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SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP

Syllabus

- *Family, Household and Marriage.*
- *Lineage and descent.*
- *Contemporary trends.*
- *Types and forms of family.*
- *Patriarchy and sexual division of labour.*

FAMILY, HOUSEHOLD AND MARRIAGE

The early and classical definition emphasized that *the family was a group based on marriage, common residence, emotional bonds, and stipulation of domestic services. The family has also been defined as a group based on marital relations, rights and duties of parenthood, common habitation and reciprocal relations between parents and children. Some sociologists feel that the family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction.*

Some Popular Definitions :

- The family has been seen as a universal social institution an inevitable part of human society. **According to Burgess and Lock** the family is a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a single household interacting with each other in their respective social role of husband and wife, mother and father, brother and sister creating a common culture. **G.P Murdock** defines the family as a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children own or adopted of the sexually co-habiting adults.
- **Nimkoff** says that family is a more or less durable association of husband and wife with or without child or of a man or woman

alone with children. **According to MacIver** family is a group defined by sex relationships sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children. **Kingsley Davis** describes family as a group of persons whose relations to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are therefore kin to one another. **Malinowski** opined that the family is the institution within which the cultural traditions of a society is handed over to a newer generation. This indispensable function could not be filled unless the relations to parents and children were relations reciprocally of authority and respect. **According to Talcott Parsons** families are factories which produce **human personalities.**

- On the basis of above mentioned definitions of family, it seems *that the family is a primary kinship unit which carries out aspects of the sexual, reproductive, economic and educational functions.* We generally picture *a family as a durable association of husband and wife with or without children, or a durable association of man or woman along with children.* Thus, members in the family live together, pool their resources and work together and produce offspring. *A family is also viewed as an adult male and female living together with any offspring in a more or less permanent*

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relationship such as marriage which is approved by their society.

- Concluding we can say that :
- it involves a sexual relationship between adults of opposite sexes;
- it involves their cohabitation or living together;
- it involves at least the expectation of relative permanence of the relationship between them; and
- **Most important of all, the relationship is culturally defined and socially sanctioned.** Marriage and the family are not just something people become involved in on their own. Some of the ways in which they must relate to each other are decided for them by their society. It is a well known and recognized fact that marriage is the basis for the family. Marriage is recognized as a special kind of relationship since it is the one in which families are created and perpetuated, and the family is the ultimate basis of human society.

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY

- **Universality :** There is no human society in which some form of the family does not appear. **Malinowski** writes the typical family a group consisting of mother, father and their progeny is found in all communities, savage, barbarians and civilized. The irresistible sex need, the urge for reproduction and the common economic needs have contributed to this universality.

- **Emotional basis :** The family is grounded in emotions and sentiments. It is based on our impulses of mating, procreation, maternal devotion, fraternal love and parental care. It is built upon sentiments of love, affection, sympathy, cooperation and friendship.

- **Limited size :** The family is smaller in size. As a primary group its size is necessarily limited. It is a smallest social unit.

- **Formative influence :** The family welds an environment which surrounds trains and educates the child. It shapes the personality and moulds the character of its members. It emotionally conditions the child.

- **Nuclear position in the social structure :** The family is the nucleus of all other social organizations. The whole social structure is built of family units.

- **Responsibility of the members :** The members of the family have certain responsibilities, duties and obligations. MacIver points out that in times of crisis men may work and fight and die for their country but they toil for their families all their lives.

- **Social regulation :** The family is guarded both by social taboos and by legal regulations. The society takes precaution to safeguard this organization from any possible breakdown.

Functionalist Perspective

The functionalst perspective sees society as a set of social institutions that perform specific functions to ensure continuity and consensus. According to this perspective, the family performs important tasks that contribute to society's basic needs and helps to perpetuate social order. Sociologists working in the functionalist tradition have regarded the nuclear family as fulfilling certain *specialized roles* in modern societies. With the advent of industrialization, the family became less important as a unit of economic production and more focused on reproduction, child-rearing and socialization.

According to the American sociologist **Talcott Parsons**, the family's *two main functions are primary socialization and personality stabilization. Primary socialization* is the process by which children learn the cultural norms of the society into which they are born. Because this happens during the early years of childhood, the family is the most important arena for the development of the human personality*Personality stabilization* refers to the role that the family is the most important arena for the development of the human personality. Personality stabilization refers to the role that family plays in assisting adult family members emotionally. Marriage between adult men and women is the arrangement through which adult personalities are supported and kept healthy. In industrial society the role of the family in stabilizing adult personalities is

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said to be critical. This is because the nuclear family is often distanced from its extended kin and is unable to draw on larger kinship ties as families could do before industrialization.

parsons regarded the nuclear family as the unit best equipped the handle the demands of industrial society. In the family, one adult can work outside the home while the second adult cares for the home and children. *In practical terms, this specialization of roles within the nuclear family involved the husband adopting the instrumental role as breadwinner, and the wife assuming the affective, emotional role in domestic setting.*

Criticism : *In our present age, Parson's view of the family comes across as inadequate and outdate.* Functionalist theories of the family have come under heavy criticism for justifying **the domestic division of labour between men and women as some thing natural and unproblematic.** Yet viewed in their own historical context, the theories are somewhat more understandable. The immediate post-war years saw women returning to their traditional domestic roles and men reassuming positions as sole breadwinners, we can criticize functionalist views of the family on other grounds, however. *In emphasizing the importance of the family in performing certain functions, thecrists neglect the role that other social institutions, such as government, media and schools, play in socializing children.* The theories also neglect variations in family forms that do not correspond to the model of the nuclear family. **Families that did not conform to the white, suburban, middle – class- ideal were seen as deviant.**

Marxist Perspective :

Marxists (Engels & Katleen Gough): One more perspective is that of the Marxists.. According to Angels, family change as per the change in the mode of production. When modes of the productions were communally owned, there was no family and promiscuity prevailed. Katleen Gough supports this view. **She notes that man's nearest relatives, the chimpanzees live in promiscuous herders and this may have been the pattern of early man.** *According to Engels each successive stage of change or production placed a*

greater restriction on the numbers of females that an individual could possess. The monogamous nuclear family developed with the emergence of private property and to enforce the rule of monogamous marriage.

Vogel and Bell has presented a dysfunctional explanation based on finding of an extensive study of American families containing an emotionally disturbed child. *They argued that often the tension and hostility of unresolved conflict between parents are projects on the child. The child is thus used as emotional scapegoat by the parents to relive their tension. Scapegoating the child served as a personality stabilizing process for the parents and keeps the family united. But the cost of such unity is paid by child.*

Edmund Leach : He has concentrated on the kin and wider community. *Today the domestic household is isolated, the family look inward upon itself; there is an intensification of emotional stress between husband and wife and parents and children. This strain is greater than most can bear. Thrown back almost entirely on its resources, the nuclear family becomes iike an over loaded electrical circuit. The demand upon it is too great and fuse blows. In Leach's words the parents and children huddled together in their loneliness, take too much of out of each other. This strain is greater than most can bear. The parent is fight, the children rebel."*

R.D. Laing:. He referred to *family group as a nexus.* He argued that highest concern of the nexus is reciprocal concern. Each partner is concerned about what others think feels and do. Within the nexus, there is the constant unremitting demand for mutual concern and attention. As a result there is a considerable potential for harm, family members are in an extremely vulnerable position. Thus, if a father is angry over his son, given the nature of nexus, son is concerned about his father's opinion and cannot burst it off lightly. In self defence, he may run to his mother who offers protection. In this way, Laing argues, a *family can act as a gangster protection, each other mutual protection against each other's violence. According to Laing, family is the root of all problems in society.*

Some families live in perpetual anxiety of an external persecuting world. Moreover, the most dangerous feature of the family is the inculcation of obedience in the minds of sibling. Later in Life, they become officials, blindly and unquestionably following orders.

David Cooper: He pronounced **the death of the family.** He too maintains that the *child is destroyed by the family since he is primary taught how to submit to society for the sake of survival. Each child has the potential to be an artist, visionary and revolutionary, but this potential is crushed in the family. The children are taught to play the roles of son and daughter, male and female, such roles are construction.*

In brief these three sociologists provide a balancer to the functionalist view of family.

Feminist Perspective :

Feminism has had a great impact on sociology by challenging the vision of the family as a harmonious and egalitarian realm. If previously the sociology of the family had focused on family structures, the historical development of the nuclear and extended family and the importance of kinship ties, feminism succeeded in directing attention inside families to examine the experiences of women in the domestic sphere. **Many feminist writers have questioned the vision that the family is a cooperative unit based on common interests and mutual support.** They have sought to show that the presence of unequal power relationship within the family means that certain family members tend to benefit more than others.

- The view of Engels was further examined in 60s and 70s by several feminist writers. *According to them family is seen as a unit which produced one of the basic commodities of the capitalism, that is labour. It is cheap for the capitalist because they do not have to pay for the production to children or their upkeep. The wife paid nothing for producing and rearing children.*

- In the words of **Margret Benson,** *"as an economic unit, the nuclear family is a variably stabilizing force in the capitalist society. Since the production which is alone in the factory, the wife at home is paid for by husband, father's earning. Further family produces not only cheap labour but it also maintains it in good order at no cost to the employer. The women in her roles as the house-wife attend to her husbands needs. Thus, keeping him in good running order to perform his roles as wage labourers.*

- **Ian Ashley** writes that *the emotional support provided by the wife is a safety-valve for frustration produced in the husband by working in a capitalist system.* In her words; when every worker is provided with no space to search up possible revolutionary urge, the bosses rest more secure. Finally, it is argued that the social reproduction of the labour does not simply involve producing children and maintaining them in good health. It helps in reproduction of the attitudes essential for as obedient work force under capitalism.

Feminist writings have emphasized a broad spectrum of topics, but three main themes are of particular importance.

- **One of the central concerns** is *the domestic division of labour*, which is allocated between members of a household. *There is reason to believe that a domestic division of labour existed prior to industrialization, but it seems clear that capitalist production brought about a much sharper distinction between the domestic and work realms. This process resulted in the crystallization of 'male spheres' and 'female spheres' and power relationships which are felt to this day.* Until recently, the male breadwinner model has been widespread in most industrialized societies.

Feminist sociologists have undertaken studies on the way domestic tasks, such as child care and housework, are shared between men and women. *They have investigated the validity of claims such as that of **the symmetrical family** (Young and Wilmott) the belief that, over time,*

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families are becoming more egalitarian in the distribution of roles and responsibilities. Finding have shown that women continue to bear the main responsibility for domestic tasks and enjoy less leisure time than men, despite the fact that more women are working in paid employment outside the home than ever before.

- Second, feminists have drawn attention to the unequal power relationships that exist within many families. One topic which has received increased attention as a result of this is the phenomenon of **domestic violence.** Wife battering, marital rape, incest and the sexual abuse of children have all received more public attention as a result of feminists' claims that the violent and abusive sides of family life have long been ignored in both academic contexts and legal and policy circles.

- The study of caring activities is a third area where feminists have made important contributions. This is a broad realm which encompasses a variety of processes, *from attending to a family member who is ill to looking after an elderly relative over a long period of time. Sometime caring means simply being attuned to someone else's psychological well being. Several feminist writers have been interested to know whether emotion work within relationships. Not only do women tend to shoulder concrete tasks such as cleaning and child care, but they also invest large amounts personal relationships.*

Contemporary perspective :

In the past decade an important body of sociological literature on the family has emerged which draws on feminist perspectives, but is not strictly informed by them. Of primary concern are the larger transformations which are taking place in family forms-

- The formation and dissolution of families and households, and the evolving expectation within individual's personal relationships.
- The rise in divorce and lone parenting,
- the emergence of reconstituted families and gay families, and

- the popularity of cohabitation...

.... are all subjects of concern. Yet these transformations cannot be understood apart from the larger changes occurring in our late modern age.

Anthony Giddiness : The Transformation of Intimacy

- *Marriage in pre modern society was not generally based on sexual attraction or romantic love; instead, it was more often linked to the economic context in which to create a family or to enable to inheritance of property. For the peasantry, a life characterized by unremitting hard labour was unlikely to be conducive to sexual passion although opportunities for men to engage in extramarital liaisons were numerous.*

- *Romantic love, as distinct from the more or less universal compulsions of passionate love, developed in after eighteenth century. Despite its promise of an equal relationship based on mutual attraction, romantic love has in practice tended to lead to the dominance of men over women. For many men, the tensions between the respectability of romantic love and the compulsions of passionate love were dealt with by separating the comfort of the wife and home from the sexuality of the mistress or girlfriend or prostitute.* The double standard here was that a woman should remain a virgin until the right man arrives; whereas no such norm applied to the men.

- **Giddens** argue that the most recent phase of modernity has seen another transformation in the nature of intimate relationships. **There has been the development of plastic sexuality. For *people in modern societies* there is a much greater choice over *when, how often and with whom* they have sex than ever before. With plastic sexuality, sex can be separated from reproduction.** This is partly due to improved methods of contraception which have largely freed women from the fear of repetitive (and life- threatening) pregnancies and childbirths. *However, it is not only*

technological development that led to the emergence of plastic sexuality, but crucially the **development of a sense of the self that could be actively chosen**. This process can be described as the **growth of social reflexivity**.

- **With the emergence of plastic sexuality, there is a change in the nature of Love.** Giddens argued that the ideals of romantic love are fragmenting and being replaced by confluent love. Confluent love is active and contingent. *Romantic love meant that once people had married they were usually stuck with one another, no matter how the relationship developed. Now people have more choice: whereas divorce was previously difficult or impossible to obtain, married people are now no longer bound to stay together if the relationship doesn't work.*

- Rather than basing relationships on romantic passion, people are increasingly pursuing the ideal of the pure relationship, in which couples remain because they choose to do so. *As the idea of confluent love becomes consolidated as a real possibility, the more the idea of finding the Mr. or Mrs. Right recedes and the more the idea of finding the right relationship becomes crucial.* The pure relationship is held together by the acceptance on the part of each partner that, until further notice each gains sufficient benefits from the relationship to make its continuance worth while.

- Each partner in the relationship constantly monitors their concerns to see if they are deriving sufficient satisfaction from the relationship for it to go on.

Ulrich Beck and Elizabeth Beck Gernsheim: The Normal Chaos of Love in the Family

- In the 'Normal Chaos of Love' (1995), Beck and Beck- Gernsheim examine the tumultuous nature of personal relationships, marriages and family patterns against the backdrop of a rapidly changing world. *The traditions, rules and guidelines* which used to govern personal relationship no longer apply, they

argue, and individuals are now confronted with an endless series of choices as part of constructing, adjusting, improving or dissolving the unions they form with others. The fact that marriages are now entered into voluntarily, rather than for economic purposes or at the urging of family, brings both freedoms and new strains.

- **Beck and Beck – Gernsheim** see our age as one filled with colliding interest between family, work, love and the freedom to pursue individual goals. This collision is felt acutely within personal relationships, particularly when there are two labour market biographies to juggle instead of one. By this the authors mean that *a growing number of women in addition to men are pursing careers over the course of their lifetimes. Previously women were more likely to work part time outside the home, or to take significant time away from their careers to raise children. These patterns are less fixes than they once were; both men and women now place emphasis on their professional and personal needs.* Beck and Beck- Gernsheim conclude that relationships *in our modern age are about much more than relationships, so to speak, not only are love, sex, children, marriage and domestic duties topics for negotiation, but relationships are now also about work, politics, economics, professions and inequality.* Diverse selections of problems - from the mundane to the profound- now confront modern couples.

- Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that antagonism, between men and women are on the rise. Beck and Beck Gernsheim claim that *'the battle between the sexes is the central drama of our times, as evidenced in the growth of the marriage counseling industry, family courts, marital self- help groups and divorce rates..* But even though marriage and family life seem to be more flimsy than ever before, they still remain very important to people. Divorce is increasingly common, but rates of remarriage are high. The birth rate

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may be declining, but there is a huge demand for fertility treatment. Fewer people may choose to get married, but the desire to live with someone as part of a couple is certainly holding steady. What can explain these competing tendencies?

- Authors *claim that today's battle of the sexes is the clearest possible indication of 'people's hunger for love'. People marry for the sake of love and divorce for the sake of love; they engage in an endless cycle of hoping, regretting and trying again. While on the one hand the*

tensions between men and women are high, there remains a deep hope and faith in the possibility of finding true love and fulfillment.

- You might think that 'love' is too simplistic an answer for the complexities of our current age. But Beck and Beck – Gernsheim argue that *it is precisely because our world is so overwhelming, impersonal, abstract and rapidly changing that love has become increasingly important.* According to the authors, love is the only place where people can truly find themselves and connect with others.

TYPES AND FORMS OF FAMILY

- **On the basis of marriage:** Family has been classified into three major types:
- Polygamous or polygynous family
- Polyandrous family
- Monogamous family
- **On the basis of the nature of residence** family can be classified into three main forms:
- Family of matrilocal residence
- Family of patrilocal residence
- Family of changing residence
- **On the basis of ancestry or descent family** can be classified into two main types
- Matrilineal family
- Patrilineal family
- **On the basis of size or structure** and the depth of generations family can be classified into two main types :
- Nuclear or the single unit family
- Joint family
- **On the basis of the nature of relations** among the family members the family can be classified into two main types :
- The conjugal family which consists of adult members among there exists *sex relationship.*
- Consanguine family which consists of members among whom there exists blood relationship-brother and sister, father and son etc.

Detail Analysis of Two Popular Type of FAMILY Studied in Sociology :

1. **Joint family :**

- **Social Aspect**
- **Solidarity of Relationship :** In joint families the solidarity of relationship is highly oriented towards blood relatives or siblings and not towards affinal relations, That is why such families are known as consanguineous family. All the household activities are done by daughter-in-laws because, they hardly have any importance in family. While describing the Indian joint family, S.C. Dubey says that, for any married woman her parents house use to be a sojourn place for her after marriage.

- **Importance of Members :** In joint family, the whole family is collectively important and not the particular members. Importance is mainly seen in the decision making process, which is widened from petty issues to very sensitive issues, that is why marriage related decisions are also taken at family level.

- **Marriage Alliance :** It is done at family level and not at individual level, that is why, it is said that marriage relationships are always established between two families. In such families, both husband and wife are related differently to different people and so they have very limited point of interaction between them and so, they hardly have any problem with each

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other. This issue was explained by Elizabeth Bott in her study of some families in Greater London and the same was supported by Rosser and Harris, which they described under "Degree of domesticity of women involved?

- **Political Aspect**
- **In the context of authority:** In the patriarchal family the authority is in the hands of male and in matriarchal family, it is in the female hands. In every family, there is a head appointed, who is the representative of the whole family, so the decision taken by him is the cumulative or the collective decision of the family.

- **Economic Aspect :**
- **In the context of division of labour:** Here, the division of labour is basically on the basis of age and sex. And so male used to work outside whereas females inside the wall of domesticity. There was no significance of talent & skill as for as work is concerned. The Feminist sociologist Ann Oakley has depicted in her study of British society that in pre- industrial Britain, the family was the basic unit of production. Where in, females were mostly assigned house work like cooking, cleaning, washing, child care and some other activities like dairy production activities. In other words they were engaged in some non essential activities, but the emergence of industrialization had changed their roles and now they have got the "dominant mature feminine role".
- **In the context of ownership of property :** In joint family, the property is jointly owned, that is, it does not permit individual ownership.
- **Religious Aspect :** Religious activities in joint families are essential for everyone and are performed collectively. In this way, no member can have an individual stake in this particular field.
- **Cultural Aspects :**
- **In the context of functions :** In joint families different kinds of functions used to take place, which one performs either in the obeisance of some rules or in the form of some Sankaras and the whole process is completed collectively.

- **In the context of place of residence :** The whole joint family, lives under one roof together and they have common kitchen as well.

2. Nuclear Family

- **Social Aspect**
- **Solidarity of Relations :** The solidarity of relations are concentrated highly on of final relationship. In this way, blood relations are not that important. That is why, such families are called conjugal families However one more reason, corroborates the existence of such families that the ego has already got separated from its blood relatives.
- In this family, every member is important, that is why desire of any one member is not posed on others. i,e every member is free, independent and important at ones level. In marital decisions also, the significance of individual freedom is obvious i.e. the decision is taken by related persons only. In western industrial countries, there is absolute freedom for everyone. On this matter but in the countries like India, which are still tradition-based, where nuclear family structure in different from one found in western countries and that absolute freedom is not given in marital decisions.

- **Political Aspect :**
- In nuclear family, everyone has equal rights. In such families and in decision making matters, children are equally important. Such families are known as filiocentric families. The implementation of authorities is not done through compulsion, rather it is done through consensus i.e. the general consensus of the members, which is done through consultation.

- **Economic Aspect :**
- Division of labour is chiefly on the basis of ability and talent and not on the basis of age and gender. Owing to it, the conjugal roles are joint in nuclear families whereas, in joint families they were separated. This fact was elaborated and corroborated by Elizabeth Bott and Rosser & Harris. The property of the family is governed through modern rules and the property is achieved individually, then the concerned achiever would be the owner of that property.

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Religious Aspect :

In the context of western countries and for nuclear families, S.C. Dubey has presented an analysis that with the advent & progress of science and technology people's belief towards supernatural objects and powers diminished. In comparison to religion, they started getting their problems solved through science & technology, in a very rational way. This change let the people and the state adopt secular ideologies and now, at family level religious activities are no more essential, compulsory and obligatory for members.

Miscellaneous :

Prominence of external agencies : MacIver has considered nuclear family as the unit of consumption. So whether, it is a matter of socialization of children, or of entertainment, external agencies are highly required because, the concerned commodities and services cannot be produced at family level. It is so because, wherever nuclear family exists, there is a prominence of specialization, that is, every member gets expertise in a particular field and for other services and commodities, he is bound to depend on others, this explanation was elaborately given by T. Parsons and William J. Goode in their studies of industrial societies.

