International Foundation for the Advancement of Reflective Learning and Teaching

Diploma in Social Studies Programme

Module Six:
Society and Social Change/Stratification 6.1
Society and Social Change/Globalisation 6.2
Modular Reading Requirement, Guide and Assignment

Congratulations on working your way to Level 2 of the Diploma in Social Science Programme.

The International ARLT Foundation welcomes you to Level 2 (Module 6, 7 and 8) of the Diploma Programme in Social Studies.   You have now completed Level 1 which consists of modules 1-5 and 5 assignments.

Level 2 consists of: three modular components (6, 7, & 8),   two assignments, a portfolio submission and a final examination.

Three modular components

The three modular components of Level 2 consist of obligatory readings on the topics below:

Module 6
Society and Social Change/ Social Stratification 6.1
Society and Social Change/ Social Globalisation 6.2

Module 7
Economics and Politics 7.1
Religion 7.2

Module 8
Personal Review

Portfolio Submission

You must present your portfolio with your final examination. See the Introduction to Social Studies for suggestions on completing your Reflective Portfolio. It is essential that you keep a copy of it in case of loss or damage. The Portfolio will not be returned and your grade will be awarded with your Examination Results.

Final Examination

Your tutor will forward an examination registration form with the return of your completed Module 5, which should be duly completed and returned before the specified date, you will require photocopy of your birth certificate or a photocopy of passport, two recent passport photographs and the registration fee.

Society and Social Change: Stratification 6.1 / Globalisation 6.2

Obligatory Readings

Society and Social Change/Stratification 6.1

Reading 6.1A, Stratification and Social Class, Chapter 11

Anthony Giddens "Sociology" Textbook, p 430-471

Reading 6.1B, What is Stratification? (Supplied)

Dr. Wendy Bottero, " Social Division and Inequality", Routledge 2005, UK

Reading 6.1C,   Poverty, Social Exclusion, Chapter 12

Anthony Giddens "Sociology" **Textbook,** p476-506

Reading 6.1D,   Global Inequality,   Chapter13

Anthony Giddens "Sociology" **Textbook**, 522-548, p564-573

Society and Social Change/Globalisation 6.2

Reading 6.2A, Globalisation and the Changing World, Chapter 4

Anthony Giddens "Sociology" Textbook: 109 -147

Reading 6.2B, The Price of Progress   (Supplied)

John H. Bodley, Victims of Progress, 4th edition, Altamire Press in Classic Reading in Cultural   Anthropology, Ferraro, 2012

How would you explain social stratification?	Even in simple societies, some members achieve more and reap greater rewards than others. In complex societies, systems for distributing rewards result in the classification of social groups into well-defined layers or *strata*. Various strata are defined by wealth, occupation, and other aspects of life. Inequality for many societies is shaped by past experiences with colonialism and capitalism. Internal oppression and invasion by other nations have shaped modern patterns of inequality for colonized peoples. Social inequality becomes *social stratification* when people are ranked hierarchically according to such attributes as wealth, power, prestige, age, sex, ethnicity, and religion.
Outline the major systems of stratification.	Slavery is an extreme form of stratification in which some people are owned by others. It is a closed system in which people designated as "slaves" are treated as property and have little or no control over their lives. As practiced in the United States, slavery had four primary characteristics: (1) it was for life and was inherited (children of slaves were considered to be slaves); (2) slaves were considered property, not human beings; (3) slaves were denied rights; and (4) coercion was used to keep slaves "in their place The caste system is also a closed system of social stratification. A caste system is a system of social inequality in which people's status is permanently determined at birth based on their parents' ascribed characteristics. In India, caste is based in part on occupation. By contrast, the caste system in South Africa was based on racial classifications and the belief of white South Africans that they were morally superior to the black majority. Until the 1990s, the white South Africans controlled the government, the police, and the military by enforcing apartheid (the separation of the races). Estates were part of European feudalism, the highest estate consisted of the aristocracy and gentry, the clergy formed another and the third estate were known as commoners. The class system is a type of stratification based on the ownership and control of resources and on the type of work people do. At least theoretically, a class system is more open than a caste system because the boundaries between classes are less distinct than the boundaries between castes. In a class system, status comes at least partly through achievement rather than entirely by ascription.
Explain sociologist Karl Marx's perspective on class position and class relationships	According to sociologist Karl Marx, class position and the extent of our income and wealth are determined by our work situation, or our relationship to the means of production. Marx stated that capitalistic societies consist of two classes—the capitalists and the workers. The capitalist class (bourgeoisie) consists of those who own the means of production—the land and capital necessary for factories and mines. The working class (proletariat) consists of those who must sell their labor to the owners in order to earn enough money to survive. According to Marx, class relationships involve inequality and exploitation. The workers are exploited as capitalists maximize their profits by paying workers less than the resale value of what they produce but do not own. Marx suggests exploitation involves ongoing interactions between the two antagonistic classes that are structured by a set of social relations that binds the exploiter and the exploited together. Continual exploitation results in workers' alienation—a feeling of powerlessness and estrangement from other people and from oneself. According to Marx, the capitalists maintains its positions at the top of the class structure by control of the society's superstructure, which is composed of the government, schools, churches, and other social institutions that produce and disseminate ideas perpetuating the existing system of exploitation. Marx predicted that the exploitation of workers by the capitalist class would ultimately lead to class conflict—the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. According to Marx, when the workers realized

	that capitalists were the source of their oppression, they would overthrow the capitalists and their agents of social control, leading to the end of capitalism. The workers would then take over the government and create a more egalitarian society.
Outline Max Weber's approach multidimensional approach to social stratification and explain how people are ranked on all three dimensions.	According to sociologist Max Weber, no single factor (such as economic divisions between capitalists and workers) was sufficient for defining the location of categories of people within the class structure. Weber stated that the access that people have to important societal resources (such as economic, social, and political power) is crucial in determining life chances. Weber developed a multidimensional approach to social stratification that reflects the interplay among wealth, prestige, and power. Wealth is the value of all of a person's or family's economic assets, including income, personal property, and income-producing property. Weber placed categories of people who have a similar level of wealth and income in the same class. He identified a privileged commercial class of entrepreneurs—wealthy bankers, ship owners, professionals, and merchants who possess similar financial resources. He also described a class of rentiers—wealthy individuals who live off their investments and do not have to work. According to Weber, entrepreneurs and rentiers have much in common. Both are able to purchase expensive consumer goods, control other people's opportunities to acquire wealth and property, and monopolize costly status privileges (such as education) that provide contacts and skills for their children. Weber divided those who work for wages into two classes: the middle class and the working class. The middle class consists of white-collar workers, public officials, managers, and professionals. The working class consists of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers. The second dimension of Weber's system of stratification is prestige—the respect or regard with which a person or status position is regarded by others. Fame, respect, honor, and esteem are the most common forms of prestige. A person who has a high level of prestige is assumed to receive deferential and respectful treatment from others. Weber suggested that individuals who share a common level of social prestige belong to the same status group regardless of their level of wealth. They tend to socialise with one another, marry within their own group of social equals, spend their leisure time together, and safeguard their status by restricting outsiders' opportunities to join their ranks. Style of life, formal education, and occupation are often significant factors in establishing and maintaining prestige in industrial and postindustrial societies. The other dimension of Weber's system is power—the ability of people or groups to achieve their goals despite opposition from others. The powerful can shape society in accordance with their own interests and direct the actions of others. Weber stated that wealth, prestige, and power are separate continuums on which people can be ranked from high to low. Individuals may be high on one dimension while being low on another. In Weber's multidimensional approach, people are ranked on all three dimensions.
Discuss the proposition that we are all middle class and that it is it of significance anyway?	Having studied social stratification you should attempt to consider to what extent there is greater equality in the world. . Many social scientists believe that existing trends point to an increase in social inequality . Wealth continues to become more concentrated at the top of the.class structure. As the rich have grown richer, many people have found themselves among the ranks of the poor. Many believe that in recent years tax initiatives and deregulation have benefited corporations and wealthy families at the expense of middle- and lower-income families. Structural sources of upward mobility are shrinking whereas the rate of downward mobility has increased, especially since the property crash in many countries. It has been said that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. It is to our advantage to see that those who cannot find work or do not have a job that provides a living wage receive adequate training and employment. Innovative programs can combine job training with producing something useful to meet the immediate needs of people living in poverty. Children today (the adults of tomorrow) need nutrition, education, health care, and safety as they grow up. When we look at some of the statistics on developing countries in 6.2 section we are reminded of the gap between the rich and poor. Giddens states "*The traditional hold of class is most certainly weakening in some way, particularly in terms of people's identities, class division….*" *(P470)* Perhaps we are all middle class, are we?

