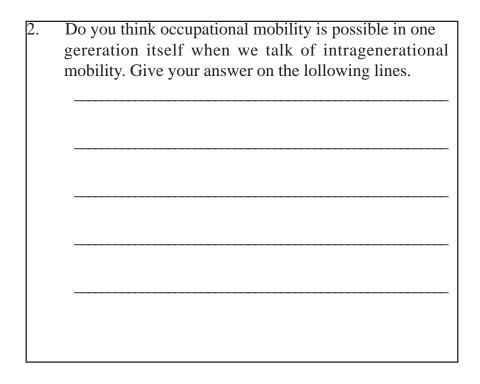
The first question, concerning distribution of the sons of professionals fathers is called a matter of out flow. Here the question is what is the destination of those who flow out of each of the occupational categories in the father's generation. The second question relates to the various kinds of sons who make up a given occupational category in the son's generation, is a matter of inflow. Now the question is what is the make up of the population that flows in to each of the occupational categories in the son's generation. Both outflow and inflow are important in ingredients of intergenerational mobility.

By contrast intragenerational mobility refers to the changes in the occupations held by the people during the course of their lifetime or working careers. Here one is

interested in whether people enter the labour force at one level and remain at that level or move to the other levels and what are the factors that led to such changes.

Important studies were made on occupational mobility and one of such important studies which was made by Blau and Duncan showed that occupational mobility is very much concerned with occupational changes within one generation, i.e., intragenerational mobility. It plays a good deal of attention to the extent to which father's education and occupation influence son's first and last jobs. In doing so, it is in fact considers the flow of forces within generations. The main questions which the study addresses are the measurement that are to be made through comparison of the occupational status of an individual at two or more points of time. Thus if a person begins his working life as an unskilled manual worker and ten years later is employed as an accountant, he is socially mobile in terms of intragenerational mobility.

Check Your Progress 1

1. In case of intergenerational mobility whether any changes occur in case of occupation of father's next generation or remain same? Answer the same on the following lines.

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2. Do you think occupational mobility is possible in one gereration itself when we talk of intragenerational mobility. Give your answer on the lollowing lines.

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UNIT 5.2 STRUCTURAL VERSUS CIRCULATION MOBILITY

In studying mobility one has to face questions like how to separate the mobility that is due to changes in the division of labour and labour supply from those that arise because of the offing of genuinely new opportunities for people who did not have such opportunities in the past. This is a distinction between what is called structural as against circulation of mobility as Tumin (1992, 138) continued.

To Tumin structural mobility; sometimes called forced mobility. It refers to the movement in and out of occupational categories or changes in the number of people in those categories that result from changes in the occupational structure itself, for example the changed ratio of blue – to white collar jobs. Such changes can come from a number of sources, including economic expansion and growth which leads to automation; differences in birthrates between levels of workers so that for instance, the

professional group may not produce enough children to replace itself, changes in death rates and rates of immigration that affect the number of people seeking and available for jobs.

On the other hand circulation mobility is called true mobility, refers to movements that occur as a result of the opening ` up of opportunities in the systems to kinds of people who did not have such opportunities before. Major factors here are laws that reduce discrimination against members of religious, racial and sex groups; natural crises that require new and more kinds of labour; new educational opportunities that permit new kinds of people (e.g. Blacks are not discriminated in the post apartheid South Africa) to acquire education; the skills needed for jobs their parents could not fill and new attitudes are cultivated to accept new situation in bold manner. In fact, any thing that makes it possible for people to move into jobs for which the person or their ancestors were barred or limited because of the prejudice or lack of opportunities is called circulation mobility.

Check Your Progress 2

1. "...structural mobility; sometime called forced mobility". Explain the statement on the following lines

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2.   What are the major factors on which circulation mobility
     is depended. Give your answer on the following lines.

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UNIT 5.3 LIFE CHANCES

Life chances refer to the chances of surviving oneself covering both physical as well as mental health. Furthermore getting a good education to steer the life of oneself better durable and enjoyable is also one vital aspect of life chances.Getting a good occupation commensurate with one's qualification is also an aspect of life chances. More importantly to stay healthy during one's normal span of life is another vital aspect of life chances.