Improved status of women : With the increment of the elements of equality, freedom and right to decision making have altogether weakened patriarchy. Status of women is continuously getting improved. The economic freedom, among women is highly responsible for it. Ann Oakley has presented this kind of change in the women as 'dominant, mature feminine role'.

Increase in Individuality: It is just the opposite of Durkheim's conception of collective consciousness because due to prevalence of tradition in collective consciousness, everyone thinks alike. And the same happens in the joint family of pre-industrial simple society. In modern nuclear families, individual consciousness prevails which leads the people towards economic prosperity. But, its dysfunction is seen in the form of anomie, which brings dissociation and separation in family- Apart from it, there is an increase in, crime, cyber crime, drug addiction, alcoholism prostitution, juvenile delinquency etc. There is one more important thing, which is seen in individuality and that is, people get complete privacy owing to the lack of familial and democratic pressures, which increases sexual freedom too. Conclusively, such families are becoming individualistic democrat.

FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

The family in any society is an institutional structure which develops through a society's efforts to get certain tasks done.

G. P. Murdock identified four functions of family. These universal functions he term as – Sexual, Reproductive, Economic and Educational.

- **The sexual function** of the family refers to the regulation of the sexual behaviour of its members. While husband and wife have right of sexual gratification but the threat to social order due to free play of sexual derive is checked.

- **Reproductive function** refers to the process of procreation whereby new members of the society are recruited. This ensures the survival of the society and children born to the married spouses to not suffer from the stigma of illegitimacy.

- **Economic production** or the extended family involves both production as well as consumption. The property is jointly owned by all members of the family and the relationship between kinsmen at the same time is of employee-employer relationship. The head of the family exercised the final authority in various economic matters.

- **The educational function** of the extended family involves both primary socialization as well as secondary socialization though both take place in an informal setting. In primary socialization, the elder members of the family transmit the basic elements of culture of the new members; acquire the craft and skills for participating in economic production from their elders.

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It could be seen, in traditional Indian Varna system, where the life was divided into four Astramas and its activities were divided in the form of four Purusharthas namely Dharma Artha, Kama and Moksh. In Grihstha Ashram Kama and Artha play important roles. Kama connotes gratification of sexual needs and procreation of children, where join as the function of Artha was the management of livelihood for the family. Dharma, as a function was engaged in the socialization of children. In this way, Murdock's classification can be corroborated or exemplified. MacIver has talked about two functions of family - essential and non-essential.

Essential Function :

- Gratification of sexual needs - It is significant for the application of incest taboo in family relations.
- Procreation & rearing of children (**The Socialization Function**)
- Arrangement of a house-to complete bond between family members.

Non essential Functions :

- **Economic functions** – MacIver has assumed joint family as a 'unit of production' because all the essential consumption commodities are produced & prepared at home by family members, that is, they do not depend on others for such commodities. Similarly nuclear family is considered as a 'unit of consumption'.
- Religious function
- Educational function
- Health related function
- Recreational function

Other Functions :

- **Member replacement and physical maintenance:**
- **The Affectional Function :**
- **The Status Definition Function:**
- *Joint (Extended) family performs other functions like religious functions. It is a unit of religious worship. Head of the family provide social security in the times of need especially*

for the family. It also performs political functions. In a peasant society family is the basic unit of cultural activities and recreation. The above analysis shows that although family is a primary institution in most of the society of the world, all is not well with it. In particular, the role of socialization is differently performed from family to family. Each family sets its own attainable goals and accordingly it moulds the children. However, family at large is a success as a stabilizing agency to society. It is an interaction between the stabilizing and changing force of society that affords a clue for the understanding of the social phenomena.

Functions of Nuclear Family

T. Parsons has provided two important functions

1. Primary socialization of children
2. Stabilization of adult personality

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHANGE IN FAMILY STRUCTURE IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

After scientific & industrial revolution, the patriarchal joint family, in western society started changing into individualistic nuclear family. It was the need of the people to have this kind of family structure because it suited appropriately with the complete ecology. It has many important functions to impart and through it, many unimportant functions have been done away with it. Factors responsible for this kind of change are enormous but the most important and initiating factor has been industrialization. Overall the factors can be counted in the following way :

- *Industrialization*
- *Modernization*
- *Secularization - Role of science & technology*
- **Industrialization** : T. Parsons & William J. Goode have been important figures to describe the role of industrialization in the emergence of nuclear families. Parsons argues that the isolated nuclear family is the typical family found in modern industrial society. It is structurally isolated, because it does not form an integral part of wider system of kinship relationship. T. Parsons says that a modern industrial system with a specialized

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division of labour demands considerable geographical mobility, from its labour force. Individuals with specialized skills are required to move to the places where those skills are in demand. The isolated nuclear family suits to the need of geographical mobility. It can be described in the following way:

- It doesn't contain many kins in the structure and so wide range of obligation are shortened. So the obligation are focused more on a fewer people between husband-wife and child and they make a perfect bond between them.

- Parsons argues that the isolated nuclear family is the best form of family structure, for a society based on achieved status. Because, individuals are judged on the basis of status they have achieved.

- The pre-industrial society had a particularistic value system, so the system was that of ascribed one and because of this, conflict will tend to arise in this family unit larger than the isolated nuclear family, which will threaten the solidarity of the family. The isolated nuclear family largely prevents the problem from rising.

- In an isolated nuclear family, the family functions can be done in a better way like that of primary socialization of children, and stabilization of adult personality via expressive mother & wife.

- Supporting Parsons views - Ronald fletcher argues that not only has the family retain its functions but those functions have increased in detail and importance. Specialized institutions such as schools & hospitals have added to an improved family's function, rather than superceded ones. Now parents are best guide to their children in there occupational and in their children healths. They are mentors in their achievement pattern.

- Parsons argues that family at macroscopic level has become almost completely functionless. But it does not mean that, the modern family has become, unimportant, rather its importance has increased. Now they are working for the integration and economic

system of the larger society. And that way, it is playing its role in an appropriate way.

William J. Goode: Like Parsons, Goode argues that industrialization tends to undermine the extended family and larger kinship grouping. He explains the high rate of geographical mobility in industrial society, decreases the frequency and intimacy of contact among members of kin network. The relativity of high level of social mobility also tends to weaken kinship ties.

- For e.g. the upward mobility of a member of a working class family leads to adopt the lifestyle, attitude and values of his new social class. They would tend to cut him off from his working class kin. Many of the functions once performed by the family have been taken over by outside agencies such as schools, business and welfare organisations. This reduces the dependency of the individual on his family and his kin. The importance of achieved status in industrial society means that the family and kinship groups have less to offer to their members. Because of this reasons, people started having nuclear family and this suits to the new industrial society.

- Its effect was so important that even non industrial families, also took up this structure. Goode has found that in the industrial upper class family, a joint family structure is seen, but truly speaking, they are not joint mentally & emotionally. For this, Goode applies the concept of 'role bargaining' for such families. It means that the individual attempts to obtain the best possible bargaining on his relationship with others. He will attempt to maximise his gains. He maintains a good relationship with family members and submit to their control, if he feels, he is getting a good return on his investment of time, energy & emotions. With respect to the industrialization & extended family, Goode argues that it is not so much that new system is incompatible as it offers an alternative pattern of payments. But since lot of freedom & equality is involved in this family set up, eventually it functions like a nuclear family.

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- **Modernization**
- **Role of Education:** With the complete change in modern society, education system has also played a very important role. The modern education has led the people to give up superstitions and stubborn traditions to understand their rights and become highly awared. The attainment of specialization, in occupational differentiation is not possible in absence of modern education and it further shows that with the modern education, people are getting social mobility in their life.
- Pre-industrial society was divided into two classes-upper and lower, in which equal opportunity was not available universally. But now, in industrial societies this has been made possible, in which even the children of working class can attain a high social status.
- French sociologist, Raymond Boudon, in his positional theory, explains that a working class boy attains a high position and mobility in comparison to his father because he chooses the corresponding education course and in that way, by affecting his mobility, he affects his family structure, which can be seen in the form of nucleus family.
2. **Change in judiciary:** Different types of Acts have been passed in due course of time, which has improved the status of women. Now, such women have become very much demanding, because they have realized their right of equality and freedom. The fulfillment of which can be done in nuclear family only. This has been elaborated, in the context of Indian family system by Ailleen Ross.
- **Change in Political System:** This offers equality and freedom to everyone. Goode believes that, owing to this right and freedom, the number of nuclear families, increased to a very high level, which have been seen in non-industrial western societies. Kenneth Little supports this point, in his study of migration of rural kinship based society to urban industrial societies in West Africa - many migrants welcomed the freedom from obligation to their Kinsmen, which they experience in the towns.

- **Change in ideology:** Ann Oakley has presented a picture of British society as to how modernization has offered women modern roles. Now, they got a dominant mature feminine role. In pre-industrial Britain, the family was an important unit of production. People needed marriage & family in the form of their economic needs. Because all the members were involved in the production process. The role of women was important in both industrial and textile industry. But now the same family has become, the unit of consumption and awarded females are engaged in means of earning, which has increased the structure of nuclear family.
- **Change in Mass Communication:** This has raised the level of awareness and mobility to a large extent and has definitely affected family structure.
- **Secularization :**
- The demographic factors have become healthier, owing to which people adopted one or two child norm which automatically decreased the family size, which in turn has led to the structure of nuclear family in western societies. In Indian society also, people have adopted one or two child norm with the help of legal or illegal use of technology, which finally shape the family in the form of nuclear family.

HOUSEHOLD

A household includes all the persons who occupy a housing unit. A housing unit is a house, an apartment, a mobile home, a group of rooms, or a single room that is occupied (or if vacant, is intended for occupancy) as separate living quarters. Separate living quarters are those in which the occupants live and eat separately from any other persons in the building and which have direct access from the outside of the building or through a common hall. The occupants may be a single family, one person living alone, two or more families living together, or any other group of related or unrelated persons who share living arrangements.

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The household is a residential grouping defined similarly to the above in which housework is divided and performed by householders. Care may be delivered by one householder to another, depending upon their respective needs, abilities, and perhaps disabilities. Different household compositions may lead to differential life and health expectations and outcomes for household members. Eligibility for certain community services and welfare benefits may depend upon household composition.

In sociology 'household work strategy', a term coined by Ray Pahl, is the division of labour between members of a household, whether implicit or the result of explicit decision–making, with the alternatives weighed up in a simplified type of cost-benefit analysis. It is a plan for the relative deployment of household members' tied between the three domains of employment:

(I) in the market economy, including home-based self-employment second jobs, in order to obtain money to buy goods and services in the market;

(ii) domestic production work, such as cultivating a vegetable patch or raising chickens, purely to supply food to the household; and

(iii) Domestic consumption work to provide goods and services directly within the household, such as cooking meals, child–care, household repairs, or the manufacture of clothes and gifts. Household work strategies may vary over the life-cycle, as household members age, or with the economic environment; they may be imposed by one person or be decided collectively.

Feminism examines the ways that gender roles affect the division of labour within households. Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild's in "The Second Shift and The Time Bind" presents evidence that in two-career couples, men and women, on average, spend about equal amounts of time working, but women still spend more time on housework. Feminist writer Cathy Young responds to Hochschild's assertions by arguing that in some cases, women may prevent the equal participation of men in housework and parenting.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is the approved social pattern whereby two or more persons establish a *family*. It involves not only the right to conceive and rear children (who are some-times conceived as an institutionalized preliminary to marriage) but also a host of other *obligations and privileges* affecting a good many people.

The real meaning of marriage is the acceptance of a new status, with a new set of privileges and obligations, and *the recognition of this new status by others*. Wedding ceremonies and rituals are merely ways of publicizing and dramatizing this change of status.

In matters of marriage our *ethnocentrism* is conspicuous. To us it normal that parents should arrange and compel the marriage of two persons who may never even have met. How do they know whether they will love each other? Why are not their wishes consulted? Our reaction illustrates the usual error of ethnocentrism – assuming that people with another culture will not think and feel as we would think and feel if transplanted into their situation.

Type of Marriages :

- **Polygyny :** It is a form of marriage in which one man marries more than one woman at a given time. It is of two types

- **Sororal polygyny :** It is a type of marriage in which the wives are invariably the sisters. It is often called sororate.

- **Non-sororal polygyny :** It is a type of marriage in which the wives are not related as sisters.

- Polyandry: It is the marriage of one woman with more than one man. It is less common than polygyny. It is of two types——

- **Fraternal polyandry :** When several brothers share the same wife the practice can be called alelphic or fraternal polyandry. This practice of being mate, actual or potential to one's husband's brothers is called levirate. It is prevalent among Todas.

- **Non - fraternal polyandry :** In this type the husband need not have any close relationship prior to the marriage. The wife goes to spend

some time with each husband. So long as a woman lives with one of her husbands; the others have no claim over her.

- Monogamy: It is a form of marriage in which one man marries one woman .It is the most common and acceptable form of marriage.

- Serial monogamy: **In many societies individuals are permitted to marry again often on the death of the first spouse or after divorce but they cannot have more than one spouse at one and the same time.**

- Straight monogamy: **In this remarriage is not allowed.**

- Group Marriage: It means the marriage of two or more women with two or more men. Here the husbands are common husbands and wives are common wives. Children are regarded as the children of the entire group as a whole

- *Monogamy is a form of marriage in which one woman (at a time) marriage a man and vice versa. There are three theoretical forms of polygamy. One is **group marriage**, in which several men and several women are all in a marriage relationship with one another. While this is an intriguing theoretical possibility there is no authentic instance of a society in which group marriage has been fully institutionalized, with the possible exception, at one time, of the Marquesans (**Murdock**). A very rare form is **polyandry**, where several husbands share a single wife. The Todas of Southern India provides one of our few examples. Here, as in most other cases, polyandry was fraternal, meaning that when a woman married a man, she automatically become wife to all his brother, and they all lived together with little jealousy or discord. Toda polyandry becomes understandable when one learns that they lived in a harsh environment where food was scarce and female infanticide was used to limit population size (**Murdock**). Only where some situation has created a shortage of women is polyandry likely to be found (**Unni**). But the scattered handful of societies which practice polyandry serve to show how a practice which seems to us to be contrary to human nature can still be the accepted and preferred pattern*

for people who are socialized to expect it. The usual form of polygamy is polygyny – a plurality of wives, not usually sisters and generally acquired at different times during one's life.

- *In many polygynous societies, the second wife filled the status function of the second Cadillac in our society. Far from feeling resentful, the first wife often urged her husband to take more wives, over whom she generally reigned as queen bee. Polygyny in operation took many forms in different societies, all of them far removed from the imagination of the normal ethnocentric American. Polygyny is today declining in most of the developing countries but is still common in the more remote tribal areas.*

Rules of Marriage :

No society gives absolute freedom to its members to select their partners. Endogamy and exogamy are the two main rules that condition marital choice.

- **Endogamy:** It is a rule of marriage in which the life-partners are to be selected within the group. It is marriage within the group and the group may be caste, class, tribe, race, village, religious group etc.We have caste endogamy, class endogamy, sub caste endogamy, race endogamy and tribal endogamy etc.In caste endogamy marriage has to take place within the caste. Brahmin has to marry a Brahmin. In sub caste endogamy it is limited to the sub caste groups.

- **Exogamy:** It is a rule of marriage in which an individual has to marry outside his own group. It prohibits marrying within the group. The so-called blood relatives shall neither have marital connections nor sexual contacts among themselves. *Forms of exogamy:*

- **Gotra Exogamy :** The Hindu practice of one marrying outside one's own gotra.

- **Pravara Exogamy :** Those who belong to the same pravara cannot marry among themselves.

- **Village Exogamy :** Many Indian tribes like Naga,Garo,Munda etc have the practice of marrying outside their village.

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pinda Exogamy : Those who belong to the same panda or sapinda (common parentage) cannot marry within themselves.

Isogamy : It is the marriage between two equals (status)

Anisogamy : It is an asymmetric marriage alliance between two individuals belonging to different social statuses. It is of two forms - Hypergamy and Hypogamy.

Hypergamy : It is the marriage of a woman with a man of higher Varna or superior caste or family.

Hypogamy : It is the marriage of high caste man with a low caste woman.

Orthogamy: It is the marriage between selected groups.

Cerogamy: It is two or more men get married to two or more women.

Marital Choice :

The process of arranging a marriage shows a fascinating range of possibilities. As shown above, *some societies follow a formula whereby the children of certain socially designated Kinsfolk marry each other.* The couples can do their own choosing, sometimes with parental guidance or parental veto. *The parents can arrange the marriage, with or without considering the couple's wishes. A wife may be purchases, or perhaps a complicated series of gifts are exchanged between families. Wife capture is not unknown.* Each of these patterns is the standard way of arranging marriages in some of the world's societies. All of them work – within the society in which they exist- and are supported by the surrounding values and practices of the culture. *Wife capture worked very well for the Tasmanians, who practiced village exogamy and were not greatly concerned over the differences between one woman and all the others.* For our society, it would be less practical. This illustrates the concept of cultural relativism – pattern which works well in one cultural setting might work badly in another.

Changes in Marriage :

Industrialization and urbanization have ushered in changes which have profoundly affected the institution of marriage all over the world. While different societies, and within each society different groups, have responded differentially to industrialization and urbanization, nonetheless certain common trends in the changes affecting marriage are discernible.

- **Changes in the Forms of Marriage :** Societies with traditions of plural marriages are turning towards monogamy. Due to the general improvement in the status of woman and her gradual emancipation from the clutches of male dominance, even in those societies where polygamy is permissible, incidences of polygamous marriages, and plurality of wives, are on the decrease. In India, the Hindu Marriage Act has banned both polygynous and polyandrous marriages. Even in a Muslim country like Pakistan, legislation was introduced making it necessary for the Kazi to solemnize plural marriages only if the first wife gave her written consent. The trend towards monogamy has also been encouraged by the ideology of romantic and love marriage in which one specific individual is considered to be the ideal partner. However, it would perhaps be wrong to assume that this trend towards monogamy is also towards straight monogamy. While conditions in modern society have made marriage unstable and the marriage bond is revocable, individuals are willing to risk another marriage in order to find happiness. Parents and friends too are sympathetic in this matter. Hence, societies are likely to move towards the condition of serial monogamy, rather than maintain straight monogamy.

- **Changes in Mate Selection :** In traditional societies like *India,* where mate selection was entirely a prerogative of parents and elders, a dent has been made. Young men and women are increasingly being given some say in the matter of mate selection. From a position in which they had no say whatsoever concerning whom they were to get married to, a stage has now come in which the concerned individuals are consulted and their consent obtained. In urban middle class families, sons and daughters have even come to enjoy the right to veto marriage proposals initiated by others.

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In the more advanced and enlightened urban families, parents are now giving opportunities to their children to become acquainted with prospective mates. *In India,* mate selection through newspaper advertisement has become quite a popular practice among urban middle classes and the latest development is the reported harnessing of the services of computers in bringing potentially compatible mates together.

- **Changes in Age of Marriage :** In India, where, traditionally, child marriages were prescribed, preferred and encouraged, various efforts were made by social reformers to bring this practice to an end; accordingly, the Child Marriage Restraint Act, popularly known as the Sarda Act, was passed in 1929. However, early marriage continued, in spite of the impact of modern industrialization and urbanization, especially among the rural people. In urban areas, too, there was a strong tendency to get a daughter married off as soon as possible. *But with increasing enrolment of girls in schools and colleges and their desire to take up employment, along with the problems of 'setting down' in life for the vast majority of boys, the age at marriage is perforce being pushed up.* Further, as part of its population policy, the Government has now prescribed the minimum age of marriage as 18 years for girls and 20 years for boys. In urban areas, however, marriages are now generally taking place beyond these prescribed minimum ages.

- **Changes in Marriage Rituals and Customs :** Contemporary changes in India present us with a paradoxical situation. With greater intrusion of technology and science, it was expected that a secular-scientific outlook would emerge and, consequently, the non-essential rituals and customs would be generally discarded. Religious and social reforms, in all communities have always pleaded for avoiding of wasteful expenditures on meaningless customs and rituals. *But observation indicates that, contrary to the expectations of enlightened people, marriages in India are tending to become more traditional insofar as the ritual-custom complex is concerned. Today, there is a revival of many rituals and customs, which, soon after independence, appeared to have become weak.* To an extent, this revival is a function of affluence. Many people in society have a lot of money to spend lavishly on weddings, and there is a tendency among the not-so affluent to initiate the affluent.

- **Changes in Marriage : Goals and Stability:** It was seen earlier that procreation has been the most important function of marriage in traditional societies. In all communities, a large number of children, bestowed higher status upon parents and among Hindus sons were particularly desired. Thus, a large-sized family was one of the cherished goals of marriage, and the blessings showered upon the bridal couple included good wishes for several children. But modern conditions of life have made a large family burdensome; in fact, even those with three or four children are being disfavoured. Several Third World Countries are seized of the problems that exploding populations can cause and are, therefore, committed to encouraging the small family norms. Restriction of family size is the declared official policy of many of these. India, in fact, was the first country to adopt an official family planning programme. In those Asian and African countries where there are democratic governments, through vigorous education efforts, citizens are being made to realize and accept the advantages of limited procreation. China has also adopted a very strict population control programme which involves certain disincentives and punishments for couples that do not restrict procreation. All these efforts are gradually influencing the values of people in India, and other countries. It is being realized that it is better to have about two healthy and well-cared for children than a large number who cannot be adequately fed, clothed or looked after.