Differentiate between absolute and relative poverty	Absolute poverty exists when people do not have the means to secure the most basic necessities of life. Absolute poverty often has life-threatening consequences, such as when a homeless person freezes to death on a park bench. By comparison, relative poverty exists when people may be able to afford basic necessities but are still unable to maintain an average standard of living.
Who are the poor in the Developed World	Poverty is highly concentrated according to age, gender, and race/ethnicity. (P491). The poor are a diverse group, but individuals who are discriminated or disadvantaged against in other areas have an increased risk of being poor.
What are the main approaches taken to explaining poverty	There are two: blame the victim and blame the system. Students should read this section with the view of developing their own opinion and supporting it with published research and personal experience. (p480)
Summarise wealth and poverty in a global perspective.	Global stratification refers to the unequal distribution of wealth, power, and prestige resulting in having vastly different lifestyles and life chances both within and among the nations of the world. The world is divided into unequal segments characterized by extreme differences in wealth and poverty. High-income countries are nations characterized by highly industrialized economies, technologically advanced industrial, administrative, and service occupations; and relatively high levels of national and per capita (per person) income. In contrast, middle-income countries are nations with industrializing economies, particularly in urban areas and moderate levels of national and personal income. Low-income countries are primarily agrarian nations with little industrialization and low levels of national and personal income. Just as the differences between the richest and poorest people in the world have increased, the gap in global income differences between rich and poor countries has continued to widen over the past fifty years. Social inequality, which may result from factors such as discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, or religion, exacerbates problems of economic inequality. Social inequality and economic inequality are the main causes of the poverty of a nation; therefore, a society must have greater social equality among its citizens as a precondition for the entire country getting out of poverty.
Discuss global poverty and its effect upon human development issues of life expectancy, health and education	According to the United Nations, human development is the process of "expanding choices that people have in life, to lead a life to its full potential and in dignity, through expanding capabilities and through people taking action themselves to improve their lives." Regarding life expectancy, on the plus side, average life expectancy has increased by about a third in the past three decades and is now more than 70 years in 87 countries. On a less positive note, the average life expectancy at birth of people in middle-income countries remains about 12 years less than that of people in high-income countries. Moreover, the life expectancy of people in low-income nations is as much as 30 years less than that of people in high-income nations. One major cause of shorter life expectancy in lower-income nations is the high rate of infant mortality. The infant mortality rate (deaths per thousand live births) is more than eight times higher in low-income countries than in high-income countries. Low-income countries typically have higher rates of illness and disease, and they do not have adequate health care facilities. Malnutrition is a common problem among children, many of whom are underweight, stunted, and have anemia—a nutritional deficiency with serious consequences for child mortality. Health is defined in the Constitution of the World Health Organization as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. Many people in low-income nations are far from having physical, mental and social well-being. In fact, many die each year from diarrhea, malaria, tuberculosis, and other infectious and parasitic illnesses. According to the Human Development Report, education is fundamental to reducing both individual and national poverty. As a result, school enrollment is used as one measure of human development. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines a literate person as "someone who can, with

	understanding, both read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life." The adult literacy rate in the low-income countries is about half that of the high-income countries, and for women the rate is even lower. Women constitute about two-thirds of those who are illiterate. Literacy is crucial for women because it has been closely linked to decreases in fertility, improved child health, and increased earnings potential. The gap between the poorest nations and the middle-income nations has continued to widen. Poverty, food shortages, hunger, and rapidly growing populations are pressing problems for at least two billion people, most of them women and children living a state of absolute poverty.
From a global perspective, discuss the Demographic theory on population growth	The theory of demographic transition offers a more accurate picture of future population growth. Demographic transition is the process by which some societies have moved from high birth and death rates to relatively low birth and death rates as a result of technological development. Demographic transition is linked to four stages of economic development: Stage 1: Preindustrial societies—little population growth occurs because high birth rates are offset by high death rates. Food shortages, poor sanitation, and lack of adequate medical care contribute to high rates of infant and child mortality. Stage 2: Early industrialization— significant population occurs because birth rates are relatively high whereas death rates decline. Improvements in health, sanitation, and nutrition produce a substantial decline in infant mortality rates. Overpopulation is likely to occur because more people are alive than the society has the ability to support. Stage 3: Advanced industrialization and urbanization—very little population growth occurs because both birth rates and death rates are low. The birth rate declines as couples control their fertility through contraceptives and become less likely to adhere to religious directives against their use. Children are not viewed as an economic asset; they consume income rather than produce it. Societies in this stage attain zero population growth, but the actual number of births per year may still rise due to an increased number of women of childbearing age. Stage 4: Postindustrialization—birth rates continue to decline as more women gain full-time employment and the cost of raising children continues to increase. The population grows very slowly; if at all, because the decrease in birth rates is coupled with a stable death rate.
From a global context, explain the Malthusian perspective on population growth	English clergyman and economist Thomas Robert Malthus was one of the first scholars to systematically study the effect of population. Displeased with societal changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution in England, he argued that "the power of population is infinitely greater than the power of the earth to produce subsistence (food) for man." According to Malthus, the population, if left unchecked, would exceed the available food supply. He argued that the population would increase in a geometric (exponential) progression (2, 4, 8, 16…) while the food supply would increase only by an arithmetic progression (1, 2, 3…). In other words, a doubling effect occurs. Thus, population growth inevitably surpasses the food supply, and the lack of food ultimately ends population growth and perhaps eliminates the existing population. However, Malthus suggested that this disaster might be averted by either positive or preventive checks on population. Positive checks are mortality risks such as famine, disease, and war; preventive checks are limited to fertility. For Malthus, the only acceptable preventive check was moral restraint; people should practice sexual abstinence before marriage and postpone marriage as long as possible in order to have only a few children. Malthus has had a lasting impact on the field of population studies. Most demographers refer to his dire predictions when they examine the relationship between fertility and subsistence needs. Overpopulation is still a daunting problem that capitalism and technological advances thus far have not solved, especially in middle- and low-income nations with rapidly growing populations and very limited resources.

Society and Social Change/ Social Stratification 6.1

Overview of Social Stratification

While spending his junior year studying in Canberra, Australia, Peter Gorman, a political science major from Duke University, had tickets to a concert at a club located miles from his apartment. Normally, he would take a bus, but this evening he was running late and did not want to miss any of the opening set, so he had to take a taxi. He signalled to a cab on the street by raising his right hand, jumped into the backseat, and told the driver where he wanted to go. As the driver began to pull away, however, he turned to Peter and said, "What's wrong, mate? Do you think I have leprosy?" Peter was not sure whether the taxi driver was joking or not.

Even though Peter had been in Australia for several months, he had not yet learned a fundamental trait—that Australian society is highly egalitarian. Egalitarian societies are those in which all members have relatively equal access to social prestige, wealth, and power, and no one exerts dominance over others. Because of Australia's egalitarian worldview, single riders in a taxi are expected to ride up front with the driver. Even high-paid executives and government officials ride up in the front of a limousine with the chauffeur. A single passenger riding alone in the backseat of a taxi makes many Australians uncomfortable because it symbolizes a gap in status and prestige between the passenger and the driver.

Cultural Anthropology, An applied Perspective, 9th ed. Gary Ferraro, Susan Andretta. 2009

Society and Social Change/ Stratification 6.1, we will be seeking an understanding of inequality in society. In Rural and Urban Communities 5.2, we learned how early humans lived by hunting and gathering in search of edible plants and animals. Since they lived so close to the margins of survival, hunting and gathering societies did not accumulate a great many possessions other than essential tools and weapons. In such societies individuals had to rely on other members of their community

or group that reinforced a basic equality. This changed rapidly after the domestication of plants and animals. Human productivity meant that day to day living was no longer a matter of survival.

