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Lesson No.

- 2.1 : SOCIALIZATION: MEANING, PROCESSES AND AGENCIES
- 2.2 : THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT OF SELF
- 2.3 : CULTURE
- 2.4 : CULTURAL LAG
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SOCIALIZATION

(Meaning, Processes and Agencies)

STRUCTURE

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The main objectives of this lesson are that after it is thoroughly read, the student shall be able to :

- define the concept of socialization .
- understand its significance .
- observe it happening in society around him or her .
- identify the major agencies that help in socialization
- understand the unique contribution made by each of these agencies in the process of socialization.
- observe the changing character of these agencies.
- understand how society integrates individuals into its fold.

9.1 Introduction

Societies are not held together by sheer chance or coincidence. They need to be maintained and nurtured by its members from generation to generation. It is through constant and healthy interaction among its members that a society is preserved and perpetuated. It is through their cooperation and mutual concern that they are able to organize society better.

But again, the individuals in society do not automatically get to know the ways of preserving and maintaining the society. They are not born with the skills to communicate, share and cooperate in different social settings. So much so that even the most basic of the social skills that we often assume to be natural to man are to be learnt. All members of a society need to be taught, directly or indirectly, the ways of a society that they live in. It is through such learning that people are able to perform their roles properly and effectively in society. This process of learning is what is referred to as socialization.

All societies constantly engage in producing cohesion among its members for its effective organization. It is imperative for a society to ensure that all its members adhere to its basic values and norms in order to enable them to participate effectively in society. It is through the process of socialization that this objective is achieved.

9.2 Meaning of Socialization :

Literally speaking socialization means the process of becoming 'social'. Therefore anything that goes into making a human being 'social' becomes part of the process of socialization. It is this broad sense of socialization that makes it sometimes difficult to capture the range and contours of this process. However, there is a general consensus regarding the core idea that helps in understanding the concept.

Socialization is a process that prepares individuals for social life. For example, when a child is born, he is hardly aware of the ways and means of a society or group into which he is born. Until or unless that child becomes trained in social ways, he or she cannot participate successfully in society.

Once these techniques are learnt, practiced, and formed part of their habit,

it becomes easier for a child to mingle with other members of society. It is through socialization only that a person learns behaviour and attitude that makes him more acceptable in a group. But for socialization, individual would find it difficult to participate in social life. Socialization provides us with a sense of self. This sense of self always develops in relation to a sense of others. Through this process we become aware not only of society but ourselves too. Thus socialization makes it easier for an individual to integrate with society in a better way.

We may define socialization as a process through which people learn to participate in society effectively and acquire habits that make them human. These humanly qualities develop gradually as we keep interacting and mixing with people around us. Through such interaction, we learn what is acceptable in society and what is not, how we should behave with others and what kind of behaviour is to be avoided. In sum, we learn not only the ways to fulfill our own needs in a given social setting but also the skills to be sensitive and concerned about other members of society. It helps us to learn how to extend our concerns beyond our own selfish desires and relate ourselves to other members of the society too.

It is only when we interact with people that we learn the skills essential to participate in group-life. It is through constant practice of these skills in social settings that we acquire social characteristics that distinguish us from animals. We may therefore also say that socialization is a process of becoming human in the process of interacting and communicating in society.

Being human" and 'social' means nothing but to be considerate not only about one's own needs and desires but also towards the needs, emotions, desires and feelings of the other members of society. In the process one develops sense of responsibility and obligation towards the society one lives in and the members thereof. Such an attitude develops among people not in isolation but out of their association with other members of the society. The more one interacts with others the more one communicates, shares and develop relationships. In these social relationships then one learns to share, care and cooperate which in turn teaches one the lessons of togetherness.

Since man is essentially a "social animal" and cannot live outside groups, he does not risk evoking negative sanctions against him by breaking the accepted and established patterns of behaviour in a group. His need to remain part of a society deters him from sacrificing social goals for individual benefits. It is in these circumstances that one agrees to give primacy to society over individual.

Since all societies have their own distinct cultures, their own ways of organizing behaviour, their own set of beliefs, norms and values, it follows that there is no single way of behaving and acting that can be declared universally social and acceptable. Hence when one learns the basic social rules of a society and moulds one's behaviour accordingly, one is responding to the cultural demands of that society too. Thereby, through the same process

of socialization, one also becomes the carrier and propagator of a particular culture.

It is through the process of socialization only that the cultural values and norms of a society are perpetuated over generations. It is a process through which a society ensures that its values and norms get so well ingrained and inculcated among its members that there is no need to force them into submitting to the needs of society. Well-socialized individuals become willing and active members of society who honour rules and regulations of a society. Hence, society ensures its smooth functioning through active and collective collaboration of its members.

Socialization not only enhances individual's capacities and capabilities through successful teaching of culture but also makes him much more acceptable in society. Through all this an individual becomes better equipped to integrate successfully with society and live a wholesome life.

9.3 Purpose of Socialization :

We need socialization because we are not born social, we have to learn to be one. In fact, we are born as a biological being with our instincts, drives, needs and desires that must be met at all times. These demands, made on us by our biological being, are very often self-centred and therefore against the interest of society. It is in interest of society therefore that we need socialization.

As our definition above suggested, the foremost purpose of socialization is to make us 'human'. There were instances when a child was found to have survived in a jungle or extreme isolation without any human contact during its formative period. It was discovered that such children hadn't developed behavioural pattern unique to human beings and they hadn't learnt most basic of the skills that human beings need to interact with others in society, for example a language to communicate. Such discoveries highlighted the role of socialization in shaping and determining one's personality and life.

Besides this, socialization serves two main purposes in society. Firstly it enhances our capacities to deal with social situations and secondly it reduces possibilities of confrontations between individuals and society.

Firstly, socialization is required to make members of society more effective and competent in dealing with social situations. Through this process people acquire attitudes and habits that are not only acceptable in society but are also encouraged very often. They learn basic values and norms prevalent in society and mould their attitude and behaviour accordingly. Through this their ability to communicate with other members of the society, who share these same set of values and norms, gets enhanced. Such learning ensures smooth and healthy interaction among different members of a society.

Secondly, once someone learns the ways of society through the process of socialization, one is unlikely to commit social mistakes. If the values, norms

and beliefs of a society are properly inculcated in an individual, such an individual voluntarily follows rules and regulations of society. Which means that such individuals need not be constantly monitored and disciplined through formal means of social control. That means such individuals are more of an asset than a liability to society.

9.4 Need of Socialization :

Popular conception is that it is only the small children who need to be socialized as they have not yet developed their social skills. Indeed, it is very crucial in case of small children, but to say that theirs is the only group that needs socialization would be a limited understanding of the concept. We must not forget that it is a continuous process and we all need it throughout our lives as we enter newer social settings. Different social situations demand different social skills to be used and developed. Hence we need it every time we go to a new place that has its own distinct culture, every time we move from one group to another and from one situation to another.

In fact, it is not only the individuals who need it but also the society, which gains immensely from such an exercise. Society maintains and sustains itself through socialization.

9.5 Processes of socialization

Process of socialization is a long one carried through various agencies till we live. However, it is not a uniform, bland process. There are different smaller processes involved in the larger process of socialization that shows how it actually works. Four of these processes deserve a special mention here.

9.5.1 Imitation :

Imitation is a process of copying the mode of behaviour as observed in some other person. It is one of the most crude and primary processes used in socialization. It is crude because it doesn't need any refinement or reflection on the part of the imitator and it is primary because it is one of the first processes picked up by an individual. This process dominates the first stage of development of a child. In it a child learns a lot about correct or incorrect behaviour by way of imitating his elders.

It generally occurs in those cases where there is not only lack of clarity to an individual with regard to appropriate behaviour in a particular situation but also some role model or models are available to guide his actions. Therefore it is observed more in small children who have not yet developed an idea about socially appropriate behaviour. In case of children it is learning through imitation. Though predominant in small children it is not absent in grown ups, especially in the case of adolescents. As adolescents are in a transition phase where the childhood norms lose attraction but the adulthood norms have not yet been learnt. In such instances it is not very rare to find them searching role models and then trying to imitate them. They try to adopt hairstyle or lifestyle or at times even mannerism of people whom they find

having strong social appeal. The process could be both conscious and unconscious. Even among grown ups one may sometime come across instances of imitation, especially when we find them in new social settings. For example, someone visiting a temple or gurudwara for the first time would not be sure how to carry himself. As a result he would try to imitate those around him in order to avoid catching attention of others for wrong reasons. However, through this process person ends up learning new modes of behaviour.

9.5.2 Suggestions :

Another process that is part of socialization is suggestion. It is a process of influencing attitude or behaviour of others through communication of ideas or opinions. Whereas imitation occurs at behavioural level, suggestion occurs at mental level. Suggestion is a more refined process of directing someone's ideas, attitudes and behaviour than imitation. Suggestion provides the lead that help's an individual in monitoring his behaviour and ideas. It works more when someone is not so clear about his role or his performance in a particular social situation and has someone else to guide him through. However, the individual is amenable to suggestions given by only that person whom he trusts. Therefore children are generally more open to suggestions than opinionated adults. While in case of children, for suggestion to work it could be direct also, as coming from parents in the form of directives, in case of adults it has to be very sophisticatedly made, for example in advertisements. Media nowadays had emerged a strong means of affecting people's behaviour, choice and perceptions through suggestion.

9.5.3 Identification :

Identification is another process that helps in socialization. Through identification, an individual tends to associate himself with a particular group of people more strongly than others on the basis of similarities that he perceives between himself and the members of that group. Sometimes it is the perceived identification with a group and at times preferred identification which determines his behaviour and action in society. Once someone identifies himself with a particular person or group, he will more sympathetic and cooperative towards that person or group. For example, boys and girls learn to differentiate themselves. On the other hand, in case of preferred identifications, if an adolescent would like to be identified with a particular group or individual, his attitude and behaviour would be shaped accordingly.

9.5.4 Language :

Language is the most crucial element in the process of socialization. It is through language only that one is able to communicate one's deepest emotions and achieve a balanced mature personality. We would be studying theories of self later on which clearly show how language as a system of shared set of arbitrary symbols for the purpose of communication, help in the overall process

of socialization. In the meanwhile, it is important to mention that it is only through language that higher degree of communication and interaction among individuals becomes possible. It is the medium through which culture is propagated. But for language, communication and interaction among individuals would be far from perfect, thus making socialization a distant dream. Role of language in socialization cannot be overstated. It is through language only that individuals relate with each other, that ideas and beliefs of a group are propagated and shared, that whole cultural fabric of a society is kept in place.

Having discussed the basic process of socialization at length, it would be better to highlight some of its basic features before we proceed further.

9.6 Features of Socialization

Some of the salient features of socialization are as follows:

- It is a life long process.
- It is a continuous process.
- It is a process that keeps working consciously and unconsciously.
- It is through socialization that we develop a sense of self.
- It helps in development of personality.
- Helps in integrating individual with society.
- It develops through interaction and communication.

9.7 Agencies of Socialization.

Socialization being a life long and continuous process, there are various agencies that are involved in the process. From childhood to old age, various agencies have different roles to play at different stages of life. Of all the agencies, there are some that have been found to have a more profound role in our lives than others. These are family, neighbourhood, peer group, workplace, school, media and other social institutions like religion, economic system and political system. Though significance of all these agencies varies as one moves from one stage of life to another, their contribution in socialization continues. So when we say that family is a primary agency of socialization during childhood, it doesn't mean that at later stages of life it stops affecting and shaping our behaviour and attitude. It simply means that later on other agencies have a much more decisive role to play in determining our socialization compared to family which has now a less significant contribution.

9.7.1 Family

Family as an institution is considered to be the most basic and fundamental institution of a society. It is considered to be the basic unit of society. From one's birth till one's death one remains a member of a family. It is the first institution that human beings come across in their lives. Children are born into a family. It is in family that a newborn child learns the fundamental

principles of life and acquires habits and tastes according to the needs of society.

Children spend their most formative period of life, the early ages, depending almost entirely on family. At this stage a child is not only socially but also biologically dependent on family for its survival. Family tends not only to child's biological needs, by providing food and shelter, but also to its social needs. Before a child is exposed to the world outside family, he is taught how to behave, act and react in society. This initial training in family prepares him for future interactions with the outside world. It is often at this stage that most basic of our ideas and tastes are formed.