As procreation, and along with it parenting role, are tending to become less important, other functions like companionship and emotional support from the spouse and children are becoming the more important goals of marriage. In fact, the younger

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people today are entering matrimony for happiness and personal fulfillment. The conditions causing marital instability are likely to worsen rather than improve in the future. Our outlook, values and ideals pertaining to marriage are also undergoing change.

What then is the future of marriage? predictions concerning social life are difficult and risky. But, there appears to be little chance that marriage, as a major event in individual and social life will ever be given up and abandoned. If evidence from western societies is any guide, high rates of divorce will not automatically deter people from getting married. Notwithstanding marital instability, the individual's quest for finding happiness in marriage will continue.

LINEAGE AND DESCENT

The term "lineage" consists of all descendants in one line of a particular person through a determinate number of generations. Where the living members constitute of recognized social group it may be called lineage group, Sometimes the lineage consist of all descendants through male of a single ancestor which is called a matrilineage or an agnatic lineage; one consisting of descendants through female is known as matrilineage.

Lineage usually has exclusive common ritual observance, perhaps totemic in nature and is usually exogamous. The clan is often the combination of a few lineages and descent may be human and human like animal or plant or even inanimate. Radcliffe Brown takes up a slightly different position and defines lineage as sib. He introduced the term. **A sib is a consanguineous group, but its members do not share a common residence.**

A descent group is any social group in which membership depends on common descent from a real or mythical ancestor. Thus a lineage is a unilineal descent group in which membership may rest either on matrilineal descent (matrilineage) or on patrilineal descent (patrilineage) In some societies the child is regarded as a descendant equally of both the father and the mother, except that titles and surnames are usually passed down along the male line. Such a system is termed *Bilateral or Cognatic. The individual belongs simultaneously to several descent groups-those of the two parents, the four grandparents, the eight great-grandparents, and so on.* This link is limited *only by memory or by some conventionally determined cut-off point at, say, four or five degrees removal. In small intermarrying communities, membership will probably overlap, and in case of dispute or feud, the individual might find his or* her loyalties divided. There are some cognatic systems where the individual has the right by descent to membership of several cognatically recruited groups, but this right is actualized only if the person is able to reside in a particular group's territory. Modern nationality laws often make this type of requirement.

Types of Descent

In other societies, by contrast and your own is most probably one of them descent is reckoned **UNILINEALLY**, that is, in one line only. The child is affiliated either with the group of the father, that is, **PATRILINEAL DESCENT**, or with the group of the mother, that is, **MATRILINEAL DESCENT**. Theories of the physiology of procreation and conception often correlate with these different modes of reckoning descent. In the former, the father is often given the primary role in procreation while the mother is regarded as merely the carrier of the child, in systems of the latter type, the father's role may not be acknowledged at all.

Additionally, in some societies one finds that the child is affiliated to the group of either parent, depending on choice, or to one parent for some purposes (for instance, inheritance of property) and to the other parent for other purposes (for instance, the inheritance of ritual or ceremonial roles). This is called **DOUBLE UNILINEAL DESCENT**

The principle of unilineal descent provides the individual an unambiguous identification with a bounded social group that exists before he or she is born and that has continuity after he or she dies. Members of a descent group have a sense of shared identity, often referring to each other as 'brother' and 'sister' even when no genealogical relationship can be traced.

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Descent groups are also very often, (though not inevitably), characterized by exogamy. That is, marriage must be with persons outside this group. For instance, traditional Chinese society was divided among approximately a hundred 'surname' groups-you could perhaps call them CLANS-within which marriage was disallowed, and these groups further divided into LINEAGES, whose members claimed to be able to trace their descent, perhaps for several hundred years, from a founding ancestor, and then into further localized SUBLINEAGES and so on down to the individual co-resident families. Sometimes a whole village might be settled by members of a single lineage. The gotras of Indian caste society are also exogamous descent groups, segmented in rather the same way.

Functions of Descent Groups

- Apart from the function of exogamy, unilineal descent groups tend to be 'corporate' in several other senses. Their members may often come together for ritual and ceremonial functions, for instance, for collective worship of lineage gods, totems or ancestors. The descent group will have a built-in authority structure, with power normally exercised by senior males, and it may well own corporate property. An individual's economic rights and responsibilities will be defined by his or her position in the descent group. In many societies, unilineal descent groups are also jural units, internally deciding their own disputes, and externally acting as a unified group in relation to other similar groups in the conduct of feud, etc. For this reason, lineage structure is often conterminous with the political structure in societies lacking a centralized state structure.

- *Lineages cannot expand indefinitely in a single locality and often segment into smaller, more manageable and economically viable lineage segments.* You can see the lines of segmentation on the ground, as it were. Consider the pattern of land ownership in an Indian village, or at the pattern of village or urban settlement; a particular quarter of the village or town may be inhabited by the descendants of a single founding ancestor. Often, the large havelis divide among brothers or step-brothers, and these quarters are further divided among their descendants. In case a lien dies out, the property would be reconsolidated.

- *Given the range of social functions that descent groups may potentially perform, it is little wonder that concern with the principles of unilineal descent has dominated the work of many students of comparative kinship.* However, even these scholars realize that unilineal descent is not the whole story. In ancient Rome, women after marriage several all contact with their natal group. In certain slave societies, the slave has no 'family' of his or her own. In patrilineal systems, the mother's father, mother and sister, and especially the mother's brother, are important examples of relationships which need further discussion. To take note of the importance of these relationships, the scholars have identified another principle. This has been termed the principle of COMPLEMENTARY FILIATION which explains the significant ritual and social roles of the mother's brothers in the lives of their sister's children. It reminds us that, in most societies, an individual is a child of both parents, however descent is formally reckoned.

PATRIARCHY AND SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

Patriarchy : Literally, rule by father, this concept is used to refer to a system that values men more and gives them power over women. **Sexual division of labour is a** system in which all work inside the home is either done by the women of the family, or organized by them through the domestic helpers. Gender division is a form of hierarchical social division seen everywhere, but is rarely recognized in the sociological studies. However, it is not based on biology but on social expectations and stereotypes.

Boys and girls are brought up to believe that the main responsibility of women is housework and bringing up children. This is reflected in a **SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR** In most families: women do all

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work inside the home such as cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, tailoring, looking after children, etc., and men do all the work outside the home. It is not that men cannot do housework; they simply think that it is for women to attend to these things. **When these jobs are paid for, men are ready to take up these works. Most tailors or cooks in hotels are men.** Similarly, it is not that women do not work outside their home. In villages, women fetch water, collect fuel and work in the fields. In urban areas, poor women work as domestic helper in middle class homes, while middle class women work in offices. In fact the majority of women do some sort of paid work in addition to domestic labour. But their work is not valued and does not get recognition.

Sex refers to the permanent and immutable biological characteristics common to individuals in all societies and cultures, while gender defines traits forged throughout the history of social relations. Gender, although it originates in objective biological divergencies, goes far beyond the physiological and biological specifics of the two sexes in terms of the roles each is expected to play. Gender differences are social constructs, inculcated on the basis of a specific society's particular perceptions of the physical differences and the assumed tastes, tendencies and capabilities of men and women. Gender differences, unlike the immutable characteristics of sex, are universally conceded in historical and comparative social analyses to be variants that are transformed over time and from one culture to the next, as societies change and evolve.

Gender relations are accordingly defined as the specific mechanisms whereby different cultures determine the functions and responsibilities of each sex. They also determine access to material resources, such as land, credit and training, and more ephemeral resources, such as power. The implications for everyday life are many, and include the division of labour, the responsibilities of family members inside and outside the home, education and opportunities for professional advancement and a voice in policy-making.

From primitive to modern societies, it is found that division of labour is a universal phenomenon. Earlier, it was highly based on sex & age, and today in modern times, it is based on talents. If division of labour in considered a biological concept, then it will be termed as a sexual division of labour. Is it is socially and culturally derived & decided, then gender based division of labour. It has been a proven fact that almost all societies have been patriarchal, that is male dominated, which means that in all kind of decision making, they (men) are playing a very important role and so it can't be denied that in the formation of division of labour i.e. who will be given what kind of role. Patrarchy had played a vital role. Nonetheless the view points for both of them are provided by thinkers which can be seen in the following ways :

Theoretical Perspective :

The prominent figures in providing the theories for sexual division in labour are :

1. *Tiger & Fox*
2. G.P. Murdock
3. T. Parsons
4. John Bowlby

- **Tiger & Fox** argues that human behaviour is based on human biogrammer. The biogrammar in a genetically based programme which pre-disposes mankind to behave in certain ways, because of this Tiger & Fox argue that compared to women, men are more aggressive and dominant. Their characteristics are genetically based, in particular they result from difference in male & female. There differences are due partly to genetic in inherent men's primate ancestors, partly to a genetic adoption to a way of life. And in that way, male dominance is a sex linked characteristic. They have studied hunting societies and found such experiences. They argue that male and female background, adopted to a sexual division of labour in a hunting society in a different way. Compared to cultural change, genetic change is slow - thus male & female biogrammar of a hunting society is in existence. Therefore, the division of labour is sex based.

- **G.P. Murdock :** He finds biological difference between men and women are the basis of the sexual division of labour in society. He says

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that men with their superior physical strength can better undertake the most strenuous task as mining, land clearance and house building etc. Not handicapped as in women, by the physiological burdens of pregnancy and nursing, he can take on the activities to hunt, to fish, to protest, while women can take on its activities of gathering food, cooking, washing, manufacturing clothes etc. Murdock surveyed 221 societies ranging from hunting and gathering bands to modern nation states and finds that the sexual division of labour is present in all societies in his sample.

- **T. Parsons :** Parsons has described two important functions in isolated nuclear family:

    (i) Primary socialization of children

    (ii) Stabilization of adult personality

    For socialization to be effective, a close warmth and supportive group is essential. Parsons characterizes women's role in family as expressive. It means she provides warmth, security and emotional support to her husband as well. Men's role is instrumental which leads stress and anxiety, the expressive female relieves the tension by providing him with love, consideration and understanding. Parsons argues that for the family to operate effectively as a social system there must be a clear cut division of labour.

- **John Bowlby :** He has provided the explanation as Parsons. According to him, it is essential for the mental health that the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with his mother. Bowlby's argument implies that there is a genetically based, psychological need for close and intimate mother-child relationship. It means, the division of labour is sex based.

- **Ann Oakley :** According to Oakley, "the division of labour on basis of sex not universal, and, there is not any reason, why it should be". Human cultures are diverse and endlessly, variable. They are the creation of human inventiveness rather than invincible biological forces. Since human cultures are changing, so there is a change in whole lifestyles, which eventually changes division of labour in society.

If we suppose division of labour, a fixed phenomenon, owing to its dependency in sex, then insipite of its changes in culture, the division of labour should not be liable for change, but since such change is happening. It shows the division of labour is not sex based.

While criticizing Murdock interpretation she says it is biased because he looked at other cultures through both western and male eyes. Similarly, she attacks on Parsons view, arguining that the expressive housewife/ mother role is not necessary for the functioning of the family unit. It merely exists for the convenience of male. **Therefore, she concludes that gender roles are culturally rather than biologically determined.**

Biological features do not bar women from particular occupation. The role of mother is a cultural construction; evidence from several societies indicates that, children do not require close, intimate and continuous relationship with a female or mother figure. **Sherry B. Ortner** claims that it is universal devaluation of women that, and is not biology as such that ascribes women their status in society. But its way, in which every culture defines and evaluates, women's/female biology. Thus, if this universal evaluation changed, then the basis for female subordination would be removed. Ortner argues that women as universally defined are closed to nature because their physiology and its functions are more concerned with the natural process, surrounding the reproduction of species. And so they are concerned with the child care and primary socialization. They develop more personal and intimate relations with others specially their children by comparison; *men have wider range of contact and less personal and particular relationship by engaging in politics, warfare and religion. Thus men are seen as being more objective and less emotional.* In this way, it can be said that subordination of women-nothing to do with biology as such, but rather to the cultural evaluation of their biological make up.

- **E. Friedl :** Friedl provides an explanation for **both sexual division of labour and gender division of labour and supports cultural explanation for this.** She tested her hypothesis by examining hunting and gathering bands and small scale horticulture societies. In hunting and gathering societies, men hunt and women

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gather vegetables, fruits and berries. Child bearing, nursing and caring are not compatible with the demands of hunting, while they seriously find gathering convenient, according to their structure & responsibly. In such societies meat is a scarce resource end it is more highly valued than the vegetable produce, which is readily available. The Successful outcome of a hunt cannot be granted because some men returned empty handed. The successful hunters distribute their kill, to other members of band and they also enjoy a protein diet. **Friedl** argues that, **the distribution of scarce or irregularly available resource is the source of power.** Those who distribute such resources gain prestige. Thus in comparison to females males are attached with high prestige and honour.

Horticultural societies are usually found in Savana regions and tropical forests. The technique of slash/shifting cultivation is often practiced trees and under growth and cut down and burned. Crops are planted and after few years when the nutrients in the soil are exhausted, a new farming site is located. Male responsibility is to protect the area and women practiced cropping.

In such societies there is always a chance to be killed, which reduced the population size. But in comparison to male, the loss of women, will reduce the size of population, because they are the real procreators, while the loss of men will not do so, *it is better for the men, to defend property and not for women*(Biological Explanation).

Cultural Explanation: Defending the property requires lot of courage and sacrifices. And so a greater prestige and honour is attached with it which shows the dominance of men.

While supporting cultural explanation, She has given another example, she observe that in some society, activities such as weaving, pottery making and tailoring are thought to be naturally women's task. And in other's societies where it is defined as men's role, they generally carry higher prestige than in societies, where they are assigned to women. *Friedl finds it as a*

reflection of male dominance, which according to her exists to some degree in all societies.

- **Sylvia Walby :**

- The idea of patriarchy has been central to many feminist interpretations of gender inequality and sexual division of labour. *Sylvia Walby* is on theorist who believes that the concept of patriarchy is essential to any analysis of gender inequality. In theorizing Patriarchy (1990), Walby presents a way of understanding patriarchy that is more flexible than its predecessors. It allows room for change over historical time, and for consideration of ethnic and class differences.

- *For Walby, 'patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. She sees patriarchy and capitalism as distinct systems which interact in different ways sometimes harmoniously, sometimes in tension depending on historical conditions. Capitalism, she argues, has generally benefited from patriarchy through the sexual division of labour. But at other times, capitalism and patriarchy have been at odds with one another. For example, in wartime, when women have entered the labour market in great number, the interests of capitalism and patriarchy have not been aligned.*

- *Walby* identifies six structures through which patriarchy operates. She recognizes that a weakness of early feminist theory was the tendency to focus on one 'essential' cause of women's oppression, such as male violence or women's role in reproduction. Because *Walby* is concerned with the depth and interconnectedness of gender inequality, she sees patriarchy as composed of six structures that are independent, but interact with one another.

- **Production relations in the household:** Women's unpaid domestic labours, such as housework and child care, are expropriated by her husband (or cohabite).

- **Paid work:** Women in the labour market are excluded from certain types of work, receive lower pay, and are segregated in less skilled jobs.

- **The patriarchal state:** In its policies and priorities the state has a systematic bias towards patriarchal interests.

- **Male violence:** Although male violence is often seen as composed of individualistic acts, it is patterned and systematic. Women routinely experience this violence, and are affected by it in standard ways. The state effectively condones the violence with its refusal to intervene, except in exceptional cases.

- **Patriarchal relations in sexuality:** This is manifested in 'compulsory heterosexuality' and in the sexual double standard between men and women (in which different 'rules' for sexual behaviour apply).

- *Patriarchal cultural institutions: A variety of institutions and practices- including media, religion and education – produce representations of women within a patriarchal gaze. These representations influence women's identities and prescribe acceptable standards of behaviour and action.*

Walby distinguishes two distinct forms of patriarchy

- **Private patriarchy** is domination of women which occurs within the household at the hands of an individual patriarch. It is an exclusionary strategy, because women are essentially prevented from taking part in public life.

- **Public patriarchy,** on the other hand, is more collective in form. Women are involved in public realms, such as politics and the labour market, but remain segregated from wealth, power and status.

Based on his Studies in Britain, Walby contents that at least in Britain, there has been a shift in patriarchy- both in degree and form – from the Victorian era to present day. *She notes that the narrowing of the wage gap and the gains in women's education demonstrate a shift in the degree of patriarchy, but do not signal its defeat. If at one time women's oppression was found chiefly in the home, it is now located throughout society as a whole- women are now segregated and subordinated in all areas of the public realm. In other words, patriarchy has shifted in form from private to public.* **As Walby quotes: liberated from the home, women now have the whole of society in which to be exploited.**

Feminism or feminist theory implies the advocacy of equal rights for women and men, accompanied by the commitment to improve the position of women in society. It seeks restoration of justice for women who remained deprived of equal status and opportunities vis-à-vis men since earliest times. **Their condition in the present-day society is reflected in the following report-*Women constitute half the world's population, perform nearly two thirds of its work hours, receive on tenth of the world's income, and own less than on hundredth of the world's property (United Nations Report).***

It has now been proved beyond doubt that biological differences between man and woman do not justify inferior status of women. On the contrary, cultural factors have contributed to accentuate the biological differences between men and women. *The rapid improvement in women's athletic records in recent decades is an indication that social norms had shaped biology and restricted women's physical development.* Feminist anthropologists have pointed out that in some ethnic groups physical differentiation between men and women is not as prominent as in others.

The present status of women is chiefly the product of patriarchal social arrangements. Women offer spend most of their time in domestic work and in rearing children. Most women do not get an opportunity to develop their own personality. They are made to believe that the proper sphere of their activity is within- their household and that they need not take interest in public life. From the beginning girls are taught to pay more attention to personal relations, not to personal success. Boys are taught to be film, assertive and aggressive, girls are taught to be obedient, shy and submissive. Boys are encouraged to become nurses or secretaries. The experience gained by women in their own professional life does not allow them to take up a political career.

It may be recalled that at the early stages of social organization, biological differences between men and women necessitated the division of labour between them. Men who were physically strong and stable chose to go out for hunting and other hazardous jobs. Women who were constrained to undertake child-bearing and rearing chose to remain at home and perform household jobs. The system

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was based on mutual care and adjustment, and did not involve any significant level of resentment.

With the development of technology, sweeping changes took place in other parts of social organization, but the division of labour between men and women remained more or less unchanged. With the evolution of various forms of power, man as head of the family, of the clan and of the tribe acquired more and more power but woman largely continued to hold the subordinate position.

However, in spite of so much importance accorded to women in social life, she was systematically deprived of her share in power. She was given security but not an opportunity to learn certain things that would make her as competent as man, and thereby vindicate her claim to equality. In particular, she was derived of the right to ownership of property, right to vote and opportunities of education and higher learning even though these deprivations had no logical connection with her biological status as a woman. Early voices demanding rights of women particularly focused on these questions.

When **Mary Wollstonecraft** (1759-97) published her essay 'Vindication of the Rights of Woman', woman was not only restrained from voting, but was deemed unfit for education, was debarred from many occupations, and had no legal right to own property. She had no real right to divorce even if her husband inferiority and demanded equal rights for women. She argued that women, like men, are rational individuals and should have equal right. She established the principles on which campaigns for women's right to education employment, property and the vote were later built up.

John Stuart Mill (1806-73) in the Subjection of Women sought to demonstrate that women were in no way inferior to men in their talents, and pleaded to give them full legal and political rights.

In the contemporary world, further advancement in technology, diversification of business, industry, administration, arts and professions, etc. and the increasing demand of new skills, talents, and professional competence, have given women the opportunity of proving their abilities. They have also been encouraged to acquire higher qualifications and training and to seek respectable careers. It is

now realized that women are fit to perform most of the jobs that men do, and for which they were not considered fit earlier. Equal rights for women are no larger questioned in enlightened circles.

The cultural valuation is the foundation for sexual division of labour. That is then reinforced by gender ideologies of male superiority and a high degree of sexual antagonism between men and women. **Meigs** (1990) describes a **"chauvinistic"** ideology that is rooted in men's role as warriors. The division of work among mundurucu, an Amazonian horticultural society, where men hunt, fish and fell the forest area for gardens while women plants, harvest and process manioc. Men work at Mundurucu has more assigned value. As **Murphy and Murphy** (1985) state "Male ascendancy does not wholly derive from masculine activities but is to a considerable degree prior to them" Male domination is traditionally symbolic. According to **Martin and Voortries** (1975) the decline in female participation in agriculture is that the female domestic workload tends to increase when root crops are replaced by cereal crop and when animal labour a places manual labour

Many egalitarian societies in the contemporary world are characterised by a division of labour whereby men hunt and women gather.

Goodye (1971) suggests that Tiwi culture emphasizes the equality of men and women in society. Among the Agta Negritos of north Eastern Luson, the Philippines women enjoy greater social and economic equality with their men compared to Tiwi of Australia. They make significant contribution to the daily food supply and also control the distribution of the food they acquire, sharing them with their families and trading them in the broader community. This challenges the widely held notion that in foraging societies pregnancy and child care are incompatible with hunting. They have developed methods of contraception and abortion to aid them in spacing their children.

The abolition of landlordism and the breakdown of its socio-cultural milieus have affected women in a positive manner.

Mencher and Saradamoni find that female income is essential for below poverty line houses. Most of the women are engaged in three types of

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work: (a) participation in the traditionally defined labour force (b) domestic work plus activities like alone. Even these women are victimized because of their sex and poor economic back-ground

Karuna Ahmad finds five trends in women's employment : (a) clustering of women in a few occupations (b) clustering either in low women receive lower salaries than men, (d) high proportion of highly educated and professionally trained unemployed women. Studies suggest that women's professional locations reflect their position in society in terms of caste and class backgrounds and educational achievements. Perceptions regarding status among women are shaped by modern education than the traditional values regarding marriage and family.