From the beginning of this more organised social life, some people existed under conditions of deprivation while others in the same society lived lives of ease and luxury. Social stratification is the term social scientist use to describe such inequality. Social stratification describes *"inequalities that exist between individuals and groups within human societies (Giddens, 2009, p432).*

The sociologist examines the social groups that make up the hierarchy in a society and seek out to determine how inequalities within these groups are structured and persist over time.   An important distinguishing characteristic of societies is the degree to which individuals have equal access to wealth, power, and prestige. In every society, people are socially differentiated on the basis of such criteria as physical appearance, ethnicity, profession, family background, gender, ideology, age, or skill in performing certain kinds of economic or political roles. Societies confer a larger share of the rewards (that is, wealth, power, and prestige) on those who possess the most admired characteristics. Scholars generally agree that all complex societies are *stratified;* that is, these societies make distinctions among certain groups or categories of people that are hierarchically ranked relative to one another.

 Anthropologists do not find clear-cut social strata in many of the simpler societies of the world, yet even these societies have role and status differences. The unequal distribution of wealth, power, and prestige appears to be a fundamental characteristic of most societies, particularly those with complex, highly differentiated economies. Some modern societies—such as the former Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and Albania—have attempted (in the past) to become classless by eliminating all vestiges of inequality. But even in these societies, high-ranking government officials have been far more generously rewarded than the workers. The basic question is: Why is inequality a nearly universal trait of social life? The debate among social scientists, which at times has been heated, revolves around two conflicting positions that are based on different philosophical assumptions and have distinct political implications. The more conservative position, the *functionalism/functional theory* , holds that social stratification exists because it contributes to the overall well-being of a society. The more liberal **conflict theory** argues that society is always changing and in conflict because individuals in the upper stratum use their wealth, power, and prestige to exploit those below them.

The Functionalist Interpretation

Students will find the Functionalist interpretation dealt with in the their text book Chapter 1; What is sociology and Chapter 3: Theories and perspectives in Sociology and specifically Chapter 11 page 443.

By stressing the integrative nature of social systems, functional anthropologists argue that stratification exists because it benefits the society. According to Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore (1945), complex societies, if they are to survive, depend on the performance of wide variety of jobs, some of which are more important than others because they require specialized education, talent, and hard work. If people are to make the sacrifices necessary

to perform these vital jobs, they must be adequately rewarded. For example, because the skills of a physician are in greater demand by our society than are those of a fast-food restaurant employee, the rewards (money and prestige) are much greater for the physician. Functionalists argue that these differential rewards are necessary if societies are to recruit the best trained and most highly skilled people for these highly valued positions. If physicians and fast-food workers received the same pay and social status, few people would opt to become physicians. Thus, according to the functionalist interpretation, social stratification is necessary or *functional* for the society because it serves as a mechanism for allocating rewards and motivating the best people to fill the key jobs in the society. Although the functionalist view seems plausible, it has weaknesses. First, some critics of the functionalist position point out that stratified societies do not always give the greatest rewards to those who fill the most vital positions. Rock singers, baseball players, and movie stars often make many times more money than teachers, pediatricians, and U.S. Supreme Court justices. Second, the functionalists do not recognize the barriers that stratification systems put in the way of certain segments of the society, such as members of low-prestige and low-power groups. Ethnic and racial minorities, women, and the poor do not always have equal opportunities to compete because they are too poor or have the wrong accent, skin colour, or gender. Third, the functionalist position tends to make a fundamentally ethnocentric assumption. That is, the functionalists assume that people in all societies are motivated by the desire to maximize their wealth, power, and prestige. In actual fact, however, a number of societies emphasize the equitable distribution of social rewards rather than rewarding individuals for amassing as much as possible for themselves.

The Conflict Theory Interpretation
Whereas the functionalist view starts with the assumption of social order, stability, and integration, conflict theorists assume that the natural tendency of all societies is toward change and conflict. According to this theory, stratification exists because the people who occupy the upper levels of the hierarchy are willing and able to use their wealth, power, and prestige to exploit those below them. The upper strata maintain their dominance through the use of force or the threat of force and by convincing the oppressed of the value of continuing the system. Thus those at the top use their wealth, power, and prestige to maintain—and perhaps even strengthen—their privileged position.
This conflict theory of social stratification is derived largely from the late-nineteenth-century writings of Karl Marx, who, unlike the functionalists, did not view stratification systems as either desirable or inevitable. Believing that economic forces are the main factors that shape a society, Marx (1909) viewed history as a constant class struggle between the haves and the have-nots. Writing during the latter stages of the industrial revolution in Europe, Marx saw the classic struggle occurring between the **bourgeoisie** (those who owned the means of production) and the **proletariat** (the working class who exchanged their labour for wages).

Because they control the means of production, the small capitalist class exerts significant influence over the larger working class. By controlling such institutions as schools, factories, government, and the media, the bourgeoisie can convince the workers that the existing distribution of power and wealth (that is, the status quo) is preferable and that anyone can be successful if only he or she works hard enough. Thus, according to the classic Marxist view, the capitalists create a false consciousness among the workers by leading them to

believe that if they are not successful, it is because they have not worked hard enough rather than because their opportunities for advancement were blocked by the powerful upper class.

As long as the workers accept this ideology legitimizing the status quo, the inequities of the stratification system will continue to exist. Believing that class conflict is inevitable, Marx predicted that eventually the proletariat would recognize both the extent of its own exploitation and its collective power to change it. When the workers develop a class consciousness, he asserted, they will revolt against the existing social order, replace capitalism with communism, and eliminate scarcity, social classes, and inequality.

Functionalists Versus Conflict Theorists

Functionalists and conflict theorists—with their radically different interpretations of social inequality—have been locking horns for years. Functionalists hold that systems of stratification exist and are necessary because they benefit the societies of which they are a part.

Conflict theorists, on the other hand, claim that systems of stratification exist because they help the people at the top (that is, the wealthy and powerful) maintain their privileged position. The functionalist position emphasizes the positive benefits of social stratification for the total society.

Conflict theorists draw our attention to negative aspects such as the unjust nature of stratification systems and how that inherent unfairness can lead to rebellions, revolts, and high crime rates. Although there is truth in both of these interpretations, neither theory can be used exclusively to explain the existence of all types of stratification systems.

Functionalists are correct to point out that open class systems, for example, are integrative to the extent that they promote constructive endeavour that is beneficial to the society as a whole. Yet, once established, these class systems often become self-perpetuating, with those at the top striving to maintain their superior positions at the expense of the lower classes.

At the same time, the underclasses—through political mobilization, revitalization movements, and even violent revolutions—seek to free themselves from deprivation and exploitation. In short, functional integration is real, but so is conflict.

Not only do the functionalist and conflict theories represent two contrasting interpretations of social inequality, but they also have radically different policy implications for modern society. The functionalist view implies that social stratification systems should be maintained because the best-qualified people, through the competitive process, will be motivated to fill the top positions.

In contrast, conflict theory implies that social inequality should be minimized or eliminated because many people in the lower strata never have a chance to develop their full potential. Thus the functionalist position would want the government to take no action (such as welfare programs or a progressive income tax) that would redistribute wealth, power, or prestige.

Conflict theorists would call for exactly the opposite course of action, arguing that eliminating barriers to social mobility would unleash the hidden brilliance of those currently living in the underclasses.

Extract: Cultural Anthropology: An Applied Perspective, 9th Edition Gary Ferraro; Susan Andreatta.

Reading 6.1A - Stratification and Social Class, Chapter 11 (Textbook)

The chapter opens with an account of the way the metaphor of **social stratification** is used to enlighten us about relationships between individuals and groups within a wider society. Students will find supplementary and summary slides on the Resource Site to assist in this this topic.

Social stratification describes inequalities that exist between individuals and groups in societies. All systems of social stratification share the following characteristics: The rankings apply to social categories of people who share a common characteristic without necessarily interacting or identifying with each other. People's life experiences and opportunities depend heavily on how their social category is ranked. The ranks of different social categories tend to change very slowly over time

The accent is on *structured inequalities between groups*. Having highlighted the aptness of such a geological metaphor, the text moves on to discuss four basic types of stratification – **slavery**, **caste**, **estates** and **social class**. The first three are defined briefly and set in their historical contexts. The main concern here, though, is with social class.

Slavery is marked by the existence of ownership of individuals, though the exact laws regulating it have varied considerably. In modern times slavery has been tied to physical labour but in the ancient world many slaves were skilled trades people or administrators.

The caste system is logically tied to the Hindu belief in reincarnation, the caste system representing a ladder down which one may slip in the next life if not virtuous in this.