Our sense of 'self' also develops primarily in family. Family as a primary group, according to Cooley, shapes our 'self' to a great extent. Our family members are those 'significant others', according to Mead, whose perception matters to us the most and therefore shapes our self in a decisive way. In family we learn to perceive both ourselves and society in a particular manner. Our likes and dislikes are largely determined by this initial phase of training in family. It is, therefore, not surprising to know that sociologists consider it to be the most effective and important agency of socialization.

However, the role of family over the years as an agency of socialization has undergone tremendous change. Though earlier it used to have much dominating a role in the lifetime of an individual, with modernization and industrialization family itself has experienced many changes making it difficult to perform all its traditional roles. In fact, with increasing complexity and division of labour in society, many of its traditional functions have been shared and taken over by other institutions. For example, earlier, one's education and occupation were largely determined by one's family. In Indian society one's caste as inherited from one's family determined one's life chances and occupation. Since there was no system of common and general education, skills related to a particular profession were kept a closely guarded secret by families and were not shared with outsiders. Family's authority on individual was not limited only till his induction in a particular profession but extended till marrying off that person. Individual had little choice in selecting a spouse for oneself and it was the family that determined whom one would marry. Till the individual started a new family, the old family used to guide all his experiences and decisions.

With the advent of industrialization and modernization, family's function of educating children has been successfully taken over by modern educational institutions. These Institutions provide general and common education to lot of children under one roof coming from different family backgrounds. Children spend a good amount of time in these institutions on which families have little influence or control. Their experiences in schools and colleges often expose them to a world different from the one experienced through their families.

These institutions also impart them the necessary skills required to enter any profession. Moreover, with industrialization job market also has undergone sea change. There are lot many new professions that have come up for which traditional families have little competence and experience to guide their children.

With large-scale mobility in modern times, joint families have given way to nuclear families. With growing nuclear families and wider levels of interaction, authority of family on individual has weakened. Individuals nowadays have more say in determining not only their education and occupation but also their spouse.

Nevertheless, family still remains the most influential agency of socialization. Its role in shaping one's 'self' and providing emotional strength to individuals is still unparalleled.

9.7.2 Neighbourhood :

After family, it is the neighbourhood that a child first comes across. As soon as a child learns to walk and communicate, his experiences with his neighbourhood start growing. At this stage it is not only his family that moulds his behaviour and attitude but also his neighbourhood. Child learns the first lessons of outside world through his neighbourhood. He realizes how the comfort and safety of family is different from the one experienced outside. He learns that outside family his behaviour has to be more formal and social. He gradually starts learning that his wishes are as important in society as anyone else's are. Therefore he develops the habit of delaying his wishes and desires. He starts adjusting, cooperating and sharing space with others. He develops community feeling with his interactions with the neighbourhood.

Like family, role of neighbourhood has also changes over the years. With modernization and industrialization, the neighbourhood that we experience today is much more formal and transitory. Nowadays our neighbourhood keeps changing because of increased mobility. Sometimes we move to a new neighbourhood and sometimes we find new neighbours moving into our locality. Such transitory neighbourhood no more provides the kind of emotional bonding that one used to experience in traditional neighbourhoods that were much more permanent and enduring in character. However, as agencies of socialization, they remain crucial.

9.7.3 School :

Once the child has learnt the basic skills of interaction, he is initiated into formal learning through regular schooling. In school child meets lot of other children who are of his age group and tends to spend quality time with them every day. Till now the child had been mainly with the elders who used to decide things for the child and provided him protection from uncertainties. With family and neighbourhood not coming to his rescue in new settings, child learns to figure out new ways to conduct himself. Not only does he

learn to respect his teachers but also to disciplining himself. He learns to cooperate and coordinate with his friends and form new associations. Outside the family he learns the harsh realities of society and understands that he has to develop his own social skills to get wider acceptance in society.

The role of school as an agency of socialization has consolidated over the last few decades. People are sending their children to schools at an early age and children spend most of their time in schools and when not in schools, they are busy doing schoolwork. Till adolescent age school life shapes their daily routine. Schools not only prepare children for occupation but also for wider interaction with society. They share a world of knowledge with others which in turn paves way for a smoother and healthier interaction between members of a society. They develop their social skills along with professional skills in schools. Schools have emerged as a major agency that prepares people for richer and more meaningful social life.

9.7.4 Peer Group :

Moving outside the family, child comes across a number of people of his own age group.

He finds it easier to identify himself with them with whom he becomes friendly very soon. These groups of people who are more or less of his own age group also tend to share similar experiences with him. Drawn together because of various common factors they form an informal, friendly group termed as peer group. In this group child is driven less by formal rules and regulations and more by his own volition. He learns, along with other members of such a group, to make informal rules and norms and establish them through cooperation and coordination. He learns new lessons in togetherness, unity and helping others. He learns why and how to respect group values.

Peer group as an agency of socialization is crucial for various reasons. Most of all because it is one of the only agencies that he formulates on his own. Rest of the agencies are pre-built and he just participates in them. A peer group, however, is an agency that he builds on his own, himself formulating its norms and values. Sensitivity and obligation towards group emerges strongly in this group. In it he learns to form association with equals and with people outside family.

In modern times peer group remains with the individual for very long and keeps shaping his priorities and goals throughout his lifetime. However its most pronounced effect is during adolescent years when individual's search for an identity inspires him to attain more recognition in his peer group.

9.7.5 Mass Media :

Another important agency that plays a significant role during adolescent age is mass media. Media is a plural of 'medium' and nowadays it mainly refers to those things which are our medium to information and knowledge about society around us. In its generic sense the term includes newspaper,

magazines, books, radio and television etc. In the last few decades, most of our knowledge and information about society has reached us through such media. Unlike in the past when direct experiences formed the basis of our knowledge about our world, nowadays media mediates this knowledge. Among media, it was print media that initially made some headway way back in 1400s. In 1800s with some technological advances, printing became even faster and popular. With rise in literacy rates and better technological innovations print media reached newer heights of popularity in the last few decades.

Rising number of newspapers and magazines is an evidence of its growing popularity. However, it was with the advent of radio and television only that media got popular at mass level. Mass media is defined so by its ability to communicate with a large group of people without necessarily any personal interaction between the audience and producers of information or knowledge. With these innovations, it was for the first time that large number of people could be communicated within a small span of time with great efficiency.

With media showing images carrying information packed with knowledge, it has emerged as a strong agency of socialization. Most of our knowledge about society nowadays is derived from our exposure to the media then from our exposure to people. Medium like TV has the ability to expose us to the experiences that are not possible to be experienced otherwise. For example, unless you are a soldier in Indian Army you wont ever know how it feels to be amidst firing at the border but TV would try to carry that experience to our doorsteps. Though lot of studies are still going on trying to understand the nature and extent of influence of mass media, its significance however has been widely acknowledged. Its influence however is more on people whose exposure to them is more. Mass media as an agency of socialization is more active in urban areas and among children. During adolescence, children derive lot of ideas from such media as to which dress to wear or not, what does it mean to be successful etc. Many children find their role models in media. It is considered to be one of the most effective agencies in introducing children to their culture.

9.7.6 Work Place :

Another important agency of socialization nowadays is workplace. Earlier workplace was not very distant from one's home. In fact, many a times one's home only used to be one's workplace. But with industrialization, workplace has become more organized and professional and it is now a place away from home with an environment different from home. Individual experiences this agency when he becomes part of the workforce in society. Hence, it is generally after schooling and in mid twenties that one comes across this agency.

At workplace, people learn to sit together and work for a common purpose. They learn to orient themselves towards a common goal and improve upon

their skills of coordination and cooperation. Their behaviour is gradually oriented to the needs of organization that they are working for and moulding their behaviour and attitude for better working of the organization brings rewards to them. People spend most of their day's time at workplace and are practically left with little time to share with their families and friends. Therefore, between 30 to 60 years of age, workplace as an agency of socialization has a major influence in our lives. Unlike other agencies that keep shaping one's personality throughout one's life, workplace and school are two such agencies that have a role only as long as one is associated with them, an association that is always for a temporary phase.

9.7.7 Other Social institutions :

Religion: Besides the above-mentioned agencies there are other agencies also that have a vital role to play in developing the social dimension of the individual. These institutions are religion, political system and the economic system. In almost every society people have a conception of religion which forms the basis for their value system. It helps them to construct a holistic worldview and make sense of their reality. From most primitive to the most modern of the societies religion has helped individuals come to terms with reality in all its complexity. It helps them to tide over the uncertainties of daily life. Religion helps people in accepting the hard realities of life as part of a larger scheme. The values enshrined in a religion often form the bedrock of social values espoused by some groups. Many communities and families base their principles and norms on these values.

What is important to know is that there was a time when religion used to play a very dominant part in our daily lives. It was only in the last three or four centuries for European societies and a century or two for Indian society that role of religion in determining our daily routine has weakened. With the rise of rational and modern societies, religion has been relegated to a secondary position. It is not that religion has ceased to have any influence but it is just that its hold on social, political and economic life has weakened in the recent past. This distancing of religion from politics and other spheres of life is referred to as secularization.

Though traditional societies were very rigid and sensitive about religious matters modern societies have pushed religion into the domain of private. Spirit of critical reason has displaced the unquestioned faith in religion. However, religion still plays a role in giving people a reason and purpose in life. It helps them to impose order and pattern in life on the basis of faith. Generally, religion inspires people to conform to the norms and values of established society. They often see in it the will of God and consider it their duty to go with society. It builds up in an individual a strong sense of belongingness to a particular group and helps in maintaining social norms and values. Unlike values established by society, those established by religion are rarely questioned and almost always followed. Religion inculcates in

individuals a spirit of self-discipline and a habit of voluntary cooperation.

Democracy: Besides religion political system also shapes our value pattern in society. During ancient times, political institution used to reflect the religious values and ideals. With secularization, however, question of religion and that of political power has been separated. Most importantly, from modern societies' viewpoint, is the growth of democratic societies. Democracy stands for a political system in which the people themselves choose their representatives and give them the authority to manage power relations in society. In this system, people have the final say in determining who is to be elected to rule over them. In the last hundred years, democracy has emerged as the most preferred political institution in societies across the world. Democracy brings along with it a democratic culture.

Democratic culture encourages dialogue and debate to resolve social problems. It prefers consensus reached through mutual cooperation and interaction rather than forcing people to follow the dictates of authority. It entails the idea of responsibility and answerability. It believes in equality of all members of society and tries to provide equal opportunities to all. The kind of society envisaged in a democratic is society is one in which people live with differences but develop skill and will to resolve any problems that may arise out of such differences.

Market: As religion and political institution play their role as agencies of socialization, so do economic institutions. In case of economic institutions, it is market that has developed as the dominant form of economic institution in modern societies. Market is a form of economic system that works on the dynamics of demand and supply. It believes in the principle of competition and profit instead of cooperation and communal sharing.

Market culture encourages competition and teaches individuals to follow their own interest and try to maximize their benefit in any situation. Instead of emphasizing advantages of sharing it highlights the benefits of accumulation of wealth and other valuable good in society. It gives preference to individual over group. Interest of the

individual is equated with the interest of the society believing that society automatically would gain if individuals gain independently.

Unfortunately, lessons learn from market are not very favourable for an equitable society. It teaches one more about the skills and means to achieve one's own objective in different social settings but it does not teach them as to how individual can add to growth and development of society. Market, hence, propagates individualism. The healthy part is that it gives lot of space to individual and puts extreme faith in his rationality but the sad part is that it equates rationality with most practical action that seeks to achieve personal benefit, irrespective of its consequences for the society.

Check your Knowledge

- a) Define socialization in your own words in not more than two lines,

- b) Till what stage of life does the process of socialisation remain active?

- c) Which of the two agencies, besides family, do you think are most important for socialization? Why?

- d) Describe how family as an agency of socialization has changed in modern times.

9.8 Summary :

In short, socialization is a process that helps in making us more social in terms of our attitudes, beliefs, and actions. We become more social when we learn the ways of society and mould ourselves accordingly. In the process not only do we know more about others but also about our own self. It is through our constant interaction with society and its members that we learn and acquire the basic skills necessary for participating effectively in social situations. Through these social encounters we keep track of emerging social needs and mould ourselves accordingly.