Agnithotri and Aggarwal gave preference for Marxist approach in analyzing women. Aggarwal proposes that a number of questions which would have a bearing on gender relations will get obfuscated in the organization of production and relations of production. But despite the metaphor of reforms and individuation of women, emphasis on chastity, patriarchy, division of labour, sacredness of Marriage seclusion with the household has persisted.

In horticultural societies, in which cultivation and farming is required by the use of hand-tool technology women play important roles in production. Lepowsky points to gender egalitarianism among the horticultural and matrilineal people of the pacific island of Vanatani. He says that the prominent position of women in Vanatinai exchange and other activities.

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

There is a diversity of family and marriage forms today in different societies across the world. In some areas, such as more remote regions in Asia, Africa and the Pacific Rim, traditional family systems are little altered. In most developing countries, however, widespread changes are occurring. The origins of these changes are complex, but several factors can be picked out as especially important.

— *One is the spread of Western culture. Western ideals of romantic love, for example, have spread to societies in which they were previously unknown.*

— Another factor is the development of centralized government in area previously composed of autonomous smaller societies. People's lives become influenced by their involvement in a national political system; moreover, government makes active attempts to alter traditional ways of behavior.

— Because the problem of rapidly expanding population growth, for example in China state frequently introduce programmes that advocate smaller families, the use of contraception, and so forth.

— A further influence is the large-scale migration from rural to urban areas. Often men go to work in towns or cities, leaving family members in the home village. Alternatively a nuclear family group will move as a unit to the In both case, traditional family forms and kinship systems may become weakened.

— Finally, and perhaps most important, employment opportunities away from the land and in such organization as government bureaucracies, mines, plantations and where they exist — industrial firms tend to have disruptive consequence for family systems previously centred on landed production in the local community.

In general, these changes are creating a worldwide movement towards the breaking down of the extended family systems and other types of kinship groups. This was first documented by William J. Goode in his book World Revolution in Family Patterns (1963) and has been borne out by subsequent research. The most important changes occurring worldwide are the following :

— *Clans and other kin groups are declining in their influence.*

— There is a general trend towards the free selection of a spouse.

— The rights of women are becoming more widely recognized, in respect to both the initiation of marriage and decision — making within the family.

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Arranged marriages are becoming less common.

Higher levels of sexual freedom, for men and women, are developing in societies that where very restrictive.

There is a general trend towards the extension of children's rights.

There is an increased acceptance of same-sex partnerships.

It would be a mistake to exaggerate these trends, or to presume that they have occurred uniformly around the world many of them are still being fought for and are bitterly contested. Similarly it would be a mistake to suppose that the extended family is everywhere in decline. In most societies today, extended families are still the norm, and traditional family practices continue.

Moreover, there are differences in the speed at which change is occurring and there are reversals and countertrends :

- **Family Size Has Decreased :** It is no secret that the twelve-child families of the last century are rare today. The birthrate in the Western world began failing about a century ago. Today's "smaller family", however, does not mean that all families are proportionately smaller. *The Women's Liberation Movement* has encouraged women to view childbearing as an option not as a duty. The proportion of couples who choose to remain childless has increased (Veevers 1980), and more women are delaying parenthood, with about one-third having their first child at 25 or older (Willkie 1981). *Contraceptive devices* have provided the means but not the motive. Contraceptives are not the cause of smaller families any more than ropes are the cause of the suicides. The motives for desiring smaller families carry us into many other aspects of the culture. The *shift from an illiterate agricultural society to a literate, specialized, industrialized society* has changed children from an economic asset into an expensive burden. *Shifts in patterns of recreation, in aspirations for education and social mobility, and changing concepts of individual rights* have all united to curb indiscriminate

childbearing. At present, the traditional idea that raising a large family is a noble service to society is rapidly being replaced by the idea that bearing many children is an act of irresponsible self indulgence. Thus, changing technology changing economics and changing values are all involved in the change in family size.

- **Single-Parent Families Have Increased:** While the proportion of all households composed of a married couple with children present fell by one-fourth be. Those headed by females increased 65 percent, to one in nine families. Those families headed by a never-married female increased. Of all families with children, one-parent families increased. At a given moment, 20 percent of today's children are living in a single-parent household, while today's child has a 50-50 chance of living in a single-parent household at sometimes before the age of 18.

- Whether the single-parent family is necessarily damaging to children can be debated. **Blechman (1982)** observes that if socioeconomic status, education, and other variables are controlled so that number of parent is the only variable being measured, then few differences in child development can be shown.

- Most single-parent families are poor, and three-fourths of them are on welfare (Segalman and Basu). A major part of their low income and poor education is a result of their being single parents (or teen-aged parents). A longitudinal study of women who divorced and did not remarry found that they suffered an average income decline of 50 percent (Duncan and Morgan).

- Single-parent mothers are the greatest consumers of mental-health services, while their children's rate of sue of mental-health service is four times that of children from two-parent families (Guttentag, 1980). Some part of these difficulties can be attributed directly or indirectly to the single-parent status.

- It is also clear that a single-parent family can be a healthy environment for children. A support network of helpful relatives of friends can make a great difference (McLanahan et al.). The

character of the parent is clearly more important than the form of the family. One responsible, living parent may be better for children than two quarrelsome, abusive parents locked in endless conflict. But it is difficult to argue that two responsible, living parents are not better than one.

- **Unmarried Parenthood Has Increased:** Since 1950, the illegitimacy rate has multiplied more than four times. A generation ago nine out of ten illegitimate babies were placed for adoption; today more than nine in ten of them are kept by their mothers. This often condemns the mother to a life of economic deprivation and the baby to a life of emotional deprivation (Furstenberg & Fosberg). One wonders about that ultimate social consequences of having a significant part of the next generation raised by unmarried adolescents whom we do not consider mature enough to sign a contrast, drive a car, cast a vote, or buy a drink.

- **Single-Person Household Have Increased :** It was historically difficult for a person to live comfortably alone. Only by joining a family or by setting up a household complete with servant staff could one live in comfort. Today the physical accommodations are more favourable-furnished apartments and maid service, wash-and wear clothes, Laundromats, and catering services of many kinds make it easier for the singles.

-- Historically, women lived with parents or relatives until married. Any younger woman who wished to live alone was suspected of evil intentions. Today one's apartment and set of wheels have become almost symbols of passage into adult status. Single-person households have increased from 4.7 percent of all households in 1950 to 23 percent.

- A number of books have been written in praise of the single life-style (e.g., Adams, Single Blessedness). While opinions on single "blessedness" may vary, the increase in single-person households is a highly significant change in family patterns (Stein, 1981). For example, the single person is more vulnerable to many of life's hazards (such as illness or

unemployment) and more susceptible to deviation than are people living in families (Davis and Strong).

- **Non-marital Cohabitation Has Increased:** There have always been some unmarried couples who lived together openly as 'lovers" rather than as husband and wife. Except in sophisticated, "arty" circles, they were generally condemned as scandalous and immoral. Today, however, non marital cohabitation multiplied by many times.

- Nonmarital cohabitation in Sweden which was fairly common but viewed as deviant until about 1965, is reported as fully institutionalized (Trost). A longitudinal study of 111 cohabiting Swedish couples found that after 3½ years, 22 were separated, 25 had married, and 51 were still cohabiting (Trost). Nonmarital cohabitation has become quite common in the United States, with varying degrees of acceptance by parents and others. Whether it will ever become institutionalized is an open question.

- For most cohabiting couples, nonmarital cohabitation seems just another stage of the courtship process, without any firm commitment to marry (Macklin). While most cohabiting couples have made no firm commitment to marry, most do marry or else they separate within a few years. Very few plan or will choose nonmarital cohabitation as a permanent life-style (Macklin).Thus, cohabitation has become a fairly common preliminary to marriage, a point easily confirmed by nothing the addresses of marriage license applicants as printed in the newspaper.

- One study of cohabiting persons' scores on the Minnesota Multiphase Personality Inventory found that cohabiting college students, as compared with other students, tended to be somewhat more irreligious nonconformist, immature, impulsive, manipulative, selfish, outgoing, friendly, fun-loving, and creative.

- Research studies quite consistently show that nonmarital cohabitation is remarkably like conventional marriage in its problems and

adjustments and that nonmarital cohabitation has scarcely any measurable effects upon the marriages of those who marry (Blane, et al; Stafford; Macklin,). May conclude that nonmarital cohabitation has become a widely accepted preliminary to marriage but is having very little effect upon marriage and the family.

The Quiet Revolution in Women's Employment: Perhaps the greatest change of all has been the increase in "working wives". Women workers today form over two-fifths of our labor force. About 61 percent of all married women (aged 20 to 45) living with their husbands are in the labor force, and over nine out of ten married women work for some part of their married lives.

Married women with children are now more likely to be employed than married women without children (explained, perhaps, by the fact the many of the "married women without children" are of retirement age).

Historically, a woman who worked was living evidence that she had no husband able and willing to support her. A survey of 140 married women workers in 1908 found that only 6 husbands held jobs above the grade of unskilled laborer. The working wife, once a lower-class phenomenon, is now common among the prosperous middle classes. There is no reason to believe that this trend will be reversed.

The quiet revolution has affected the household division of labor. The work time of housewives has not been reduced by laborsaving devices; today's wives spend more time on housework than those of a half century ago (Hall and Schroeder; Vanek). The time once spend in hand-washing clothes and home-canning is now spent in putting in order a daily avalanche of toys, books, magazines, and hobby gear, chauffeuring children, attending the PTA, and doing other tasks which grandmother did not do.

Obviously, when the wife works, something has to give. Some of the housekeeping niceties commercialized, but the working wife still works longer than the housewife by an average of about ten hours a week. One study concludes that, as a compared with husbands of

nonworking wives spend about four more hours a week on household chores (Bohen and Viveros-Long), while another study credits them with less than two hours per week of additional household chores (Pleck). Husbands of working wives do give considerable help with child care (Scanzoni,) and a recent survey of male college students reported three-fourths saying that they expected to spend as much time as their wives in bringing up children (Katz). It will be interesting to see whether their performance matches their promise. Most of the male readers of this book have discovered, or will discover, whether their masculinity will dissolve in dishwater.

The Dual-Carrier Family Is Becoming Coming: For some years, many wives have worked, but few have had careers. Most working wives viewed their jobs as temporary, supplemental or supportive, and subordinate to their husband's careers. Whether these working wives are happier than fulltime housewives is uncertain. Several studies conclude that working wives are more satisfied with their lives than housewives. Most of these women were socialized when sex-role expectations were more traditional. Where today's young women will find their greater life satisfaction may be changing.

A growing number of young women today are asserting their equal right to a career, not just, a job. Unlike a job, a career implies a major, long-term commitment to a sequence of positions carrying increasing responsibility and expertise. Many women today expect that any necessary sacrifices of career goals to family life should be joint and equal, not unequally imposed upon the wife. A couple who try seriously to apply this formula will find that many adjustments must be made.

Dual-career couples with children usually employ domestic help, leading critics to charge that this creates a class of women who must do house work and child care so that other women can have a more privileged life-style (Hunt and Hunt). Some dual-career couples resolve the job-transfer dilemma by commuting,

but this sort of part-time marriage is often a prelude to divorce (Gallese). Dual careers are clearly difficult to operate within nuclear family in specialized, mobile society.

- **The Status Of Divorce Has Changed:** Divorce is not necessarily a symptom of moral decay or social instability. To invoke again the concept of cultural relativism, whether divorce is a disruptive crisis or a useful adjustment depends upon the culture. The decline of a set of uniform sex-role expectations increase the likelihood that a husband and wife may disagree about their rights and duties.

- For many centuries, marriage was regarded as virtually indissoluble. Divorces were granted only in very limited cases, such as non-consummation of marriage. Most countries have moved rapidly towards making divorce more easily available. The so-called adversarial system used to be characteristic of virtually all industrialized courtiers.

- Divorce rate are obviously not a direct index of marital unhappiness. For one thing, rates of divorce do not include people who are separated but not legally divorced. Moreover, people who are unhappily married may choose to stay together- because they believe in the sanctity of marriage, or worry about the financial or emotional consequences of a break up, or wish to remain with one another to give their children a 'family' home.

- *Why is divorce becoming more common?* Several factors are involved, to do with wider social changes. Except for very small proportion of wealthy people, marriage today no longer has much connection with the desire to perpetuate property and status from generation to generation. As women become more economically independent, marriage is less of a necessary economic partnership than it used to be. Greater overall prosperity means that it is easier to establish a separate household, if there is marital disaffection, than used to be the case. The fact that little stigma now attaches to divorce is in some part the result of these developments, but also adds momentum to them. A further important factor

is the growing tendency to evaluate marriage in terms of the levels of personal satisfaction it offers. Rising rates of divorce do not seem to indicate a deep dissatisfaction with marriage as such, but an increased determination to make it a rewarding and satisfying relationship.

- The increasing specialization, individuation, and mobility of modern life, together with our rapid rate of social change, make it less likely that a couple will share the same tastes and values for a lifetime. Women's economic dependence upon men has decreased. Unhappy wives in earlier generations were virtually helpless, whereas today's unhappy wife has some alternatives: work, if she is able; welfare, if she is not (Udry)

- Divorce has become socially acceptable, with divorcees no longer branded as moral lepers or social outcasts. Divorce feeds upon itself as an increasing traction of people have parents, relatives, or friends, who are divorced. Research shows that one's readiness to divorce is more highly correlated with one's social contacts with divorced persons than with one's level of marital unhappiness (Greenberg and Nay). Close contacts with divorced persons transform divorce from a remote nightmare into a rational alternative. No-fault divorce laws have made divorce less costly and less complicated. Marital unhappiness may or may not have increased, but readiness to use divorce has multiplied enormously.

- A society can get a very low divorce rate in at least five ways. First it can deemphasize love. In many societies marriage is working partnership but not a romantic adventure as well. If less is expected of marriage, more marriages will "successful. Second, it can separate love from marriage. A number of societies have a series of men's clubs for companionship, and allow men wide freedom to prowl in search of sex adventure. Here again, less is demanded of the marriage. Third, the society can socialize its members to be so much alike in personality and expectation that practically all marriages will work out

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successfully. The stable, well-integrated society generally succeeds in accomplishing this leveling. Fourth, familism may be so encompassing that divorce is intolerable. In other words, so many of one's necessities, privileges, and satisfactions may be connected to the marital and family ties that to sever the marital tie is to cancel nearly all the claims and privileges which make life tolerable. Finally divorce can be legally forbidden, or made so difficult that most unhappily married couples are unable or unwilling to seek divorce as a solution.

Domestic violence :

We may define domestic violence as physical abuse directed by one member of the family against another or others. Studies show that the prime targets of physical abuse are children, especially small children. Violence by men against their female partners is the second most common type of domestic violence. Domestic violence is the most common crime against women, who are at greater risk of violence from men in their own families or from close acquaintances than they are from strangers (Rawstorne 2002.).

There is nothing new about violence within the family, but only recently has it been "discovered" as a social problem (Pfohl). The first national survey of family violence was made in 1975 by Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz. Violence in self-defense is also more common among wives, and this helps explain the surprisingly high violence index among women (Gelles).

Husband/wife and parent/child violence is found at all class levels but is far more common in the lower classes (Pelton). The violent husband is most often poor, uneducated, either unemployed or stuck in a low-paid-low –status job, and is the son of a violent father (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz). The child-abusing parent most often shows the same characteristics. Most were abused children themselves, are young and immature, hold unrealistic expectations for their children's behavior, and react violently when children disappoint them (Thorman). The most likely victims are unwanted children (Freeman); or children who are sickly, fretful, and difficult to handle.

The most recently "discovered" form of family violence is parent or elder abuse family violence. Aged parents are particularly vulnerable to violence from their children or grand-children, and preliminary studies suggest that it is far more common than is generally recognized (Peek). As research proceeds, it will be interesting to see whether family violence is three-generational, with abused children growing up to become abusive parents, and, still later, to become abused grandparents.

Family violence is unlikely to disappear. As long as many children are socialized in an atmosphere of family violence, and as adults must cope with poverty, unemployment, unwanted children, and a dead-end, hopeless existence, there will be a lot of family violence (Gelles).

The issue of domestic violence attracted popular and academic attention during the 1970s as a result of the work under taken by feminist groups with refuge centre for battered women. Before that time, domestic violence, like child abuse, was phenomenon which was tactfully ignored. Feminist studies of domestic violence drew attention to the prevalence and severity of violence against women in the home. Most violent episodes between spouses reported to the police involve violence by husbands against their wives. There are far fewer reported cases of women using physical force against their husbands. Feminists have pointed to such statistics to support their claims that domestic violence is a major form of male control over women.

In a backlash against feminist arguments, conservative commentator have claimed that violence in the family is not about patriarchal male power, as feminists contented, but about 'dysfunctional families'. Violence against women is a reflection of the growing crisis of

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the family and the erosion of standards of morality. They question the finding that violence from wives towards husbands is rare, and suggest that men area less lively to report instances of violence against them from their wives than vice versa (Straus and Gelles).

Such assertions have been strongly criticized by feminists and by other scholars who argue that violence by females is in any case more restrained and episodic than that of men, and much less likely to cause enduring physical harm. They argue that it is not sufficient to look at the number of violent incidents within families. Instead it is essential to look at the meaning, context and effect of violence. Wife battering – the regular physical brutalizing of wives by husbands- has no real equivalent the other way round. Research found that violence by women against their male partners is often defensive rather than offensive, with women resorting to violence only after suffering repeated attacks over time (Rawstorne). Men, who physically abuse children, are also much more likely to do so in a consistent way, causing long – standing injuries, than are women.

Why is domestic violence relatively commonplace? Several sets of factors are involved. One is the combination of emotional intensity and personal intimacy characteristic of family life. Family ties are normally charged with strong emotion, often mixing love and hate. Quarrels which break out in the domestic setting can unleash antagonisms that would not be felt in the same way in other social contexts. What seems only a minor incident can precipitate full-scale hostilities between partners or between parents and children. A man tolerant towards eccentricities in the behaviour of other women may become furious if his wife talks too much at a dinner party or reveals intimacies he wishes to keep secret.

A second influence is the fact that a good deal of violence within the family is actually tolerated, and even approved of. Although socially sanctioned family violence is relatively confined in nature, it can easily spill over into more server forms of assault. Many

children In Britain have at some time been slapped or hit, if only in a minor way, by one of their parents. Such actions quite often meet with general approval on the part of others, and they are probably not even thought of as violence although there is increasing pressure.

While no social class is immune to spousal abuse, several studies indicate that it is more common among low-income couples (Cherlin 1999). More than three decades ago, **William Goode** (1971) suggested that low- income men may be more prone to violence because they have few other means with which to control their wives, such as a higher income or level of education. In addition, the high levels of stress induced by poverty and unemployment may lead to more violence within families. In support of this assertion, **Gelles and Cornell** (1990) found that unemployed men are nearly twice as likely as employed men to assault their wives.

CONTEMPORARY TREND IN FAMILY FUNCTIONS

- **The Economic Functions Have Greatly Declined** : A century ago the American family was a unit of economic production, united by shared work on the farm. Except on the farm, the family is no longer a basic unit of economic production; this has shifted to the shop, the factory, the office. The family is no longer united by shared work, for its members work separately; instead, the family is a unit of economic consumption, united by companionship, affection, and recreation.

- **The Sexual Regulation Functions Have Diminished** : Although most sexual intercourse is still marital, the proportion has probably fallen claimed by Kinsey studies. A research study finds well over 90 percent of college students approving of sexual intercourse among persons who are engaged, in love, or with "strong affection," while over two-thirds even approve of intercourse among those who are "not particularly affectionate" (Perlman). Many other studies (Schmidt and Sigursch; Hunt; Yankelovich; Zelnik and Kantner) point to the same conclusion; virgin marriage has

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become relatively uncommon and may virtually disappear in the near future. Whether this is a sexual revolution" as some scholars proclaim (Skolnik,) or whether it is only another of many historical swings between permissiveness and restrictiveness (Hindus; Shorter) is not yet apparent.

The Reproductive Functions Has Declined In Importance: True, birthrates are much lower than century ago, but if one considers only the size of the surviving family, then the family reproductive function is not so greatly changed. A few centuries ago one-half to three-fourths of the children died in infancy or childhood; today over 96 percent reach adulthood. There is solid research evidence that the smaller families are less stressful, more comfortable, and "most satisfactory to spouses, parents, and children" (Nye et al.), and are happier and better adjusted (Hurley and Palonen; Schooler; Glenn and McLanahan). Even when other variables (such as income, education, and occupation) are controlled, children in smaller families are more healthy, creative, and intelligent (Lieberman). But if small families are good for children, having no children seems to be goods for adults.

The Socialisation Function Grows More Important: The family remains the principal socializing agency, although the school and the peer groups unquestionably fill important socializing functions. Other social agencies are occasionally called in for guidance. The major change has been in our attention to the socialization function. An earlier generation knew little about "personality development today nearly every literate parent knows. We know something today of the role of emotional development in school progress, career success, physical well-being, and practically all other aspects of the good life. Our great-grandparents worried about smallpox and cholera; we worry about sibling jealousies and peer-group adjustment.

Does the child suffer when mother takes a job? There have been several dozen studies of this question (reviewed by Stoltz; Herzog; Nye and Hoffman; Schooler). The earlier studies failed

to control for such class or family composition. As a result, the working-mother sample had a higher proportion of poor, uneducated slum dwellers, widows, and divorce than the nonworking-mother sample. Such poorly controlled studies seemed to show that children suffered when mother worked. Later studies compared children of working mothers with children of otherwise comparable non-working mothers. Although not entirely conclusive, these studies do not show any general tendency for children to suffer when the mother is employed. Although the evidence is somewhat mixed, it appears that whether the mother works is not very important, while the kind of mother she is and the kind of home she and the father provide are the more important variables (Hoffman)

– At the very time that the socialization functions is growing more important, changing structure of the family–increasing divorce, illegitimacy, and single-parent and dual career families – would appear to make it more difficult for the family to perform its socialization function. Time will tell whether this fear is well-founded.