Estates have existed from traditional states through to the end of feudalism. In Europe the three estates were the nobility, the clergy and then the commoners. The Third Estate was an important element in the French Revolution. Unlike castes, estates are permeable through intermarriage or the granting or purchase of titles.

A social class is defined as a large-scale grouping of people who share common economic resources that in turn influence their lifestyle. Class stands apart from these other systems of stratification.

Four main distinctions can be drawn:
(1) Classes are not dependent on legal or religious decrees and are thus (formally at least) more fluid.
(2) Class is in part achieved rather than ascribed. Some mobility between groupings can and does occur.
(3) Classes are dependent on economic differentials between groups, usually either ownership of or access to material resources.
(4) Class systems are more impersonal than other forms of stratification. Inequalities operate at a macro-level across occupational categories; other forms of stratification operate at the level of personal relationships, involving duties and privileges.
Theories of stratification.

Having set class in the context of other types of stratification, the text moves on to consider some theories of stratification. The discussion begins with a familiar paradox – **Karl Marx** is best known for his writings on classes and class conflict and indeed, is presented here as a Classic Study - yet he never provided a clear and consistent conceptual treatment of class. The main positions associated with Marx are then rehearsed.
The Marxian definition of class depends on relationship to the **means of production**. In pre-modern times this meant land and farming tools, and the classes were landowner and land labourer. In modern societies the means of production are machinery and factory or office space, but the classes are still owners and non-owners (**capitalists** and workers). Crucial to class theory is the notion of exploitation. In feudal societies this often involved the expropriation of produce from peasant to landlord. In modern societies, Marx argued, the expropriation is less visible but still there in the form of **surplus value** or, as capitalists call it, profit. One side's surplus value is the other's necessary profit margin. The continuity in Marx's theory is inequality, but he emphasizes the increase in this in modern times, despite the enormous increase in wealth made possible by technological advance. The increasing relative impoverishment of the factory class would result in pauperization at some time in the future. To add insult to injury, of course, Marx felt that even the nature of work itself ceases to offer compensation as it becomes routine and alienating.

Max Weber is seen as building on Marx's approach but with modifications. Weber's emphasis ison a complex multidimensional system of stratification rather than one that is polarized.

In particular he differs on two points:
(1) Objective economic conditions involve access not just to the means of production, but also to resources like paper credentials or craft skills that bestow a degree of market power.
(2) Class is supplemented by the concepts of **status** and **party**.

Weber's idea of status is akin to honour or prestige. He points out that in traditional societies this was earned face to face, but as social organization became increasingly complex people used markers, that is to say their styles of life, to express their status. Crucially, Weber sees this as being able to exist independently of class. Wealth and status often accompany one another, but high-status characteristics such as breeding, family connections, accent or taste can outweigh the amount of purchasing power. The central

distinction again is that class is objectively observable, and status is determined by subjective evaluation; class is economic and status derives from lifestyle.

In addition to status, Weber uses the term 'party' to refer to affiliations that crosscut economic class, key examples being nationalism and religion. Weberian ideas are presented as more wide-ranging and therefore as more sophisticated than those of Marx.

Most contemporary theorists combine elements from both.

Erik Olin Wright identifies three types of economic resources over which one can exercise control:

(1) investments of money capital

(2) physical means of production

(3) labour power

Capitalists control all three, the working classes none, but intermediate groups may control one or more of these. They are in contradictory class locations. Although a huge proportion of the population is forced to sell its labour, as high as 90 per cent, there is huge diversity among this group, so Wright uses factors like skills and expertise as well as relationships with authority to further distinguish between these groups. There follows a discussion of the measurement issues involved in class analysis. It is noted that class has to be operationalized in some way in order to be observed and measured. Occupation has of course been primary among these methods. The distinction is made between descriptive and relational class schemes, with Erik Olin Wright's 'class map' being an example of the latter. Some attention is given to the neo-Weberian scheme known commonly as the: **Goldthorpe classification.** In the latter, market situation and work situation (more recently 'employment relations') are crucial in evaluating the place of an occupation within the scheme. Some limitations of occupational classifications are rehearsed, although their remarkable predictive power is acknowledged. Areas that remain inaccessible to this form of measurement are economic inactivity and the ownership of property and wealth. While Goldthorpe regards the super-rich as so few in number as to be of residual importance, **John Westergaard** highlights their disproportionate socio-structural weight acquired through sheer concentration of wealth.

This debate is then used to set up an empirical examination of class in the contemporary West. There is an extended treatment of the **upper class** and their ownership of high concentrations of different forms of economic capital. The super-rich are treated as a shifting homogenous grouping and it is acknowledged that there are numerous routes into the club. John Scott's argument about the constellation of interests that benefits from big business is deployed at this point. The **middle class** is a much broader category, but one held together by the common factor of either educational credentials or technical qualifications. Some more detailed analysis of the notion of credentials is undertaken, along with the introduction of the 'managerial-professional class' as a concept. Professionalism relies on three techniques to ensure its success: controls on entry, regulation of conduct and, in the case of medicine, total exclusivity in terms of the right to practise.

Within the **working class** the rising level of consumerism is noted and the concept of **embourgeoisement** is revisited in the context of the *Affluent Worker* study of the 1960s. The text alerts us to the existence of the term 'underclass' to describe a cut-off stratum characterized by multiple disadvantage. The idea goes back to Marx's proletariat but has its recent significance in the work of William Julius Wilson and Charles Murray. Both men agree that racial discrimination is not directly to blame; Murray however recycles the culture of

poverty thesis while Wilson examines the economic mechanisms constraining the ghetto poor.

Away from the USA, European cities also have racially concentrated neighbourhoods where poverty is high – Turks in Germany, Algerians in France, Albanians in Italy – and immigration becomes part of the policy equation. The UK context is introduced in terms of empirical work (by Gallie and by Morris) that shows the persistence of working-class values among those even in long-term unemployment.

Having covered the main classes, the chapter now discusses two challenges to more conventional views of class. First, the text discusses the way that it is now customary to take as much notice of consumption markers as those of production or market position. Identities stem as much from lifestyle choices as from employment. To help bring class and consumption together, we are introduced to Bourdieu's use of forms of capital to explain differences between groups on the basis of taste and consumption. The concluding point is that consumption may crosscut or reinforce class boundaries.

The next section, 'Gender and stratification', offers an assessment of the ways in which gender causes difficulty for class analysis. The conventional position, which allotted married or cohabiting women to the class of their husband, is critiqued in four ways:

(a) in dual earner households women's income can be essential for maintaining the economic position of the household;
(b) a wife's occupation may 'set the standard' of the family's status, e.g. a female shopkeeper who earns less than a male semi-skilled worker;
(c) in cross-class households it may be more realistic to put partners in separate categories;
(d) there are an increasing number of households with women as the sole breadwinner.

Social mobility is the next major area tackled. This section considers movement both up and down the occupational scale and includes a number of important terms, namely **vertical mobility**, **lateral mobility**, **intragenerational mobility** and **intergenerational mobility**. Comparative mobility studies are cited in order to distinguish between short- and long-range mobility and raise questions of methodology. In particular, the Marshall and Firth study is used as a novel example of using both subjective and objective dimensions of mobility. The text gives some attention to **downward mobility** and its recent increase, associating it with redundancy and the female experience of relationship break-up. Access to top positions remains limited by shortage of supply and the inherited advantage of existing elites. A brief survey of some studies of social mobility reveals that much upward mobility is explained by upgrading of occupations rather than movement between occupations, and also that women are severely disadvantaged in the race for mobility.

The chapter closes with an argument in favour of retaining class at the core of analyses of economic inequality, not least because of its continuing correlation with a whole range of different dimensions of inequality. It tries to reconcile the fact of increasing class inequality in the last twenty years with continuing opportunities for mobility through expanded qualifications and new economic opportunities. The trend, it argues, is towards greater fluidity and meritocracy.

Reading 6.1B   What is Social Stratification?   (Supplied)

Many of us do not like the study of social stratification as it gets us restless. We don't like being put into pigeon holes, we pride in our individualism, and why not? We do not feel inferior to people who are classed as being in a higher class than us. We do not believe we have the division that is portrayed in the such television series as "Downton Abbey" or "Upstairs Downstairs".   However, by ignoring that some groups in society have more opportunities available to them in health, education, work, child mortality we may well do them an injustice if we do not attempt to study the issue. In psychology and counselling, stratification is often overlooked because of the complexity and   inherent biases, controversies and ever-changing nature brought by different perspectives.