Since life is a long journey, it is not at any one point of time that we learn all that is required to. Socialization, hence, is a lifelong process. It is carried through various agencies all through our life and constantly monitors and shapes our social behaviour. Most significant of all the agencies of socialization are family, neighbourhood, school, peer group and workplace. Some other agencies like religion, polity and economy too contribute their share. It is through these agencies that the process of socialization is effectively carried out. All these agencies of socialization have their own unique role to play at different stages of one's life. Starting with family, which is a child's first link with society, with each agency our interface with society keeps expanding. Family first acquaints us with our immediate social world, neighbourhood

extends this acquaintance further, with school and peer group our social circle becomes still wider and with workplace and mass media, this association of ours with society grows richer and more wholesome. Hence with each agency, our social circle keeps expanding and so does our familiarity with it. Hence we realize that not only is it a continuous process but also a lifelong one because through the process of socialization society maintains and perpetuates itself by evoking cooperation and support from its members.

9.9 Key Concepts/words

Socialization: Socialization is a process of becoming social. It involves learning not only values and norms of society but also the skills necessary to perform our roles in society more appropriately. Through this process individuals learn to become active and responsible members of society. The process helps not only in understanding society better but also in developing a healthy self.

Self: Self, in sociology, is used to describe one's enduring and stable perception about oneself that one realizes through social interaction with others.

Agency: Dictionary meaning of agency is a thing or person through which an end is achieved. Therefore, in case of socialization it would mean all those social institutions and practices that help individuals in achieving the goal of becoming human or social. Family, school, and peer group are a few examples of the agencies of socialization because they are the means through which we achieve the end of becoming social.

Neighbourhood: It is a term used for a localized community, especially in urban areas,

Market: It is a social mechanism of exchange of goods and services moved by forces of demand and supply based on the principle of competition.

Democracy: Literally speaking, it means 'rule of the people'. In democracy, all citizens enjoy equal rights and all have a say in deciding which laws and policies are to be implemented in society or not. Originally the idea was to have direct participation of people in governance, but owing to large size of population these days, it now stands for representative democracy, in which people instead of directly participating in decision making, elect their representatives. It is a political institution in which those very people who are to be ruled choose their rulers. These rulers, theoretically, are answerable to people and remain in power as long as they enjoy the support and confidence of the people

9.10 Exercise Questions :

1. What is socialization ? why do we need socialization ?
2. Define Socialization and discuss its processes.
- 3, What do you mean by socialization ? Explain the role of various agencies

Short Questions :

- (1) Socialization.
- (2) Imitation.
- (3) Language as process of socialization.
- (4) Religion as an agency of socialization .
- (5) Five features of Socialisation.

9.11 Reading List :

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Herskovits, MJ Cultural Anthropology,

THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT OF SELF

STRUCTURE

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10.0 Objectives :

By the end of this chapter the student shall be able:

- To understand that dimension of socialization which develops self.
- To understand the dominant theories explaining the process through

which self develops.

- To know something about thinkers who have developed these theories, to understand the concepts used in these theories.
- To figure out from his own experiences how he has reached a definition about himself.
- To understand what self means.
- To understand how the development of self is the cornerstone of socialization.

10.1 Introduction :

In the previous chapter we discussed how individuals get socialized in society as they participate in it. We learnt how through constant and continuous interaction, individuals become aware of socially accepted and encouraged ideas, beliefs, values and norms. But as we make sense of our social environment and social conditions, we keep becoming increasingly aware of our own self too. The focus of this particular chapter would be on the development of self as a product of socialization. It would focus on the complete process of socialization which appraises us not only about the world outside but also with our inner world. It explains theories which show how we form opinions about ourselves? How do we make sense of our own being? It would be highlighted how it is essential to have a sense of self to be able to understand others. The idea of knowing oneself before knowing the other is not very new. In religious texts, "know thyself" highlights this idea but in a very spiritual sense. Here we will focus on social theories that explain emergence of self which in turn helps us in integrating with the society better. While the previous chapter highlighted that aspect of socialization which introduces us to our social world, this chapter would highlight another aspect of socialization that is concerned with our introduction to our own self .

10.2 Defining Self :

We studied about the process of socialization in the previous chapter and discussed how it helps in developing our perception of the world around us. We also discussed various agencies that inform our ideas about society and direct our behaviour into more acceptable forms. What we did not elaborate, however, was the conditioning of individual that enables him to receive knowledge about his social environment. This conditioning, in the form of development of self, is part of the overall process of socialization. In this chapter we will focus more on that part of socialization that informs us about ourselves. We shall be studying various theories that explain emergence of self in us. This sense of self is important to develop in order to develop a more consistent and stable pattern of behaviour in society and organize our social life better.

Concept of self is not a very clear one and is used with different connotations

in psychology and sociology. In sociology, it is defined mainly on the basis of ideas developed by Cooley, Mead and James. Broadly speaking we may say that self is a perception of oneself as to who one is. It is a relatively stable set of ideas that define someone.

Sociologically, this perception doesn't come through introspection but through one's constant and regular interaction with rest of the members of society. It is mainly through the process of socialization that one's notion of self emerges. It is necessarily an ability to look at oneself as an object as one looks at others as objects. It is through one's interaction with others that one is able to develop this faculty and evaluate oneself as one evaluates others.

The ability to have a sense of self is crucial for an individual as it is only when one makes sense of oneself that one can make sense of others. It is only when someone has an idea about who he is that he can think of what he would like to be. This notion of self is a must if one has to have any control on his actions and behaviour. It is through this concept only that we can be reflective and evaluative of our own actions. It is considered to be a significant step in the development of one's personality. It provides a sense of identity to an individual. What is more important is that sociologically speaking self is not a fixed entity. It is constantly being produced, maintained and changed through one's experiences and interactions in different social situations.

Though significance of self has been acknowledged in sociology, it is also important to understand how this sense of self emerges. How this ability to look at oneself as an object develops.

10.3 Theories of Development of self :

Development of self has been of main interest to symbolic interactionists in sociology. Unlike mainstream sociologists who study static social structures, symbolic interactionists focus on dynamic social processes. For them there are no fixed meanings in any communication. These meanings emerge out of negotiations between the interacting individuals. In this context their concept of self is also important because they don't look at self as something given or something that once formed remains fixed. A fixed notion of self might be helpful for analytical purposes because of its simplicity but it does not do justice to its dynamic and versatile character.

Since self emerges out of our experiences and interactions with others it is always in the process of being. Like the process of socialization that continues to make us social all through our life, our sense of self also keeps getting informed and reformed in our interactions with society. But how does self emerge in interaction? How can we conceptualize this process? Is there a particular procedure by which our self gets revealed to us? To make things easier we have discussed three main theorists who have dealt with the issue of self from a sociological perspective. They are Cooley, Mead and Freud. Though Cooley and Mead are symbolic interactionists, Freud is a psychoanalyst.

To begin with we shall start with symbolic interactionists since their theories are more specifically sociological compared to that of Freud.

10.3.1 Charles Herbert Cooley :

Charles Herbert Cooley was an American sociologist born in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1864. He studied at the University of Michigan and later became a teacher at the same place. Though engineer by training, he opted to become a sociologist. He is popularly known for his theory of Looking Glass Self and for drawing the distinction between Primary and Secondary Groups. He died in 1929.

Cooley was among the first ones to define the concept of self. His main contribution was that he viewed it as a process in which individuals in any social situation look at themselves, along with others, as objects. Secondly, he emphasized that self emerges out of social interactions. It is through interaction and communication that self gets realized. His theory of self is termed as Looking Glass Self.

10.3.1.1 Looking Glass Self :

In simple terms, Cooley's Looking Glass Self theory suggests that we derive our sense of self by using others as a mirror and look in them our own image. By this he means that when we interact with others in society we constantly use gestures and interpret meanings. Each action involved in such interactions is produced on the basis of our interpretation of others' gestures. In such interactions, it is not only we who interpret others' gestures but others also interpret our actions and gestures. Hence every gesture of others is a sign of how we have been interpreted and perceived by others. This way others act like a mirror for us in whom we can see our own images. This knowledge of others' acts like a mirror for us in whom we can see our own image. This knowledge of others' perception about us informs our own sense of self .

This whole process has been explained more clearly as occurring in three different stages.

First Stage : We imagine how we appear to others

Second Stage : We imagine the reaction of others to our imagined appearance.

Third Stage : We evaluate ourselves according to how we imagine others have judged us.

According to Cooley, these three stages occur in quick succession and most of the time without we bring conscious of it. It all happens within a fraction of a second. What is important to note here is that this whole exercise occurs in mind. This mental exercise is practiced by all of us.

We may take an example to understand how this process shapes our perception about self. Suppose you get late for college and you know that your teacher wont be happy with the delay. You decide to explain it to him in such a fashion that he does not evaluate you negatively. Therefore, you first imagine

what explanation you would offer to your teacher for your late arrival, at second stage you would imagine how your teacher would react to your explanation, at third stage you would try to evaluate yourself according to what you imagine your teacher would think about you. This way you will form an opinion about yourself. Supposing your explanation is such that you imagine your teacher to conclude that you are a liar, which is a negative evaluation of yours, you would think of an alternative line of action.

Hence one's sense of self helps one in shaping one's actions too. It helps one in developing a more socially responsible behaviour. We do this mental rehearsal to avoid experimenting with ourselves in each new situation. By deriving our sense of self from this exercise we evaluate our imagined action and try to produce that action which is more in tune with the kind of self that we would like to identify ourselves with.

Another point that Cooley makes is that we may evaluate ourselves from others' viewpoint in every interaction but it is only the evaluation of those who are members of our primary group that will matter more to us. It is only their evaluation which we will take into cognizance more seriously while forming an opinion about ourselves. Our self therefore is shaped more strongly through our interaction with those who belong to our primary group. In primary group fall all those individuals with whom our relationship is more intimate, direct, face-to-face and regular. With members of this group we generally have strong emotional ties. Our family members and our close friends fall into this group. The concept of primary group was given by Cooley to highlight the significant role played by it in shaping our self.

10.3.2 George Herbert Mead

George Herbert Mead was born in South Hadley, Massachusetts in 1863. His main training was in philosophy and he received his bachelor's degree from Harvard University in 1888. Later he taught at University of Michigan for three years before joining University of Chicago in the department of philosophy for the rest of his life. He passed away in 1931. His major work *Mind, Self and Society* that elaborates his ideas about his theory of self was published posthumously. The works of Cooley and Dewey influenced his ideas. He was one of the strongest proponents of symbolic interactionism.

For Mead, to understand the whole process of socialization one has to look at it in perspective. To understand it better we have to understand the development of self and mind too and see how they both work together in perpetuating society. But to begin with we must understand mind, which enables us to conceptualize self also.

10.3.2.1 Mind :

Mind, according to Mead, is not an object but a process. It is with a developed mind that we communicate better with others in society and it is with effective communication and interaction that we may develop a sense of self. Mead is more interested in knowing how mind develops rather than studying the

working of a matured mind. To begin with, individuals, while interacting with others, learn to reproduce those actions and gestures which evoke favourable reaction from those on whom he is dependent for his survival. This he learns either through experimentation or through formal training. Slowly he develops a number of signs or gestures that have same meaning for both him and for those with whom he interacts. As the repertoire of such gestures or symbols, which he terms as conventional gestures, increases, it becomes increasingly easier for the individual to interact more meaningfully and effectively in society.

With the help of conventional gestures it becomes possible for him to evaluate his own gestures too and think on behalf of those with whom he is interacting. This imaginative thinking on behalf of others by imagining oneself in the position of others is called role-taking. Role taking teaches individual to assume the perspective of others. With one's ability of role taking, it becomes easier for an individual to imaginatively rehearse and consider alternative lines of action before actuating any action. This method helps him determining which action would be most fruitful and acceptable in a given situation. Once individual has developed the ability to understand conventional gestures, employ these gestures for role-taking, and rehearse imaginatively appropriate lines of action, he is considered to have developed a mind.

10.3.2.2 Self according to Mead :

Talking about one's ability to use symbols successfully. Mead says, one learns to represent symbolically not only others as objects but also his own self. By learning to interpret conventional gestures he can evaluate not only others but also himself. This ability to evaluate oneself as one would evaluate others depends on how mature his mind is. One's mind matures as one keeps widening one's social exposure and interacting with others.

10.3.2.3 Stages of development of self

For Mead, self develops in three stages. Play Stage, Game Stage and Generalized other. Each of this stage is marked by enhanced ability of role taking on the part of the individual.

10.3.2.3.1 Play Stage : This is the first stage. Individual is able to assume role of only one or two individuals at a time. For example when a child plays doctor or nurse or patient, he is taking only one role at a time. Many a times he plays the role of his 'significant other' like mother or father. Significant other is the term used by Mead to imply those others whose opinion about us matters to us. People whom we like or whom we hold in good stead fall in this category.