• **The Affectional and Companionship Function Grew in Importance:** The primary community, the small group of neighbors who knew one another well and had much in common has disappeared from the lives of most Americans. Urbanization and specialization have destroyed it. In an increasingly heedless, impersonal, and ruthless, world, the immediate family becomes the bulwark of emotional support. Only within the family can one hope to find enduring sympathy when troubled or an unjealous joy at one's success. For both sexes and all races and at all races and at all ages, the single, the windowed, the divorced, and the separated show lower levels of happiness and higher death rates for all the leading causes of death. It is literally true that the lonely die sooner. The importance of the affectional and companionship functions is further magnified by the expansion of the post parental period. In earlier generations relatively few parents lived very long beyond the maturing of heir children.

- **The Status Definition Function Continues:** Many families continue to prepare children to retain the class status of the family; others seek to prepare their children for social mobility. They do this mainly by trying to give children the kind of ambitions, attitudes, and habits which prompt them to struggle for a higher class status and to fill it successfully. This is called anticipatory socialization, for it is an effort to socialize children class status which it is hoped they will some day achieve. At best, this effort is only partly successful. The child may acquire the ambitions and work habits which prompt it to struggle successfully for upward mobility, but no family can fully succeed in socializing a child for a way or life not practiced by that family.

- **The Protective Functions Have Declined:** The traditional family in Western society performed most of the functions of organized social work today-nursed the sick, gave haven to the handicapped, and shelter to the aged. Today, we have a medical technology which only specialists and hospitals can handle. Today's urban household is an impractical place in which to care for some kinds of handicapped people. Family care of the aged was a practical arrangement when the aging couple stayed on the farm, joined by married child or mate. The parents could retire gradually, shifting to less strenuous tasks but remaining useful and appreciated. This pattern is available today to only a tiny minority, and many elderly couples feel- and are- useless and unappreciated in the homes of their children. Our rapid rate of social change and social mobility also means that many tensions may develop when three generations live under one roof. So for a variety of reasons – most of which have nothing to do with selfishness or personal responsibility – many of the protective functions of the traditional family have been shifted to other institutions.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO FAMILY LIFE

There seem to be substantial class differences affecting reactions to the changing character of family life and the existence of high levels of divorce.

In her book 'Families on the Fault Line (1994)', **Lillian Rubin** interviewed the members of thirty-two working class families in depth. She concluded that, compared to middle- class families, working class parents tend to be more traditional. The norms that many middle-class parents have accepted, such as the open expression of pre- marital sex, are more widely disapproved of by working- class people, even where they are not particularly religious. In working class households there tends therefore to be more of a conflict between the generations.

- The young people in Rubin's study agree that their attitudes towards *sexual behaviour, marriage and gender divisions* are distinct from those of their parents but they insist that they are not just concerned with pleasure seeking. They simply hold to different values from those of the older generation.

- Rubin found the young women she interviewed to be much more ambivalent about marriage than were their parent's generation. They were keenly aware of the imperfections of men and spoke of exploring the options available and of living life more fully and openly than was possible for their mothers. The generational shift in men's attitudes was not as great.

- Rubin's research was done in the United States, but her findings accord closely with those of researchers in Britain and other European countries. **Helen Wilkinson** and **Geloff Mulgan** carried out to large- scale studies of men and women aged between eighteen and thirty-four in the UK. They found major changes happening in the outlook of young women in particular; and that the values of this age group contrasted in a general way with those of the older generations in Britain.

- Among young women there is 'a desire for autonomy and self- fulfillment', through work as much as family and the valuing of risk, excitement and change. In these terms there is a growing convergence between the traditional values of men and the newer values of women. The value of the younger generation, **Wilkinson and Mulgan** suggest, have been shaped by their inheritance of freedoms largely unavailable to earlier generations freedom for women to work

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and control their own reproduction, freedom of mobility for both sexes and freedom to define one's own style of life. Such freedoms lead to greater openness, generosity and tolerance; but they can also produce a narrow, selfish individualism and a lack of trust in other.

Remarriage and Step Families: Remarriage can involve various circumstances. Some remarried couples are in their early twenties, neither of them bringing a child to the new relationship. A couple who remarry in their late twenties, their thirties or early forties might each take one or more children from the first marriage to live with them. Those who remarry at later ages might have adult children who never live in the new homes that the parents establish. There may also be children within the new marriage itself. Either partner of the new couple may previously have been single, divorced or widowed, adding up to eight possible combinations. Generalizations about remarriage therefore have to be made with considerable caution, although some general points are worth making.

Odd though it might seem, the best way to maximize the chances of getting married, for both sexes, is to have been married before! People who have been married and divorced are more likely to marry again than single people in comparable age groups are to marry for the first time. At all age levels, divorced men are more likely to remarry than divorced women: three in every four divorced women, but five in very six divorced men, remarry. In statistical terms at least, remarriages are less successful than first marriages. Rates of divorce from second marriages are higher than those from first marriage.

Step Families: The term step family refers to a family in which at least one of the adults has children from a previous marriage or relationship. Sociologists often refer to such groups as *reconstituted families*. There are clearly joys and benefits associated with reconstituted families and with the growth certain difficulties also tend to arise. In the first place, there is usually a biological parent living elsewhere whose influence over the child or children is likely to remain powerful. *Second,* cooperative relations between divorced individuals are often strained when one or both remarries. Take the case of a woman with two children who marries a man who also has two, and all live together. If the 'outside' parents insist that children visit them at the same times as before, the major tensions involved in meddling such a newly established family together will be exacerbated. For example, it may prove impossible ever to have the new family together at weekends. *Thirds,* reconstituted families merge children from different backgrounds, who may have varying expectations of appropriate behaviour within the family. Since most step children 'belong' to two houses holds, the likelihood of clashes in habits and outlook is considerable.

Reconstituted families are developing types of kinship connection which are quite recent additions to modern Western societies; the difficulties created by remarriage after divorce is also new. Members of these families are developing their own ways of adjusting to the relatively uncharted circumstances in which they find themselves. Some authors today speak of binuclear families, meaning that the two households which form after a divorce still comprise one family system where there are children involved. In the face of such rich and confusing transformations, perhaps the most appropriate conclusion to be drawn is a simple one: while marriages are broken up by divorce, families on the whole are not especially where children are involved, many ties persist despite the reconstructed family connection brought into being through remarriage.

ALTERNATIVES TO TRADITIONAL FORMS OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

• **Cohabitation** – Where a couple live together in a sexual relationship without being married- has become increasingly widespread in most Western societies. If previously marriage was the defiling basis of a union between two people, it can no longer be regarded as such.

Today it may be more appropriate to speak of coupling and uncoupling as we do when discussing the experience of divorce above. A growing number of couples in committed long term relationships choose not to marry, but reside together and raise children together.

- In a Study carried out by researchers at the University of Nottingham in 1999, sociologists interviewed a sample of married and cohabiting couples with children aged eleven or under, as well as a sample of their parents who were still married. They were interested in the differences in commitment between older married persons and couples in the younger generation. The researchers found that the younger married and cohabiting couples had more in common with each other than with their parents. While the older generation saw marriage in terms of obligations and duties, the younger generation emphasized freely given commitments. The main difference between the younger respondents was that some of them preferred to have their commitment recognized publicly through marriage.

- **Gay and lesbian partnerships:** Many homosexual men and women now live in stable relationship as couples. But because most countries still do not sanction marriage between homosexuals, relationship between gay men and between lesbians are grounded in personal commitment and mutual trust rather than in law. The term families of choice have some times been applied to gay partnership to reflect the positive and creative forms of everyday life. That homosexual couples are increasingly able to pursue together. Many traditional features of heterosexual partnerships such as mutual support, care and responsibility in illness, the joining of finances, and so forth- are becoming integrated into gay and lesbian families in ways that were not possible earlier.

- Since the 1980s there has been a growing academic interest in gay and lesbian partnerships. Sociologists have seen homosexual relationships as displaying forms of intimacy and equality quite different from those common in heterosexual couples.

Weeks et.al (1999) point to three significant patterns within gay and lesbian partnership. *First* there is more opportunity for equality between partners because they are not guided by the cultural and social assumptions that underping heterosexual relationships. Gay and lesbian couples may choose to shape their relationships deliberately so that they avoid the types of inequalities and power imbalances that are characteristic of many heterosexual couples. *Second*, homosexual partners negotiate the parameters and inner working of their relationships. If heterosexual couples are influenced by socially embedded gender roles, same-sex couples face fewer expectations about who should do what within the relationship. For example if women tend to do more of the house work and child care in heterosexual marriages, there are no such expectations within homosexual partnerships. Every thing becomes a matter for negotiation; this may result in a more equal sharing of responsibilities. *Third,* gay and lesbian partnerships demonstrate a particular form of commitment that lacks an institutional backing. Mutual trust, the willingness to work at difficulties and a shared responsibility for emotional labour seem to be the hallmarks of homosexual partnerships.

- Relaxation of previously intolerant attitudes toward homosexuality has been accompanied by a growing willingness by the courts to allocate custody of children to mother living in lesbian relationship. Techniques of artificial insemination mean that lesbian may have children and become gay- parent families without any heterosexual contacts.

- A number of recent legal victories for homosexual couples indicate that their rights are gradually becoming enshrined in law. In Britain, a landmark 1999 ruling declared that a homosexual couple in a stable relationship could be defined as a family. This classification of homosexual partners as members of the family will affect legal categories such as immigration, social security, taxation, inheritance and child support. In 1999 a US court upheld the paternal rights of a gay male

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couple to be named jointly on the birth certificate of their children born to a surrogate mother.

Staying single : Recent trends in household composition raise the question: are we becoming a nation of singles? Several factors have combined to increase the number of people living along in modern western societies. One is a trend towards later marriages.

Being single means different things at different periods of the life-course. A larger proportion of people in their twenties are unmarried than used to be that case. By their mid- thirties, however, only a small minority of men and women have never been married. The majority of single people aged thirty to fifty are divorced and in between marriages. Most single people over fifty are widowed.

More than ever before, young people are leaving home simply to start an independent life rather than to get married (which had been on of the most common paths out of the home in the past). Hence it seems that the trend of 'staying single' or living on one's own may be part of the societal trend towards valuing independence at the expense of family life. Still, while independence or 'staying single' may be an increasingly common path out of the parental home, most people do eventually marry.

THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY

If one looks at the divorce rate and dwells on the gloomy strictures of the marriage critics, it is easy to wonder whether the family has a future. But there is firm evidence that marriage and the family are not dying. The one-divorce-to-two-marriages ratio is mis-leading, since it implies that half the people get divorced, which is untrue. At current marriage and divorce rates, demographers estimate that fewer than two persons in five who marry will become divorced, some of them to be divorced several times, while more than three-fifths of first marriages will last until death (Glick and Norton)

While a few sociologists doubt that the family has a future (Keller), most sociologists disagree. It is noteworthy that in the Israeli Kibbutz, after more

than a generation of successful communal living, including a deliberate effort to abolish the family as a functional unit, the recent trend has been toward increasing the functional significance of the family (Shepher; Talmon; Mednick; Garson). All evidence thus indicates that the family, however often its death may be listed in the obituaries is nonetheless here to stay (Bane). It is even suggested by some scholars that the family is assuming greater importance in modern society. The inadequacy of work as a source of major life satisfactions for working class people and the loss of the primary community as a source of roots and identity leave the family as the greatest source of emotional satisfaction (Kornblum).

The really important question is not "Will the family endure?" but, "How will it change?" Some believe that the computer revolution will transform the family, with a greatly increased fraction of all work, shopping, play, and everything else going on at home before the computer terminal (Frederick). "Productivity climbs when computers allow employees to work at home," reports the Wall Street journal, but workers miss their primary group contacts with coworkers. It is too early to predict the effects of the computer revolution upon the home.

One family historian believes that the nuclear family is crumbling and will be replaced by the "Free-floating" couple, less tied to children, close friends, or neighbors than in the past (Shorter). In contrast to this, two major family theorists have predicted that the next few decades may see a return to a more highly structured, traditional, and less permissive family than that of today (Vincent; Zimmerman). A prominent sociologist (Etzioni) claims that the nuclear family will survive because "no complex society has ever survived without a nuclear family. "There is little doubt that the family will survive, the direction of family change cannot confidently be predicted.

KINSHIP :

Kinship is the relation by the bond of blood, marriage and includes kindered ones. It represents one of the basic social institutions. Kinship is universal and in most societies plays a significant role in the socialization of individuals and the maintenance of group solidarity. It is very important in primitive societies and extends its influence on

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almost all their activities. A.R Radcliffe Brown defines kinship as a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community, the behavior of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way and to a greater or less extent by social usage.

Affinal and Consanguineous kinship :

Relation by the bond of blood is called consanguineous kinship such as parents and their children and between children of same parents. Thus son, daughter, brother, sister, paternal uncle etc are consanguineous kin. Each of these is related through blood. Kinship due to marriage is affinal kinship. New relations are created when marriage takes place. Not only man establishes relationship with the girl and the members of her but also family members of both the man and the woman get bound among themselves. Kinship includes Agnates (sapindas, sagotras); cognates (from mother's side) and bandhus (atamabandhus, pitrubandhus, and matrubandhus).

Type of Kinships :

- Primary kins : **Every individual who belong to a nuclear family finds his primary kins within the family. There are 8 primary kins- husband-wife, father-son, mother-son, father-daughter, mother-daughter, younger brother-elder brother, younger sister-elder sister and brother-sister.**

- Secondary kins: **Outside the nuclear family the individual can have 33 types of secondary relatives. For example mother's brother, brother's wife, sister's husband, father's brother.**

- Tertiary kins : **Tertiary kins refer to the secondary kins of our primary kins. For example wife's brother's son, sister's husband's brother and so on. There are 151 types of tertiary kins.**

Kinship Usages :

Kinship usages or the rules of kinship are significant in understanding kinship system. They serve two main purposes :

- They create groups or special groupings or kin. For example- family extended family, clan etc.
- Kinship rules govern the role of relationships among the kins.

Kinship usage provides guidelines for interaction among persons in these social groupings. It defines proper and acceptable role relationships. Thus it acts as a regulator of social life. Some of these relationships are: avoidance, teknonymy, avunculate, amitate, couvades and joking relationship.

- **Avoidance :** It means that two kins normally of opposite sex should avoid each other. In almost all societies avoidance rules prescribe that men and women must maintain certain amount of modesty in speech, dress and gesture in a mixed company. Thus a father-in-law should avoid daughter-in-law. The purdah system in Hindu family in the north illustrates the usage of avoidance.

- **Teknonymy :** According to the usage of this usage a kin is not referred directly but is referred to through another kin. In a traditional Hindu family wife does not directly utter the name of her husband but refers to her husband as the father of so and so.

- **Avunculate :** It refers to the special relationship that persists in some societies between a man and his mother's brother. This usage is found in a matriarchal system in which prominence is given to the maternal uncle in the life of his nephews and nieces.

- **Amitate :** The usage of amitate gives special role to the father's sister. Here father's sister is given more respect than the mother. Among Todas the child gets the name not through its parents but through the father's sister. Naming the child is her privilege.

- **Couvade :** The usage of couvades prevalent among the Khasi and the Todas tribes makes the husband to lead the life of an invalid along with his wife whenever she gives birth to a child. He refrains from the active work, takes diet and observes some taboos which are observed by his wife. According to Malinowski the usage of couvade contributes to a strong marital bond between the husband and wife.

- **Joking relationship :** A joking relationship involves a particular combination of friendliness and antagonism between individuals and groups in certain social situations. In these situations one individual

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or group is allowed to mock or ridicule the other without offence being taken. The usage of the joking relationship permits to tease and make fun of the other.

Important Points to Remember to quote in Answers :

- A person referred to as the parent of his or her child indicates the practice of Teknonymy.
- Rivers has given the explanation of kinship terms referring to social usages which are antecedent to their use.
- The residence rule which gives choice to the newly-weds to live with the parents of either the groom or the bride is known as biolocal.
- When both patrilineal and matrilineal rules apply jointly it is called double descent.
- Rivers has defined the clan as an exogamous division of tribe.
- Social recognition is important in determining consanguineous kinship.
- In double descent system one inherits fathers' patrilineal relatives and mother's matrilineal relatives.
- MacIver said that kinship creates society and society creates the state.
- Weiser stressed that clan is usually associated with totemism.
- Levi Strauss has regarded preferential mating as a device for strengthening group solidarity.
- Westermarck has written the history of human marriage.
- Westermarck has listed various causes of polygyny including variety of women.
- Murdock has distinguished between the family of orientation and the family of procreation.
- Morgan suggested historical evolution of the form of marriage and family.
- Tribes such as Mundas and Nagas do not permit marriage between persons from the same village.
- According to Westermarck marriage is itself rooted in the family rather than family in marriage.
- According to D.N Majumdar the Hindu society presently recognizes only two forms of marriage the Brahma and Asura.

A. Tarawad splits into smaller units called Tavazhis.

When one becomes the member of the consanguineal relatives of both father and mother, it is known as bilateral ridicule the other without offence being taken. The usage of the joking relationship permits to tease and make fun of the other.

- The rule of residence generally followed in India is patrilocal.
- When not mutual, a joking relationship assumes the form of social control.
- Where father's sister is given more respect than the mother the relationship is called amitate.
- Neolocal rule of residence is generally followed in western countries.
- People bond together in groups based on reproduction refers to kinship.
- Experimental marriage is known as privileged relationship.
- Marriage of one man with a woman and her several sisters are called sororal polygamy.
- The marriage of a Hindu is illegal if his or her spouse is alive.This restriction is according to Hindu Marriage Act.
- Marriage of a man of high caste with a woman of lower caste is called Anuloma marriage.
- Levi Strauss believed that no society was perfectly unilineal.
- Radcliff Brown introduced the term lineage group to designate the living members of a group.
- Morgan believed the earliest form of kin group to be the clan.
- Rivers has listed belief in common descent and possession of a common totem as characterizing a clan.
- Murdock has called the clan a compromise kin group.
- Radcliffe Brown defines sib as a consanguineous group not sharing a common residence.
- Horton and Hunt described the marriage as the approved social pattern whereby two or more persons establish a family.
- A nomenclature of the family function is symbolic of system to reckoning descent.

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10

SOCIAL CHANGE

> **Syllabus**
> * Sociological Theories of Social Change.
> * Education and Social Change.
> * Development and Dependency.
> * Science, Technology and Social Change.

Social change is a change in the social structures and functions of those Structures. The term social change is also used to indicate the changes that take place in human interactions and interrelations. For example Change in Structure and Functions of family (Joint to Nuclear Structure of Family and Change in functions of family). For **Maciver and Page,** Society is a web of social relationships and hence social change means change in the system of social relationships. These are understood in terms of social processes and social interactions and social organization. **Auguste Comte** the father of Sociology has posed two problems- the question of social statics and the question of social dynamics, what is and how it changes. The sociologists not only outline the structure of the society but also seek to know its causes also. **According to Morris Ginsberg** social change is a change in the social structure.

Change is the law of nature. What is today shall be different from what it would be tomorrow. The social structure is subject to incessant change.. Individuals may strive for stability, societies may create the illusion of permanence, the quest for certainty may continue unabated, yet the fact remains that society is an everchanging phenomenon, growing, decaying, renewing and accommodating itself to changing conditions and suffering vast modifications in the course of time. Our understanding of it will not be complete unless we take into consideration this changeable nature of society, study how differences emerge and discover the direction of change.

FORMS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Generally social change occurs in two forms.

* **Change in the system :** It means all the small changes occurring in the system come under this form of social change. Karl Marx has described it in the form of quantitative changes. Such changes keep going on in all the societies like premature communism, ancient society, similarly plenty of changes coming up in modern societies in all areas are the ways of change in the system. Given so much importance to children and women in today's family, is indicator of change in relations. Parsons has also talked about such kind of change.

* **Change of the system :** Though, this form of change, brings change in the whole system, for eg the qualitative change explained by Karl Marx described, this kind of change, because under qualitative change, the whole system is replaced by another system. Similarly, if it happens that in India, caste system in completely abolished and absolute class system is established then it would be said to be change of the system.

DIRECTION OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Though there is not any fixed direction of change and so there is nothing absolute to describe it. But maclver and Page have given, in general, the following directions of change

* **Forward direction of change :** Shows a definite positive change. This is usually seen in the field of science and technology, which in turn, change the existence of life and knowledge.

* **Downward/Backward direction of change :** Some changes occur, upwards initially but later on a

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process of degeneration starts, economic change in the best example of it. Metropolitan cities also decay after a big change. In international market also this kind of change in seen.

• **Wave Like change :** Another direction of change happens as a wave ambulance like motion and example of such kind of changes are seen in the field of fashion, styles of living, attires etc. Which after sometime repeat itself. It does not have any fixed direction of high level of change.

Factors of Social Change

• **Internal Factors :** Change in population and geographical conditions, change in production process migration, Individual interests, communal conflicts, change in physical consumerism like in science and technology industrialization, urbanization, consumerism lifestyle etc.

• **External Factors :** Cultural contact is the main external factor, which could be direct or indirect and which beings change in the form of acculturation, assimilation and diffusion for eg. India realized change under the direct influence of Islam and Western culture and especially westernization has put a great impact on our societies, in all spheres of life.

NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

- Social change is a universal phenomenon.
- Social change is a community change.
- Speed of social change is not uniform.
- Nature and speed of social change is affected by and related to time factor.
- Social change occurs as an essential law.
- Definite prediction of social change is not possible.
- Social change results from the interaction of a number of factors

Social change is a universal phenomenon. Social change occurs in all societies. No society remains completely static. This is true of all societies, primitive as well as civilized. Society exists in a universe of dynamic

Influences. The population changes, technologies expand, material equipment changes, ideologies and values take on new components and institutional structures and functions undergo reshaping. The speed and extent of change may differ from society to society. Some change rapidly, others change slowly.

• *Social change is community change. Social change does not refer to the change in the life of an individual or the life patterns of several individuals.* It is a change which occurs in the life of the entire community. In other words, only that change can be called social change whose influence can be felt in a community form. Social change is social and not individual.

• *Speed of social change is not uniform. While social change occurs in all societies, its speed is not uniform in every society.* In most societies it occurs so slowly that it is often not noticed by those who live in them. Even in modern societies there seems to be little or no change in many areas. Social change in urban areas is faster than in rural areas.

• *Nature and speed of social change is affected by and related to time factor. The speed of social change is not uniform in each age or period in the same society. In modern times the speed of social change is faster today than before 1947. Thus, the speed of social change differs from age to age. The reason is that the factors which cause social change do not remain uniform with the change in times. Before 1947 there was less industrialization in India, after 1947 India has become more industrialized.* Therefore, the speed of social change after 1947 is faster than before 1947.

• *Social change occurs as an essential law. Change is the law of nature. Social change also is natural. It may occur either in the natural course or as a result of planned efforts.* By nature we desire change. Our needs keep on changing. To satisfy our desire for change and our changing needs social change becomes a necessity. The truth is that we are

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process of degeneration starts, economic change in the best example of it. Metropolitan cities also decay after a big change. In international market also this kind of change in seen.

Wave Like change : Another direction of change happens as a wave ambulance like motion and example of such kind of changes are seen in the field of fashion, styles of living, attires etc. Which after sometime repeat itself. It does not have any fixed direction of high level of change.

Factors of Social Change

Internal Factors : Change in population and geographical conditions, change in production process migration, Individual interests, communal conflicts, change in physical consumerism like in science and technology industrialization, urbanization, consumerism lifestyle etc.

External Factors : Cultural contact is the main external factor, which could be direct or indirect and which beings change in the form of acculturation, assimilation and diffusion for eg. India realized change under the direct influence of Islam and Western culture and especially westernization has put a great impact on our societies, in all spheres of life.

NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

- Social change is a universal phenomenon.
- Social change is a community change.
- Speed of social change is not uniform.
- Nature and speed of social change is affected by and related to time factor.
- Social change occurs as an essential law.
- Definite prediction of social change is not possible.
- Social change results from the interaction of a number of factors

> *Social change is a universal phenomenon. Social change occurs in all societies. No society remains completely static.* This is true of all societies, primitive as well as civilized. Society exists in a universe of dynamic

influences. The population changes, technologies expand, material equipment changes, ideologies and values take on new components and institutional structures and functions undergo reshaping. The speed and extent of change may differ from society to society. Some change rapidly, others change slowly.

- *Social change is community change. Social change does not refer to the change in the life of an individual or the life patterns of several individuals.* It is a change which occurs in the life of the entire community. In other words, only that change can be called social change whose influence can be felt in a community form. Social change is social and not individual.

- *Speed of social change is not uniform. While social change occurs in all societies, its speed is not uniform in every society.* In most societies it occurs so slowly that it is often not noticed by those who live in them. Even in modern societies there seems to be little or no change in many areas. Social change in urban areas is faster than in rural areas.

- *Nature and speed of social change is affected by and related to time factor. The speed of social change is not uniform in each age or period in the same society. In modern times the speed of social change is faster today than before 1947. Thus, the speed of social change differs from age to age. The reason is that the factors which cause social change do not remain uniform with the change in times. Before 1947 there was less industrialization in India, after 1947 India has become more industrialized.* Therefore, the speed of social change after 1947 is faster than before 1947.

- *Social change occurs as an essential law. Change is the law of nature. Social change also is natural. It may occur either in the natural course or as a result of planned efforts.* By nature we desire change. Our needs keep on changing. To satisfy our desire for change and our changing needs social change becomes a necessity. The truth is that we are

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anxiously waiting for a change. *According to Green* "The enthusiastic response of change has become almost a way of life."

- *Definite prediction of social change is not possible. It is difficult to make any prediction about the exact forms of social change.* There is no inherent law of social change according to which it would assume definite forms. We may say that on account of the social reform movement untouchability will be abolished from the Indian society; that the basis and ideals of marriage laws passed by the government; that industrialization will increase the speed of urbanization but we cannot predict the exact forms which social relationships will assume in future. Likewise it cannot be predicted as to what shall be our attitudes, ideas, norms and values in future.

- *Social change shows chain-reaction sequence. A society's pattern of living is a dynamic system of inter-related parts.* Therefore, change in one of these parts usually reacts on others and those on additional ones until they bring a change in the whole mode of life of many people. For example, industrialism has destroyed the domestic system of production. The destruction of domestic system of production brought women from the home to the factory and the office. The employment of women meant their independence from the bondage of man. It brought a change in their attitudes and idea. It meant a new social life for women. It consequently affected every part of the family life.

- *Social change results from the interaction of a number of factors. Generally, it is thought that a particular factor like changes in* technology, economic development or climatic conditions causes social change. This is called monistic theory which seeks to interpret social change in terms of one single factor. But the monistic theory does not provide an adequate explanation of the complex phenomenon of social change. As a matter of fact, social change is the consequence of a number of factors. A special factor may trigger a change but it is always associated with other factors that make the triggering possible. The reason is that social phenomena re mutually interdependent. None stand out as isolated forces that bring about change of themselves. Rather each is an element in a system. Modification of one part influences the other parts and this influence the rest, until the whole is involved.

- *Social change are chiefly those of modification or of replacement. Social changes may be broadly categorized as modifications or replacements.* It may be modification of physical goods or social relationships. For example, the form of our breakfast food has changed. Though we eat the same basic materials which we ate earlier, wheat, eggs, corn, but their form is changed. Ready-to-eat-cornflakes, breads, omlettes are substituted for the form in which these same materials were consumed in yester years. There may also be modifications of social relationships. The old authoritarian family has become the small equalitarian family, the one room school has become a centralized school. Our ideas about women's rights, religion, government and co-education stand modified today.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Classical Evolutionary Theory of Change

Evolutionary theories are based on the assumption that societies gradually change from simple beginnings into even more complex forms. Early sociologists beginning with Auguste Comte believed that human societies evolve in a unilinear way- that is in one line of development. According to them social change meant progress toward something better. They saw change as positive and beneficial. To them the evolutionary process implied that societies would necessarily reach new and higher levels of civilization. L.H Morgan believed that there were three basic stages in the process: *savagery,*

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barbarism and civilization. Auguste Comte's ideas relating to the three stages in the development of human thought and also of society namely-the theological, the metaphysical and the positive in a way represent the three basic stages of social change. *This evolutionary view of social change was highly influenced by Charles Darwin's theory of Organic Evolution.* Although evolutionist's ideas dates back to **August Comte** but it was **Herbert Spencer** who presented his theory of evolution in a more systematic form.

Herbert Spencer :

- *Spencer started with the assumption that reality was governed by the cosmic law of evolution. He said; "the evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion during which matter passes from the indefinite incoherent homogeneity to definite coherent heterogeneity".* Stated in simple words, this distinction means that *evolution is a twin process of differentiation and integration* whereby a simple and less differentiated society is formed.

- *Further Spencer's conception of the notion of social reality was influenced by biology. Adopting organismic analogy, Spencer believes that like individual organism societies were made up of inter-connected and interdependent parts.* In case of society these parts are social institutions. A more or less persisting network of inter-dependent parts constitutes the social structure. *Like organism, societies are also characterized by progressive increase in size. Increase in size is followed by increase in differentiation and integration. Thus, simple societies with relatively undifferentiated social structure. Increasing differentiation or in other words increasing division of labour is accompanied by new means of maintaining integration. Thus, societies either due to change in environment or due to internal growth of population gradually undergo evolutionary change. This change is viewed as progressive and unidirectional process involving transition from small and simple to large and complex type of societies.* Spencer's theory of change is a macro theory because the entire societies are taken as a unit of analysis.

- Further, *Spencer even examined certain stages which the societies in course of their evolution passed.* Each stage is characterized by increasing development in the integration of mechanism. The evolutionary sequence consists of the following stages:

  - Simple society (Herd or band)
  - Compound society (Tribe and chiefdom)
  - Doubly compounded society (City state & kingdom)
  - Trebly compounded society (Empire and modern nation state)

L.T. Hobhouse :

Following Spencer, L.T. Hobhouse also presented the sequence of evolution. Like Spencer, he continued to believe in the idea of progress. *However, he used concept of social development to analyse and explain social change. Taking advancement in human knowledge as the chief indicator of development, Hobhouse also presented an evolutionary sequence tracing development of human society through five stages.*

  - Stage of preliterate societies.
  - Stage of literacy and proto-science
  - Stage of reflective thought
  - Stage of critical thought in Greece
  - *State of modern science.*

Emile Durkheim :

Durkheim has given an evolutionary picture of social change and depicted that society is evolve from highly undifferentiated to differentiated. It means that the society is evolved from mechanical or simple to organic or complex society. In mechanical society, collective consciousness was very strong, division of labour was very low and so the mental level of the people. That is why, without questioning the authority; they followed each and every order, blindly or mechanically. That is why, it was a mechanical society, which moved to organic society, wherein lot of speciality divided the labour highly and so society became complex. The society consists of so many special organs, who perform their specific duties and have a mutual co-operation with each other, that in why it is called organic society.

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Critics Comment :

The classical evolutionist approach was concerned as scientific attempt towards explanation of social change. However, in later part of the 19th century, the classical evolutionist approach came to be severely criticized for failing to be adequately scientific as can be seen from the following characteristics of classical evolutionist approach.

- *Classical evolutionists share the general 19th century belief in human progress. Their theories tended to have a value bias and hence looked objectively, a pre-condition for a scientific study.* This bias is evident from the fact that they cynically labeled simple societies as primitive or savage etc, while describing European culture and societies as a model of high civilization. Such a romantic perception of human progress came for a severe criticism in early 20th-century when the first world war broke out in European society which was considered to be advancing towards to apex of human progress and civilization and Europe witnessed the human savagery at its worst.

- *Most sociologist and anthropologist belonging to the classical evolutionist's tradition were of the arm chair type.* So they largely relied on secondary data of questionable value to build their evolutionary models and hence works were considered unscientific.

- *Their theories of societies was macro theories taking the total society as the unit and their models of societal evolution were universal model* treating as a unilinear process.

NEO-EVOLUTIONIST'S THEORY CHANGE

Of late, there has been a revival of interest in the explanation of change as a evolutionary process. These evolutionary theories of change have come to be known as neo-evolutionary theory of change. Some of these theories *have made a conscious attempt to overcome the limitation of classical evolutionist approach.*

Talcott Parsons :

- Parsons build his theory of change based on the model of biological theory of evolution. As in the living organisms system, which have survived and become most developed are those which have shown greater ability for adapting to their environment. Thus the fundamental principle of evolution is the capacity for adaptation.

- *Capacity for adaptation,* in turn depends upon two basic processes viz *differentiation and integration.* Increasing structural differentiation enable society to upgrade its *adaptational capacity.* At the same time, as it becomes more differentiated, new models of integration have to be invented in order to coordinate the new and more numerous parts of which it is composed. Increased differentiation accompanied by sustained integration enables society to evolve according to exigencies of the environment. Here *change in the culture* is very important for both. Increased differentiation as well as for new integrative mechanism to be effective, culture plays the most important role in maintaining control. According to Parsons cultural change accompanied by increasing differentiation is characterized by increasing *generalization of cultural value* which helps in greater inclusion.

- *Applying evolutionary model, Parsons has distinguished five stages of evolution, in terms of which various societies can be classified. These stages are characterized by increasing level of differentiation and integration.*

  - First type is primitive society, like Australian aborigine.
  - Second type is Archaic society like Mesopotamia and Egyptian Empire.
  - The third type is Historical Society like China and India.
  - The fourth type is Seedbed society like Israel and Greece and
  - *The fifth type is Modern society like U.S., Soviet Union, Europe and Japan.*

Each of these stages represents similarity in their degree of differentiation and their integrative solution.

- Parsons discuss about *evolutionary universals.* If a civilization at a lower evolutionary stage adopts certain evolutionary universals

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belonging to a higher stage, it can easily leap over one or more stage altogether. Here, Parsons give the example of Europe were at a lower stage of evolution than their contemporaries like the Indian and the Chinese empire. Yet feudal Europe observed some of the higher level universals that have originated in the Roman, Hellenistic and Judaic civilization which together transformed the medieval European societies into modern advanced stage.

CYCLICAL THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Cyclical theories of social change focus on the rise and fall of civilizations attempting to discover and account for these patterns of growth and decay. Spengler, Toynbee and Sorokin can be regarded as the champions of this theory. Spengler pointed out that the fate of civilizations was a matter of destiny. Each civilization is like a biological organism and has a similar life-cycle, birth, maturity, old-age and death. After making a study of eight major civilizations including the west he said that the modern western society is in the last stage i.e. old age. He concluded that the western societies were entering a period of decay as evidenced by wars, conflicts and social breakdown that heralded their doom.

Arnold Toynbee :

Arnold Toynbee's famous book 'A study of History' (1946) focus on the key concepts of challenge and response. Every society faces challenges at first, challenges posed by the environment and later challenges from internal and external enemies. The nature of responses determines the society's fate. The achievements of a civilization consist of its successful responses to the challenges; if cannot mount an effective response it dies. He does not believe that all civilizations will inevitably decay. He has pointed out that history is **a series of cycles of decay and growth.** But each new civilization is able to learn from the mistakes and to borrow from cultures of others. It is therefore possible for each new cycle to offer higher level of achievement.

Vilfredo PARETO

Pareto has divided the whole social system into two parts: elites and masses. Eites consists of both governing and non governing elites. Elites could be

further divided into two groups 1. Residues of Combination 2. Residues of Group Persistence.

The first group has a characteristic to mix up easily with the people. They are highly imaginative and cunning as well, which reflects their lideology in the same way. Whereas, the second group has a characteristic of stability and so, they work on the principle of group stability.

The first group is politically called fox, economically called speculators and obviously they are non idealists. The second group is politically called lions, economically called Ren tiers and of course, it is idealistic.

When the first group i.e. foxes are in power, then a speedy change is seen in the society, b u t after some time, when people realize their cunningness and their demerits, then there is a disturbance in the society, which needs a change, this time, Lions make their way. They convince the people substantially and with their support, gain the power by replacing foxes. But in due course of time, when people find no creativity or invention or discovery done in the society, they become hopeless and dissatisfied. The Cunning foxes realise this thing and so clear the way for them and as a result, they gain the power.

The process keeps on going which is circulation of elites, as called by Pareto. It is because of this circulation, that social change occurs in society and the change is obviously in the form of cycle This is cyclical social change given by Pareto.

Relevance

1. **In the Context of two opposite ideologies :** Pareto's opinion about lions and foxes, in the form of two opposite ideologies is nowhere absolutely found. Because in modern era, such system is established worldwide, that a single idelology cannot work. The awared citizens of any country want a party, to be pragmatic, reconcillatory and based on stability, And this cannot be found in a single group i.e. lion or fox. This is the reason, that in today's leadership, the characteristics of both lions and foxes are present, naturally that leadership will get mandate, which is able to adequately implement all the required attributes. This is

the reason that in Britain, sometimes, conservative party also gets a bundle of votes from working class. And same is situation of American Rightist, Democratic party. In India also caste chemistry has become more important then caste arithematic . In this context, Pareto's theory does not seem to be much relevant in modern.

2. **In the context of Non Governing elements :** It is relevant in the form of opposition party, opposition party keeps acknowledging the people, the faulty policies and their wrong implementations and in that way, they stop the government to be authoritarian and arbitrary. Some times, they become successful replacing the governing elites.

3. **In the form of multi party system:** In modern times in many countries, multi party system works and today, the government is formed with the alliance of many parties. In this context, Pareto becomes relevant.

SOROKIN : Socio Cultural- Dynamics :

Sorokin, in his cyclical theory of social change has shown that every social system has a definite cultural stage, in which a change makes changes in the whole social system and this is social change. Sorokin, in his book "Socio Cultural Dynamics" has illustrated mainly two and overall there cultures 1. Sensate 2. Idealistic & 3. ideational culture.

Here sensate and ideational are extremes cultural stages. It means, reaching to any of the culture extreme level, society faces a change, that is why sorokin believes that the whole human history is the history of cultural dynamics.

The distinction B/W sensate and ideational culture is the basis of social change, when society changes from one stage to another. Then all the attributes of social relation as science, religion philosophy, law, morality, art, literature etc. are changed and in that way, this is a social change widely.

The Change is cyclical

According to Sorokin, one cultural stage reaches to second cultural stage and again moves back to its original stage. This is cyclical stage for eg

from sensate culture, three is a change towards ideational culture and again the sensate culture is restored back, but meanwhile, it has to pass through one more stage, which Sorokin has called idealistic culture.

In sensate culture, material & sensual aspects all given prime imp, in which status & position of members of society are considered on the basis of those aspects they have earned. In this the beliefs, values, emotions of individual are of material aspect. And people love to accomplish their task, which can give more sensual pleasure that is why, in this cultural stage, power is concentrated in those hands, who posses lot of material property. In sensate cultural stage, religion, tradition, customs have limited impact on social relations and social action.

In ideational cultural stage, spirituality has a prime concern, in which, the ideals of life focus on the search of truth and peace. Instead of material pleasure, ethics, traditions, religion, truth, nonviolence are the important elements in social system and activity controlled and regulate the activities of the members. In this system, the social strata's are determined on the basis of religious and spiritual success and skill.

Idealistic culture stage:- contains the attributes of both the cultures that is sensate and ideational it is a kind of integrated system, which shows the transitional phase, it comes in between, whenever there is a change from sensate to ideational and ideational to sensate.

The principle of eminent change:- According to Sorokin, Social system is related with cultural system, that is why a change in cultural system, changes the social system Sorokin believes that this change is based on the principle of eminent change, according to which the forces of change are inherent on the nature of culture itself.

Principle of Limits

Sorokin envisages that sensate and ideational cultures are extreme stages, naturally they do not change beyond them, so cultural elements move in backward direction. To make it intelligible Bierstedt has given the example of piano, in which the sound comes out in the same proposition of the force by which the keys are pressed. But it has a limit beyond

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which the keys will breakup. When the same is applied in Sorokin theory, then it becomes clear that, now the change will be in backward direction.

Irregular Motion of Change

Whether the change is from sensate to ideational or ideational to sensate, the motion of change is irregular, It is in the form of Fluctuation So in the sequence of change, the speed of change is sometimes high and sometimes slow and next time it may stagnate temporarily. In this way it cannot be predicted when one cultural stage would reach to second cultural stage.

This is Sorokin's cyclical theory of change.

Limitations

1. This theory does not explain all kinds of changes and specially the minute change or routine changes in life. Eventually. It lacks microscopic explaination Movever it explains the change in social system in toto whereas Marxist or Parsonian approach explains all kinds of changes whether qualitative or quantitative.

2. According to Sorokin, a change in different direction occurs only after reaching to the extreme level of cultural stage. But the same has not been seen practically. One important fact in this regard is that it is absolutely difficult to determine what is the extremity of a cultural stage. Apart from it, it has also been seen that a social system turns to a second culture, before reaching to the extremity of a first culture. Thus the western materialistic culture has reached to idealistic culture, before reaching to the extremity of materialism. It also shows that the change is sometimes forward and sometimes backward, which violates its claim of being cyclical, in this way it lacks objectivity and rationality.

Note : What kind of change is indicated through the peace efforts done by western countries worldwide? The peace efforts are mainly done in the following way.

1. Non proliferation of Nuclear, chemical or biological weapons

2. disarmament

3. Conservation of Environment

4. Abolition of terrorism

5. Alleviation of poverty from poor countries

6. Globalization of world economy

The observation of all such efforts shows that overtly western countries are oriented towards world peace. But reality is something else. In the processes like non-prolification of chemical biological & nuclear weapons & disarmament, the self interest of these countries are highly deep rooted. Actually, they have a threat to their own existence, thereby they are appealing the whole world in this context, the some condition is related with removal of terrorism from the world and through it the developed countries want to preserve their own capital. A similar explanation can be given for other sections also for globalization, poverty aleviation, through which they want to minimize this project more and more obviously they are leading towards cyclical change. Undoubtedly, there countries are making their endeavor in Yoga Ayur Veda, naturapathy, herbal, organic food, philanthropy and so a partial peace process is going on in this way a little glimse of cyclical change is seen now. In this way it can be said that Sorokin's theory has a limited relevance.

MALINTEGRATION THEORY OF CHANGE

Neil J. Smelser :

According to Smelser over a period of time incompatibilities may develop between parts of the social system. This may lead to conflicting pressure of demands over different sectors of the society. For example, in some cases, the opposition between the social group of one kind or another; in other cases, the system of incompatibilities may cut across group division. *These inconsistencies may generate structural strain in the system. Such situation of structural strain in the system. Such situation of structural strain may sometimes lead to collective mobilization and social movement may emerge to bring about social change.* However, structural strain alone is not enough to generate a change oriented social movement. Other conditions whose presence are essential are :

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- *Growth and spread of generalized belief*
- *Precipitation factors*
- *Mobilization of participants for action.*

R.K. Merton :

According to Merton over a period of time, parts become dysfunctional and these dysfunctional parts give rise to Malintegration and maladjustment with the social system. Malintegration are manifested in the form of conflict.