All systems of social stratification share the following characteristics: The rankings apply to social categories of people who share a common characteristic without necessarily interacting or identifying with each other. People's life experiences and opportunities depend heavily on how their social category is ranked. The ranks of different social categories tend to change very slowly over time (Giddens, 2009).

Bottero's considers "who gets more or less" and "why". She considers how social inequality comes to be accepted and taken for granted, leading to the reproduction of unequal social relations over long periods of time. She encourages us to think about such questions as why social backgrounds of friends are so strongly related and while we are all constrained by pre-existing relations of unequal power why do some of us have more choice than others? She draws attention to the inter-generational transmission of inequality reproducing inequality over time.   She highlights that inequality is not simply a matter of material advantage but includes attitudes, social relationships and styles of life.

Bottero suggests there are two main ways of thinking about stratification: the structural approach and the relational /interaction approaches.   The structural approach or class based approach depend on economic differences which determines people's live chances. The relational or interational approach is based on the closeness of social interaction. Is there a group in your society that you would wish to avoid falling in love with or would rather not wish to see your child marry into?   If yes, what does that tell you about stratification in your society?   (Students will find that they may need to refer to the Text Book Reading Education, Chapter 19, p846 for Bourdieu theory of cultural reproduction, see also Guide and Asisgnment Module 4 for summary)

In the conclusive section, Bottero considers social advantage and disadvantage in relation to education. Students will find that they may need to refer to the Text Book Reading: Education, Chapter 19, p846 for *Bourdieu theory of cultural reproduction*, see also Guide and Assignment Module 4 for summary). One's social class also affects the adequacy of food and clothing, and determines the extent to which children are hungry, undernourished, can access education or have their needs met. We suggest you review: Cultures of the World 3.1 "Language and educational achievement p46 -51.

Reading 6.1C - Poverty, Social Exclusion & Welfare, Chapter 12   (Textbook)

The chapter opens with the case study of a single mother, 'Lisa', who works in a call centre by day and as a cleaner on some mornings. She lives in state housing and is constantly juggling her childcare and labour market activities. Lisa's experience serves as a joined-up example of the multiple deprivations suffered by those near the poverty line. The chapter proceeds to examine a number of issues commonly arising from a concern with extreme forms of social inequality: poverty, the underclass, social exclusion and welfare reform.

The section on poverty opens with some definitions.
Absolute poverty refers to the absence of a subsistence level of income and is therefore, in theory, universalisable.
Relative poverty, on the other hand, is contingent upon the overall standard of living enjoyed by the majority in a society.

Both measures present technical problems for researchers. The **poverty line** is a common device employed to benchmark absolute levels, though it struggles to accommodate regional and national variations. The relative poverty measure is compromised by its perpetual upward drift as average living standards rise. The text cautions against complacency however. Rising affluence has been accompanied by starker inequalities. There is no officially sanctioned 'poverty line' in the UK, so researchers have used the benefits system to establish groups in poverty or on the margins of poverty. Statistics on the number of poor households over time are provided here. The text moves on to look at the measurement of poverty in terms of people's subjective understandings, using Townsend's 'Classic Study' and the *Breadline Britain* **surveys.**

There is an extended analysis of recent policy-related work on deprivation. Current levels of polarization are blamed on government policies, changes in the occupational structure and the 'work rich/work poor' dichotomy caused by male unemployment and greater female labour force participation. When it comes to summarizing who is in poverty, it is simply a matter of probabilities.

The unemployed, part-time workers, older people, the sick and those from ethnic minorities are all much more likely to find themselves in poverty than the rest of the population. The link with pensions provision is made at this point, and there are a series of vivid graphics.

When we seek to account for poverty there are two paradigms – **'blame the victim'** and **'blame the system'**. The first has a long history from the culture of poverty thesis of the 1960s right through to Murray's work on **dependency culture**.

Curiously, both theories deny that individual inadequacy is directly responsible, but point instead to the sapping cultural effects of concentrated pockets of poverty. The competing explanation lays much more stress on misfortune – the accident of being the wrong people in the wrong place during the wrong economic circumstances. Statistics from the BHPS are

used to show the 'life-cycle of poverty' and the degree to which there is mobility in and out of income groups in the population. Figures from Germany are also used and the policy implications of the mobility patterns are examined.

The second major section looks at the fashionable concept of **social exclusion**. Its major advantage is that it is dynamic; it looks at *how* people get into the states they are in and it implicates others in that process. Subsequent sections look at different examples of social exclusion, and acknowledge the significance of both urban and rural settings. The text observes how social exclusion can be the result of forces external to the individual or it can be self-imposed through disillusionment or apathy. Three forms of social exclusion are examined – **residential segregation, the problems of youth transitions to adulthood and spatial isolation in the countryside.** There is a substantia ltreatment of the **homeless** in Britain, some of whom are former mental patients cut adrift by deinstitutionalization. Others suffer from multiple traumatic life-events which quickly result in their ending up on the streets. Some of the policy arguments about aiding the homeless are also examined. The section on exclusion ends with an echo of the underclass debate, namely the correlation of crime with social exclusion. Many of the arguments about weakened communities, strained family life and deteriorating public services have a depressingly familiar ring.

The chapter finishes with some more conventional material on the sociology of welfare states*. This is not obligatory reading but for students who are interested, here is a brief summary.*

Welfare states come in different flavours: the universal benefits of Sweden are contrasted with the **means-tested benefits** more common in the UK. The seminal contribution of T. H.Marshall (a Classic Study) and, later, Esping-Andersen's typology based on welfare decommodification are dealt with; this is followed by a chronology of welfare provision in Britain.

The welfare state was born amidst very specific assumptions about the shape of the future: full employment defined as paid male labour; using welfare to promote national solidarity; and state provision as a form of insurance against lifetime uncertainties.

These conditions began to break down during the 1970s, and during the 1980s there were all-out attempts on both sides of the Atlantic to roll back the boundaries of welfare.

These attempts largely failed, a key explanation being that welfare had become so embedded in social life that 'rolling back' the welfare state was far from the mirror-opposite of welfare expansion. For governments of all political hues, however, some type of reform remains on the agenda. Many of New Labour's policy initiatives in the two parliaments since 1997 are briefly summarized at this point, welfare-to-work among them. The chapter concludes that equality remains an aspiration, and inequality remains a fact. The policies of tax and spend have not eradicated poverty and the emphasis now is on equality of opportunity

Other inequalities such as gender are as important for policy-makers, and many social problems, such as urban decay and pollution, are more indiscriminate in their effects.

Reading 6.1D – Global Inequality Chapter 13   (Textbook)

Chapter 13 has close links with the previous chapter 12 on "Poverty, Social Exclusion and Welfare" and also develops many of the theories of globalisation you will find in the obligatory reading   "Globalisation and the Changing World ." Chapter 4. This chapter provides an account of some of the empirical materials relating to inequality across the **emerging global society.**

The opening paragraphs highlight the growing number of super-wealthy in the twenty-first-century world as evidenced by the 2008 'Rich List' in Table 13.1. These success stories are contrasted with the billions of workers currently earning barely enough to live on. The text links back to the previous chapter on poverty by stressing that the same mechanisms are at work but on an even greater scale on a global level. The chapter proceeds in four sections.

The first sketches a typology of the countries of the world by income level. The second places some empirical flesh on the bones of the typology. The third deals with the sociology of development and the role that political institutions play within the process of development. The fourth covers the terrain of historical demography andlooks ahead at the likely trends in world population.

Global economic inequality (P527) is defined as signalling the systematic inequalities that existbetween countries, allowing for the simultaneous existence of inequalities within countries. Competing measures of a country's wealth are examined, namely Gross Domestic Product(GDP) and Gross National Income (GNI).
The text uses the World Bank's typology of high income, middle-income and low-income countries, while pointing out that income measures only tell part of the story. High-income countries were the early industrializers, although the 'Asian tigers' have now joined their ranks since the 1980s. Middle-income countries are found in south-east Asia, the Middle East oil producers, the Central American countries and the former Soviet republics.
The low-income countries are mostly to be found in Africa, the Indian subcontinent, Indonesia and parts of Eastern Europe. The whole debate about inequality is an ongoing one: there are those who see globalisation as 'the great leveller', while others see globalisation as exacerbating existing patterns of inequality.