10.3.2.3.2 Game Stage : This is the second stage of development of self. As the individual matures he is capable of simultaneously taking the role of several others who are engaged in a specific activity. For example, in a game of football, a person is capable of assuming the role of all the rest of teammates simultaneously without losing sight of his own role. At this stage he

learns to situate himself vis-a-vis all other people engaged in the same activity and form a conception of self with respect to all these viewpoints.

10.3.2.3.3 Generalised Others : The third and the final stage of development of self is reached when individual learns to take the role of the “Generalized Other” or “community of attitudes” prevalent in society. At this stage individuals are considered to be capable of assuming the perspective of the whole community or society with all its values and norms. With ability to look at oneself from the collective viewpoint of society, one develops a more stabilized self. In this stage one learns to look at oneself through the viewpoint of society in general. Such a perspective helps one in patterning one’s behaviour according to the norms and values of society so that one need not depend every time on the knowledge about others before acting. It allows one to interact and communicate with strangers also and in turn expand one’s social circle.

Hence with each successive stage, individual’s capacity of role taking increases. Along with it also increases the ability to integrate various viewpoints of others into a more cohesive body of attitudes towards oneself. When individual has limited ability to take roles his perception of self also is limited, specific only to those individuals with whom he interacts. As he develops his role taking capacity, he is able to develop a more comprehensive and stable image of self which does not alter with every changing situation. This produces in individual a more consistent, coherent and stable sense of self.

10.3.2.4 Society :

From society’s point of view, a mature mind and a stable self are indispensable. For Mead society or institutions represent the organized and patterned interactions among individuals. This is possible only if the individuals who are interacting have a mature mind. It is from mature minds only that imaginative rehearsal could be expected which would in turn obviate those actions and behaviours that do not foster cooperation and coordination among the interacting individuals. It is through this imaginative rehearsal, which is a product of mature mind, that society maintains itself effectively.

Society is sustained not only through a mature mind but also through a mature self. In case of a fully developed self it would be possible for individuals to assume the perspective of the whole society in the form of generalized other. Through such viewpoint it becomes easier for individual to understand the general beliefs, values and norms of a particular society and behave accordingly. As long as such community of attitudes is not developed, individual has to depend on specific experiences to get informed about dos and don’ts of society. A developed self therefore acts as a strong agent of social control in society.

10.3.2.5 Concepts of 'I' and 'me'

Like Cooley, Mead’s conception of self is also not a fixed one. But in case of Mead this changeable character of self owes not so much to its dependence on social interactions for its definition but to the inherent character of self.

Self according to him has two aspects, 'I' and 'me'. 'I' is that part of the self which is impulsive, unpredictable, unconditioned and undisciplined. 'Me' is that part of self which is socially determined through internalizing the demands of society and is disciplined. 'Me' enables the individual to regulate and restrain the behaviour of 'I' in accordance with the established norms of the group or society.

The significance of this conceptual framework is that it helps Mead to account for change in society. It is the unpredictable and spontaneous 'I' that is responsible for change in society.

While Cooley and Mead emphasized the social dimension of human development, Freud highlighted the instinctual or biological dimension of it. While Cooley and Mead offered a peaceful combination of individual and society, Freud problematized this combination.

10.3.3 Sigmund Freud :

Freud was born in Freiberg, Moravia, in 1856. He was a physician by practice and specialized in neurology. His interest in neurology and psychological problems led him to theorize and write a lot on human psychology too. He is the founder of psychoanalysis which has been a very influential school in psychology. He is known for many of the concepts and ideas that are developed in his psychoanalytic theory. In 1938 he moved to London where he died within a year.

Sigmund Freud's concept of self and its development is but a small part of his overall theorization on individual and society. Freud developed a new field of enquiry in psychology popular by the name of psychoanalysis. One of the main contributions of his towards understanding human mind was to give unprecedented primacy to the unconscious part of our mind. The unconscious, according to him, controlled a major part of our personality and determined our behaviour. It is that part of mind which we are not conscious of but which is very powerful. It lacks sense of time, place, right and wrong and constantly seeks to satisfy its desires and wishes irrespective of the consequences.

The self, according to Freud, start developing when individual comes in contact with society. Confronting society he learns to submit his desires and instincts to the demands of order, and discipline of society. Society prohibits him from expressing many of his desires and wishes especially those related with sex and aggression. These instincts, though natural and universal, are not allowed to develop in society. But unlike Cooley and Mead who assumed that society successfully moulds these instincts into socially approved activities, Freud believed that these instincts do not get successfully controlled and they remain simmering in our unconscious mind and keep effecting our behaviour throughout our life.

According to Freud, self has three parts, id, ego and superego.

10.3.3.1 Id :

Id is that part of our self which is made up of biologically inherited impulses, urges and desires. It is the source of all our passions, our instincts and our habits which it continuously strive to gratify without any regard for morals or logic. It is selfish, irrational, impulsive, antisocial and unconscious. It operates on the pleasure principle which constantly seeks to fulfill its desires. Demands of the Id are largely anti-social. It cannot distinguish between fantasy and reality. Infants are often considered to be totally in control of id.

10.3.3.2 Ego :

The ego, like id, is an extremely powerful factor in the personality of everyone. In contrast with the id which is essentially lawless by nature, the ego is primarily a civilized product. It is that part of personality which is representative of reality and develops through interaction with the environment. When child slowly learns in society that his wishes and desires cannot be immediately met and that he has to wait for the right moment for his wishes to be fulfilled, he learns to cope with denial of his pleasure. In the process he tends to develop ego. It is the conscious, rational part of the personality that thinks, plans and decides. Like id, it is self-centred, but it is much more realistic. The ego is ruled by the reality principle, which allows delaying action until opportune time has arrived. Ego can tell the difference between right and wrong while the id cannot. Ego tries to make us moral persons and represses certain aspects of our character, which it regards as immoral. In every person, the irrational and immoral id clash with the moral sense of ego and they are constantly engaged in a kind of tussle. But ego in itself is not sufficient enough to control id. To assist it further we have superego.

10.3.3.3 Superego :

Superego roughly speaking is the conscience and it begins to develop between the age of 4 or 5 years. It contains all the ideas about what is right or wrong in society. These become part of individual through contacts with his parents, teachers, religious influences and other forms of moral authority. It monitors ego and tries to direct it along the right path. It also has the power to punish the ego for submitting to the more irrational demands of the id. Superego develops when a child internalizes cultural traditions. It represents the rights, the wrongs, the prohibitions and mores, of a given social environment.

10.3.3.4 Stages of Socialization :

According to Freud the process of socialization starts from childhood till adulthood. By the time a person attains adulthood his socialization is almost complete. This idea in itself is very different from the symbolic interactionists for whom socialization is a life long process. But this difference is there because Freud believes that most of our tastes, habits and attitudes are formed and shaped by our childhood experiences. It is the experiences at the formative stage of our life that determines our behaviour and attitude for

He looked at social development of individual in terms of his psychosexual development. Each stage is differentiated from another in terms of the dominant object of sexual gratification. At each stage the personality reaches a particular level of organization.

To begin with, child has bisexual tendency and exhibits possession of characteristics of both sexes. Also in the beginning child shows extreme self-love. The first stage of development according to Freud is the Oral Stage. At this stage child's object of sexual gratification and pleasure is mouth. It is through mouth that he makes contact with his first object of desire, the mother's breast. When the breast is withdrawn or not available he finds a substitute like sucking his thumb or some other object. This stage lasts for approximately for first 18 months. The next stage is the Anal Stage and in this the object of sexual gratification shifts from mouth to anus. Child, at this stage, derives satisfaction by control of defecation and learning toilet habits. This stage lasts till he completes three years of his life and enters the next stage.

The next stage is the Phallic Stage. In this stage the object of sexual gratification becomes the genitals. It is also the first phase in which a child's genital orientation occurs and it starts distinguishing itself as a girl or a boy. At this stage the development of boys and that of girls also starts diverging. However, he terms this stage as phallic because the sexual object is not so much the genitals as such but the phallus because till this stage only one genital is known, the male genital.

Another feature of this stage is dominance of Oedipus and Electra complexes (the term complex in psychoanalysis is used to describe a complicated emotional problem). In these complexes the child starts developing sexual attachment to the parent of the opposite sex. In contrast to the first two phases in which the sexual gratification could be derived from mouth and anus themselves, in phallic stage phallic satisfaction requires some external object. In case of boys, he starts feeling sexual attraction towards his mother which in turn is associated with feelings of jealousy or resentment directed against the father whom he now sees as his rival in his mother's affections. This is called Oedipus Complex (Oedipus was the name of the king in Sophocle's play Oedipus Rex who killed his father and married his mother without either of them being aware of it). This phase of Oedipus Complex is brought to an end by the age of four or five years through Castration Complex in which the boy fears that his illicit desires might be punished by his father with castration.

In case of girls, at phallic stage her object of sexual gratification becomes clitoris, the biological equivalent of the male genital. Since it appears to be inferior to the masculine one. she develops an envious desire to be like the boy. This is described by Freud as penis envy. Feeling inferior to boys she believes it is her mother who is to be blamed for depriving her of it. She feels she has been castrated and cannot now hope for masculinity so her feelings

of sexual attraction grow for her father through whom she feels she can have a child as a substitute for that what she has lost. Finding herself competing with her mother for her father's affection aggravates her feelings of hostility towards her mother. Freud termed it Electra Complex. Electra is a character in Greek mythology who connived at the death of her mother Clytemnestra who had murdered her father Agamemnon).

While in case of boys. Castration Complex resolves Oedipus Complex, in case of girls it brings about Electra Complex. In case of boy out of Castration Complex he learns to repress his feelings towards his mother and comes to identify more with his father, and his superego develops. In his case need to overcome Oedipal Complex is hastened by Castration Complex but in case of girls the pressure is not so strong to overcome their Electra Complex as they have no fear of castration, which they believe has already happened in their case. Hence their superego development may be retarded. Freud claims that female superego did not attain strength and independence of the male. Her complex is finally resolved when she ends rivalry with her mother and starts identifying with her leading to the development of her superego.

The next stage in the sequence is Latency Stage that is characterized by relative quiescence in sexual gratification. That lasts roughly from the age of five or six until puberty. This period is latent in the sense that only quantitative changes in object of sexual gratification occurs but there is no qualitative development. The final stage that occurs is Genital Stage that begins with puberty. At this stage the glandular changes occur which mark the beginning of the period of full adult sexuality. This stage lasts until death.

Check your knowledge

- a) What is Looking Glass Self?

- b) What is the difference between significant others and generalized other?

- c) What do you understand by 'I' ?

10.4 Summary :

Self is nothing but our perception about ourselves that we derive from our social experiences. This sense of self is crucial for integrating an individual with society. Our sense of self keeps getting matured as we keep interacting and communicating with others in society. The development of self as explained by Cooley, Mead and Freud helps us understand the processes involved in its emergence. Though Cooley and Mead saw this union between individual and society as peaceful, Freud perceived them to be in a constant state of conflict. Moreover, Freud stressed on the biological dimension of development of self while Cooley and Mead emphasized the social one. Freud's primacy to psychosocial force in determining growth of self makes his theory very intriguing and different. He also differs from Cooley and Mead when it comes to determine the influence of different stages on development of self. Cooley and Mead believed that self keeps getting shaped and crystallized further and further with increasing levels of interaction and communications. Therefore they see it growing and evolving all through one's life. On the other hand, Freud believed that it is during the first 15-20 years itself, when an individual learns to resolve his/her complex, that self gets more or less crystallized. Coming to similarities, one finds a striking similarity between the concepts of I and me as used by Mead and the concepts of id and ego/superego as used by Freud. However, for all of them Self emerges in some social context. It is important to remember that none of them views it as emerging in isolation. When in society, our instincts confront social values and norms which then guide us to control and reshape our behaviour to make it more social.

10.5 Key concepts / Words

Self: It is our perception of our own self. It is the ability to look at oneself as an object as one looks at others as objects. It is through one's interaction with others that one is able to develop this faculty and evaluate oneself as one evaluates others.

Looking Glass Self: It is a theory of self given by Cooley in which the idea is that we derive our sense of self based on the perceptions of others who act like a mirror for us.

Primary Group: It is that social group which is characterized by face-to-face, intimate, regular and personal relationships. Members of this group share a strong feeling of togetherness and have the most significant influence on the development of self of a person.

Role Taking: A term used by Mead to describe the capacity of mind which enables an individual to assume the perspective of others. In role taking one imagines the viewpoint of others and responds to that assumed viewpoint.