Life chances in the words of Tumin (1992 Rp) includes the important opportunities, achievements, occurrences juxtaposing with experiences gain in one's own life. He also contended that those who could enjoy or get the life chances in desired ways they would be considered fortunate and in turn who could not get the aforesaid chances they are the unfortunate ones.

Tumin (1992 Rp, 100-105) pointed out that life chances depend on certain vital components like education, income and occupation, birthrates, infant and maternal mortality, life expectancy, unemployment, prevalence of chronic diseases,

illness and suicide, crime commission, crime victimization, marriage, marital stability, over all socio – economic status and its relation with life chances; these are elaborately discussed in the posterior paragraphs.

Education, income and occupation are the three interrelated factors in determining one's life chances. However it must be noted that education is the primary component and to which the occupation and income are related. Because in a modern achieved society getting education by one self to a certain level to make himself fit to enter into an occupation – as the occupations in modern society are varied and diversified in nature is of utmost importance as the other components, occupation and income are intimately associated with it (i.e. education). Higher level of education attained by oneself would help him to enter into a highly paid occupation which in turn enable him to get a good amount of salary as income. This would increase not only his life chances but also of the members of his family. Because as Tumin (1992 Rp, 101) contended that children who come from the families headed by educated fathers and have reasonably good occupations and income get best chances to obtain quality education which in turn make them fit and capable to enter into occupations which are considered prestigious and dovetailed with high reward i.e. more income compared to others. From the above description now it could be seen clearly that these are the vital components in the life of a man to get life chances i.e., to put some one in the advantageous position in his life career.

Another component of the life chances is the birth rates. Regarding birth rates it is generally pointed out that high birth rates in a family deprives the family members to share a sizable portion of the total income as it is to be distributed to everybody; if the number of family members are less than the distribution of the total income per head of the family would be more and which would result better life chances for the family members. Because the members would not face in any way hardship in maintaining the life style holistically.

The high birth rate as Tumin contended (1992 Rp 101) negatively correlated with education which is also a component of the life chances. Women spending more time in getting higher education would give birth less number of children than others who do not opt for higher education. In this context Tumin (1992 Rp 101) wrote as under

"Every increase in the years of education of woman is accompanied by a decrease in the number of children ever born. Women with zero to eight years of education give birth to nearly twice as many children as women with four years of college. The differences may be due to lack of knowledge of contraceptions, indifference to planning family size…… whatever the reasons it is clear that the lives of women with low levels of education…. are made more difficult by the greater number of children to whom they give birth".

Infant and maternal mortality is another component of life chances. However it is the outcome of two important factors combined together viz., less education and less income, (many times poverty striken). Less income puts a family in distress as it may not afford to provide good treatment for the ailing children and mothers which results higher rate of infant and maternal mortality. This is more true in case of third world countries.

Life expectancy is another vital component of life chances. Life expectancy is directly related to the income generation of the family from occupational sources. If a family is having sufficient income then a substantial portion of the same could be spent in maintaining health by taking nutritious diets and the members of the family would also maintain better life style. This would ultimately help to live for longer years by the members of the family.

One of the most crippling problems of the people of the present day societies of the world is the increasing rate of unemployment and the same has tolling effect on life chances. Because without employment there would be no income generation, a portion of which could be saved to tide over the

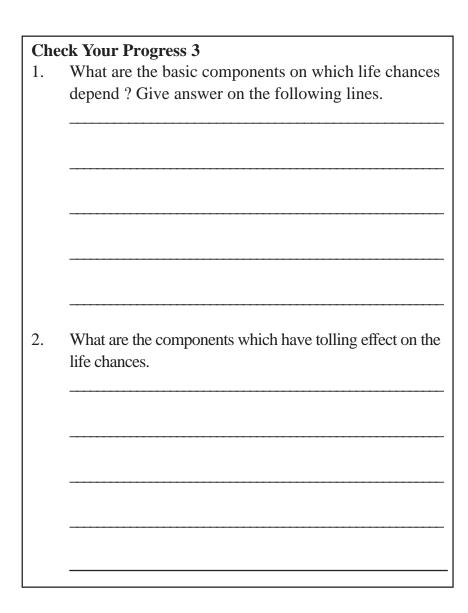period of crisis. So unemployment is also negatively correlated with the life chances of the people.