The arguments are complex but are given full value and are supported by informative charts in Figure 13.1. The next section details the difference in living standards between the different countries known as 'unequal life chances'.

Four areas are highlighted: health, hunger, education and child labour. In each case we are presented with both the overall global picture and the inequalities between rich and poor. Maps, tables and photographs bolster and amplify the arguments in the text. Underlying such unequal life chances is the basic comparison between life in the relatively rich, industrialized countries and that in the relatively poor, developing world. This distinction is used across the book and offers a way of making some basic global comparisons across the

diverse sub-fields of sociology. With the empirical background established, the chapter moves on to the development agenda.

The experience of the **newly industrializing countries (NICs)** is detailed, with five major explanations being offered for their rapid success:
(a) Many of these countries had foundations laid by the experience of colonialism.
(b) There was a long period of world economic growth between the 1950s and the 1970s from which these countries benefited.
(c) Generous economic assistance was provided by the United States during the height of the Cold War.
(d) Some commentators suggest that the shared cultural tradition of Confucianism helped promote economic advancement in Japan and East Asia.
(e) Strongly interventionist policies on the part of many governments were a major boost to economic growth.

Theories of development

> *The chapter finishes with some of the theories of development. This is not obligatory reading but students will find a power point presentation in the Resources. Here is a brief summary to whet your appetite if you would like to explore the issues further.*

Theories of development are thoroughly discussed in the rest of this main section. **Market oriented theories** favoured the pursuit of unfettered capitalism, a perspective exemplified by Rostow's belief that underdeveloped societies needed to embrace a market approach.

This perspective, **modernization theory**, was the dominant paradigm and was encapsulated in Rostow's stages of economic growth (a Classic Study): traditional stage, 'take-off', technological maturity and high mass consumption. This bundle of views lives on in contemporary **neo-liberalism**.

From the 1960s this perspective was challenged first by **the dependency theorists,** with its emphasis on **colonialism**, and later by **world-systems theory.** The world system comprises both **core countries** and **peripheral countries,** and it has an element of self-correction in its make-up.

The second half of the chapter examines the role of global institutions – the IMF, the World Bank, the UN and the World Trade Organization – in attempting to alleviate global inequality.

It speculates on the future prospects in this area and all students will find some speculations ring true in present time.

Historical demography

The Demographic Transition

Please read this section carefully P564-573 "World Population Growth and Global inequality"

The chapter finishes with a short course in historical demography, starting with the arresting statistic that the Earth's population, now standing at over 7 billion. The text briefly introduces the discipline of **demography** in order to understand and explain population trends. Some of the most widely used concepts are glossed in boxed form. The near zero or negative growth rates of the advanced nations are contrasted with the high net rates and distorted population pyramids of many of the less developed societies. This material is then placed in historical context with a review of **Malthusianism** and its famous thesis about the relationship between population and food resources. By the late twentieth century it seemed that Malthus's ideas, in modified form, might again have relevance

The text offers an exegesis of the three stages of the **demographic transition** first outlined by Warren S. Thompson.
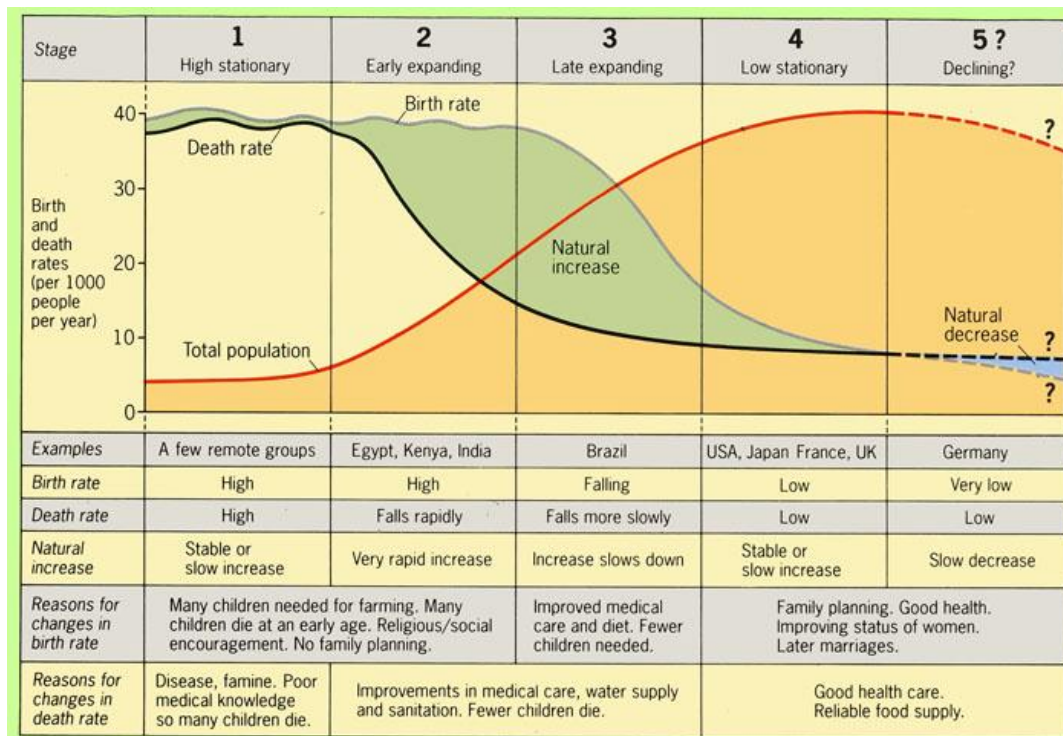
This model is presented as a Classic Study given its wide-ranging influence on studies of demographic change. Stage 1 has high birth and death rates; in stage 2 the death rate falls but fertility remains high leading to a burst of population growth. In stage 3 birth rates fall to match death rates and stability returns.

This contrasts with the work of Malthus. This section concludes with some speculation about future population levels, with the UN best estimate being around 11.8 billion people by 2150. Within this likely increase there are two hidden trends. India and China will each have periods of extremely rapid growth as they undergo their demographic transition. In the developed countries, population stability and greater longevity will have implications for the age profile of these economies. A number of possible consequences are mapped out.

Society and Social Change/Globalisation 6.2

Overview of Globalisation

There was a farmer who grew award-winning corn. Each year he entered his corn in a state fair, where it won a blue ribbon. One year, a newspaper reporter interviewed him and learned something interesting about how he grew it. The reporter discovered that the farmer shared his seed corn with his neighbours. "How can you afford to share your best seed corn with your neighbours when they are entering corn in competition with yours each year?" the reporter asked. "Why sir," said the farmer, "didn't you know? The wind picks up pollen from the ripening corn and swirls it from field to field. If my neighbours grow inferior corn, cross-pollination will steadily degrade the quality of my corn. If I am to grow good corn, I must help my neighbours grow good corn."

Here is the point of this simple tale: The only way we can be safe and prosperous is if we enable our neighbours to be safe and prosperous as well.

Kishore Mahbubani (2005: 203–4)

*I*n **Society and Social Change/Globalisation 6.2,** we will be attempting to grasp an understanding social change in the past, present and future. Up the 2007, many presumed that growing prosperity in western world would bring prosperity to the rest of the world. We have now realised that much of this "prosperity" was an increasing debt owed to creditors and that our economic base was actually eroding. The global economy creates outstanding wealth but also poverty, and an increased skewed distribution of wealth. Globalisation is the term used to refer to "those processes in which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single, global society" (Albrow, 1990,p9) Globalisation is used to refer to the on-going interconnections and interdependencies in economics, politics, and culture in which social ties across boundaries have become more regularized and routine.

Globalisation past and present

"…. There has been much wrangling in academic circles that what we loosely call globalisation is in fact confused with internationalization. For the purists, true globalisation is characterized by the elimination of nation-states and the erasing of national borders. But, these drastic changes are not likely to happen even in the distant future.

The term globalisation has come into common usage since the 1980s to signify integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows (Crafts 2000). Globalisation *per se* is not anything new, nor is it mysterious.

Globalisation could be detected whenever there had been contacts between peoples through trade, culture or immigration, though countries could choose to isolate themselves and remain impervious to outside contacts and influences. It is useful to distinguish economic, political and cultural aspects of globalisation, although all three aspects are inextricably intertwined. In a globalized economy goods and capital move freely across the borders but not without impact on culture.