For the system to survive, the conflict has to be resolved. Therefore, **the dysfunctional parts may be replaced by its functional alternatives or functional equivalent.** This, in turn, would bring about a partial change in the structure.

DIFFUSIONIST THEORY OF CHANGE

Diffusionist theory of change locates the source of change outside the society. According to Diffusionist, the process of change begins with culture. When **cultural contact** takes place, various possibilities may happen :

- The cultural trait may be accepted in parts or in totality.
- The cultural traits may be accepted after modification.
- *The cultural traits may be rejected.*

The acceptance or rejection of cultural traits depends firstly on intensity of contact; thus if there is the direct cultural contact leading to acculturation process, recipient culture may be transformed to a great extent. Secondly, if the coming cultural traits are related to the peripheral aspects of the recipient's culture, then there is great chance of its acceptances, for example, how easily Indians have accepted Jeans and Pizzas, but if it is related to the core values of the recipient culture, then it will face a lot of resistance. In fact, a change in core values of the recipient culture may even give rise to revivalist type of protest movement.

Robert Readfield in his studies of Mexican community had developed the concept of great and little tradition to analyze social change, resulting due to diffusion. **Milton Singer and Mackim Marriot** have tried to approve this model of study of social change in India. According to this approach, the social structure of civilization operates at two levels; first that of the folk or ordinary people and second that of the elite. The culture of fold comprise the little tradition, while that of elite comprises the great tradition. Now, while studying the process of social change through diffusion, the impact of diffusion should be analysed at two levels. Prof Y. Singh has attempted an analysis of social change in this manner.

CONFLICT (MARXIAN) THEORY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Karl Marx borrowed from Hegel, a dialectical view of nature and synthesized it with his materialist stand point. Instead of seeing the world only as the quantity of fixed things or objects, defined and distinguished from one another by their external characteristics, dialectics views the world as a series of mutually interconnected processes. *All phenomenon are the process of change and such change is rooted in what Marx called unity and conflict of opposites. In each social formation, thesis develops its own antithesis, finally leadings to the conflict between the two which is resolved with the emergence of new synthesis, having elements of both and which in turn becomes the new thesis.*

Summary :

- The world including the social world is better characterized by flux and change rather than by stability and permanence.

- In the social world, as in the world of nature, change is not random, but orderly, in that uniformities and regularities can be observed and therefore, scientific finding can be made about them.

- In the social world, the key to the pattern of change can be found in man's relationship in the economic order, the world of work. Subsistence, the need to make a living must be achieved in all societies. How subsistence is achieved crucially affects the whole structure of society.

- Pursuit of economic interest is primary basis for cooperation and conflict in the society. Men having common and compatible economic interest enter into cooperation with each other. Generally the economic interests are shaped

by the fact of the whether one owns the means of production or not. Groups of people having similar relations to means of the production constitute a class.

- There are two main classes. The cooperation between these classes is essentially to carry out production. These classes represent those who own the means of production and hence contribute their loabur. While these classes depend on each other to fulfil their economic interest, at the same time, their economic interest are mutually opposed because of the unequal distribution of the fruits of production which are appropriated by the ownership class at the cost of propertyless working class. So long as such economic inequality persists, these two classes are inevitable, leading to hostile relation between them though sometimes this hostility may be latent but in certain situation it becomes manifest leading to open conflict between them. Such conflict between these classes in midwife of change because the interest of ownership class lies in preserving the status quo. While the propertyless working class wants a radical transformation to bring about an agitation and redistribution of the means of production.

- *The source of change lies in the economic organisation of the society. Social reality being systematic in nature has inter-connected parts. Therefore, changing in the economic organization inevitably stimulates change in the other parts of the society too.*

CRITICS COMMENT

Weber criticized Marxian theory of social change on various grounds.

- Firstly, **Weber** sees no evidence to support Marxian idea of polarization of society into two mutually hostile camps. More importantly, Weber argues that white collar middle class expands rather than contracts as capitalism develops, because capitalist enterprises in the modern nation state requires a rational bureaucratic administration which involves large number of administrative and clerical staff. Thus, Weber sees process of diversification of classes and an expansion of white collar middle class rather than a polarization.

- Further, **Weber** rejects the inevitability of revolution and regards it only as one of the possibilities, in fact a rare possibility. Increasing social mobility and rise of welfare state in modern industrial society have dampened the revolutionary fervour of the industrial workers.

- A similar criticism of Marxian theory has been presented by **Ralph Dahrendorf** also. According to him there is no possibility of general configuration leading of revolutionary change in the modern society. *"Decomposition of capital"* and *"Decomposition of labour"* have not presented any possibilities of polarization, though conflict of interest remains but, increasing institutional autonomy in modern industrial society insulated conflict and change in one area from spreading to other areas of social life.

- *Another criticism is generally directed towards the orthodox Marxist who felt economic sub structure as the sole determining cause of all the change in the society. Here Marxian theory of social change can be seen only as on ideal type explanation of social change highlighting the role of economic factors.*

NOTE : (More analysis in Thinkers Notes : Karl Marx)

FUNCTIONALIST OR DYNAMIC THEORIES

In the middle decades of the 20th century a number of American sociologists shifted their attention from social dynamics to social static or from social change to social stability. Talcott Parsons stressed the importance of cultural patterns in controlling the stability of a society.

According to him society has the ability to absorb disruptive forces while maintaining overall stability. *Change is not as something that disturbs the social equilibrium but as something that alters the state of equilibrium so that a qualitatively new equilibrium results.* He has stated that changes may arise from two sources. *They may come from outside the society through contact with other societies. They*

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may also come from inside the society through adjustment that must be made to resolve strains within the system. Parsons speaks of two processes that are at work in social change.

In simple societies institutions are undifferentiated that is a single institution serves many functions. The family performs reproductive, educational, socializing, economic, recreational and other functions. A process of differentiation takes place when the society becomes more and more complex. Different institutions such as school,

factory may take over some of the functions of a family. The new institutions must be linked together in a proper way by the process of integration. New norms must be established in order to govern the relationship between the school and the home. Further bridging institutions such as law courts must resolve conflicts between other components in the system.

WEBERIAN THEORY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

(Refer Sociological Thinkers Notes....)

DEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCY

There are many theories of development and dependency. These theories have strengths and weaknesses. **One shortcoming of all of them is that they frequently give short to the role of women in economic development.** By putting the theories together, however, we should be able to answer a key question facing the 85 percent of the world's population living outside high-income countries: how can they move up in the world economy?

Market-oriented Theories of Development :

The most influential theories of global inequality advanced by **British and American economists and sociologists** were market-oriented theories. **These theories assume that the best possible economic consequences will result if individuals are free-uninhibited by any form of government constraint-to make their own economic decisions.**

Unrestricted capitalism, if it is allowed to develop fully, is said to be the avenue to economic growth. Government bureaucracy should not dictate which goods to produce, what prices to charge or how much workers should be paid. According to market-oriented theorists, *governmental direction of the economics of low-income countries results in blockages to economic development. In this view, local governments should get out of the way of development.*

Modernization theory : W.W. Rostow

Modernization theory argues that low income societies can develop economically only if they give up their traditional ways and adopt modern economic *institutions, technologies and cultural values that emphasize savings and productive investment.*

One of the most influential early proponents of such theories was **W.W. Rostow,** an economic adviser to former US President John F. Kennedy, whose ideas helped shape US foreign policy towards Latin America during the 1960s. Rostow's explanation is one version of a market-oriented approach, termed **'modernization theory'.**

According to Rostow, *the traditional cultural values and social institutions of low-income countries impede their economic effectiveness.* For example, *many people in low-income countries, in Rostow's view, lack a strong work ethic; they would sooner consume today than invest for the future. Large families are also seen as partly responsible for 'economic backwardness', since a breadwinner with many mounts to feed can hardly be expected to save money for investment purposes.*

But to modernization theorists, the problems in low-income countries run even deeper. ......*The cultures of such countries, according to the theory, tend to support 'fatalism' – a value system that views hardship and suffering as the unavoidable plight of life. Acceptance of one's lot in life thus discourages people from working hard and being thrifty in order to overcome their fate. In this view, then, a country's poverty is due largely to the cultural failings of the people themselves. Such failings are reinforced by government politics that set wages and control prices and generally interfere in the operation of the economy. How can low-income countries break out of their poverty? Rostow viewed economic growth as*

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going through several stages, which he likened to the journey of an aero plane:

- **The traditional stage :** This is the stage just described. It is characterized by low rates of savings, the supposed lack of a work ethic, and the so-called fatalistic value system. The aero plane is not yet off the ground.

- **Take off to economic growth :** The traditional stage, Rostow argued, can give way to a second one: economic take-off. *This occurs when poor countries begin to jettison their traditional values and institutions and start to save and invest money for the future. The role of wealthy countries, like the United States, is to facilitate this growth. They can do this by financing birth control programmes or providing low-cost loans for electrification, road and airport construction, and starting new industries.*

- **Drive to technological maturity:** According to Rostow, *with the help of money and advice from high-income countries, the aeroplane of economic growth would taxi down the runway, pick up speed and become airborne. The country would then approach technological maturity. In the aeronautical metaphor, the plane would slowly climb to cruising altitude, improving its technology, reinvesting its recently acquired wealth in new industries and adopting the institutions and values of the high-income countries.*

- **High-mass consumption :** Finally, *the country would reach the phase of high mass consumption. Now people are able to enjoy the fruits of their labour by achieving a high standard of living. The aeroplane (country) cruises along on automatic pilot, having entered the ranks of high-income countries.*

Rostow's ideas remain influential today Indeed, perhaps the prevailing view among economists today, neo-liberalism, argues that *free-market forces,* achieved by minimizing governmental restrictions on business, provide the only route to economic growth. Neo-liberalism holds that global free trade will enable all countries of the world to prosper; eliminating governmental regulation is seen as necessary for economic growth to occur. Neo-liberal economists therefore call for an end to restrictions on trade and

often challenge minimum wage and other labour, laws, as well as environmental restrictions on business.

Sociologists, on the other hand, *focus on the cultural aspects of Rostow's theory; whether and how certain beliefs and institutions hinder development* (Davis). *These include religious values, moral beliefs, belief in magic and folk traditions and practices. Sociologists also examine other conditions that resist change; particularly the belief local cultures have that moral decay and social unrest accompany business and trade.*

Dependency Theory :

The dependency theorists argue that the poverty of low-income countries stems from their exploitation by wealthy countries and the multinational corporation as that are based in wealthy countries. In their view, global capitalism locked their countries into a downward spiral of exploitation and poverty.

During the 1960,s a number of theorists questioned market-oriented explanations of global inequality such as modernization theory. **Many of these critics were sociologists and economists from the low-income countries of Latin America and Africa, who drew on Marxist ideas to reject the idea that their countries' economic underdevelopment was due to their own cultural or institutional faults.** Instead, they build on the theories of Karl Marx, who argued that world capitalism would create a class of countries manipulated by more powerful countries, just as capitalism of workers.

According to dependency theories, *the exploitation began with colonialism, a political-economic system under which powerful countries established, for their own profit, rule over weaker peoples or countries. Powerful nations have colonized other countries usually to procure the raw materials needed for their factories and to control markers for the products manufactured in those factories.*

Although colonialism typically involved European countries establishing colonies in North and South America, Africa and Asia, some Asian countries (such as Japan) had colonies as well. *Even though colonialism ended throughout most of the world after the Second World War, the exploitation*

did not: *transnational corporations continued to reap enormous profits from their branches in low-income countries.*

According to dependency theory, these global companies, often with the support of the powerful banks and governments of rich countries, established factories in poor countries, using cheap labour and raw materials to maximize production costs without governmental interference. **In turn,** the low prices set for labour and raw materials prevented poor countries from accumulating the profit necessary to industrialize themselves. Local businesses that might compete with foreign corporation were prevented from doing so. *In this view, poor countries are forced to borrow from rich countries, thus increasing their economic dependency.*

Low-income countries are thus seen not as underdeveloped, but rather as mis-developed (Frank; Emmanuel). With the exception of a handful of local politicians and business people who serve the interest of the foreign corporations, *people fall into poverty. Peasants are forced to choose between starvation and working at near-starvation wages on foreign-controlled plantations and in foreign-controlled mines and factories. Since dependency theorists believe that such exploitation has kept their countries from achieving economic growth, they typically call for revolutionary changes that would push foreign corporations out of their countries altogether (Frank Parkin).*

While political and military-power is usually ignored by market-oriented theorists, dependency theorists regard the exercise of power as central to enforcing unequal economic relationship. According to this theory, whenever local leaders question such unequal arrangements, their voices are quickly suppressed. Unionization is usually outlawed, and labour organizers are jailed and sometimes killed. When people elect a government opposing these policies, that government is likely to be overthrown by the country's military, often backed by the armed forces of the industrialized countries themselves.

Dependency theorists point of many examples; the role of the CIA in overthrowing the Marxist governments of Guatemala in 1954 and Chile in 1973 and in undermining support for the leftist government in Nicaragua in the 1980s. In the view of dependency theory, *global economic inequality is thus backed up by force: economic elites in poor countries, backed by their counterparts in wealthy ones, sue police and military power to keep the local population under control.*

Brazilian sociologist Enrique Fernando Cardoso, once a prominent dependency theorist, argued more than twenty-five years ago that some degree of dependent development was nonetheless possible-that under certain circumstances, poor countries can still develop economically, although only in ways shaped by their reliance on the wealthier countries (Cardoso). IN particular, the governments of these countries could play a key role in steering a course between dependency and development.

World System Theory : Immanuel Wallerstein:

During the last quarter of a century, sociologists have increasingly seen the world as a single (although often conflict-ridden) economic system. Although dependency theories hold that individual countries are economically tied to one another world-systems theory, which is strongly influenced by dependency theory, **argues that the world capitalist economic system is not merely a collection of independent countries engaged in diplomatic and economic relations with one another, but must instead be understood as a single unit.** The world-system approach is most closely identified with the work of **Immanuel Wallerstein** and his colleagues. *Wallerstein showed that capitalism has long existed as a global economic system, beginning with the extension of markets and trade in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The world system is seen as comprising four overlapping elements (Chase-Dunn):*

- A world market for goods and labour;
- The division of the population into different economic classes, particularly capitalists and workers;
- An international system of formal and informal political relations among the most powerful countries, whose competition with one another helps shape the world economy; and
- *The carving up of the world into three unequal economic zones, with the wealthier zones exploiting the poorer ones.*

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World-system theorists term these three economic zones 'core', 'periphery' and 'semi-periphery'. All countries in the world system are said to fall into one of the three categories. *Core countries are the most advanced industrial countries,* taking the lion's share of profits in the world economic system. These include Japan, the United States and the countries of Western Europe.

Peripheral countries comprise low-income, largely agricultural countries that are often manipulated by core countries for their own economic advantage. Examples of peripheral countries are found throughout Africa and to a lesser extent in Latin America and Asia. Natural resources, such as agricultural products, minerals and other raw materials, flow from periphery to core, in turn, sells finished goods to the periphery, also at a profits. World-system theorists argue that core countries have made themselves wealthy with this unequal trade, while at the same time limiting the economic development of peripheral countries.

Finally, *the semi-peripheral countries occupy an intermediate position; these are semi-industrialized, middle-income countries that extract profits from the more peripheral countries and in turn yield profits to the core countries.* Examples of semi-peripheral countries include Mexico in North America; Brazil, Argentina and Chile in South America; and the newly industrializing economics of East Asia. The semi periphery, though to some degree controlled by the core, is thus also able to exploit the periphery. Moreover, the greater economic success of the semi-periphery holds out to the periphery the promise of similar development.

Although the world system tends to change very slowly, once-powerful countries eventually lose their economic power and others then take their place. For example, some five centuries ago the Italian city-states of Venice and Genoa dominated the world capitalist economy. They were superseded by the Dutch, then the British and currently the United States. Today, in the view of some world-systems theorists, American dominance is giving way to a more 'multi-polar' world where economic power will be shared between the United States, Europe and Asia (Arrighi).

State-Centered Theory :

Some of the most recent explanations of successful economic development emphasize the role of state policy in promoting growth. Differing sharply from market-oriented theories, state-centred theories argue that appropriate government policies do not interfere with economic development but rather can play a key role in bringing it about. A large body of research now suggests that in some regions of the world, such as East Asia, successful economic development has been state-led. Even the World Bank, long a strong proponent of free-market theories of development, has changed its thinking about the role of the state. In its 1997 report 'The State in Changing World', the World Bank concluded that without an effective state, 'sustainable development, both economic and social, is impossible'.

Strong governments contributed in various ways to economic growth in the East Asian Newly Independent Countries during the 1980s and 1990s.

- **East Asian governments have sometimes aggressively acted to ensure political stability, while keeping labour costs low.** This has been accomplished by acts of repression, such as outlawing trade, banning strikes, jailing leaders and, in general, silencing the voices of workers. The governments of Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore in particular have engaged in such practices.

- **East Asian governments have frequently sought to steer economic development in desired directions.** For example, *state agencies have often provided cheap loans and tax breaks to businesses that invest in industries favoured by the government.* Sometimes this strategy has backfired, resulting in bad loans held by the government (one of the causes of the region's economic problems during the late 1990s). *Some governments have prevented businesses from investing their profits in other countries, forcing them to invest in economic growth at home. Some times governments have owned and therefore controlled key industries.* For

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example, the Japanese government ahs owned railways, the steel industry and banks; the South Korean government has owned banks; and the government of Singapore has owned airlines and the armaments and ship-repair industries.

- *East Asian governments have often heavily involved in social programmes such as low-cost housing and universal education.* ...The world's largest public housing system (outside socialist or formerly socialist countries) have been in Hong Kong and Singapore, where government subsidies keep rents extremely low. As a result, workers don't require high wages to pay for their housing, so they can compete better with American and European workers in the emerging global labour market. In Singapore, which has an extremely strong central government, well-funded public education and training help to provide workers with the skills they need to compete effectively in the emerging global labour market. The Singaporean government also requires businesses and individual citizen alike to save a large percentage of their income for investment in future growth.

Evaluating theories of development

Each of the four sets of theories of global inequality just discussed has its strengths and weaknesses. Together they enable us to better understand the causes and cures for global inequality.

- **Market-oriented theories commend the adoption of modern capitalist institutions of promote economic development, as the recent example of East Asia attests.** They further argue that countries can develop economically only if they open their borders to trade, and they can cite evidence in support of this argument. But market-oriented theories also fail to take into account the various economic ties between poor countries and wealth ones – ties that can impede economic growth under others. They tend to blame low income countries themselves for their poverty rather than looking to the influence of outside factors, such as the business operations of

more powerful nations. Market-oriented theories also ignore the ways government can work with the private sector to spur economic development. Finally, they fail to explain why some countries manage to take off economically while others remain grounded in poverty and underdevelopment.

- **Dependency theories address the market-oriented theories neglect in considering poor countries' ties with wealthy countries by focusing on how wealthy nations have economically exploited poor ones.** However, while dependency theories help to account for much of the economic backwardness in Latin America and Africa, they are unable to explain the occasional success story among such low-income countries as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico or the rapidly expanding economies of East Asia. In fact, some countries, once in the low-income category, have risen economically even in the presence of the multinational corporations. Even some former colonies, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, both once dependent on Great Britain, count among the success stories.

- **World-system theory sought to overcome the shortcomings of dependency theories by analyzing the world economy as a whole.** Rather than beginning with individual countries, world-system theorists look at the complex global web of political and economic relationship that influence development and inequality in poor and rich nations alike.

- **State-centred theories stress the governmental role in fostering economic growth.** They thus offer a useful alternative to both the prevailing market-oriented theories, with their emphasis on states as economic hindrances, and dependency theories, which view states as allies of global business elites in exploiting poor countries. When combined with the other theories – particularly world-system theory – state-centred theories can explain the radical changes now trans-forming the world economy.

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EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Education is one of the important agencies of social control and agent of social change. The word education has been derived from the Latin word "educare" which means to bring the pupil up and develop in them those habits and attitudes which may enable them to further well being. **Plato** *has argued that the aim of education was to develop in the body and in the soul of the pupil all perfection and all the beauty of which they are capable.* **According to Aristotle,** *to educate means to develop man's faculties, especially his mind, so that he may be able to enjoy the contemplation of supreme truth, beauty and goodness.* **Sumner** *defined education as an attempt to transmit to the child the mores of the group so that he can learn what conduct is approved and what disapprove, how to behave in all kinds of cases, what he ought to believe and reject.*

Durkheim has explained education as *"the socialization of the younger generation". "It is actually a continuous effort to impose on the child ways of seeing and acting which he could not have arrived at spontaneously"*, he said.

- **The role of education as an agent or instrument of social change and social development is widely recognized today.** Social change may take place – when humans need changeWhen the existing social system or network of social institutions fails to meet the existing human needs and when new materials suggest better ways of meeting human needs.

- **According to Maclver social change takes place as a response to many types of changes that take place in the social and nonsocial environment.** Education can initiate social changes by bringing about a change in outlook and attitude of man. It can bring about a change in the pattern of social relationships and thereby it may cause social changes.

- **Earlier educational institutions and teachers used to show a specific way of life to the students and education was more a means of social control than an instrument of social change.** Modern educational institutions do not place much emphasis upon transmitting a way

of life to the students. The traditional education was meant for an unchanging static society not marked by any change. But today education aims at imparting knowledge. Education was associated with religion.