Lower class people living in ghettos, slum areas nearby industrials centres, cities, metropolis of the developed and developing countries are exposing themselves to the hazardous environment which effect their health due to air pollution, water pollution etc. As a result of exposing themselves to such environment the people suffer from chronic diseases like, asthma, tuberculosis, gastroenteritis, typhoid etc. The lower class people are as studies shows are more prone to anemia, arthritis, lung diseases, bowel diseases etc., than the people of upper class.'

Like the physical illness mental illness also effects someone's life chances. But it is interesting to note that mental illness unlike the physical illness is inversely related with income. Among the high income groups of people i.e., people of upper class there are more incidences of mental disorders in comparison with the people of the lower class.

In the present day societies of the world committing of different crimes is becoming the usual phenomena as the crime committers are having the opportunities. It is generally observed that white-collar crimes like embezzlement, forgery are committed by the professionals in their professions and these people are belonging to upper class or middle class in the hierachy of social classes. Many a times the professionals are found to be highly educated. On the other hand, dacoity, robbery, assault are done generally by those who are young at age. So crime commission itself is a component which has tolling effect on life chances.

Marriage and marital stability are the two vital components of the life chances. It has been found in the developed countries like U.S.A. male group with higher income are generally having more chances of getting married and as they have the higher socio-economic standing and divorce rate among them are comparatively low. On the other hand people with low income group are indulging in acquiring their mate without

formal marriage and divorce rate among them are pretty high.

From the above discussion it could be concluded that life chances have direct bearing on socio-economic conditions of the people belonging to the different classes. Tumin (1992 Rp: 106) pointed out that people with higher socio-economic status have the greater chance or accessibility to the good/valued things and experiences such as fine physical health, best education and long span of life. This generation also holds good when one compares people by levels of education, income, prestige or occupations.

Check Your Progress 3

1. What are the basic components on which life chances depend ? Give answer on the following lines.

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2. What are the components which have tolling effect on the life chances.

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UNIT 5.4 LIFE STYLES

Human society of the world grew from antiquity to present through social interaction in which sociability of man played a pivotal role. Now different kinds of social interaction depends upon a wide variety of qualities and performances. In modern complex societies there are different people categorized into social classes and these social classes have their own life styles. These life styles differ from each other though the people of different classes are living in one society and it is the usual phenomenon of the present day class infested societies of the world.

Sociologists dealing with social stratification commented that there is an interface between class culture and style of life. They pointed out that class culture and life style are not same, they are different. Johnson (1991 Rp:475) wrote some relatively distinctive aspects of a class style of life which are cultural, but some are simply situations in which the members of the class typically find themselves. For example, the poverty of the lower class is not entirely cultural but economic conditions are also attached to it.

The term life style is very comprehensive. Because in modern societies there are different classes of people and hence in order to comprehend better, the life style of a particular class of people – be it an upper class or a lower one certain points as stated by Johnson(Rp 1991:475) are to be taken into consideration. These are as follows:

Pre-natal care is component of the life styles of the upper class in the modern society. Because providing nutritious diet, regular medical checkup of the pregnant mothers and also providing medicines during the stage of pregnancy is generally seen among the families of the upper class. On the other hand pre-natal care is too little or absent among the people belonging to lower class. This situation is more true in India.

Facial and body decoration are the life styles of the people belonging to the upper class as well as lower class however with varying degrees. A moderate, balanced facial and body decoration practice is prevalent among the persons of upper class. Contrary to this, in many cases extreme and imbalanced facial and body decoration are noticed among the persons belonging the lower class.