Establishment by multinational corporations of manufacturing units in textile and other industries with imported capital has given rise to new employment opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled women in developing countries who are traditionally confined to performing household chores. These women acquire the capacity to earn salaries, thereby reducing their economic dependence on male members who have been the sole breadwinners of the family.

The relative economic independence of women will likely have repercussions on traditional male-female relationships, family structure and hierarchy, eventually bringing about changes in social norms and practices with respect to gender, family, marriage, number of children etc. The import of clothes, food and other products can likewise significantly impact traditional customs and values. The popularity of jeans among young women in societies that prescribe a different dress code is indicative of the challenge to the authority of the older generation and traditions. International food chains such as McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken introduced new items of food that influenced and changed local eating habits. They have also provoked a wider discussion on food and health, especially of children and adolescents.

It is a generally held view that globalisation has its origins in the West, which uses it as a vehicle to spread Western values and ideologies to the rest of the world. In practice, however, wholesale export and imposition of Western ideas and values has not been as straightforward as one might imagine. The target population is usually suspicious of anything coming from external sources and, therefore, reluctant to readily accept and assimilate imported goods and ideas radically different from their own. For instance, the attempts of the West to universalize the concepts of capitalism, free trade, human rights and democracy initially met with flat refusal from many countries in the rest of the world, including the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

It took several decades and a certain number of adjustments in response to local cultural sensitivities before non-Western countries were inclined to accept them. On the other hand, it is not uncommon that non-Western religions, medicine, goods, art, literature and food habits have found their way to the West where they are accepted and admired, thanks to globalisation.

The strong influence of African, Latino and Caribbean music on Western non-classical, modern music is widely acknowledged. Westerners who are constantly subjected to stress and suffer from stress-related ailments resort to meditation and yoga imported from the East. Western Christians who are unable to find answers to their spiritual quest convert to Islam or Buddhism. Acupuncture is recognized as a credible treatment for certain ailments among allopathic doctors and patients in

Western countries. Globalisation has made choices more meaningful because of their ready availability.

Since 1945, globalisation has become identified with a number of trends, including greater interstate movement of commodities, money, information and people; and the development of technology, organizations, legal systems and infrastructures to allow this movement. Free market economy and liberalized international trade received a boost in the 1980s from new technological innovations that helped completion of easier and quicker trade and financial transactions. Likewise, the formation of non-military regional groupings like the European Economic Community (EEC), resulting from the 1957 Treaty of Rome, and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), formed as a result of the Bangkok Declaration of 1967, paved the way for increased cooperation among their member countries.

Economic cooperation meant harmonization of trade, monetary and fiscal policies of individual member-countries. The merger of the three European institutions -the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community (EEC) - in 1967 into the European Union with a single Commission, Parliament and Council of Ministers is a commendable example of 'globalisation' in a regional context. Cooperation among member-states of the European Union extends beyond sheer economic issues into judicial, social and cultural aspects. Free movement of people to other countries within the European Union for residence, education or employment, harmonization of trade, monetary and fiscal policies, and retracing a common cultural heritage and ethos have contributed towards establishing a common identity for all citizens of the European Union. Similar experiments in other parts of the world have not borne comparable results.

Many antiglobalisation activists perceive economic globalisation as an instrument in the hands of multinational corporations whose sole motive is to increase profits to the detriment of freedom of the individual. Flooding newly emerging markets with a wide range of material goods at affordable prices encourages uncontrolled consumerism. Interests of powerful multinational corporations are promoted at the expense of the well-being of the vast majority of people and the natural environment. These corporations infiltrate political life and exert undue influence on policymakers of nation-states. Globalized economic activities have scant regard for local religious, cultural and social sensitivities. National culture and traditional values come under severe strain to fall in line with a monolithic global ethos dictated by giant multinational corporations.

Supporters of globalisation counter these criticisms by pointing out that when promoted with circumspection globalisation can lead to higher, efficient output, lower prices and increased employment in all the countries involved. Wide disparities between developed and developing countries, and uneven distribution of wealth among various sections of population within a country can be progressively redressed by added opportunities for entrepreneurship and employment through globalisation. Despite its shortcomings, globalisation in the broadest sense, encompassing economic, social, political and cultural aspects, is inevitable and unstoppable. It is almost a necessity to live and work within the contours of globalisation if human beings wish not to repeat the grave mistakes of the past but build an integrated society where differences in race, colour, gender, religion, culture or nationality will not deny to anyone the opportunity to progress and succeed. Care should be taken, however, to ensure that globalisation does not obliterate individuality or unwittingly allow national culture to be subsumed by a global culture. The success of globalisation may in the future be judged by our ability to maintain our cultural distinctions while creating a new understanding of the global community."

Reading 6.2A – Globalisation and the Changing World Chapter 14   (Textbook)

The beginning of our present period of
Globalisation: The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989

We will be seeking an understanding of two elements. First, a brief account of human history which takes in pre-modern societies and early civilizations as well as modern societies. Second, the current debates associated with the contested concept of globalisation. These two strands are neatly symbolized in the opening photograph of the textbook reading: Pyramids seen through a plate glass Pizza Hut window.

The chapter considers the human past through the prism of the modern. The scale of the contrast between the contemporary world and, to use Laslett's expression, 'the world we have lost' is brought home in the extract from Landes's *The Unbound Prometheus*, emphasizing the very recent transformation unleashed by technology and, latterly, by **globalisation**. It is also strikingly illustrated by reference to Livi-Bacci's work on the expansion of the global human population.

The chapter then turns to consider types of society. After sketching three forms of premodern social organization, the discussion moves on to concentrate on modern societies and the processes which have brought them into being, namely industrialization and globalisation.

This overview commences with a description of **hunting and gathering societies**, the dominant form of social organization throughout human history but now restricted to a few small parts of South America and Africa, as **Western** culture has eroded the rest. Such societies are minimalist and materially egalitarian. Status distinctions are based on the sexual division of labour and dominated by adult males, among whom there is a participatory approach to decision-making. Hunter-gatherers migrate around fixed physical territories.

The second type of society actually consists of two subtypes, the pastoral and the agrarian, which are united by the activity of an element of farming. **Pastoral societies** herd animals in environments where agriculture is difficult. The keeping of animals supplies a reliable source of food and transport, which in turn allows pastoral societies to be larger and more complex than hunting and gathering groups. **Agrarian societies** are similar except that they raise crops and are therefore more geographically settled and accumulate more possessions.

The third of the pre-modern societies is equated with the development of ancient civilizations, many of which were also empires. A useful summary of pre-modern social organization is provided in Table 4.2 on page 112. The chapter moves on to trace the forces which have eradicated or marginalized such types of society. The first of these is **industrialization**.

Agricultural employment becomes an activity of the few as most of the population is freed up to work in factories, shops and offices. Cities lead to a greater density of population but at the same time emphasize the anonymity of modern life. Local variation gives way to a more integrated social and political network. The **nation-state** becomes the model for human society in the modern world. Industrial technology becomes applied to military as well as civilian life and allows the West to expand at the expense of other cultures.
The next section discusses three centuries of **colonialism**, a process that has taken two forms. One has been the population on a mass scale of sparsely populated tracts of land such as North America and Australasia. The second has been minority rule of already populated territories in Asia, Africa and South America.

The terms **First World**, **Second World** and **Third World** are introduced and clarified, and Table 4.4 on page 121 offers a summary. First World societies are those industrialized nation-states already described in the previous section. The Second World was based on the Soviet Union's model of **communism** – a one-party political system in contrast to the multi-party systems of the First World, and a state-owned command economy in contrast to the market economies of the First World. Since the end of the **Cold War**, Second World societies have moved closer to the political and economic arrangements of the Western states.
The term 'Third World' is seen as convenient shorthand, but it is unsatisfactory because it suggests separateness, while in truth there is a complex mutual relationship between Third and First Worlds. The term 'developing societies' is adopted. These societies differ from traditional societies in three respects: politically they are nation-states; most are undergoing the experience of urbanization; and agriculture dominates but as an export crop rather than for subsistence.