Significant Others: A term in Mead's theory to describe a category of people whose opinion and perception matters to us the most. Our family members and close friends often fall into this category.

Generalized Other: A term used by Mead to describe a community of attitudes that one comes to assume with growing capacity to take multiple roles simultaneously.

Play Stage: It is the early stage of development of self in which the individual's capacity to take others' roles is limited to not more than one or two at any one moment.

Game Stage: It is the second stage of development of self. In it individual learns to assume viewpoints of all those who are engaged in an organized activity.

I : It is a concept used by Mead to explain that part of the self which is impulsive, unpredictable, unconditioned and undisciplined.

Me : It is a concept used by Mead to explain that part of the self which is socially determined by internalizing the demands of society. It represents the forces of conformity and of social control.

Mind : According to Mead it is that capacity that allows humans to deal with conditions around them. For him a person is considered to possess a mind when he develops the capacity to understand conventional gestures, use these gestures to take role of others and imaginatively rehearse alternative lines of action.

Psychoanalysis : A method of analyzing psychic phenomena and treating emotional disorders that emphasizes the importance of the patient's unconscious mind in affecting his behaviour, ideas and beliefs.

Id : Id is that part of our self which is made up of biologically inherited impulses, urges and desires. It is the source of all our passions, our instincts and our habits which it continuously strive to gratify without any regard for morals or logic.

Ego : It is that part of personality which is representative of reality and develops through interaction with the environment.

Superego : It is that part of personality which develops when a child internalises cultural traditions of a society. It contains all the ideas about what is right or wrong in society. It supervises over ego and ensures that it does not give in to the demands of id.

Oral Stage : The first stage, according to Freud, in the growth of the child in which object of its sexual gratification and desire is mouth

Anal Stage : The second stage, according to Freud, in the growth of the child in which object of its sexual gratification and desire is anus.

Oedipus Complex : A kind of complex that emerges in a male child in which he starts feeling sexual attraction towards his mother,

Electra Complex : A kind of complex that emerges in the female child in which she develops sexual attraction towards her father.

10.6 Questions for Exercise :**Short Questions :**

- a) Define Self.
- b) Define Looking Glass Self.
- c) Define Superego.
- d) What is id?
- e) Define role taking.
- f) Define Oedipus Complex.

Long Questions :

- g) Describe three stages of looking Glass Self theory.
- h) How do we come to develop role-taking capacity? How does it help in developing a sense of self?
- i) What is the significance of the concept of role taking in the development of self?
- j) Describe various stages of development of personality as propounded by Freud.
- k) Highlight the similarities between the theories of Mead and Freud, if any.
- l) How is Oedipus Complex resolved in the case of a male child?

10.7 Further Readings :

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CULTURE

Structure

- 11.1. Objectives
- 11.2. Introduction
- 11.3. Meaning of Culture in Sociology : Preliminaries
 - 11.3.1. Alternative meanings of the term culture
 - 11.3.2. Culture in sociology and social anthropology
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- 11.4. The Sociological Concept of Culture
 - 11.4.1. Definition and elements
 - 11.4.2. Characteristics of culture
 - 11.4.2.1. Culture is the cumulative creation of man
 - 11.4.2.2. Culture is learnt, transmitted and shared
 - 11.4.2.3. Culture is gratifying, adaptive and integrative
 - 11.4.2.4. Culture is ideational
- 11.5. Forms and Functions of Culture
 - 11.5.1. Forms of culture
 - 11.5.1.1. Explicit culture and implicit culture
 - 11.5.1.2. Material culture and non-material culture
 - 11.5.1.3. Culture, sub-culture and counter-culture
 - 11.5.1.4. Living culture and dead culture
 - 11.5.2. Functions of culture
- 11.6. Analysing Culture : Some Related Concepts
Culture trait, culture complex, culture pattern, and cultural configuration.
- 11.7. Let Us Sum Up

Key Words

Further Readings

Model Answers

11.1. Objectives

A study of this lesson will enable you to :

- * understand how the term culture has a distinct meaning in sociology;
- * define the term culture;
- * explain the sociological concept of culture as a system of beliefs, ideas and values;
- * describe the important characteristics of culture;
- * distinguish the various forms or types of culture;
- * pinpoint the functions of culture; and
- * learn concepts for analysing the whole and the parts of culture.

11.2. Introduction

Culture is what distinguishes humans from infra-humans and forms the very basis of their social life. Culture is created by man and is acquired by living in society. It consists of intangible aspects such as beliefs, ideas and values and tangible aspects such as symbols, objects and artifacts. A culture defines or constitutes the world-view and life-world of a society. Durkheim's characterisation of social facts as 'collective ways of feeling, thinking and acting' may apply equally well to culture.

The present unit is intended to elucidate the sociological concept of culture. At the outset, it is clarified how the term culture has a specific meaning in sociology and anthropology. The discussion then moves on to the definition, elements, and characteristics of culture. Next, the forms and functions of culture are described. Last but not least, some important concepts used in analysing cultures such as culture trait, culture complex and culture pattern are delineated.

11.3. Meaning of Culture in Sociology : Preliminaries

11.3.1. Alternative meanings of the term culture

In sociology, as also in the allied discipline of anthropology, the term culture is used in a sense different from the ones attributed to it (i) in

everyday discourse, (ii) in humanities or humanistic studies, and (iii) in the natural sciences.

In popular discourse, culture is used as the equivalent of refinement as, for instance, in the expression 'cultured person'. In humanities (e.g. philosophy, literary theory), the term refers to the general process of human development or, more narrowly, to the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. In natural sciences (e.g. biology), it bears the original etymological sense of cultivation. Any standard English dictionary will give 'experimentally grown bacteria' as one of the meanings of the word culture.

However, in sociology and cultural anthropology, the concept of culture, in its generic sense, designates all that distinguishes human beings from animals. In its more specific sense, a culture refers to the life ways or the life-styles of the members of a human society.

It will become clear, as we proceed, that the concept of culture as used in sociology and anthropology is a good deal more complex and contentious than it at first appears. For the moment, let us take note of the following two points. Firstly, the sociological and anthropological usage of the term culture is not the only correct one, although it is certainly distinct. Secondly, the various alternative meanings of culture (given above) are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Rather, all of them derive from a common source and were, at least in the beginning, closely connected.

11.3.2. Culture in sociology and in anthropology

Thus far we have equated the sociological usage of the concept of culture with the anthropological one. Certainly, there is a broad agreement among sociologists and anthropologists on what culture stands for. But there also exists a subtle distinction between the two usages, the sociological and anthropological, which has often not been correctly understood or formulated. In fact, the distinction is reproduced in anthropology itself in the form of an opposition between American cultural anthropology and British social anthropology. Thus, in the matter of using the concept of culture, sociology and social anthropology are arrayed on one sides, cultural anthropology on the other. But where, we may ask, is the difference ?

Speaking analytically, human social life everywhere displays two features: (i) systems of social relations and (ii) systems of beliefs and values. These two

aspects are also conceptualised respectively as social structure and culture, or simply as society and culture. Now, for the cultural anthropologist, social structure forms only a part, possibly a subordinate part, of the whole of culture. In turn, the sociologist tends to reverse the relationship and regard culture as an aspect of society. For him, culture is the product of social life and is intelligible only in relation to it. As Fred Eggan puts it :

The British social anthropologists tend to think of themselves as sociologists concerned primarily with social structures and institutions of primitive societies, or they utilize social structure as a frame for the organisation and interpretation of cultural phenomena; most American ethnologists (i.e. cultural anthropologists) consider culture as the major concept and point of departure and subordinate social structure to it, if they utilize this concept at all, preferring to operate with concepts of cultural pattern and cultural form.

As we understand it, the cultural anthropologists and the sociologists (including social anthropologists) do not so much differ in their conceptions of culture as in the way they conceive of and treat the relationship between culture and social structure. For the former (the cultural anthropologists), social structure is the expression of culture, while for the latter (the sociologists), it is the very ground of culture's being and intelligibility.

However, to the extent the scholars in the two sister disciplines broadly agree on the meaning of culture as a system of beliefs and values defining a people's way of life, it is possible to ignore the subtle difference between their approaches in the ensuing discussion. As Claude Levi-Strauss remarked in a similar context, the difference is one of standpoint not of the subject investigated.

11.3.3. Emergence of the sociological - anthropological usage of culture

One last point before we consider the definition and other aspects of the sociological concept of culture. The point relates to the emergence of the sociological-anthropological usage of the term culture. Ordinary textbooks of sociology and anthropology almost invariably open their accounts of culture with E.B. Tylor's definition of culture (1871) without specifying its sources. This is, to say the least, inadequate.

The English word culture in its present form became current in the 15th century. It was derived from the Latin word *cultura* (from *colere* in Latin),

which meant cultivation. Thus, in all its early uses, as Raymond Williams tells us, culture meant the tending of plants or animals. Later, the meaning of culture was extended to signify the cultivation of mind. This sense persisted up to the late 18th century, when Herder, the German philosopher, made two remarkable points: one, different cultures were only different ways of human or mental cultivation and, two, the European culture could in no way be regarded as superior to others. He wrote: 'The very thought of a superior European culture is a blatant insult to the majesty of Nature'.

It was Herder's pluralist notion of culture, which passed into anthropological and sociological usage. It was continued in Germany, among others, by Gustav Klemm (1843-51) from whom Tylor took the cue and framed his classic definition of culture:

Culture or Civilization taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, act, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

According to Milton Singer, Tylor's definition continues to form the point of departure for most of the anthropological and, we may add, sociological theories of culture.

Check your progress

1. How is the term culture used in day-to-day conversation (popular discourse), humanities, natural sciences, and sociology and anthropology ?

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2. Who originated the sociological-anthropological usage of the term culture ?

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3. Which thinkers influenced Tylor in formulating the first ever definition of

culture ?

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11.4. The Sociological Concept of Culture

11.4.1. Definition and elements

We shall approach the question of definition (of the sociological concept of culture) indirectly by first asking what sociology as a discipline is concerned with. Following J. Beattie's characterisation of the subject-matter of social anthropology, we can say that sociology is concerned with (i) what people do, or their behaviour in groups (ii) what people think they do, or their beliefs, and (ii) what they think they ought to do, or their values. Thus behaviour, beliefs and values together constitute the domain of sociological investigation.

Culture refers to the traditional, patterned, or collective aspects of human behaviour, beliefs and values. In this sense, culture gets crystallised into customs (including institutions) symbols, techniques or material artefacts and other stable forms.

It is generally agreed, therefore, that culture consists of behavioural and material components (tools, etc.) on the one hand, and ideational components, on the other. Exactly how the two types of component should be interrelated is a matter of interminable controversy. Those who regard culture as a mode of adaptation to nature stress behaviour and material artefacts (the empiricists or the materialists) and those who view it as a system of classification lay major or exclusive emphasis on thought and language (the rationalists or the idealists).

In the light of the above introductory remarks, let us study some of the definitions of culture offered by sociologists and anthropologists.

Culture is an organization of phenomena - acts (patterns of behaviour); objects (tools, things made with tools), ideas (belief, knowledge); and sentiments (attitudes, values) - that is dependent on the use of symbols.

Leslie A. White

A culture is the configuration of learned behaviour and results of behaviour whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.

Ralph Linton

The culture concept comes down to behaviour patterns associated with particular groups of people, that is, to "customs" or to "people's way of life".

M. Harris

Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating and otherwise interpreting them.

W. Goodenough

Culture is best seen not as complexes of concrete behaviour patterns, but as a set of control mechanisms - plans, recipes, rules, instructions.... for the governing of behaviour.

C. Geertz

(Culture) is a system of symbols and meanings embedded in a normative system.....

D. Schneider

Cultural structure may be defined as that organized set of normative values governing behaviour which is common to members of a designated society or group.

R.K. Merton

(Culture consists of) internalised-institutionalised value-patterns.

Talcott Parsons

It (i.e. culture) signifies the totality of social life in a given situation, in so far as both the areas of ideational reproduction (culture in the narrower sense, the 'spiritual world') and of material reproduction ('civilisation') form a historically distinguishable and comprehensible unity.

Herbert Marcuse

It can be readily seen that (i) the different definitions given above emphasise different elements of culture and (ii) there is no one standardised or universally acceptable definition of culture. Tylor offered his definition of culture in 1871

in his book *Primitive culture*. Roughly eight decades later, in 1952, Kroeber and Kluckhohn counted about 160 definitions of culture, then current in the social sciences. And in 1982, Edmund Leach had this to say: 'Since Tylor's day the anthropologist's concept of culture has undergone many transformations and there is no consensus about how the term should be used...' For the anthropologist, one could easily substitute the sociologist.