People of upper class are groomed in such a manner in their childhood so that in their future years as adult persons their behavioural patterns would socially become acceptable. Concomitantly, their characters are also moulded to identify themselves as persons belonging to the upper class. This grooming practice is however not seen among the children of the lower class people.

The postures of man in his sitting, standing and also in other situation are the reflections to which class he belongs. People of upper class would have different postures which include body movements as well, in comparison with the people belonging to lower class.

The gestures of a man reflects the life style. This gesture is an integral part of life style of a person to which class he belongs.

General physical health of a person also shows to which class a person belongs and it is a component of life style. Persons of an upper class would be generally having good health because of the dietary pattern in comparison to a person belonging to lower class.

Speech pattern is another component of the style of life of a man of particular class. Persons of lower class very often use cockney dialect which persons of upper class do not use. His speech pattern would generally be a fine one.

Kinds of quality clothings also reflects a person to which class he belongs. Kinds and quality of clothings are the two important components of the life styles of the persons belonging to different classes. For example, the persons of a upper class would wear the garments made of good and costly cloths and

which are moderately coloured. On the other hand clothings of the person belonging to lower class are cheap, bright coloured and which bear no sense of wearing pattern.

Type of residence and its location in the community is also are integral component of life styles of the people of the different classes that are found in the modern societies of the world. The persons of upper upper class as Warner had identified in the Yankee city of U.S.A. for example might be owning good house/mansion in a posh locality. On the other hand lower-lower class persons were living in the ghettos. The atmosphere of ghetto were aptly depicted by Whyte(1955) of Chicago city of U.S.A.

Not only the type of residence and its location is important, the artifacts that are generally use to decorate as well as for day to day life are also the components of the life styles of persons belonging to particular class of people in the society. Not to speak of others one wall painting of well known artist in a cozy drawing room along with other valuable and decorative artifacts and maintenance of the same can be regarded as life style of upper class people. On the other hand the people of lower class may not be having a drawing room to put a set of sofa or even few pairs of ordinary wooden chairs with a table.

Type of occupation for persons in modern society is also another components of the life style. In modern society there are white collar and blue collar environments. The differentiation of occupation is also reflected in the life styles of a person. For example, in case of an executive of a company, the person is having a different life style comparing to a person working as office clerk in the same company. Because high ranking occupation pays more than that of a low ranking occupation. This difference is reflected in the life style.

Obtaining of education in schools and type of education which a person gets in the school is also considered as one important component of life style. For example getting education in Dehradun Public School is more prestigious than any other school in our country. The families who can afford to get their

children educated there, are generally from the upper class of people and it is the reflection of the life style of these families.

Patterns of family and the life including husband-wife relations and training of children in their childhood combined is taken as another component of life style of the people of the modern class society. In case of the families belonging to the upper class it is generally seen that the parents prefer less number of children who later on could be well groomed in the field of education, manners, behaviours and in maintaining decent interactions with the people at large. On the other hand the families of the lower class generally have more children; can not provide good education; do not learn good manners by the children and some at times may create nuisance in the society.

Putting faith in the organized religion is considered as the style of life of the people of the upper/middle classes in the society. This situation is however more true in case of oriental societies. But in oriental societies like India it may not be an important component of the life style of the different classes of people.

Corollary to the organized religion church membership is also another component of the people of the upper class/middle class in modern societies. Like the above component i.e., religious beliefs/faith it is more true in case of the occidental societies and the same may not be true in case of oriental societies.

The people belonging to upper class have definite tastes in reading as they prefer to read standard books, journals which may prove educative and informative character. On the other hand people belonging to lower class do not have any choice for reading and in a country like India half of the population are illiterate. Same is the case with listening of radio programmes. The people of the upper class have definite choices in listening radio programmes which are proved to be informative and enjoyable. On the other hand people of the lower class have no definite choice of listening the radio programmes; they simply hear radio programmes like songs etc. for the enjoyment which

may not prove educative and informative.

In case of viewing television also the people of the upper class are having definite choice which the people of lower class do not have.