Many of these countries continue to suffer worsening poverty exacerbated by the cost of servicing their debts to the West, but the developing world is far from homogeneous and also includes the economic 'success stories' of **newly industrializing countries** (NICs) such as Brazil, Mexico and South Korea. The Asian NICs are involved in both traditional industrial production (steel, shipbuilding) and innovations such as electronics and financial services. After a decade of sustained growth, the East Asian economies were destabilized by global financial crisis in 1997–8: serious as that crisis is in the short-term, inthe longer term these economies have dramatically transformed standards of living and styles of life in these countries.

In tracing the development of these different types of society, the chapter has been engaged in the study of **social change**, a topic to which it now turns. Change is difficult to define, as everything changes all of the time. A change becomes significant when there are alterations in underlying structures and modifications of basic institutions.

Social theory has failed to produce a convincing mono-causal explanation of social change, and three main factors that have influenced social change are identified: cultural factors, the physical environment and political organization. What has promoted such rapid change during the modern era? The importance of capitalism as a constantly expanding system is identified along with the technological changes it has generated; the struggle between nations both economically and militarily; and the growth of critical and innovative thinking linked to ideas of equality and progress.

The text now moves on, attempting to consolidate much of the literature on **globalisation** that became a topic in its own right during the course of the 1990s. After headlining prominent features of the globalized world, the rest of the chapter is concerned to explore its dimensions and its potential impacts. The discussion simultaneously examines certain areas as both constituents and causes of globalisation.

The first of these is the growth in information and communications technology, most notably the advent of fibre-optic cables and communications satellites. The impact of this is uneven, but everywhere it is on an upward trajectory. This helps the compression of time and space and accelerates interconnectedness.

The second cluster of features is economic. Increasingly, economic exchange across the world is weightless, knowledge-based, and information-led. In this sphere, **transnational corporations** (TNCs) contribute to the globalizing dynamic by operating their business across borders, whether they be Coca-Cola or Colgate-Palmolive. Alongside TNCs, we are introduced to the 'global commodity chain', the worldwide networks of labour and production processes yielding a finished product. Previous editions used the Ford Mondeo as an exemplar. Here the focus has shifted to 'Global Barbie'. Together with the activities of TNCs, the 'electronic economy' means that not only is physical capital more mobile between countries but also that (virtual) financial capital can flow and ebb within seconds on a computer screen. Wallerstein's world-system theory is included as a Classic Study (pages 128-9) emanating from Marx's essentially economistic perspective.

The third element of the globalisation dynamic is political change. The collapse of the Soviet 'bloc' reintegrated a huge number of countries into the trading community. The text raises the idea that as global communications overrode ideological control of the state media, we could argue that globalisation was both cause and consequence of the break-up of Soviet hegemony. Another political development is the spread of institutions of government that do not match national boundaries, such as the EU, the UN and a tranche of nongovernmental bodies. The spread of information across borders does not just undermine regimes, as in Tiananmen Square or Berlin; it also constructs international awareness, as in pictures from war zones. The 'global outlook' that follows from this leads some to look for referents both above and below the nation-state for identities or allegiances.

Having introduced some of these dimensions of globalisation, the chapter moves on to show us that the extent and nature of all this change is, like most areas of sociology, very much debated. The text covers the positions of three groups, the sceptics, the hyper globalizers

and the transformation lists, and provides an exemplary tabular summary of the debate on page 137, Table 4.6. Essentially, the first group takes the 'old wine in new bottles' view: there is plenty happening but these things have happened in other periods, and the 'global economy' actually consists of a number of quite discrete trading blocs. They also point to the persistence of national governments as major players on the world stage. The second group is more bullish altogether: there is a step change in the nature of the world order, an approach most captured in Albrow's 'global age' book. The third school takes not a middle position, but a distinctive one. There is a restructuring of existing institutions in response to these processes, and the dynamic of globalisation is much more contradictory than commonly allowed for. It works in different directions at the same time (for instance the global and the local) and it is far from clear that it is reversible. Giddens's own argument on the 'juggernaut of modernity' is included as a Classic Study to show that although global forces appear irresistible, they are not entirely out of our control.

From here the text offers examples of ways in which aspects of everyday life have been altered by globalisation. The boxed text on page 143 examines the global influences present in reggae music. In the main text, we are reminded of the large array of fresh produce on offer in the supermarket, and it is not only flows of information but the constant transportation of the goods themselves. Indeed the concepts of 'food miles' and 'local produce' have become pervasive in eco-debates.

A second argument concerns global culture, a social fact maintained and reinforced by television, the global economy, 'citizens of the world', transnational organizations and electronic communications. A short follow-up section examines the degree to which the Internet breaks down local difference, using Kuwait as an example. It notes that despite widespread Internet penetration, the pattern of usage to some extent reinforces the prevailing cultural norms of the country. Roland Robertson's concept of **glocalization** is used to capture some of these reverse flows which undermine the argument that globalisation inevitably leads to a uniform global culture.

Whereas many view cultural globalisation as a process of obliterating traditional cultures, others question the idea of cultural authenticity altogether.
Globalisation has been under way for centuries, so all existing cultures are products of appropriation and borrowing from one another. The term glocalization, originally a marketing concept of adapting goods to a local culture, has been used to describe the phenomenon of the selection of some cultural influences and rejection of others when disparate societies encounter one another. New forms of art, music, theater, food, and other cultural products have resulted.
Finally, it is pointed out that there is a certain irony in the fact that under conditions of globalisation, a form of new individualism is often the result, in an environment where the pressure is on to be much more active in choosing identities.
The conclusion raises the question of the need for new structures of governance – at the global or at the very least the supranational level – in order to deal with the unpredictability of the many constituent processes within the globalizing dynamic.

The detail of these institutions is deferred until Chapter 22.

Reading 6.2B – The Price Of Progress   (Supplied)

Professor Bodley of Washington State University contends that well-intentioned forces of change don't always have positive consequences. In this selection, Bodley demonstrates how certain development policies can benefit some people at the expense of others. Bodley points out some of the more damaging effects of development programmes of indigenous peoples, including diseases of development, malnutrition, the degeneration of dental health and ecological degradation. This reading should entice us to look at the impact of change, not with the view to prevent it but to ensure that those affected by it retain the right to choose their own lifestyle without imposition from the outside. As with the case of the Mam (Mayan-speaking) coffee growers in Chiapas, Mexico below, indigenous societies do not have to be victims of progress and like many groups throughout the world they operate through either inclusion or exclusion of aspects of global forces to construct their identities.

Mam (Mayan-speaking) coffee growers in Chiapas, Mexico.

Local cultures, though eventually changing some features, will reaffirm much of their uniqueness while entering into a dialogue with global forces. In one such case, Rosalva Aida Hernandez Castillo and Ronald Nigh (1998) examined the effects of globalization on a local group of Mam (Mayan-speaking) coffee growers in Chiapas, Mexico. Of all the Latin American countries, Mexico—as a full participant in NAFTA—is immersed in globalization. In agriculture the Mexican government has brought about a number of reforms designed to (1) discourage collective agriculture while encouraging individual agricultural entrepreneurs, (2) encourage cash crops over basic food crops, and (3) increase overall agricultural productivity for world trade purposes. Despite national efforts to transform traditional communal agriculture, in 1988 the Mam started their own organic coffee growers' cooperative, which combined modern technologies with a deliberate reaffirmation of traditional values. With more than 1,200 members and annual export revenues greater than $7 million, the Mam cooperative sells its organically grown gourmet coffee all over the world, has acquired a coffee processing plant, and is planning to build an instant coffee production facility. By any standards one might choose, the Mam cooperative is a highly successful global player. Yet their success has not come at the expense of their traditional values, which include participatory democracy, equity, environmental protection, and the use of traditional organic farming methods rather than reliance on chemical fertilizers. The Mam use high-tech communications technology to strengthen their traditional cultural values. They take advantage of promotional trips to international trade fairs, the telephone, e-mail, and the Internet to link up with indigenous peoples and ecologically conscious consumers in other parts of the world. In fact their corporate marketing image, a curious blend of old and new, emphasizes that their coffee is organically grown by socially responsible descendants of the Mayans. Clearly, such an image combines their traditional identity with a brand of coffee that appeals to a specific market of gourmet coffee drinkers from Tokyo to New York. These contacts and experiences have enabled the Mam organic coffee growers to reinforce many traditional values, accept some new ones from the rest of the world, and essentially reinvent or redefine their traditional culture instead of forsaking it.