11.4.2. Characteristics of culture

Although sociologists and anthropologists are unable to agree on a common definition of culture, they show a greater degree of agreement in identifying some of the important characteristics of culture enumerated below. The discussion is based largely, though not exclusively on Merrill and Eldredge's book *Culture and society* (1952).

11.4.2.1. Culture is the cumulative creation of man

Man is not endowed with culture at birth. He has to create it in response to the requirements of his nature, his social life and the physical environment. Culture is man's collective and, as Malinowski said, 'cumulative creation'. In this framework of culture versus nature, everything that is man-made is culture, from rudimentary tools to the most abstract systems of ideas.

11.4.2.2. Culture is learnt, transmitted and shared

Since culture is not innate in man, it has to be learned and acquired by living in society. This process of learning is known as socialisation. The case of wolf-children, who were carried away by wolves and became beast-like, is too well known to need emphasis.

Animals, too, can learn and learn amazingly well. But they cannot transmit their learning the way human beings can through symbols. One distinguishing characteristic of human culture is that it is transmitted from generation to generation. Culture is man's social inheritance.

Lastly, culture is collectively produced and collectively shared. It is a quality of a group rather than of an individual. However, the fact that a culture is shared does not imply the absence of variation or opposition within that culture.

11.4.2.3. Culture is gratifying, adaptive and integrative

Culture is gratifying in the sense that it satisfies human wants, both biological and social. As Merrill and Eldredge say: "The continuance of a particular

culture trait or pattern depends upon its ability to satisfy certain innate or socially acquired drives and wishes.' As and when a culture ceases to gratify, it becomes redundant and withers away.

Culture is adaptive in so far as it changes and adapts to forces outside it and it is integrative in so far as it ensures a minimal integration and co-ordination between its constituent parts. Thus, culture must perpetually respond to human needs, the pressures of external environment and the internal 'strain towards consistency'.

11.4.2.4. The ideational quality of culture

'In many definitions of culture', writes Jerry D. Rose, 'the concept of culture does not refer to the actual behaviour of people in a group but is limited to the socially approved or expected behaviour... Another way of making this point is that culture is ideational that it exists in the minds of members of a society. If one follows this approach, perhaps the phrase "way of thought" is a more accurate definition of culture than is the phrase "way of life".' However, in our view, culture is both a way of thought and way of life, since there has to be some co-ordination between ideals and behaviour. The two are not mutually exclusive.

Check Your Progress 2

1. Define or describe culture in few lines.

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2. Name the characteristics of culture :

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11.5. Forms and Functions of Culture

11.5.1. Forms of culture

There are concepts in sociology and anthropology, which distinguish between various forms of culture. Four such conceptual pairs are : (i) explicit culture and implicit culture (ii) material culture and non-material culture, (iii) culture and sub-culture including counter-culture, and (iv) living culture

and dead culture. A brief exegesis of the concepts is given below.

11.5.1.1. Explicit culture and implicit culture

The distinction between explicit and implicit culture is associated with the name of Clyde Kluckhohn, although the idea derives from the much earlier writings of E. Sapir, the American linguist-anthropologist. Earlier, Kluckhohn had used the terms overt and covert to differentiate between the explicit and the implicit levels of culture.

The distinction between explicit and implicit culture is made in terms of people's awareness of their culture. Such aspects of culture (for example rules and customs) as fall within the range of people's awareness comprise explicit culture. On the other hand, implicit culture consists of unstated but fundamental premises of a culture, which tend to be unknown or unrecognised by people. In recent times, the distinction made by Levi-Strauss between conscious and unconscious models, or the surface and deeper levels of cultural reality, corresponds to the distinction between explicit culture and implicit culture.

11.5.1.2. Material culture and non-material culture

The second distinction is the material and non-material culture. Material culture consists of perceptible products, artefacts, or techniques that people produce and use. Examples include tools and technology articles of furniture, dress, food, buildings, etc. In contrast, non-material culture denotes the ideational aspects of culture like beliefs and values, or ideas and ideals.

Alternative concepts have sometimes been used to signify material and non-material culture. For instance R.M. Maclver, following Alfred Weber of Germany, used civilisation to mean material culture while reserving the general term culture for non-material culture only. A.L. Kroeber substituted 'reality culture' and 'value culture' respectively for material and non-material culture.

An interesting offshoot of the distinction between material and non-material culture was the concept of cultural lag. W. Ogburn noted that usually material aspects of a culture advanced at a quicker pace compared with the non-material aspects, thus producing a 'cultural lag' or gap.

11.5.1.3. Culture, sub-culture and counter-culture

Another fruitful distinction is made between culture, sub-culture and contra

or counter-culture to bring out the fact of variety and opposition within a total culture.

In 1947, M.M. Gordon defined sub-culture as 'a division of national culture.' More recently, in 1983, the Penguin dictionary of sociology offered the following clear definition of sub-culture: 'This is a system of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and life-styles of a group which is distinct from but related to the dominant culture of a society.' In this definition dominant culture of a society is contrasted with the sub-culture of a group (within that society). Sub-culture is distinct from as well as related to the dominant culture. When a sub-culture is not only distinct but also opposed to the dominant culture, it is called counter-culture.

11.5.1.4. Living culture and dead culture

Lastly, Harry M. Johnson in his book *Sociology: A systematic introduction*, distinguishes between living and dead cultures on the lines of living and dead languages. According to him: 'Culture is living if it is internalised; it is dead if it approaches being a mere object of orientation, like the Latin one learns for an examination, but cannot speak without stumbling labor.' A culture is living if it forms an active basis of personal and social life; it is dead if it exists as an object in the museum, a piece of information, a mere curiosity.

11.5.2. Functions of culture

Culture is man's unique mode of self-preservation, an expression of his creativity and intelligence, and the chief basis of his social life and identity. Bronislaw Malinowski spells out the functions of culture as follows :

Culture is then essentially an instrumental reality which has come into existence to satisfy the needs of man in a manner far surpassing any direct adaptation to the environment. Culture endows man with an additional extension of his anatomical apparatus, with protective armour of defences and safeguards, with mobility and speed through media where his direct bodily equipment would have entirely failed him. Culture, the cumulative creation of man, extends the range of individual efficiency and of power of action; and it gives a depth of thought and breadth of vision underamed of in any animal species. The source of all this consists in the cumulative character of individual achievements and in the power to share in common work. Culture thus transforms individuals into organized groups and gives these an almost indefinite continuity.

Perhaps one can single out three main functions of culture for emphasis. Firstly, culture compensates for man's biological limitations and helps him adapt to and even change nature according to his needs. Secondly, by providing a framework of common ideas, beliefs and values, culture makes social and collective life possible. Thirdly, and this is a point made by Levi-Strauss, culture signifies the principle of discontinuity across societies in so far as it marks off one society or group from others. Sometimes the distinctive features of a culture are given the label of ethos.

But culture not only liberates man, it also limits him. As Malinowski puts it: Culture deeply modifies human innate endowment and in doing this it not only bestows blessings but also imposes obligations and demands the surrender of a great many personal liberties to the common welfare. The individual has to submit to order and law, he has to learn and to obey tradition, he has to twist his tongue and to adjust his larynx to a variety of sounds and to adapt his nervous system to a variety of habits. He works and produces objects which others will consume, while in turn he is always dependent upon alien toil.

All in all, we can say that while animals too have social life, only human beings have culture. Culture is necessary for the survival, actualisation and development of man.

Check Your Progress 3

1. Distinguish between :
 - a. Material culture and non-material culture
 - b. Culture, subculture and counterculture

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2. Mention the two main functions of culture.

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11.6 Analysing Cultures: Some Related Concepts :

Concepts have been developed in sociology and anthropology to understand and describe the parts as well as the whole of human culture. Among such concepts are those of culture trait, culture complex, culture pattern and cultural configuration. C. Wissler and others first employed them in the historical analysis of cultural data during the 1920. A brief explanation of the concepts follows.

Culture trait is defined by M.J. Herskovits as 'the smallest identifiable unit in a given culture'. What such a unit may be of course depends upon the context. Pointing out the usefulness of the concept of culture trait, Arden R. King writes: 'The trait concept has made it possible to draw up listings of the elements of a culture, and has also permitted the functional analysis of larger organization of culture.' King also clarifies the nature of culture complex as follows :

A culture complex may be defined as (i) a functionally integrated grouping of culture traits which persists as a unit in space and time, (ii) is cross-culturally diffusible, and (iii) is restricted to one aspect of a total culture.

From culture trait to culture complex, we progress from an element to a group of interrelated elements centring on one aspect of a culture, such as subsistence, religion or economics. Culture traits seldom exist in isolation.

The idea of structure or form is prominent in the concept of culture pattern, which developed at the hands of Sapir, Ruth Benedict, Kroeber and Kluckhohn. For instance, Kluckhohn regards culture pattern as a structural regularity and says: 'Structure is the foremost constituent in the nuclear idea of pattern. The reference is predominantly to form, no content.'

A.L. Kroeber has distinguished universal, systematic whole-culture and style patterns. The concept of universal pattern of culture comes from Wissler and refers to the cross-culturally recurrent aspects of culture. For Wissler, it consists of a series of nine categories: speech, material traits, art, knowledge, religion, society, property, government, and war. G.P. Murdock sees the universal pattern in the 'similarities of classification', like family, marriage, education, medicine, etc. The systematic pattern is the same as culture complex. The whole-culture pattern refers to the 'systematisation and coherence found in a total culture' (Kluckhohn), while style pattern is the result of 'choosing or evolving one line of procedure out of several possible ones and sticking to it' (Kroeber).

Finally, we may make a brief reference to the concept of cultural configuration. Kluckhohn distinguishes it from culture pattern with reference to the distinction between overt (explicit) and covert (implicit) culture. According to his proposal, the concept of 'configuration' be applied to pattering in the covert culture, while culture pattern be reserved for the pattering of overt culture.'

The above four concepts and some others (like M. Opler's culture themes) fit into what has been called the taxonomic approach. Contrasted with the taxonomic approach is the transformational approach to culture as developed by Levi-Strauss. In the latter approach, stress is laid not on classification, but on the study of transformations of principles underlying culture complexes and culture patterns.

Check Your Progress 4

1. Define a) culture trait, b) culture complex and c) culture pattern.

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11.7. Let Us Sum Up

Key words

Counter culture : When a sub-culture (of a group) is not only distinct, but also opposed to the dominant culture (of a society), it is called counter-culture.

Cultural configuration: The pattern of covert or implicit culture. 'Pattern' implies the idea of structure or form.

Culture : Culture is what distinguishes human society from animal society. It has intangible aspects such as beliefs, ideas and values, and tangible aspects such as symbols, techniques and artefacts. Culture is created by human beings, and is acquired by living in society. A specific culture defines the life-styles or lifeways of a society.

Culture complex : It is 'a functionally integrated grouping of culture traits.'

Culture pattern : The pattern of overt or explicit culture.

Culture trait : The smallest identifiable unit in a given culture.

Dead culture : A culture is dead 'if it exists as an object in the museum, a piece of information, a mere curiosity'. A dead culture is one that no longer

forms an active basis of personal and social life.

Ethos : The distinctive features of a culture - its characteristic beliefs, ideas and values - constitute its ethos. In this sense, ethos comes close to the concept of ethnicity, which connotes the cultural identity of a group or a collectivity.

Explicit culture : Such aspects of culture as unstated but fundamental premises of a culture of which people are not aware.

Implicit culture : Implicit culture consists of unstated but fundamental premises of a culture of which people are not aware.

Living culture : 'A culture is living if it forms an active basis of personal and social life.'

Material culture: Material culture consists of perceptible products, artefacts, or techniques that people produce and use. Examples include tools and technology, articles of furniture, dress, food, buildings, etc.

Non-material culture : Non-material culture denotes the ideational aspects of culture like beliefs and values, or ideas and ideals.

Sub-culture : This is a system of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and life-styles of a group which is distinct from but related to the dominant culture of a society.'

Model Answers to Check Your Progress

Check your Progress 1

1. In everyday conversation, culture means refinement. In humanities, the term refers to the general process of human development or, more narrowly, to the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. In natural sciences (e.g. biology) it bears the original etymological sense of cultivation. In sociology and cultural anthropology, the concept of culture, in its generic sense, designates all that distinguishes human beings from animals. In its more specific sense, a culture refers to the lifeways or the life-styles of the members of a human society.