From the above discussion relating to the taste in reading, listening radio programmes and television viewing the psyche of the upper class and the lower class are found different and these are the components of the style of life.

Recreational patterns i.e. going to the clubs in the evening hours is one of the components of the life style of the upper class which is not visible among the people of the lower class. The people of the lower class even if interested, they are not given club membership as it is not open for all. The people of the lower class may occasionally go to enjoy cinema, and anandamella etc. but distinctly they do not have the practice for doing these always for their enjoyment.

Participation in the formal organization other than workplace like non-governmental organization or prestigious clubs engaging in social welfare activities like Rotary Club or Lions Club and the like is the significant component of the life style of people belonging to the upper class. This component is not visible among the people belonging to the lower class.

Again persons belonging to the upper class in the society of the present day world are making sufficient contributions of money and sometimes services to the civic enterprises which is however absent among the persons of the lower class.

Persons of the upper class in modern societies of the world are generally having affiliations with the different political parties that are available in a country. They do this with their own judgment and not lured by others. On the other hand persons belonging the lower class of people are not having political affiliations and if at all they affiliate also this process is not done by themselves but they are lured by the people of upper class for their personal gain. Similarly in creating public opinion the upper class of people are having distinct role to play which the people belonging to the lower class do not have.

The persons belonging to upper class always want to maintain a standard sexual morality and also in their inter personal conduct which in many cases the persons of lower class do not maintain. As a result of which sex offences are much more among the persons of the lower class in comparison to the persons belonging to the upper class. So maintenance of a standard of sexual morality and also of impersonal conduct is the vital aspect of the life style of the persons belonging to the upper class in comparison to the persons belonging to the lower class.

In the anterior paragraphs a detail description is given about the various aspects of the life styles of the persons in the class infested modern societies of the world. However, the sociologists who are dealing with the different aspects of the life style commented that it is very difficult to focus the life style of all classes of people in the modern society and as a result some incongruity in this aspect is noticed. Hence, they further commented that only a general discussion on life style could be made in this context.

W.B. Miller in his work relating to the cultural features of an urban lower class community (as cited by Johnson, 1991, Rp 475) showed that there are indeed cultural differences from one class to another in our own society (he referred to his own society i.e. society of U.S.A.) in both important and unimportant aspects. He cited, one example that persons of lower class are not having stable family consisting of husband and wife and their children. In this context he further showed a less stable pattern of serial polyandry in which two or more women often a mother and her daughter who attained puberty live together with daughter's children by a succession of men. At many particular time the daughter may also have to lookout for a man, not exactly her husband; who lives with her and takes little responsibility for bringing up the children. This pattern of family while not regarded as ideal even in the lower class is a common one to which many lower class women know that they have to adjust despite early romantic fantasies of a very different course of events. According to Miller this pattern of family is nothing but

female based household. However not all female based households are typified by serial polyandry.

Check your progress 4

1.   Write in the following lines what are the aspects contains within the life style. Give your answer on the following five lines.

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2.   It is difficult to discuss life style of all classes of the people in the modern society. Give your answer on the following five lines

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UNIT 5.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit types of social mobility and consequences of social mobility are discussed. Social mobility is discussed here under two different sets, viz., intergenerational versus intragenerational mobility and structural versus circulation mobility.

Generally intergenerational mobility refers to changes in the positions of occupations of the sons that of their father's occupations. Here some sons may retain same standard occupation like that of their fathers and while many of them fail to do so.

In case of intragenerational mobility it refers to changes in the occupations held by the person during his own life time. It means during his life; during his working careers how many times he switched over to other occupations.

Structural mobility is commonly known as forced mobility which refers the movement that occurs in certain occupational categories like proportional changes of persons in blue collar jobs that in white collar jobs.

On the other hand circulation mobility refers to the movement of persons to man the new opportunities which were earlier not available because of many social factors like racial prejudice, religious prohibitions, sexual divisions etc.

Life chances and life styles are the consequences of social mobility.