- **It has become secular today. It is an independent institution now. Education has been chiefly instrumental in preparing the way for the development of science and technology.** Education has brought about phenomenal changes in every aspect of men's life. **Francis J.Brown** remarks that education is a process which brings about changes in the behavior of society. It is a process which enables every individual to effectively participate in the activities of society and to make positive contribution to the progress of society.

It the ancient times of preliterate society *education was usually informal or orally transmitted. Brothers and sisters and adult kinsmen took a part in transmitting social values regarded as essential. Through observation and direct contract, the child acquired the knowledge of folkways and mores of the group as well as training in the practical technique and skills.*

During the middle age, *education adopted institutionalized form. Its degree of formality, contents and objectives vary with the type of civilization. In Greek, the curriculum was based on literature, music and gymnastics to which mathematics and historical subjects were added. In India, Upanishad, Vedas, Puranas etc. were the main subjects. The education was largely restricted to small minority.*

The beginning of secular education started with the growth of science, commerce and industry and with the birth of Renaissance and the protestant Reformation. However, it was not until nineteenth century that secular education be came widely accepted. Along with secularization, education also became popularized and was no longer restricted to only a few people.

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Education has great social significance :

According to **Rousseau** the objective of education is to direct the child's natural inclinations wisely in order to train properly. He also advocated popular education.

According to **Pestalozzi** education should aim at the harmonious development of all the faculties, the ultimate objective being the improvement of the lot of the masses.

According to **John Dewey,** the father of the progressive movement of the education, has argued that education is the living of the life, not preparation of life.

August Comte has argued that education should aim at cultivating sympathy for and understanding our fellowmen.

Herbert Spencer asserted that education should prepare the individuals for a well rounded life in society. **Lester. F. Ward** regarded education as a means of social progress

According to **Sumner,** education should produce in the individual a "well developed critical faculties" which will prevent him from following uncritically traditional way but in stated will enable him to act rationally by judgement. He however did not regard education as panacea for all ills.

According to Giddings education should aim to develop in individual "self-confidence and self-control, emancipate them from superstitious belief and ignorance, give them knowledge make them think realistically, and help them become enlightened citizens".

"According to **Durkheim,** the aim of education is the socialization of the younger generation".

According to **Johann Amos** the methods of instruction should be consistent with the mental development of the child and that the subject matter should be adopted to his interest.

John Locke, the English philosopher, wrote that education should be aim at mental discipline and that it should be secular rather than religious.

Some of the important points regarding the objective of education may be concluded as follows :

- To complete the socialization process
- Transmission of cultural heritage
- Reformation of attitude
- Occupational prestige
- To instill the sense of competition

On the basis of above mentioned discussion it may be said that education contributes too much in the maintenance of social order and values. The collective conscience of the people is regarded and preserved by the education. It plays significant roles in both the formal and informal ways of social control.

Critics :

- *As long as there's social and economic inequality in society, education by itself cannot create truly meritocratic society.* It depends on familial background. Education indeed brings mobility and the inequality is only meritocratic. Benefits are to those with high achievement motivation.

- *Pierre Bourdieu: Education has functioned more like a filtering out system rather than encouraging mobility. Educational curriculum is based on culture of dominant classes.* Children in upper class have cultural capital i.e. both ability and motivation. Lower Class has Low mobility, culture differs from reality.

- *All learning is abstract as we move higher. Ability to understand abstract ideas is dependent on linguistic ability. Working class has low linguistic ability; so lack of ability also.* It is called cultural capital because it's a kind of investment which assures profits. Educational performance is linked with class background. Children of uneducated parents have high dropout rate. Middle class children stay longer in education system. They end up in high rewarding careers.

So ever generations, existing class structure gets replicated. So education only has limited ability for increasing mobility as long as social and eco inequality exists.

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SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Commenting on the role of technology in social change, Ogburn writes "Technology changes society by changing our environment to which we in turn, adapt. This change is usually in the material environment and the adjustment we make with". Technology affects society greatly in that a variation in technology causes a variation in some institution or custom. The introduction of machine technology as a result of the discovery of the new sources of energy has had such far-reaching consequences that it is often described as a "revolution."

Invention and discovery are significant characteristics of our age. The present age is often called the "age of power", the "scientific age." It has been well said that, "the most novel and pervasive phenomenon of our age is not capitalism but mechanization, of which modern capitalism may be merely a by-product." Mechanization has changed not only the economic structure of society but has also led to a steady devaluation of old forms of social organisation and old ideologies.

Our attitudes, beliefs and traditions have crumbled before technological advance. The spirit of craftsmanship, the divine ordering of social classes, traditions regarding the spheres of the sexes, the prestige of birth all have felt the shock of mechanization. Take a familiar example of the status of women in the industrial age. Industrialism has destroyed the domestic system of production, brought women from the home to the factory and the office and distinguished their earnings. It has meant a new social life for women. The invention of gunpowder changed the very technique of war.

- Standardization of goods, an evident consequence of modern technology, has made possible not only cheap production of goods but highly organized, efficient, mass distribution of goods. The textile plant has brought about organisation of labour, and a complicated system of production and distribution. Increased productive efficiency in industry released a considerable proportion of the population for service functions. A large body of men, such as engineers, book-keepers, buyers of raw material and sellers of finished products, not actually engaged in doing production work grew.

- Changes in production and trade posed new problems of political regulation. The functions of law expanded. The number of law-makers, of bureaucrats to apply the law, of lawyers to interpret the laws increased. The application of science to industry, agriculture and health gave rise to a host of new service activities. The industrial worker went down in social status and the social functionaries rose to a high status. If we just look around us we will realize the enormous change that is going on in society owing to technological inventions.

- **The most spectacular invention of our age, the atomic energy, has vastly influenced our life.** As an agent of war it brought about the most appalling annihilation of people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As an agent of peace it may bring an unprecedented era of plenty and prosperity. We can see how the automobile expands the range of social relationships and reduces the communal character of the neighborhood.

- *The rise of standard of living, the transformation of class structures and of class standards, the rise of middle class, the undermining of local folkways and the disintegration of the neighborhood, the breaking up of the old family system, the increasing dominance of urban ways over those of the country, the improvement in the conditions of women: the birth of new conceptions and movements like communism and socialism, are the result of the changes in production technology. Men have grown pragmatic in their philosophies. They are more devoted to quantity than to quality, to measurement than to appreciation. Their attitude is mechanistic. The life of reflection is at a discount.*

- *Changes in the agricultural techniques have affected the rural community. With the invention of new agricultural tools and*

chemical manures, agricultural production has increased there by raising the standard of living of the rural people. Fewer people are now needed for agriculture. Consequently many agricultural labourers have shifted to cities to find employment.

- **Not only the techniques by which the members of a society produce the necessities of life have changed effecting a change in the social relationship, the changes in the means of communication also have affected social life greatly.** Changes in the techniques by which modern communication devices are produced, have the same social implications as do the changes in the production technology. But changes in communication devices have additional implication because the uses to which they are put have by themselves profound social significance.

- **The basic function of all communication devices is the conquest of time and space. The techniques of communication limit the scope, and to a considerable extent the character, of the organizations that man can develop.** Communication is an important factor determining our social life. Its techniques definitely limit the kind of organized life that a people can have. The primary techniques of communication are speech and gesture since these techniques provide the base upon which all other modes of communication are built. Writing is speech put in graphic form; radio communication is the transportation of speech through space. Gestural and linguistic differences are a significant deterrent to the growth of intimacy and understanding between people of different societies and groups. In the past few centuries significant developments have taken place in the field of secondary techniques of communication. These developments have been encouraged by technological change.

- **Alphabetical writing is superior to ideographic writing, the first form of graphic symbolization in point of historical developments. A flexible and simple system of writing permits the rise of secondary forms of political organisation.**

Where men are wholly dependent upon primary techniques of communication, no enduring complex and highly integrated organisation can exist. The alphabetical writing facilitates the invention and diffusion of cultural elements.

- **The invention of the printing press made possible for the first time in human history comparatively cheap and easy reproduction of cheap matter.** The rise of science was in large measure stimulated by the development of the printing press. The recording and printing of scientific findings has resulted in the accumulation of locally unusable knowledge. The printed records have thus become a storehouse of wisdom upon which the would be inventor can draw at will.

- *The printed word also makes for a wide and rapid diffusion of inventions and discoveries within the members of a society and between societies.* It gives to many what would otherwise have been the monopoly of the few. The rapidity, with which cultural changes have been occurring in modern age can be attributed to the greatly increased use of the printed word as a means of communication. The press has influenced entertainment, education, politics and trade. It has brought to the country dweller knowledge of the urban life and has often led him to want the things of the city or go to the city.

- *Similarly, the invention of radio, telegraph and telephone has influenced the business, recreation, public opinion and furthered the development of new modes of organisation.* Ogburn has listed 150 both immediate and distant social effects of radio on uniformity and diffusion of culture, recreation and entertainment, transport, education, dissemination of information, religion, industry and business, occupations, government and politics and on other inventions.

- The changes in the modes of transportation have variously affected our social relationships. Transportation is the physical conquest of space. The methods and means of transportation determine how easily men can move themselves and how easily they can meet

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peoples of other places or other societies to exchange goods or ideas. The importance of transportation in modern social life can hardly be stressed. Modern man lives so much on wheels that he would not be able to live in suburbs and work in the city were it not for the local transport, that he could not leave home for the station with only a few minutes to spare were it not for the automobile, that he could not use many a thing for breakfast were it not for the ships and trains that tie the many places of the world together commercially. If the wheels of transportation were to stop for a single day, the life of the modern society would be put out of gears.

- Transportation is an important factor in the determination of spatial aspect of social relationships. As the means of transportation have changed, the spatial relationships of the members of the group have also changed. The rapid means of transportation now available have encouraged the growth of intercontinental trade and the interdependence of countries. The intermixing of people belonging to various countries led to the removal of much of misunderstanding and feeling of hatred and jealousy were replaced by sympathy and co-operation. This assisted in the progress of the sense of universal brotherhood.

- The latest invention in the field of transport, the airplanes have brought swift delivery of good. The growth of cities with their consequent problems of urban life is another important result of the development of the means of transport. There is a greater mobility of population today in which the modern rapid means of mobility of population today in which the modern rapid means of transport have played an important part. They have broken the barriers to cultural isolation. A people, who because of physical isolation are culturally isolated, may under the modern means of transportation technology become a host for all the world.

- The new modes of transportation have played significant role in the diffusion of cultural elements. The steamship, the railroad, the automobile and the aeroplane may, in short, be regarded along with the printing press and the radio as devices that have lessened cultural isolation and paved the way for cultural uniformity. The transportation developments of the past few centuries, most especially of the hundred years just past, have played a vital role in the economic integration of the peoples of regions, of nations and of the world at large, though social integration is yet to develop.

- **Family ties have broken and there is a movement away from family and community loyalty, to a movement towards individualism.** They have also intensified social and psychological uprootedness. They have promoted hedonism. Individualism has supplanted traditionalism. Bureaucracy has grown in number and power. Human relations have become impersonal and secondary.

- **It may also be noted that when an invention has an influence on some institution or custom, the influence does not stop there but continues on and on.** Ogburn gives us an example to explain the point. The influence of the cotton gin in the United States was to increase the planting of cotton, since it could be processed more quickly and with less labour. But cotton production could not be increased without more labour, so additional Negroes were brought from outside; and slavery grew very rapidly. The increase in slavery was a second derivative influence of the cotton gin. The increase in slavery led to the Civil War, the third derivative influence of the cotton gin.

- *However, as explained by Ogburn, the addition of the gin should not be regarded as the sole cause of slavery system and civil war which were caused by many other factors.* Therefore, to get a correct picture of the influence of invention it should be noted that a given invention is only one of the several factors producing a particular result and similarly the primary result of an invention is itself one of many factors producing the secondary derivative influence. It is common knowledge that a social phenomenon is almost never produced by one factor alone.

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- *The derivative influences of inventions become often quite slight when the second and third derivatives are reached.* The influence of the inventions producing cheap fibres in breaking down class barriers through the cheapness and abundance of fibres is overshadowed by other factors. Indeed we should not go too far in tracing the influence of a single invention of distant derivatives.

- **When a number of inventions converge or accumulate on the same place, their influence becomes significant.** Manufacturing, transport and communication inventions, like factory machines, the electric railway, the telephone, the radio, the cinema brought about the city. These inventions are all very different material objects and have different uses, yet all are centred as one result, namely, the creation of cities, whatever may be other purposes they serve. The purpose of the telephone inventor was not to create the cities, nor was that the aim of the maker of electric railway. But the social forces have grooved the uses of these inventions to aid the development of cities.

- **Just as a single invention has a derivative effect, similarly, a group of converging inventions may jointly have a derivative effect.** Thus, the growth of urban communities, a more or less direct effect of manufacturing, communication and transportation inventions, posed such technological problems as that of providing safe and efficient means o artificial lighting. The development of modern lighting technology led to the development of kerosene. A bye-produce of the distillation of kerosene was gasoline which was a tempting source of power and led to the invention of internal combustion motor. Around the internal combustion motor was developed the entire automobile complex. And as developments in lighting technology reduced the demand for kerosene, the surplus kerosene encouraged further developments in technology. It was converted into gasoline and led to the production of better motor fuels. The motors using this fuel were devised.

- *Thus changes in one system of technology have led to changes in other systems. Moreover, the city is the cause of crime; family disintegration, suicide, ugliness and expanding State control. The social workers need keep this point in view that crime a phenomenon of city life, in fact flows from the power invention that made the cities. Many of the evils of city life are truly the effects of the newer transportation and communication inventions of the twentieth century.*

Thorsten Veblen has summarized the impact of the technology in terms of following points :

- Impact on social life :
  - Individuality
  - Disparity of sex ratio
  - Decline of community life
  - Problems of housing
  - Crime, corruption and competition.
  - Psychic conflict and disease

- Impact on family life :
  - Disorganization of joint family
  - Decrease in the function of the family
  - Employment of women
  - Love, inter-caste, late marriage and divorce

- Impact of economic life :
  - Development of capitalism
  - Division of labour and specialization
  - Higher standard of living
  - Large scale production and development trade
  - Economic depression and employment
  - Industrial dispute, disease and accident

- Impact on religion : Secularization

- **Impact on rural society :**
  - Migration
  - Mechanization of Agriculture
  - Agricultural Development
  - New Class Formation

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Agents (Factors) of Social Change

PhysicalEnvironment :

Major changes in the physical environment are very compelling when they happen. The desert wastes of North Africa were once green and well populated. Climates change, soil erodes and lakes gradually turn into swamps and finally plains. A culture is greatly affected by such changes although sometimes they come about so slowly that they are largely unnoticed. Human misuse can bring very rapid changes in physical environment which in turn change the social and cultural life of a people. Deforestation brings land erosion and reduces rainfall. Much of the wasteland and desert land of the world is a testament to human ignorance and misuse. Environmental destruction has been at least a contributing factor in the fall of most great civilization. Many human groups throughout history have changed their physical environment through migration. In the primitive societies whose members are very directly dependent upon their physical environment migration to a different environment brings major changes in the culture. Civilization makes it easy to transport a culture and practice it in a new and different environment.

Population changes :

A population change is itself a social change but also becomes a casual factor in further social and cultural changes. When a thinly settled frontier fills up with people the hospitality pattern fades away, secondary group relations multiply, institutional structures grow more elaborate and many other changes follow. A stable population may be able to resist change but a rapidly growing population must migrate, improve its productivity or starve. Great historic migrations and conquests of the Huns, Vikings and many others have arisen from the pressure of a growing population upon limited resources. Migration encourages further change for it brings a group into a new environment subjects it to new social contacts and confronts it with new problems. No major population change leaves the culture unchanged.

Isolation and Contact :

Societies located at world crossroads have always been centers of change. Since most new traits come through diffusion, those societies in closest contact with other societies are likely to change most rapidly. In ancient times of overland transport, the land bridge connecting Asia, Africa and Europe was the centre of civilizing change. Later sailing vessels shifted the centre to the fringes of the Mediterranean Sea and still later to the north-west coast of Europe. Areas of greatest intercultural contact are the centers of change. War and trade have always brought intercultural contact and today tourism is adding to the contacts between cultures says Greenwood. Conversely isolated areas are centers of stability, conservatism and resistance to change. The most primitive tribes have been those who were the most isolated like the polar Eskimos or the Aranda of Central Australia.

Social Structure :

The structure of a society affects its rate of change in subtle and not immediately apparent ways. A society which vests great authority in the very old people as classical China did for centuries is likely to be conservative and stable. According to Ottenberg a society which stresses conformity and trains the individual to be highly responsive to the group such as the Zunis is less receptive to the change than a society like the Ileo who are highly individualistic and tolerate considerable cultural variability. A highly centralized bureaucracy is very favorable to the promotion and diffusion of change although bureaucracy has sometimes been used in an attempt to suppress change usually with no more than temporary success. When a culture is very highly integrated so that each element is rightly interwoven with all the others in a mutually interdependent system change is difficult and costly. But when the culture is less highly integrated so that work, play, family, religion and other activities are less dependent upon one another change is easier and more frequent. A tightly structured society wherein every person's roles, duties, privileges and obligations are precisely and rigidly defined is less given to changes than a more loosely structured society wherein roles, lines of authority, privileges and obligations are more open to individual rearrangement.

Attitudes and Values :

To people in developed nations and societies change is normal. Children there are socialized to anticipate and appreciate change. By contrast the Trobriand Islanders off the coast of New Guinea had no concept of change and did not even have any words in their language to express or describe change. Societies differ greatly in their general attitude toward change. People who revere the past and preoccupied with traditions and rituals will change slowly and unwillingly. When a culture has been relatively static for a long time the people are likely to assume that it should remain so indefinitely. They are intensely and unconsciously ethnocentric; they assume that their customs and techniques are correct and everlasting. A possible change is unlikely even to be seriously considered. Any change in such a society is likely to be too gradual to be noticed. A rapidly changing society has a different attitude toward change and this attitude is both cause and effect of the changes already taking place. Rapidly changing societies are aware of the social change. They are somewhat skeptical and critical of some parts of their traditional culture and will consider and experiment with innovations. Such attitudes powerfully stimulate the proposal and acceptance of changes by individuals within the society. Different groups within a locality or a society may show differing receptivity to change. Every changing society has its liberals and its conservatives. Literate and educated people tend to accept changes more readily than the illiterate and uneducated. Attitudes and values affect both the amount and the direction of social change. The ancient Greeks made great contributions to art and learning but contributed little to technology. No society has been equally dynamic in all aspects and its values determine in which area-art, music, warfare, technology, philosophy or religion it will be innovative.

Cultural Factor influences the direction and character of technological change Culture not only influences our social relationships, it also influences the direction and character of technological change. It is not only our beliefs and social institutions must correspond to the changes in technology but our beliefs and social institutions determine the use to which the technological inventions will be put. The tools and techniques of technology are indifferent to the use we make of them. For example the atomic energy can be used for the production of deadly war weapons or for the production of economic goods that satisfy the basic needs of man. The factories can produce the armaments or necessaries of life. Steel and iron can be used for building warships or tractors. It is a culture that decides the purpose to which a technical invention must be put. Although technology has advanced geometrically in the recent past, technology alone does not cause social change. It does not by itself even cause further advances in technology. Social values play a dominant role here. It is the complex combination of technology and social values which produces conditions that encourage further technological change. For example the belief or the idea that human life must not be sacrificed for wants of medical treatment, contributed to the advancement in medical technology. Max Weber in his The Protestant Ethic and the spirit of Capitalism has made a classical attempt to establish a correlation between the changes in the religious outlook, beliefs and practices of the people on the one hand and their economic behavior on the other. He has observed capitalism could grow in the western societies to very great extent and not in the eastern countries like India and China. He has concluded that Protestantism with its practical ethics encouraged capitalism to grow in the west and hence industrial and economic advancement took place there. In the East, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism and Islam on the other hand did not encourage capitalism. Thus cultural factors play a positive as well as negative role in bringing about technological change. Cultural factors such as habits, customs, traditions, conservatism, traditional values etc may resist the technological inventions. On the other hand factors such as breakdown in the unity of social values, the diversification of social institutions craving for the new thoughts, values etc may contribute to technological inventions. Technological changes do not take place on their own. They are engineered by men only. Technology is the creation of man. Men are always moved by ideas, thoughts, values, beliefs, morals and philosophies etc.These are the elements of culture. These sometimes decide or influence the

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direction in which technology undergoes change. Men are becoming more and more materialistic in their attitude. This change in the attitude and outlook is reflected in the technological field. Thus in order to lead a comfortable life and to minimize the manual labor man started inventing new techniques, machines, instruments and devices.

Technological Factors :

The technological factors represent the conditions created by man which have a profound influence on his life. In the attempt to satisfy his wants, fulfill his needs and to make his life more comfortable man creates civilization. Technology is a byproduct of civilization .When the scientific knowledge is applied to the problems in life it becomes technology. Technology is a systematic knowledge which is put into practice that is to use tools and run machines to serve human purpose. Science and technology go together. In utilizing the products of technology man brings social change. The social effects of technology are far-reaching.

According to Karl Marx even the formation of social relations and mental conceptions and attitudes are dependent upon technology. He has regarded technology as a sole explanation of social change.W.F Ogburn says technology changes society by changing our environment to which we in turn adapt. These changes are usually in the material environment and the adjustment that we make with these changes often modifies customs and social institutions. A single invention may have innumerable social effects. Radio for example has One of the most extreme expressions of the concern over the independence of technology is found in Jacques Ellul's 'the technological society'. Ellul claims that in modern industrial societies technologism has engulfed every aspect of social existence in much the same way Catholicism did in the middle ages. The loss of human freedom and the large-scale destruction of human beings are due to the increasing use of certain types of technology which has begun to threaten the life support systems of the earth as a whole.

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