2. It was E.B. Tylor, who first defined culture 'in the ethnographic sense' in his book *Primitive culture* published in 1871. Gustav Klemm of Germany had influenced him in formulating this definition.

Check Your Progress 2

1. Culture is what distinguishes human society from animal society. It has intangible aspects such as beliefs, ideas and values, and tangible aspects such as symbols, techniques and artefacts. Culture is created by human beings, and is acquired by living in society. A specific culture defines the life-styles or lifeways of a society.
2.
 - a. Culture is not innate in man, it has to be learned and acquired by living in society.
 - b. Culture is gratifying in so far as it satisfies human wants, both biological and social.
 - c. Culture is ideational in the sense that it exists in the minds of members of a society.

Check Your Progress 3

1. Material culture consists of perceptible products, artefacts, or techniques that people produce and use. Examples included tools and technology, articles of furniture, dress, food, buildings, etc. In contrast non-material culture signifies the ideational aspects of culture like beliefs and values, or ideas and ideals.
2. Culture refers to the dominant culture of a society, while sub-culture refers to the culture of a group within that society. When a subculture is in opposition to the dominant culture of a society, it is known as counter-culture or contra-culture.

Check Your Progress 4

1.
 - a) Culture trait is the smallest identifiable unit in a given culture.
 - b) A culture complex is defined as (i) 'a functionally integrated grouping of cultur traits' which persists as a unit in space and time, (ii) is cross-culturally diffusible, and (iii) is restricted to one aspect of a total culture.
 - c) Lastly, culture pattern refers to the pattern of overt or explicit culture.

Question :

- (1) What is Culture ? Discuss various characteristics of Culture.
- (2) Define Culture and explain its various types.
- (3) What do you mean by material and non-material culture ?

Short-Questions

- (a) Define Culture
- (b) Material Culture
- (c) Non material Culture
- (d) Explicit Culture
- (e) Implicit Culture

Further Readings

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CULTURAL LAG

Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Material and Non- Material Culture
- 12.3 Culture and its Characteristics
- 12.4 Ogburn's Theory of Cultural Lag
- 12.5 Criticism of Cultural Lag
- 12.6 Summary
- 12.7 Key Concepts
- 12.8 Exercise Questions
- 12.9 Further Readings
- 12.0 Objectives :

After going through this lesson you will be able to :

- * define culture and establish its relationship with cultural lag.
- * discuss the basis of cultural lag.
- * explain Ogburn's Theory of cultural lag.

12.1 Introduction :

Before we make an attempt to define and discuss cultural lag, it would be appropriate to define culture, and different aspects of culture.

One of the most comprehensive definition of culture was given by E.B. Tylor. He described culture as "that complete whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Another definition of culture is very closely related to man and his activities. Thus, Herskovits says that "culture is then man made part of the environment."

12.2 Material and Non Material Culture :

From the above definition there is a general agreement that culture has mainly two aspects, i.e., the part that has been created by man; he has made it the part of his life and environment; that he can see it, touch it, create it by his own desire, choice and modify it according to his needs. This is what has been termed as material culture. Resources presented by the natural world are shaped to meet existing needs. According to Ogburn "material culture includes manufactured goods, factories, houses, cars in short, all material objects, as well as inventions and technological changes." According to him, non-material culture includes social institutions, such as families, Churches, and schools; value systems, such as laws, religions, customs, mores, and folkways, lobbies, and political clubs. Non-material culture also includes man's ideas, thought-structure, behaviour patterns, interaction-patterns and social processes etc.

When we consider both material and non-material culture, again there is a general agreement that culture is learned; that it allows man to adapt himself to his natural and social settings; that it is largely variable; that it is manifested in institutions, thought patterns and material objects. It also makes it clear that man's life is lived in his natural habitat, a social environment and the material environment created by him for himself and for others. It is primarily through the material world that he presents himself apparently different, superior/inferior, advanced/backward, developed/underdeveloped, more civilised/less civilised or moving ahead or lagging behind in various aspects of life. It also implies that culture is more than a biological phenomenon. Therefore, again it can be emphasised, culture includes all the elements in man's mature endowment that he has acquired from his group by conscious learning or by conditioning process techniques of various kinds, social and other institutions, beliefs, and patterned modes of conduct.

12.3 Culture and Its Characteristics :

Some of the following characteristics of culture can easily be associated with cultural lag. They are :

Culture is universal in man's experience, yet each local or regional manifestation of it is unique. Thus, cultural lag is also universal in its nature. All societies experience cultural lag. However, there may be local or regional variations influenced or determined by local or regional conditioning or

environment.

Culture is stable, yet is also dynamic. Cultural lag is caused by the difference in the nature of stable and dynamic aspects. Stable aspects are not absolutely stable, they too are liable to change, but this change is slow and gradual. Dynamic aspects change faster. This gap can be considered as influencing as well as causing cultural lag.

Culture fills and largely determines the course of our lives, yet rarely intrudes into conscious thought. Both aspects of culture, i.e., material and non-material culture, comprise of the total culture, and both of them form an integral part of the lives of people. However, these are their immediate needs, and the ways and means to meet them, that causes a gap in the momentum of material and non-material culture. The change brought about in the material and non-material culture may not be conscious (it may arise out of needs), nor is the gap caused in the two types of cultures is conscious. However, whatever be the reasons, the cultural lag is not the result of conscious efforts. It arises out of the natural processes taking place in the society.

12.4 Ogburn's Theory of Cultural Lag :

American Sociologist William Fielding Ogburn studied the impact of technology and technological changes on culture. Ogburn's theory of social change (1922) highlights the differences in the rate of change in different parts of culture. He asserts that different parts of culture change at different rates. This fact can also be understood when we discussed various characteristics of culture. As discussed earlier, Ogburn divided culture into two parts: (a) Material culture, and (b) Non-material culture. Material culture includes all those aspects of culture created by man such as all the artefacts etc. Non-material culture includes social institutions and other aspects. These have been listed in details in the foregoing pages. Ogburn also calls non-material culture as Adaptive Culture.

The main thesis of Ogburn about cultural lag is that adaptive culture (non-material culture) tends to change more slowly than material culture. It is believed that adaptive culture is more conservative in nature and is less open to new ideas and changes. It does not accept easily the forces that

bring about change. Ogburn says that one reason for this resistance is the existence of conservative interest-groups (e.g. religious groups) that defend their ideas and values against attacks from material culture. Other parts of the culture are only partly adaptive. In his discussions, Ogburn uses the family as an example. He says that within the family some adjustments are made to material change. During the industrial revolution, says Ogburn, certain functions being performed by the family moved out of the home into the factory. These changes were accompanied by adaptive mechanisms. Further, the growing market for their labour encouraged wives to work outside the home. This was to meet the needs generated by the material culture. However, it took too long to change and adopt to the value system prevailing in the homes. This gap gave rise to the conflicts in relationships and roles within the family. The wives had to meet the demands of the work place whereas simultaneously they were expected to fulfill their traditional domestic responsibilities. In this way the family is a part of the adaptive culture that has been slow in adjusting to material change. It was, in part, the wide gap between the demand for women to stay at home that drew Ogburn's attention to Cultural Lag, i.e., the delay between a change in the material culture and the response of the adaptive culture. Ogburn's view of society requires a corresponding change in other parts. This needs more adjustment particularly when one part of society is technologically more advanced than the other. He says that until such an adjustment is made, the society, or atleast certain parts of it, will face a variety of problems.

Ogburn explained that one of the reasons for cultural lag is the habit of people to stay in one situation, i.e., no desire or efforts to adapt to change. He further says that it is hard to get people to adopt new, more efficient behaviours. This is more true of groups and societies with more differing interests.

In modern society, Ogburn feels, cultural lag has become a problem. As it is observed, today material changes occur often and more rapidly. In the earlier periods societies had more time to adapt to changes and new innovations. Societies could devise ways and means to test and for adaptation. But in the modern times material changes are occurring at such a fast pace that the people and the society hardly have any time to adapt to the new innovations.

By the time they come to terms, new innovations in material changes have already taken place.

Check Your Knowledge

(a) Define Culture

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(b) Name Characteristics of Culture

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(c) Define Cultural Lag

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(d) Distinguish between Material Culture & Non Material Culture

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12. Criticism of Theory of Cultural Lag :

Ogburn's theory of cultural lag has attracted many critics as well.

There is a criticism of Ogburn on dividing the culture into technology and economy on the one hand, and non-material adaptive culture on the other. On the face of it, it may seem to be simplistic. But it is not so. It is a complex phenomenon and needs deeper examination. It is explained with one example. Changes in family are considered to have been caused by technological changes. However, other factors, that should have been considered, are not taken into account, e.g., account of biological changes, and role-changes etc. Second, it is criticised on the ground that Ogburn's theory applies most to the modern era. He himself agreed that cultural lag was less in early societies. Instead of universal law, it should be considered only in context of modern

social changes.

Third, Ogburn has put more emphasis on resistance to change in adaptive culture and less on changes in material culture.

Cultural lag can further be understood and explained briefly as follows :

(1) What lags behind what ? In comprehending cultural lag one has to know that something falls behind or fails to keep pace with something else. What then lags behind what ? Answer to this question has been provided by Ogburn by drawing a distinction between material and non-material culture. Material culture changes faster than non-material culture. The changes in the two cannot keep pace with one another and results into cultural lag.

(2) Why more refined analysis is more important ?

Sometimes it is difficult for various parts of the culture or a system to work harmoniously with one another. This is more so in the modern complex social organizations. We also need to understand the disparities and discrepancies between means and ends. It also needs to understand and explain what are those clashes and conflicts that lower the efficiency and disturb the coordination. It requires that we give distinctive names to the phenomena with which we have to deal within this broad area.

(3) Culture Clash : In culture there is sometimes a resistance to the new innovations or imported technology. This may serve to illustrate the phenomenon of culture clash. Culture clash denotes the conflict of opposing value-schemes, creeds, or ways of life, when these are brought in contact inside the same community. The fear of an alien technology is not simply a fear that it will disturb the old values; it is also a fear that with it will be introduced alien values, different standards, and different goals. These values and standards may come in clash with the existing ones.

12.6 Summary

The concept of cultural lag has been defined by Ogburn as the gap that arises due to changes in material and non-material cultural. Material culture tends to change faster than non-material or adaptive culture. Cultural lag is considered to be mainly a characteristic of modern industrialized societies.

12.7 Key Concepts :

Culture : It is complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs art, morals,

law, customs, belief, belief, any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Material Culture : It is the man made part of environment. It includes all those artefacts created by man. It includes all those objects that can be seen and touched.

Non-material Culture : It includes social institutions (such as family), value-systems, such as law, religions, customs, mores and folkways etc. It is also known as adaptive culture.

Cultural Lag : According to Ogburn, adaptive culture tends to change more slowly than material culture. The gap created by this change between adaptive and material culture is called cultural lag.

12.8 Exercise Questions

1. Define culture and discuss different types of culture.
2. Discuss the concept of Cultural lag as defined by Ogburn.

Short Questions

- (a) What is culture ?
- (b) What is material and non-material culture ?
- (c) Define cultural lag.
- (d) What is culture clash ?

12.9 Further Readings :

Bohannon, Paul. 1963. *Social Anthropology*. New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

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Culture and civilization

Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Definition of Culture
- 13.3 Definitions of Civilization
- 13.4 Features of Civilization
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 - 13.5.3 The products of civilization are easier to communicate than those of culture
 - 13.5.4 Civilization refers to utilitarian pursuits while culture does not
 - 13.5.5 Civilization can be borrowed without change or loss but not culture
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- 13.6 Interaction between Culture and Civilization
 - 13.6.1 Utilitarian objects combine both cultural and technological features

13.6.2 Cultural Products are expressed through technological requirements

13.6.3 Technological objects differ with regard to cultural content

13.6.4 Civilization is a vehicle of culture

13.6.5 Civilization as an environment of culture

13.7 Summary

13.8 Questions

13.9 Suggested Readings

13.0 OBJECTIVES :

After going through this lesson you will be able to :

- * understand the meaning of Culture and Civilization.
- * know the differences between Culture and Civilization.
- * describe the interaction between Culture and Civilization.