Life chances are generally the chances of continuing the physical and mental health in a balanced way. Good occupation commensurate with good education if one gets then it is a case of life chances. Life chances generally harbours the important opportunities that one seizes in his life and accordingly he achieves something good in his life. Life chances depend on certain major components like education, income and occupation. Apart from that birth rate infant, maternal motality, life expectancy etc. are also included within the broad fold of life chances.

Life styles are the *sine qua non* of the modern complex societies. In modern complex societies there are numerous classes and each of the classes is having its own life styles. Life

styles are related to class culture and also of situations and most importantly includes certain components like pre-natal and post-natal care, body decoration postures, gestures, speech pattern, residential locations, types of occupation, educational attainment, types of schools where one reads, religious faith, club membership etc.

Model Answers to Check your progress

Check your progress 1

1) In case of intergensational mobility the occupation changes in father's next generation i.e. in sons' generation. In certain cases however it remains same. For example, the Present President of U.S.A. Mr.George. W.Bush's father George Bush was also a President of U.S.A. In this case intergenational mobility remained same.

2) Occupational mobility is possibe in one generation and that is nothing but intragenational mobility in one's occupational sphere. It is basically flow of forces like education and type of occupation are becoming helpful for the occurrences of intragenteonal mobility.

Check your progress 2

1) Structural mobility generally refers to the movement of the occupational categories or the movement from those occupational categories by the persons due to the changes that may occur in the occupational structure. Mention may be made in this context the ratio of blue to white Collar jobs. Structural mobility may occur due to automation etc.

2) The major factors on which circulation mobility is depended on the reduction of discrimination between different religious groups, blacks and white new type of manpower a posteori to natural cries, equipped with new kind of education and skills for jobs etc.

Check Your Progress 3

1) Life chances are depending on certain basic components

and these are education, income, occupation, birthrates, infant and maternal mortality, life chances.

2)   Rate of unemployment, hazardous environment filled with polluted air and water generally have tolling effect on life chances. Because exposing oneself to such environment effect his health badly- eripples by various diseases.

Check Your Progress 4

1)   The term life style encompasses many things. Among them the followings are considered more important– Pre-natal care, facial and bady decoration, groming the child in proper atmosphere, postures, gestures etc. of part from the above stated factors even general Physical health of a person categorise a person to which class he belongs and it is also a component of the style of life. Further spech pattern, quality of clothings, residence including its location, type of occupation, attainment of education, having faith on organized religion, taste of reading, viewing of television are all combined together reflects one's life style.

2)   Yes it is difficult to describe the life styles of all the classes of people living in a society. Some incongruities are noticed always in this effort. Because study showed that urban lower class communities are having different life styles. They are not having in some cases stable family; in lieu of this they practise serial polyandry. Infact each classes of people having their own lifestyles and related to their own definite class cultures.

Key words

Class solidarity	- class unity
Class cohesion	- Holding of class in one group
Social mobility	- One goes up or down as per his social position.
Life career	- One's career (may be occupational, educational) in his life.
Life expectancy	- Living longer by oneself, average age.

Marital stability	- Stable marriage life
Class culture	- Culture nourished by a class (may be different from other class)
Class infested society	- Society full of different classes.
Polyandry	- Practice of having more than one husband at a time.
Incongruous	– Differences (Out of Place)

Assignment (Model Questions)

1) What do you mean by intergenerational mobility? Elaborately discuss with examples.

2) Discuss intragenerational mobility with suitable examples.

3) Distinguish between intergenerational and intragenerational mobility. Give suitable examples.

4) What do you mean by structural mobility? Discuss with examples.

5) Discuss circulation mobility with examples.

6) Distinguish between structural and circular mobility with suitable examples.

7)'Life chances includes the important opportunities, achievements, occurrences jutaposing with experiences gains in one's own life'. Explain the statement.

8) What do you mean by life chances. Discuss with suitable examples.

9) 'The term life style is very comprehensive'– Examine the statement with suitable examples.

10) What do you juxtapose by Life Styles? Discuss with suitable examples.

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