13.1 INTRODUCTION :

Culture and Civilization both are fairly modern terms having come into prominent use during the 19th century by sociologists, anthropologists, historians and literary figures. These are the two concepts which relate human beings to something distinguishable from other animals. Culture helps humanity to transcend (go beyond) from mere physical existence and inherited property, but it (culture) places man in a state of aesthetics, emotions, beliefs, imaginations. It is believed that culture is a repertoire (collection) of learned behavior that can be socially transmitted, seldom independent of any genetic contributions. And this is an exclusive feature of human society.

13.2 DEFINITION OF CULTURE :

A classic and comprehensive definition of culture is given by E.B.Tylor in 1871. He stated that - "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society."

Tylor defined the term 'culture' from Anthropological point of view. Here, man is considered a part of wider society sharing the whole body of knowledge, customs and patterns of behavior. This implies that culture can be transmitted from many to one, from one generation to another and it can be shared by all. The second implication of this definition is that culture is created evolved and transferred by man only; it is not a

gift of nature. Culture represents the ways of expressions of man and their responses towards the necessities. An important aspect of Tylor's definition was that it introduced the concept of learned behavior at the time when belief in biological determinism was widespread.

13.3 DEFINITIONS OF CIVILIZATION :

Civilization is the ability of people to live together harmoniously in cities or in social groupings. At each stage of evolution, society discovered ways to interact with nature; all such discoveries are deposited throughout these times to give man a special position placing him beyond his biological existence. By civilization it is meant the whole mechanism and organization which man has devised to adjust himself with the available conditions present in the surrounding. It includes all the technical material instruments and systems of social organization developed by man.

The civilization is a wide ranging phenomenon; hence there is no consensus on the meaning of this term. Some of the definitions of civilization are as follows: -

- * Arnold Toynbee - "A civilization is essentially a religious and ethical system holding sway over an area often larger than a state or nation. Such a system is unified by customs, institutions and ideologies."
- * John Lewis Gillin and John Philip Gillin (Gillin and Gillin) - "Civilization is a more complex and evolved form of culture."
- * Arnold W. Green - "A culture becomes civilization only when it possesses written language, science, philosophy, a specialized division of labour and a complex technology and political system."
- * Maclver - "Civilization means, "the whole mechanism and organization which man has devised in his endeavour to control the conditions of his life."

Some sociologists are of the view that culture can be divided into two parts- - the material and the non-material. By material is meant concrete objects like pen, radio, buildings, utensils, books and paintings; by non-material culture is meant abstract creations of man such as language, literature, science, art, law and religion. These Sociologists assert that civilization is the material part of culture.

13.4 FEATURES OF CIVILIZATION :

13.4.1 Civilization can be measured : The universal standard of civilization is measured in terms of utility. For example bus, cars or trains etc. runs faster and hence provide more utility to men than the bullock cart could provide in earlier times.

13.4.2 Civilization is expected to be moving forward all the time : The various constituents of civilization for example technology, means of transportation and communication, etc. are constantly advancing. These advancements occur because an achievement of civilization can be replaced by new achievement. For example in the field of computers the floppy disc has been replaced by compact disc (CD) and pen drives as storage devices.

13.4.3 The effects of civilization can be enjoyed universally without special effort : The gains of civilization can be utilized and enjoyed by all the people, no special process of socialization is required. One can enjoy the products of civilization without sharing the ability of the person who creates them. Any invention can reach any part of the globe, crossing the boundaries of geographical existence, linguistic expressions.

13.4.4 Civilization is a Means : People utilize the products of civilization as means to satisfy the needs or demands. The mixer grinder, blender, washing machine, mobiles, airplanes etc have made the life more easy and convenient. All these utility purposes act as means to accomplish a task. These implements are not end in themselves.

13.4.5 Civilization is External, Mechanical and Utilitarian : The elements of civilization machines, utensils, means of communication and transport etc. are mechanical and utilitarian in nature. These can be realized only externally, it hardly affectsthe emotions or value systems of society.

Check your knowledge

1. Define Culture.

2. Define Civilization.

3. What are the features of Civilization?

13.5 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

The terms civilization and culture are most of the times used interchangeably as though they mean the same thing but they are not the same. Both represent two broad fields of human activity and experiences. Max Weber pointed out that civilization includes useful material objects and the methods of producing and using them, whereas culture consists of the ideals, values and the mental and emotional aspects of a group. Kant asserts that civilization is a matter of outward behavior, whereas culture required morality as an inward state.

The important points of difference as given by MacIver in his book '*Society*' are as follows: -

13.5.1 Civilization can be measured precisely on the ground of efficiency, culture cannot be measured in that manner. Civilization can be measured in terms of its utilitarian contributions. A product of civilization may provide more satisfaction than the other existing ones or can provide better utility than the earlier products. Thus a comparison is possible in degree. Since, the products of civilization are means to certain ends, their degree of efficiency can be estimated. For instance the mode of transportation, communications etc. are much more efficient and advanced than those ten years ago.

On the other hand culture cannot be measured or calculated. The objects of culture vary according to quality and worth and are judged by subjective considerations. For instance an object of art or a form of

music may have no value for some and for others it may be a invaluable possession.

13.5.2 Civilization is always advancing, but culture is not. Civilization shows in its march a continuous forward trend, it is unilinear and cumulative. Civilization keeps accumulating in its march forward unless some natural calamity occurs and destroys it. With the advance in technology, better methods of recording are developed which help to preserve these utilitarian gains permanently.

Culture on the other hand moves slowly. It is often subject to stagnation and retrogression. It does not follow a unilinear path. It is often said that in early nineteenth century Indian culture was rich with novelty and enthusiasm, in comparison to it, the culture of twentieth century suffers from stagnation and morbidity.

13.5.3 The products of Civilization are easier to communicate than those of Culture : The blessings of civilization can be availed by any one, he/she may not understand the mechanism of a particular product, but he/she may use it. Social, political, economic and scientific means comprising the components of civilization are easily adapted to and transferred from country to country.

On the other hand it is difficult to adapt oneself to a foreign culture. We do not inherit culture because it is learned but we inherit civilization. Culture cannot be internalized by all unless he/she has been socialized specifically for internalizing that part of culture. MacIver and Page pointed out, *'The product of the artist is more revelatory of his personality than is that of a technician, just as the quality of a people is peculiarly expressed in its culture rather than in its civilization'*.

13.5.4 Civilization refers to utilitarian pursuits while culture does not : In the utilitarian pursuit of civilization, importance is attached to the achievement of ends. The activity in civilization is often produced in large-scale organizations where the role of an individual is limited.

On the other hand in the case of culture the activity itself becomes the end. It is for this reason that a cultural activity is learned in primary, face to face, intimate and personal groups. Cultural activities therefore do not give us a vicarious (sensational) pleasure as compared to civilization. For instance, if an individual builds a house for his children, his children derives immense pleasure from it without

undergoing the experience of building it themselves. On the contrary, if a friend acts in a play or sings a song in your place, the satisfaction is entirely that of the friend and he deprives you of the opportunity.

13.5.5 Civilization can be borrowed without change or loss but culture cannot be : The fruits of civilization can be enjoyed by anyone in its original form. The elements of civilization are often transferred from one society to another and this transfer or borrowing becomes easier if the means of communication are well developed. The continuous transfer of the elements of civilization ultimately leads to development of a single pattern of civilization. Displacement of utilitarian goods occurs because it is possible to measure the superiority of one utilitarian element over another.

The cultural elements on the other hand are not easily abandoned even if civilization moves towards a single social pattern. In some situations, elements of culture may also be borrowed but this borrowing is always selective, partial and never total. It depends upon the similarity of interests and like-mindedness. For example when an attempt is made to destroy any religious building in order to build a fly-over in a modern city, oppositions are generated and an alternative way is sought as it touches the culture of the local people.

13.5.6 Culture is inward, whereas civilization is outward : According to Kant, civilization is a matter of outward behavior whereas the idea of morality necessary to culture is an inward state. Civilization is relatively mechanical and external and tends constantly to become more so, but culture is believed to be an inward condition of the mind and the spirit, not an outward set of circumstances.

13.5.7 Civilization is a means to achieve certain ends and culture is an end itself : Culture is the direct expression of our nature, in our ways of thought and action, in art, religion, morality and recreation. It deals with interests and values conceived as ends, to which various actions and objects are directed as means.

Civilization on the other hand refers to the whole machinery or system of devices developed by man. It includes technical and material means as well as the whole apparatus of economic and political organization directed to control his life conditions and ultimately satisfy his more intimate aspirations. Thus civilization is external and mechanical, utilitarian and concerned only with means while culture, as dealing

exclusively with ends, is internal, organic and final.

The above discussion though makes it clear that culture and civilization are different from one and other in their characteristic features, none can exist without the other. To conclude in Mathew Arnold's words- " Culture is the study of perfection.... And perfection which consists in becoming something, rather than in having something, in an inward condition of mind and spirit, not an outward set of circumstances". MacIver says that- 'Civilization is what we have and Culture is what we are and it is therefore also true in this sense as Clive Bell says that 'essentially the civilized man is artificial'.

13.6 Interaction between Civilization and Culture :

The interaction between culture and civilization is one of the most interesting phenomena of society. There is considerable degree of interdependence and interrelationship between culture and civilization.

13.6.1 Utilitarian objects combine both cultural and technological features : Most objects usually have both the features, i.e. they are articles of utility as well as cultural items. Most articles of utility embody a cultural value, while cultural elements have a utilitarian or a technological aspect.

13.6.2 Cultural products are expressed through technological requirements: Culture responds to the stage of technological development. Thus the form of literary art has been gradually affected by the development in printing. Before the advent of the cinematograph, the dramatic performances were costly and could be enjoyed only by few rich people, but today through films the performance is enjoyed by a large number of people in different places.

13.6.3 Technological objects differ with regard to cultural content : The degree to which a utilitarian object possesses cultural character varies with nature of the object and the social milieu in which it is produced. In simple societies, an artisan often worships his tools (product of civilization) because they are bearers of traditions for him and these practices have often been carried over to the modern age as in case of the house-warming ceremony. Another example can be cited with regard to social institutions and organizations. The laws framed in a country are not only means of social control but are also expressions of popular will and reinforce tradition.

13.6.4 Civilization as a vehicle of culture : Culture is undoubtedly the breeding ground of civilization, but this serves as the vehicle and environment of culture. According to MacIver- "We can say that civilization is a ship which can sail to various ports and set the conditions and limits of journey; but the port to which we sail, the direction and speed of boat, and the selection of opportunities placed at our disposal are the work of culture. Civilization is the driving force of society; culture is its steering wheel.

13.6.5 Civilization as an environment of culture : Civilization is not only a medium and vehicle of culture; it is something more than that. The products of civilization are not merely utilitarian objects but they are instruments of raising desire and modifying it. They become symbols of our very hopes and fears and are often there in our thoughts. The advent of the machine has introduced a completely new style of life, habits and enjoyment. Culture gives final shape and meaning to the products of civilization.

To conclude we can say that civilization affects culture and culture affects civilization. Both are developing and affecting each other. There is always interaction between the two. They are not interdependent but interwoven. While the cultural objects always have some utilitarian value, civilization always bears the marks of culture. No society ever existed which is not established on both culture and civilization. Civilization advances, culture evolves, both coexist.

13.7 Summary :

'Culture' and 'Civilization' are two concepts which relate human beings to something distinguishable from other animals. Culture is usually defined by anthropologist as the sum of all handiwork and devices, material and immaterial, by which man achieves his ends; while civilization is a more developed stage of society, with more utilitarian objects comes into existence. But in more strict sense as defined by Weber and MacIver, the difference between the two is one of kind.

Civilization is more inclined to quantitative measurement than culture, and the works of the civilization are more easily communicated than those of culture. Culture is the expression of man's personality; it has autonomy of its own, develops better in a free society, and in its conflict with civilization may dominate and absorb it.

13.8 Questions :

- Q.1 Define Civilization. Discuss its features.
- Q.2 Differentiate between culture and civilization.
- Q.3 Give an account of interaction between culture and civilization.
- Q.4 'Culture is what we are and civilization is what we have'.
Comment.

13.9 Suggested Readings :

- 1. MacIver and Page (1962), *Society: An Introductory Analysis*.
- 2. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963), *Culture- A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*.
- 3. Mathew Arnold (1889), *Culture and Anarchy*.
- 4. C.N Shankar Rao (2006), *Principles of Sociology*.
- 5. Vidya Bhushan and Sachdeva (2007), *An Introduction to Sociology*.
- 6. Clive Bell (1947), *Civilization*.
- 7. Morris Ginsberg (1979), *Sociology*.
- 8. Horton and Hunt (2005), *Sociology*.

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